Staying in Place: Plains Metis Borderland Communities, 1885-1930

by

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ABSTRACT

Over the last few years, the importance of *place* in the creation, and continuation of, Metis communities has comprised one of my primary research interests. Tied up in this idea of place are the key questions: *why* did Metis individuals and families decide to stay in the borderlands in the face of mounting state opposition; and *how* were they able to create and maintain their trans-border communities despite that opposition. This study takes as its starting point that between the years of 1885 and 1930, residence in the Canadian-American borderlands provided a number of unique opportunities that facilitated the continuity of Plains Metis communities. To illustrate this, my dissertation focuses on four distinct localities that drew families back to certain places after the collapse of the bison economy and the North-West Rebellion of 1885: Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and the Foot Hills.

This decision to remain provided several opportunities that differed from those available in more distant Metis communities, like those at Red River or Lac Ste Anne. To remain in familiar places, individuals and families drew on three distinct tactics unique to this borderland experience. The first, a manipulation of settler-state policies; the second, an adaptation to new market opportunities; and the third, the reworking of women's traditional artistic practices. This challenges the existing literature that argues these borderland communities declined and had all but disappeared by the turn-of-the-century, suggesting instead that these communities not only survived economic and political collapse after 1885, but were able to withstand the subsequent large-scale economic and environmental catastrophe that swept the Great Plains starting in the 1930s.

IN MEMORY OF SEAN ATKINS

"Nothing left to do but smile, smile, smile."

He's Gone
-Robert Hunter, The Grateful Dead

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During four months of research I traversed over 9,000 kilometres and criss-crossed the 49th parallel untold times, spending my afternoons in living rooms where I shared intimate conversations with community members about their lived experience in these borderlands. A nuanced understanding of these communities, generously shared by so many, enhanced this project. While too many to list here, I wish to mention Dan and Roxanne Goodon and their (my) family, Gene Laframboise and family, Doug Pople, and Royce Pettyjohn. To each and every one of you, thank you.

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Apologies to anyone I forgot. You know it's never intentional.

MAPS

IMAGES

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The term Metis refers broadly to people of mixed Indigenous and European descent, which should not be confused with or used interchangeably with Plains Metis. Métis with an accent aigu notes a very specific historial circumstance, defined by French and Catholic influence and tied to the St. Lawrence fur trade. The decision to use an unaccented capitalized Metis is meant to include those Indigenous-Euro-Canadian/American involved in the bison-robe trade, who actively created separate and distinct communities from their Indigenous and European ancestors. Kinship and economic orientation defined these communities more than French or English ancestry.

In the context of this study, Plains Metis refers to those families with ties to the original bison hunting brigades out of the Red River settlement that grew to include the bison-robe trade that spread west and south across the Northern Plains. For those involved in the bison trade, this included Ojibwe, Cree, and Assiniboine mothers, and French and Scottish fathers. Their children – Métis (*bois-brûles, les gens libres*) in French, or half-breeds (Country-born) in English – form the foundation of the Plains Metis as defined in this study. Given the diverse composition of the mobile Metis communities that pursued the bison across the Great Plains, this study employs Metis, capitalized and without an accent, acknowledging association with the formation of a New Nation at Red River while simultaneously appreciating the diverse composition of those mobile communities that came to dominate the bison-robe trade. Including French, English, Catholic, and Protestant families, this term encompasses a socio-economic group that developed its own cultural and political identity as they became an important

economic, military, and political power in the region before the demise of the bison in 1884.[1] This is not a matter of simply replacing the prototypical Red River Metis with Plains Metis, but speaks to a very specific community that emerged from the bison-robe economy and its associated trades.[2]

Unless quoting directly from a primary source or government documents, this thesis uses specific community, tribal, and band names when possible. I have used the term Michif to identify those Plains Metis that formed the community at Turtle Mountain. While part of the Plains Metis community that called the borderlands of Canada and the U.S. home, south of the line, community members today refer to themselves as Michif and would prefer that outsiders do the same. This project also identifies the Metis as a group indigenous to North America, moving away from the increasingly unpopular term of Aboriginal to denote those of non-settler descent.[3] While Indigenous names largely transcend the forty-ninth parallel, Native American and American Indian are not used in Canada, and First Nation finds little traction south of the line. To minimize complications, when not identifying specific groups, I use the term Indigenous to refer to non-settler peoples on both sides of the international boundary.

It is important to note from the outset that these Metis communities were never defined as a homogenous population nor were they monocultural in composition. Even during the height of the bison-robe trade, *hivernement* communities and even the Red River settlement itself were incredibly diverse places, drawing peoples from all over the

[1] There were other Metis and mixed communities that arose out of various fur trade dynamics during the 18th and 19th centuries, but they are not the focus here.
[2] Robert Alexander Innes, "Multicultural Bands on the Northern Plains and the Notion of Tribal Histories," in *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada*, eds. Robin Jarvis Brownlie and Valerie J. Korinek (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012): 122-141.
[3] The deep connection between the Metis and their other indigenous kin is critical throughout this thesis, but this requires a distinction to be made between the two as the Metis community had their own cultural, social, and political practices that set them apart from their kin.

Great Plains, North America, and the globe. Whether permanent community members or staying only a short time, this multicultural dynamic shaped communities during the trade-era. This reality continues into the post-1885 era when already-complex communities became increasingly diverse as immigration to North America grew and settlers made their way across the Plains.

INTRODUCTION

The 'why' of this project is multifaceted. When asked my motivation for choosing to focus, generally, on Metis history, the answer evaded me for some time. I am not Metis, nor did I grow up in a Metis community. A sixth-generation Canadian of, I suppose, Irish-Scottish descent, I have no burning question about or attachment to my own ethnicity. But I did grow up on a farm in south-western Manitoba, and while we had little in the way of material wealth, we had land. And that land has had a profound influence on my family's identity and each individual's sense of self for over 135 years. While the degree of this connectivity has varied by individual, several generations of my family made their lives there. They loved, lived, and died on those 160 acres. That place — and my family's attachment to it — is why I chose this topic. Building on my master's thesis, I began considering how a similar understanding and experience of place played out across the borderlands of Canada and the United States.

The locality that our farm falls within, despite its constantly-shifting political boundaries, has always been defined by its inhabitants. When we spoke of community in south-western Manitoba, it included the community centre at Kemnay, five miles distant, and the city of Brandon twenty minutes down Highway 1A; that same definition could easily include a visit to Souris for lunch, an hour's drive to the south-west. To the south-east, we often passed through Turtle Mountain on our way to Bottineau, where shopping trips made more sense than the hours-long drive to Winnipeg or Regina. A large geographic area with boundaries that shift over time as towns and places disappear from the landscape, our community also includes an international boundary that marks an

entirely different political space.

As the sixth generation raised on a family farm that we homesteaded in 1881, my family is also intertwined with the process of settler-state building in Western Canada.[1] Our narrative has always focused on pride of place; of being stewards of the 160 acres we call home. Of hardy immigrants living in salvaged grain bins until enough stones were quarried to build a two-room farmhouse that forms the foundation of our home today. Of remaining on the land when so many others did not and tracing our family's role in the development of our community. That narrative also comes with a collection of photographs and journals dating from the 1880s that document our 'pioneer' experience, which also includes, in passing reference, the Indigenous peoples that we first lived with, and then removed, from this space. While there is no explicit reference to their removal in these records, our active participation in building an agrarian society on the Great Plains played no small role in their erasure. Where before there were photographs detailing an exchange of much-needed resources and ideas with a summer camp on the road allowance, these images vanish by 1900 — replaced with box socials, sleigh rides, bonspiels, and potlucks. My family's new start in western Canada and our present-day attachment to place came at a steep cost that we are only now beginning to understand.

The four months I spent in the borderlands conducting research has also had — and continues to have — a profound influence on this project. When I cold-called Gene Lafromboise of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation and he invited me to spend three days with his family to learn about his community, this project changed. I was treated to community potlucks, long talks over tea, and tours of the community's natural

[1] Applied for entry on 20 February 1882 after squatting on the land since 27 May 1881. Having paid the entry fee of $10 patent was received 22 May 1904.

space with the most generous of guides. This was an experience repeated across the borderlands: Boissevain, Willow Bunch, Havre, Choteau, Maple Creek, Helena, Fort Belknap, Pincher Creek. Time and again, I was welcomed into homes and communities. Where stories were shared and rainy afternoons were spent pouring over photo albums and going through boxes in attics and basements where objects, sometimes tucked away for decades, were brought out and shared. This very personal experience also shaped this project; as historians, the things we write about can and do reverberate in today's Indigenous communities. Our work does not exist in a vacuum and can have very real ramifications for individuals, families, and their communities. This reality remains front and centre throughout this project.

Prior to the drawing, implementation, and enforcement of the forty-ninth parallel, the Plains Metis called the borderlands of the Northern Great Plains home. A space where numerous Indigenous groups competed, cooperated, and traded, this region was transformed in the 1870s by two settler-states that implemented policies aimed at categorizing, enumerating, and assimilating the area's Indigenous peoples.[2] The transnational movements by those whose lives had become intertwined with the forty-ninth parallel complicated the efforts of the North-West Mounted Police and American Army to enforce new settler-state territorial claims and policies. These attempts to

[2] For a detailed discussion of the nationalization period from 1869-1885 see: Gerhard Ens, "After the Buffalo: The Reformulation of the Turtle Mountain Métis Community, 1879-1905" in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, ed. Fiske, Jo-Anne, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1998); "The Border, the Buffalo, and the Métis of Montana," in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel,* ed. Sterling Evans. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Michel Hogue, "Between Race and Nation: The Plains Métis and the Canada-United States Border," PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 2009); David G. McCrady, *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Katie Pollock, "From Borderlands to Bordered Lands," M.A. Thesis (University of Alberta, 2009); Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People*. (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

enforce new classifications and statuses had a profound impact on the Metis, who, by their very existence, challenged clear colonial definitions of race, status, and nationality. After the 1870s, faced with the choice of self-identifying as Indian, Metis, or non-indigenous — depending on individual situation and nation of residence — many Metis chose to manipulate those same government policies to ensure the cohesion of long-established extended kin and community networks that criss-crossed the international boundary.

This study takes as its organizing hypothesis that between the years of 1885 and 1930, residence in the borderland region of Canada and the United States provided a number of unique opportunities that facilitated the continuity of Plains Metis communities at a time when it was politically, socially, and economically disadvantageous to remain in this contested space. It focuses on the Plains Metis' affinity for four distinct localities that drew families back to certain places after the collapse of the bison economy and the North-West Rebellion of 1885. When faced with policies aimed at their erasure, it was this attachment to and knowledge of place that kept them in their communities, speaking to an intimate knowledge of the wider environmental, social, and political space. This decision to stay in familiar places saw the adoption of certain tactics that allowed individuals and families to operate within the increasingly restrictive confines of two settler-states.

These ends were accomplished by drawing on three distinct adaptations unique to this borderland region. The first was a manipulation of settler-state policies, including Canadian and American treaty making and Half-breed scrip. With an ambiguous ethnic identity that challenged government racial categories, the Plains Metis found themselves

able to oscillate between ethnic categories in order to take advantage of policies aimed at Indigenous erasure from the borderlands. The second was the adaptation to new market opportunities associated with a growing settler population. This intersection of traditional practices in new capitalist markets was based largely on seasonal labour that, when combined with traditional activities, was crucial in sustaining family and community. Formal market engagement occurred largely through the labour market; this encompassed work on railways, on farms and ranches, in local towns, and as domestic servants. The Metis also continued their traditional activities like hunting and the processing of natural resources for family and market. Long acquainted with capitalist markets, Plains Metis individuals and families adapted their pre-existing activities to a new economic reality on the Northern Great Plains. The third involved the adaptation of women's traditional artistic practices to new social, political, and economic realities. This included increased artistic production for a growing tourist trade. Taken together, these practices allowed families and communities to operate in the new political and social space of the borderlands to ensure their continued residence in these four localities.

In focusing on this time period, this project will illuminate the vibrant Metis presence within four distinct, yet connected, borderland communities. Employing a borderland framework informed by spatial and cultural theory, this project will add to an emerging literature that seeks to problematise the assumption that the Plains Metis were a group unique to Canada and important only in a pre-1885 Western Canadian context. Not only were the Plains Metis long-acquainted with these Northern transnational borderlands and the agency it provided, but they were able to employ a variety of tactics that made the continuity of their borderland communities possible well into the 20th century.

Historiography

The North-West Rebellion of 1885 has had a profound influence on the historiography of the Plains Metis. This watershed event, which ended all military and political opposition to the Canadian settler-state's territorial expansion, also inaugurated a period when the Metis all but disappear from Canadian historiography. It was also a time when Plains Metis community cohesion was directly challenged by the simultaneous collapse of their traditional economy, the imposition of settler-state policies, and the carving up of the plains for the purpose of non-indigenous settlement. In response to these mounting pressures — including the inescapable fact that neither settler-state was interested in encouraging the maintenance of an ambiguous transnational Indigenous population — the Plains Metis had to find new ways to maintain the social and cultural cohesion of their families and communities. Nowhere were the ramifications of these new state policies and the Metis' response to them more dynamic than in this borderland region of North America's Great Plains. It is the goal of this thesis to significantly revise this historiography and to re-place the Plains Metis in the post-1885 history of this contested space.

As mentioned, the secondary literature until recently has regarded the Plains Metis as a Canadian phenomenon, acting as an impediment within a larger expansionist narrative of Canada's nation-building enterprise. A product, in part, of the American government's refusal to recognise Metis as a separate ethnic category, this historiographical trend is further complicated by the practice of confining historical narratives within the boundaries of 19th century nation-states. Accepting this nationalisation of borderland Indigenous peoples, Marcel Giraud's *le métis canadien*, first

published in 1945, conceptualised the emergence of a new Metis nation in the 19th century as an important transitory ethnological event in the Canadian North-West, regarding the Metis as an inherently flawed race incapable of change.[3] A contemporary of Giraud's, George Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada* cast a wider net, but likewise saw the Metis and their military resistance as a manifestation of the conflict between 'primitive and civilized' peoples.[4] This early scholarship portrayed Metis people as incapable of adapting to a rapidly changing Northern Great Plains while largely ignoring a long-standing transnational presence that would situate them as critical players in the western development of both Canada and the United States.[5]

This scholarship began to change in the early 1980s as historians challenged the idea of the Plains Metis as a purely Canadian phenomenon.[6] Gerhard Ens' *Homeland to Hinterland* shifted the focus away from Metis-as-new-nation and emphasised their critical role in the economic and social development of the Red River Settlement and wider Northern Plains.[7] Arguing that the Metis were responding to a new economic order with roots in the trans-border buffalo-robe trade, Ens focused on the Metis' response to new economic opportunities and the importance that the forty-ninth parallel played in their navigation of an emerging modern capitalism. Simultaneously, Metis history south

[3] Marcel Giraud, *The Metis of the Canadian West,* trans. by George Woodcock, reprint of 19345 edition (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1960).
[4] George F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, reprint of 1936 publication (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960).
[5] An exception to this is Joseph Kinsey Howard's *Strange Empire*, which takes a loose transnational perspective. *Strange Empire: Louis Riel and the Métis People* (Toronto: J. Lewis and Samuel, 1974).
[6] Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1980); "Children of Early Fur Trades," in *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, ed. Joy Parr (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1982); "Métis Women as Center and Symbol in the Emergence of Métis Communities." In *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 39-46.
[7] Gerhard Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing World of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

of the international boundary started to find its own historians.[8] In 1996, Tanis Thorne's *The Many Hands of My Relations* explored Metis ethnogenesis on the Lower Missouri River as a product of the fur trade and a series of events similar to those found in the Great Lakes and Canadian North-West.[9] Her study emphasised that the Metis had a well-established presence south of the line and that the American government's failure to recognise a separate Metis identity relegated the majority of these new peoples to either assimilation or retribalization. Martha Harroun Foster's study of the Montana Metis explicitly recognised the transnational origins of the Metis, and marked a resurgence of interest in those Metis residing in the United States.[10]

Following a prominent 1999 call to think outside of the nation-state box, a number of historians began to use a borderland framework to view the history of those Indigenous peoples who called the Northern Great Plains home.[11] Drawing to some

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[8] Even today, there remains a remarkable paucity of work that details the Metis experience south of the international boundary. This, in part, speaks to larger barriers than those represented by the forty-ninth parallel.

[9] Tanis Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1996).

[10] Martha Harroun Foster, *We Know Who We Are: Metis Identity in a Montana Community* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006). Others also identify the Metis as a transnational group. By using a highly detailed case study of the Desjarlais family, Heather Devine's focus is on what she considers trans-border families and the factors that shaped identity and Metis ethnogenesis. *The Peoples Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family, 1660-1900* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004). Gregory Camp's work focuses primarily on the Metis community of Turtle Mountain, but in doing so, implicitly acknowledges the Metis as a transnational group with deep ties on both sides of the border. "The Turtle Mountain Plains-Chippewa and the Métis, 1797-1935," Ph.D. dissertation (University of New Mexico, 1987); "Working Out their Own Salvation: The Allotment of Land in Severalty and the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band, 1870-1920," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 2 (1990). Looking at the Metis communities further west in Montana, Larry Burt interrogates the circumstances behind the emergence of Rocky Boy's Reservation and Montana's 'Landless Indians.' "Nowhere Left to Go: Montana Crees, Métis, and Chippewas and the Creation of Rocky Boy Reservation," *Great Plains Quarterly* 7 (1987):195-209.

[11] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron argued that the Canadian-U.S. border solidified almost simultaneously during the late-19th century, narrowing the movement and autonomy of the Indigenous groups that occupied the region. For them, a fluid and navigable borderland ended in the 19th century, turning 'borderlands into bordered lands.' While void of Indigenous agency and unable to bridge colonial-national history, the work does provide new theoretical insights and gave borderland studies of the forty-ninth parallel a shared lineage. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (1999):1235-1239.

extent on the pioneering work done on the Mexican-U.S. Border, interdisciplinary research began to set new research agendas.[12] What followed was a process of pulling Canadian (and American) history away from its centrist bearings to consider the cultures and politics grounded in the local, conceptualising North American history as a series of entanglements and the persistence of heterogeneous spaces despite settler-state efforts to force adherence to new categories of belonging.[13] Since 2000, scholars of Northern Great Plains Indigenous history have turned to a borderland framework to re-interrogate

[12] This borderland framework was originally articulated by Herbert E. Bolton in his 1921 *The Spanish Borderlands*, which functioned as an answer and counterpoint to Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 "Frontier Thesis." Bolton encouraged historians to conceptualise state progression as being influenced by events beyond the spheres of British Empire and the U.S. East Coast, undermining the idea of closure put forward by Turner. A framework largely ignored in Canada, Paul Sharp's *Whoop-Up Country* (1955) did take a transnational look at a very specific region bisected by the forty-ninth parallel. A test of W.P. Webb's "Great Plains Thesis," Sharp uses the experience of the Blackfoot Confederacy to argue that Canadian nationality was more powerful than the environment in shaping regional history and identity. Borderlands-as-framework remained unexplored until the mid-1970s when historians began to focus on the area lying between the Great Lakes and the Rockies to compare the real and perceived national differences between Canada and the U.S. With Adelman and Aron's reassessment in 1999, historians began to search in earnest for a theoretical framework to provide cohesion. Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921); Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," printed in the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (14 December 1893); Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1931); Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: the Canadian-American West, 1865-885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955); an example of the mid-1970s shift to the Prairies: R.C. Macleod, *The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Carlos Schwates, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979).

[13] Three edited collections began interrogating the role of the forty-ninth parallel in North American history. The first looked at the interrelationship between geography and settler-state, followed by another that compared the myths and cultures of the two North American Wests. In 2006, Sterling Evans' edited collection highlighted a possible path forward by collecting the works of diverse scholars, emphasizing the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to borderland studies of the forty-ninth parallel. Others weighed in on a borderland framework, but there remained a lack of coherence moving forward. C.L. Hingham and Robert Thacker, eds., *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader* (Calgary: university of Calgary Press, 2004); C.L. Hingham and Robert Thacker, eds., *One West, Two Myths II: Essays on Comparison* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006); Sterling Evans, ed., *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the 49th Parallel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Elizabeth Jameson, "Dancing on the Rim, Tiptoeing through Minefields: Challenges and Promises of Borderlands," *Pacific Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (February 2006):22-23; Jameson and Jeremy Mouat, "Telling Differences: The Forty-ninth Parallel and Historiographies of the West and Nation," *Pacific Historical Review* 75, no. 2 (May 2006):183-230.

questions of race and belonging.[14] This trend included the Plains Metis, and Gerhard Ens was among the first to examine the decision-making of many Metis families who elected to leave Canadian territory for the United States as the bison herds began to disappear from the Plains.[15] His new research has built on this earlier work and investigates why the Metis in Canada were granted Indigenous rights distinct from their Indigenous kin, the creation of this new Indigeneity, and the ramifications of divergent settler-state approaches to the question of Metis ethnic identity.[16]

Moving in a somewhat different direction, Michel Hogue's 2009 dissertation "Between Race and Nation" looked squarely at the interactions between the Plains Metis, the new settler population, state actors, and the wider borderland region they played a part in creating.[17] Asking what influence these new political boundaries and imposed

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[14] Arguing that the forty-ninth parallel's significance shifts in the later part of the 19th century, Beth LaDow's *The Medicine Line* considers the relationships forged between Indigenous peoples, settlers, and local and federal officials as the border solidified. Sheila McManus looks at the spatial, social, and sexual regulation of the Blackfoot Confederacy by Canadian and American officials to show that the pull of a shared geography undermined government attempts to make the forty-ninth parallel into a meaningful border. In his 2006 *Living With Strangers*, David McCrady considers how the Dakota and Lakota related to the forty-ninth parallel, how it failed to deter Indigenous people from moving across it, and how this allowed both to develop their own economic, military, and political relationships with the border. Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Rutledge Publishing, 2001); Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); David G. McCrady, *Living with Strangers: the 19th Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

[15] Gerhard Ens, "The Border, The Buffalo, and the Metis in Montana," in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel*, ed. Sterling Evans (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); "After the Buffalo: The Reformulation of the Turtle Mountain Metis Community, 1879-1905" in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, ed. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith and William Wicken (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998).

[16] Gerhard Ens, "Hybridity, Canadian Indian Policy, and the Construction of Metis Indigenous Rights in the 19th Century," in *Reconfigurations of Native North America: Selected Papers of the Ninth Biennial Maple and Eagle Conference on North American Studies*, ed. John Wunder and Kurt Kinbacher (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2008).

[17] Michel Hogue, "Between Race and Nation: The Plains Metis and the Canada-United Sates Border," PhD Dissertation (Madison-Wisconsin, 2009). Hogue also focused on the borderland Cree in "Crossing the Line: The Plains Cree in the Canada-United States Borderlands, 1870-19000," MA Thesis (University of Calgary, 2002); "Disputing the Medicine Line: The Plains Cree and the Canadian-American Border, 1876-1885," in *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader,* ed. *Carol Higham and Robert Thacker* (Calgary:

racial hierarchies had on the potential for the creation of the Metis as a distinct people north and south of the line, he argued that the markers and meanings of territorial and racial boundaries emerged out of borderland encounters between Metis, other Indigenous, and settler peoples. To this end he examined how the social category of race emerged as a key measure of citizenship within newly consolidated settler-states in the mid-19th century. In focusing on the Metis during a period of flux when ideas about race were being debated, Hogue provides a unique exploration of how and why mixed racial groups formed or failed to form in North America. Hogue finds that ideas of race and nation formed a set of interlocking constructions that complicated a Metis claim to the borderland region, which ultimately truncated Metis histories and helped overwrite a long and complicated relationship between the Plains Metis and the forty-ninth parallel. As a large-scale study, Hogue's dissertation does much to correct the nationalistic assumptions long-associated with the Plains Metis. He also succeeds in showing the role of the state in determining national and racial distinctions, and how who was accorded rights on this basis narrowed as those categories became more fixed. His analysis of race in the borderlands also shows how new categories became key markers of belonging and incorporation, which were complicated by increasingly rigid ideologies and settler opposition to racial mixing. Ultimately, race for the Metis became a borderland of another kind: between Indigenous and non-indigenous, treaty and non-treaty, Indian and Metis.

University of Calgary Press, 2004):85-108; "Crossing the Line: Race, Nationality, and the Deportation of the Canadian Cree in the U.S.-Canada Borderlands, 1890-1900," in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: essays on the Regional History of the 49th Parallel*, ed. Sterling Evans (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006):155-171.

Hogue's 2013 *Metis and the Medicine Line* builds on the ideas found in his doctoral thesis by drawing on a significant pool of under-appreciated primary sources from American archives.[18] After sketching Metis movement onto the Northern Plains, he details how they differentiated themselves from their other Indigenous kin with a distinct language and culture, followed by their creation of an economic niche in an expanding bison-economy that facilitated economic, political, social, and kinship networks that criss-crossed the now-surveyed forty-ninth parallel. Drawing on case studies like that of the Antoine Ouellette and Angelique Bottineau family, Hogue shows how both settler-states drew on the Metis as intermediaries to facilitate their territorial expansion while simultaneously subverting their attempts to maintain transnational political, economic, and social practices. Hogue contends that by the 1890s these decisions eroded the Plains Metis' presence and power in the borderlands, and how neither settler-state was willing to entertain the contravention of their racial or territorial boundaries. As such, Hogue's history of the borderland Metis is largely a declensionist narrative that saw a Metis borderland presence all but evaporate by the turn of the 20th century.

This thesis contests that narrative. This project will look at how a history of implacement and attachment to place saw individuals and families manipulate those same restrictive state policies to maintain their communities. In fact, it was their very residence in the borderlands that provided a unique set of circumstances that facilitated continuity well into the 20th century. Whereas Hogue suggest that the 'absence of appropriate frameworks for the legal recognition of mixed-race groups […] created significant barriers for the continuation of separate, identifiable Plains Metis communities in the

[18] Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

borderlands,"[19] this project will suggest that the Metis, long-accustomed to adapting to environmental, political, and social changes on the Great Plains, were able to maintain at least four transnational communities after the 1885 collapse of the bison economy and settler-state dominance of this transnational space.

Theoretical Framework

From the outset, this project recognises that the Plains Metis played an active role in creating the conditions that encouraged the development of this borderland space and were not simply acting within a process imposed upon them. These borderlands were not merely a periphery of the Canadian and American settler-states, but were a critical Plains Metis space that overlapped with similar claims made by other Indigenous peoples. A significant part of this project is the development of a borderland framework that incorporates spatial and cultural theory to account for the transformation and maintenance of this Plains Metis space. Drawing on the work of theorists Edward S. Casey and Michel de Certeau, this project combines Casey's investigation of place and space with an examination of de Certeau's concepts of strategy and tactic to analyse the decisions that enabled families and individuals to remain within their borderland communities despite ongoing settler-state opposition to their transnational identity.

Space, Place, and Implacement

> *For whenever the members of a community speak about their landscape—whenever they name it, or classify it, or tell stories about it—they unthinkingly represent it in ways that are compatible with shared understandings of how, in the fullest sense, they know themselves to occupy it.*[20]

[19] Hogue, "Between Race and Nation," 376.
[20] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996), 74.

When answering the question 'where are you from?', our response identifies us through the places we name. Those places anchor and orient us, providing scope and belonging in an ever-increasingly globalised world. A descriptive analysis of this largely understudied concept, Casey's *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* considers the importance of place in the human experience.[21] His analysis assists this project in conceptualising why individuals and families displayed an attachment to certain places by returning to and remaining within borderland communities despite settler-state pressures to relocate to other places away from the borderland region. Casey's theoretical framework, which is built on the idea that each individual's identity is shaped by the places they have been and that they in turn shape those same places, has been very instructive for this project.

Bodies and events occupy places, and those bodies — people — require places to exist. To that end, "there is no place without self; and no self without place."[22] That to exist at all is to be *implaced*. This implacement is not necessarily a permanent state, but place remains central to all things that exist and *to be is to be in place.* The act of becoming implaced "is as social as it is personal" also making it collective in character.[23] We cannot be without place, and our implacement and experiences in certain places generate a specific knowledge, personal identities, and community.[24] This understanding and appreciation of place provides a context whereby "what matters most is the

[21] Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993).
[22] Ibid., 1993: 11-13; Casey, "Body, Self, and Landscape: A Geophilosophical Inquiry into the Place-World," in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, eds. Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 406.
[23] Casey, *Getting Back into Place*, 23.
[24] Ibid.

experience of *being* in that place, and more particularly, *becoming part of the place*".[25] This project focuses on this primacy of place to understand how places and the space they occupy became fundamental to community formation and continuity among the borderland Plains Metis in the post-1885 era. While place is seen as more specific, space is understood as a more general concept. It is an area defined by ambiguous yet increasingly rigid territorial claims, and becomes, in the context of this study, an arena in which government strategies were tried and tested with the area's Indigenous population. This space is not a homogeneous backdrop against which the Plains Metis and other Indigenous inhabitants simply interacted with the settler-state, but is also a dynamic process whereby this space was socially produced and transformed by the people who resided within it.

Specific places within this borderland space, and the process of becoming implaced, is crucial in understanding the Plains Metis' ongoing residence in these communities after 1885. It was this attachment to place that saw individuals and families look to new settler-state policies and an emerging settler-economy to facilitate their continued residence in the region. Michel de Certeau deals with similar ideas of space and place, where more permanent places fall within a constantly shifting space. For him, it is people who turn space into places, and people who anchor those places.[26] Those places can be described and have a name, and are historical, relational, and concerned with identity. These experiences of place are also intimate and provide a feeling of

[25] Casey suggests that places are primary in the order of culture, and that there can be no unimplaced cultures. If all things exist is some place, then human cultures also exist in place. He goes on to state that "just as every place is encultured, so even culture is implaced." Where enculturation is the process through which peoples learn the requirements of their surrounding culture, values, and behaviours, then places are part of this enculturation process. *Getting Back into Place,* 33; 30-35.

[26] De Certeau uses the city to suggest how everyday people at the ground level write the urban text without actually people able to read it. For him, it is the act of walking within the cityscape that brings it to life.

engagement with a wider community.[27]

Everyday Life

Understanding the importance of place and its relationship with space allows for an analysis of the everyday, and in particular, how people are able to avoid the scrutiny of those that hold power. To evaluate the Metis' manipulation of state policy and emerging economic opportunities to maintain community, this project draws on the ideas of strategy and tactic that de Certeau proposes in his 1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life*.[28] De Certeau's primary aim was to analyse the way that users — understood as passive — operate. To that end, his study focuses on the practice of individuals, and not the individuals themselves. He uses cultural logic to situate certain cultural practices, like cooking and walking, at the centre of analysis. In doing so, he asks: how do people escape without leaving? What power do the powerless have? While the structures of discipline may be felt in every aspect of day-to-day life, everyday life has not been reduced to a rigid set of structures.[29] As de Certeau notes, the powerless do have recourse to tactics, which "…make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse."[30] To get at the rationale that defines those everyday choices used to escape and evade, de Certeau proposes his

[27] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Stephen Randall (Berkeley: University of California, 1988*),* 14-17.
[28] As Ian Buchanan suggests, this work should not be understood as a final road map, but as a blue print to consider the actions of those existing in a space without power. Ian Buchanan, "'Introduction' to Part III Other People: Ethnography and Social Practice," *in The Certeau Reader,* ed. Graham Ward (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000): 97-100.
[29] De Certeau is critical of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* for its privileging of the productive apparatus at the expense of what the people it disciplines produce. Rather than focus on patterns of resistance, de Certeau looks at subtle attempts to escape and evade.
[30] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 37.

cultural logic from which individuals can choose a number of options.[31]

He asserts that disciplinary powers infuse society with their grid of control, and asks how an entire society might be able to "manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them."[32] Those with power claim spaces and the places within as their own, which then serve as a base through which external challenges can be managed.[33] The forty-ninth parallel serves as an obvious example of space-claiming and demarcating difference between others. With the demise of the bison and collapse of its associated economy, the Metis became reclassified as the other on the Northern Great Plains. For de Certeau, the space of the tactic is the space of the other, who must now play on and within a terrain imposed on it and enforced by the law of a foreign power – in this case, both settler-state governments and their enforcement of new social and political boundaries within that space.[34] While "[t]hey remained other within the system which they assimilated and which assimilated them externally,"[35] many Plains Metis were able to successfully manipulate it without leaving their communities.[36] As a strategy, the state defined and imposed new territorial spaces on the area's original inhabitants using definitions, laws and boundaries, which the Metis, through the use of tactics, were able to manipulate and to a certain degree, circumvent.[37] Using those same

[31] This menu should not be understood as an imposed grid; instead, individuals choose from an already established list of available actions according to their immediate needs. Buchannan, "Introduction," 98-100.
[32] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* xiv.
[33] Ibid., 35.
[34] Ibid., xiv.
[35] Ibid., 32.
[36] This recognises too, that although Metis forces were defeated in 1885, this does not mean they recognised the territorial claims and division of their traditional homeland.
[37] De Certeau uses *la perruque* to illustrate his understanding of tactic, defined as the worker performing his own tasks at a place of employment under the guise of working for his employer. Nothing tangible is taken during this process, just time. No longer producing profit for their employer, they use their time for their own enjoyment and to complete tasks that are 'free, creative, and precisely not directed toward profit'. For de Certeau, everyday life is made up these "clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things…" *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix; 25.

laws, practices, and representations being imposed on them, Plains Metis families made them into something else that ran counter to both settler-state's intended use, successfully subverting those strategies from within.[38]

As tactic, the Metis' creative use of settler-state policy and adaptation to new economic opportunities actively destabilised newly-imposed categories of belonging in the borderland space. Existing beyond the panoptic gaze, a tactic is defined by the absence of power. Tactics are found in the cracks created by and unknown to the settler-state, which otherwise, considers its gaze and knowledge total. These settler-states may have remade the landscape by carving it with new lines and boundaries, a process that was also applied to the social space, but the Plains Metis of the borderlands found ways to live "below the thresholds at which visibility begins."[39] In the U.S., where the Metis were not recognised, their agency had to be located in the everyday. After 1885 Metis actions in Canada did not overtly challenge territorial claims, but worked to maintain their transnational communities despite both settler-state's efforts to limit and confine. The simple act of crossing the border at the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation to visit kin at Metigoshe challenged settler-state divisions and expectations of behaviour.[40]

This is not to suggest that these communities resembled the borderland spaces of the bison-era. The demarcation of the border and influx of settler-society profoundly altered this space from an Indigenous one to one defined by two settler-states with their own definitions and expectations of use. However, to suggest that these communities were unable to adapt to these changes is a disservice to those that remained and found ways to poach within the confines of these two states. Indigenous culture has never been

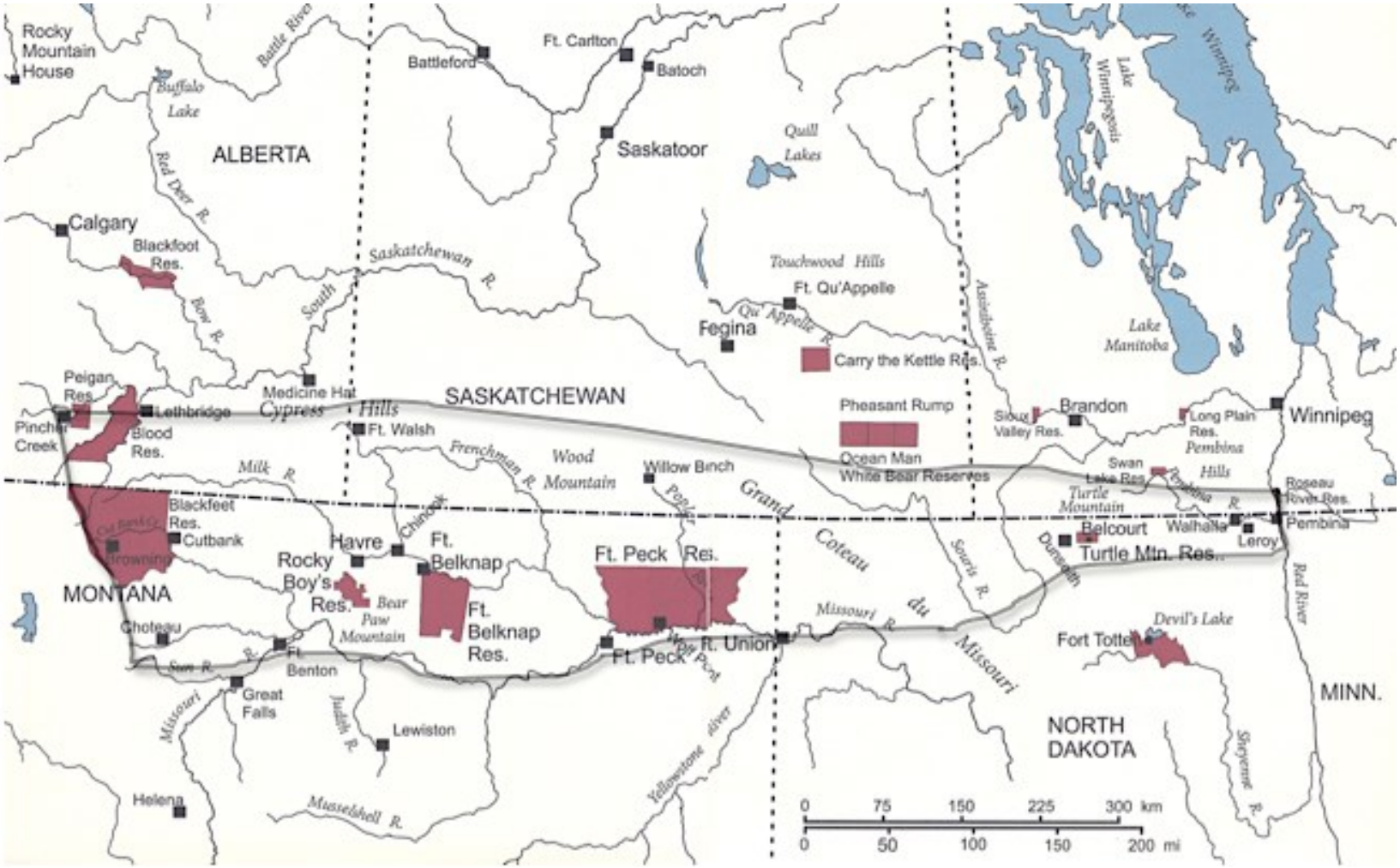
[38] Ibid., 32.
[39] Ibid., 93.
[40] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* xix.

static, and neither were the many communities built by the Plains Metis. Adapting traditional practices to remain in one of several borderland localities, the decision to maintain community in this redefined space was carried out with a surprising degree of plurality and creativity, leaving room for the Plains Metis to create new opportunities out of a challenging situation.[41]

Methodology

Choosing to remain in places with a history of implacement, the Plains Metis elected to manipulate the boundaries and rules that were explicitly aimed at enforcing settler-state territorial claims and categories of belonging. Owing to the forty-ninth parallel's critical role in defining these communities, this study's use of a borderland framework requires an explanation of how the term is used within this Canadian-American context. In using the theoretical ideas of implacement, strategy, and tactic, these borderlands becomes a highly interactive space where individual responses to government policies coalesced to create a space in which Plains Metis communities were able to endure into the 20th century. To define and clarify the complex components of this borderland space, this project draws on the ideas proposed by the New Regional Geography of the late 1980s. Once the scope of these borderlands is understood, time will be taken to explain the methodological approach used to identify the four localities that serve as the cornerstones of the analysis to follow.

[41] Ibid., 30.



Canadian-American Borderlands

What are Borderlands?

Generally speaking, the Northern Great Plains borderland region refers to the area that falls between the Red River in the east and the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the West, bifurcated by the forty-ninth parallel established as the boundary between the United States and the British Northwest in 1818.[42] The northern terminus of the space is the mouth of the Oldman River before emptying into the South Saskatchewan River, and the mouth of the Sun River prior to joining the Missouri River defines the southern boundary. In present-day terms, this includes the southern areas of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and the northern reaches of North Dakota and Montana. The presence of this international border is critical in this borderland framework, as it provided a unique set of tactics not available to other Metis communities on the Great Plains.

Because places are constantly changing in response to local conditions and outside forces, they remain porous and interconnected by wider social networks that transcend all spatial scales. It is this porosity and interconnectedness of scale that requires a clarification of the terms used to define these borderlands. To situate the concepts of space, place and implacement detailed by Casey, this project draws on the ideas introduced by Geographer Andrew Jonas and, in particular, his treatment of the term locality. Discussed in more detail later in this project, Jonas' use of locality and the parallels with Casey's concept of implacement were critical in identifying the four

[42] Establishing the border between Canadian and American territory were: the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the American Revolution and established boundaries between the British and other colonies in North American from the east coast to Lake of the Woods; the Treaty of 1818 established the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary between Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains; the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825 established the boundary between British North America and Russian Territories in present-day Alaska; and finally, the Oregon Treaty of 1846 extended the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific Ocean. Although disagreements over certain areas along these defined boundaries persisted, generally, the territorial claims of settler-states in Northern North America were resolved in 1846.

communities that form the basis of the case studies used in this project. Providing a setting for intimate social interactions, locality is actively constructed and influenced by both internal and external pressures. For Jonas, localities differ according to material interests — hunting, trapping, and farming at Turtle Mountain; and hunting, trapping, and ranching at Cypress Hills are but two examples. Transcending spatial scales, locality also implies a certain level of intimacy not available to outsiders. Not dissimilar from urban neighbourhoods today, localities differ in the physical area they cover, aligning more closely with the natural space and the history of implacement that it supported prior to 1885.

Given their intimate familiarity with this multi-layered space and the places that populated it, the Metis were able to build and maintain communities that were bifurcated by an enforced forty-ninth parallel border. With a history of Plains Metis implacement, these communities challenged both settler-states' expectations of how Indigenous peoples were to conform to the space's new territorial powers. This project will highlight that although this border-making process introduced new categories of race, nation and belonging aimed at restricting the movement of people and goods, it also provided new opportunities that allowed the Plains Metis to manipulate state strategies to maintain place and community in the post-1885 period.

To identify the localities that fall within the borderland region, this study draws on records that identified fur trade-era communities (*hivernement*) and cross-referenced this with Canada's Metis scrip commission records of 1885 and 1900-1901 that detail vital events in the lives of those Metis that chose, for a time at least, to self-identify as Metis. The focus here is not genealogy, but the place names found in these records that

were used to identify the localities that individuals most often identified with. Considered in tandem with homestead records and community histories, it was possible to determine population trends that coincided with policy shifts and larger regional developments that influenced the maintenance and re-formulation of these borderland communities.

A search of Metis scrip records for place names falling within the borderland region highlighted 2,570 individuals who claimed residence in one of these places.[43] Of those 2,570 individuals, 2,195 claimed residence within four specific localities that were bifurcated by the forty-ninth parallel: Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and the Foot Hills.[44] Changes in Canadian policy between 1885 and 1900-1901 saw a significant increase in the number of applicants, reflecting shifting ethnic categories and economic realities. Where in 1885 there were 204 individuals that claimed residence in a borderland place, by 1901 this number had grown to 1,990 — a reflection of policy changes made by the Canadian settler-state that opened the process to those born in the North-West before 1870.[45] Once these places were identified and the porous boundaries of the four localities sketched, analysis could then turn to individual and family manipulation of state policy and the adaptation to new economic opportunities. It is important at this juncture to highlight that these localities were never solely Metis. Like the mobile *hivernement* communities that predate them, membership was highly diverse and in a constant state of flux. As both Brenda Macdougall and Robert Innes have noted, kinship connections with other Indigenous peoples was crucial in community formation

[43] Eliminated were those places that used general descriptions like 'on the plains' or 'in the north-west' as there was no way to determine whether they occurred within the defined borderland region.
[44] The remaining 397 fell in places between these four localities but within the borderland region as defined by this project.
[45] This 1,990 included: 386 in Turtle Mountain, 645 in Wood Mountain, 615 in Cypress Hills, and 331 in the Foot Hills. These numbers were further divided into primary (>10) and secondary (>5 but <10) places.

and defined each of these localities in its own unique way.[46]

The later part of this project steps away from written sources to consider what a material culture analysis can tell us about these localities and the everyday experience of those Metis that elected to remain in place. An analysis of photographs – both as object and repository of material culture – and the art work produced within Metis localities illuminate everyday experiences not found in written sources. As craft and souvenir production replaced the trade in furs, many families found it possible to resist settler-state expectations of conformity by adapting artistic production to new economic networks. This same material culture analysis will also illuminate a great deal about the gendered production of these artistic objects. The work of Ruth Phillips and Sherry Farrell Racette, who place the object production of Indigenous women at the centre of historical inquiry, has been highly influential in this project.

In *Trading Identities* Phillips analyses souvenir artwork, its commoditization, and how those items and the ways they were produced inscribed images of otherness, illuminating the cross-cultural processes that highlight the skewed power dynamics that defined colonial-Indigenous relations in the Great Lakes region of North America.[47] Her investigation of the correlation between changes in colonial policies, ideologies, and Indigenous-colonial relationships is especially useful, notably when considering the ways Indigenous people were able to negotiate these changing relationships by participating in emerging markets and local tourism. Many of these decisions made by communities

[46] Influencing this study's understanding of place are Brenda Macdougall's *One of the Family* and Robert Innes' *Elder Brother.* Very generally Macdougall's work considers the critical role that women played in community formation, and Innes' looks at the multi-ethnic formation of Indigenous communities. Brenda Macdougall, *One of the Family: Metis culture in nineteenth-century northwestern Saskatchewan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Robert Alexander Innes, *Elder Brother and the Law of the People: Contemporary Kinship and Cowessess First Nation* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013).
[47] Ruth B Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

ensured economic and cultural survival find several parallels among the Plains Metis of the Canadian-American borderlands. Using souvenir artwork that is often marginalised in museum collections, Phillips argues that these items carry the "most authentic representations of the courageous, innovative, and creative adaptation" of Indigenous peoples.[48] Her call to include these souvenir art forms as a valuable source of untapped information dovetails with this study's focus on the everyday, and how Metis women in particular were able to mediate economic shifts on the Great Plains by marketing their own artistic production to ensure family economic stability and community continuity.

Looking specifically at the material culture of Metis and half-breed communities of Western Canada, Sherry Farrell Racette considers Metis women's clothing production as a way of marking visual territory on the Great Plains.[49] Challenging the declentionist narrative of earlier scholars, Racette argues that Metis and half-breed identity was fluid, and should be analysed at the community level, not as one homogenous group with a singular material culture. As group consciousness grew, clothing came to reflect current affairs while serving an active role in the construction of group identity between 1820 and 1870. Combining Indigenous and European trade goods to claim space through visual representations, Metis women were crucial in creating a distinct visual presence that contributed to political, economic and social claims, and as the 19th century progressed, became critical in family and community economy. Racette also draws attention to how dress shifted from bright displays to more subdued colours as Plains Metis influence began to fade after 1869, and especially after 1885. Recognising distinct clothing and other forms of cultural expression that bind communities together, Racette's

[48] Ibid., 69.
[49] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Sewing ourselves together: Clothing, decorative arts and the expression of Metis and half breed identity," PhD Dissertation (University of Manitoba, 2004).

work is especially helpful when considering Metis dress patterns after 1885.

To accomplish this material culture analysis, museum and archival collections at the Provincial museums of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta were visited, as well as the collections at the State Historical Societies of both Montana and North Dakota. Smaller community collections also hold valuable objects that speak to an often-invisible Metis presence in the borderlands. The labels used in the identification of these artefacts (often identified as First Nation, Native American or Indian) also highlight the complex categories that individuals navigated after both setter-states imposed new categories of belonging. Mislabelling was common in curatorial and collecting circles, making the identification of artwork created by Metis women particularly difficult.[50]

Other sources were also used to tease out post-1885 opportunities, including various government records and the publications produced by borderland communities, municipalities, and townships during their centennial celebrations between 1970 and 1985. These records not only assist in locating Metis families, but also offer a myriad of recollections about shifting economic opportunities after 1885. To bookend the study, the Works Project Administration (WPA) Historical Data Project Records of North Dakota and Montana provide 'pioneer' testimony from Metis individuals who still resided in the borderland region in the 1930s. While Canada's Metis scrip records help implace Metis families in the borderlands at the beginning of this study, the family histories found in the WPA records place them in their borderland communities at the end of this study.[51]

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[50] Although my research took me through many borderland communities and I spent a great deal of time with families looking at items protected through generations, lacking appropriate ethics requirements and the need to further cultivate relationships prior to using those items kept them from this analysis.

[51] The WPA records capture information similar to that of scrip, that in addition to filling in genealogical holes, the 'Old Settlers Questionnaire Form' provides valuable information about the economic opportunities of those born before 1870 and still residing in North Dakota in 1930. The WPA project in Montana, while different in scope, did conduct oral interviews with many Indigenous peoples from the

Chapter one details the historical context that led to the Plains Metis' presence in this borderland space. An analysis of the connections between an emerging Plains Metis population and their other Indigenous kin shows how they were able to dominate the bison robe trade by the mid-19th century. This historical context is necessary to illuminate the Plains Metis' deep ties to localities throughout the borderlands to which they would return when their traditional lifeways failed. To situate this study within a borderland framework, chapter two goes into significant detail sketching out the spatial context of these borderland localities and how the Metis' intimate knowledge of the multi-layered space allowed them to maintain communities that had their genesis in the pre-1885 era. It is this spatial context that illustrates how these localities, now bifurcated by the forty-ninth parallel, were uniquely situated to provide new opportunities for the Plains Metis.

After situating the Plains Metis in these four localities, chapter three shows how settler-state policies, aimed at eroding Metis claims to their transnational communities, were challenged and circumvented by individuals and families who found ways to evade both states without having to leave the borderland space. An analysis of treaty-making policy and the confinement of Indigenous peoples to reserves and reservations shows how Metis individuals were able to manipulate new ethnic categories of belonging to ensure community continuity. When changes to Canada's North-West Half-breed Scrip policy expanded opportunities after 1885, many were able to oscillate between settler-state imposed boundaries to maintain their borderland presence. Many also turned to an emerging settler economy that provided an array of new opportunities unique to this borderland space that played a significant role in community continuity.

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region that can often illuminate similar information. In light of the dramatic changes that came to the Great Plains after the 1929 economic crash and following environmental catastrophes, this project does not go beyond the year 1930.

The final two chapters use a material culture analysis to illuminate physical implacement, navigating new market opportunities, and the role that women played in community continuity after 1885. Where chapter three examines the use of state policies and new market opportunities to remain in place, analysis in chapter four will focus on the photographs taken by and of Metis individuals living in the borderlands in the post-bison period. These photographs provide visual evidence of an ongoing implacement, drawing on examples from the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities to highlight the Plains Metis' adaptation to capitalist markets unique to each locality and the communities that called them home.

The fifth and final chapter places the artwork produced by Plains Metis women and their kin at the centre of analysis. Doing this highlights another way that families were able to augment household income in order to stay in place, drawing on women's skills honed during the trade era and adapted to a new political and social space in the post-1885 era. Using examples from three of this study's four localities, this chapter will show how the items produced for use in private homes across the borderlands marked a critical space where Indigenous artistic influences met settler form, with parallels found across space and defined by local resources. Drawing on examples from the Rocky Boy Reservation, this analysis shows how individual production evolved to form an artist cooperative in Montana that marketed items to a growing tourist economy seeking out 'authentic' Indigenous wares in the shadow of the Rocky Mountains. Largely absent in the historical narrative, this material culture analysis clearly illustrates the critical role that women played in the process of community maintenance after 1885.

Taken together, this thesis will show that borderland Metis communities did not

disperse after 1885, but were able to endure well into the 20th century by taking advantage of opportunities unique to their implacement in the borderlands. It was this same attachment to place that saw families return to their borderland communities despite settler-state demands that they adhere to new categories of belonging. This analysis will move the discussion away from conceptualizing Plains Metis history as static and unchanging; away from anchoring these communities in a pre-1885 view of the Northern Great Plains and relegating the Plains Metis to a pre-modern space in the historical literature. Instead, this study argues that these communities remained highly adaptable in the post-bison period, responding to new settler-state strategies in such a way that allowed them to remain in complex places that made a transnational identity possible. Multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan in composition, the places that made up these borderland localities continued to diversify as immigration brought new peoples and opportunities to the region.

An intimate knowledge of this study's four localities provided community members with information not available to outsiders, and was critical to them remaining in place. To that end, they manipulated state strategies that allowed them to evade settler-state policies aimed at the erasure of Indigenous peoples from the borderlands. Drawing on both textual and visual resources, this project physically implaces Metis families and communities in this region of the Great Plains after 1885 when the act of remaining in this space challenged settler-state expectations of how the space should be used. Choosing to focus on the artwork and souvenirs produced by women also allows us to consider the essential role they played in family and community continuity in this post-bison period. While literally (re)placing the Metis in this space, this project will also

correct the historiographical record, arguing that these borderland Plains Metis continued to shape the region until at least 1930 when economical and environmental disasters changed the fabric of North America's Great Plains. The very policies introduced to eliminate ambiguous transnational Indigenous populations were often appropriated and made into something else that allowed these communities to remain in place.

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE PLAINS METIS

The Plains Metis did not disappear from the Northern Great Plains borderlands after the North-West Rebellion of 1885, and indeed, as the following study will contend, this region continued to serve as a critical Metis space between 1885 and 1930. While the historiographical shift of the early 2000s has provided a more nuanced understanding of the Metis' presence in these borderlands prior to 1885, their emergence as a borderland people and their continued residence in this region still needs to be discussed in some detail. Indeed, it was this enduring occupation of a contested space that has a bearing on events that arise in the second half of the 19th century. This chapter will posit an early reordering within the borderlands that began with the Plains Metis emerging as an important economic and political force, and ends with efforts by both settler-states to eliminate further Metis use and occupation of the borderland region.

The Metis occupation of this borderland space prior to 1885 can be usefully divided into two periods. The first was characterised by *hivernement*, or wintering on the plains, and came to prominence between the 1830s and 1850s. Driven by a rapidly expanding bison robe trade, this pattern of wintering saw extended families leave the Red River area and move west and south onto the Northern Great Plains. It was this mobility that would bring the Metis into direct conflict with other Plains groups also competing for resources in an ever-increasingly complicated ethnic and political space. The second period, from the 1850s to the 1880s, is best defined as a period of nationalisation. This era saw a shift from *hivernement* to semi-permanent settlements as the great herds continued their gradual retreat and eventually disappeared from the landscape. This

westward movement of the bison found its counterpart in the permanent exodus of many Metis from the Red River region starting in the 1860s, and was accompanied by heightened government enforcement of the forty-ninth parallel that saw the border reconceptualised as a nationalising agent by both settler-states.

The simultaneous evaporation of the Metis' economic base and imposition of Canadian sovereignty north of the forty-ninth parallel culminated in a series of events leading to the 1885 North-West Rebellion. Carried out by both Metis and other Indigenous peoples, this conflict came in response to rapid economic change, increasing non-indigenous settlement in the west, coercive Canadian policy, and the nationalisation of the Canada-United States border by both settler-states. Taken together, this process marginalised Plains Indigenous peoples, but it did not succeed in removing the Metis from their borderland places. It is by contextualising this intransigent and adaptive presence that allows for the establishment of the borderland region as a dynamic Metis space from the end of the 19th until well into the 20th century.

To establish this borderland region as a Metis space requires a brief overview of the development of this group on the Northern Great Plains.[1] Intimately tied to the

[1] A number of scholars have focused extensively on Metis ethnogenesis. For more detail, see: John E. Foster, "The Indian Trader in the Hudson Bay Fur Trade Tradition," in *Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Society*, ed. Jim Freedman and J.H. Barkow (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975); Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West," in *Essays on Western History*, ed. L.H. Thomas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976); Foster, "The Homeguard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years," in *Approaches to Native History*, ed. D. Muse (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977); Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis," *Ethnohistory* 25 (Winter, 1978); Peterson, "Ethnogenesis: Settlement and Growth of a 'New People'," *Journal of Indian Culture and Research* 6, no. 2 (1982); Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Children of the Early Fur Trades," in *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, ed. Joy Parr (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Peterson and Brown, *New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Foster, "The Plains Métis," in *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience,* ed. R.B. Morrison and C.R. Wilson (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986); Foster, "Wintering, the Outsider Male and Ethnogenesis of the Western Plains Métis" in *The Western Métis: Profile of a People*, ed. Patrick C. Douad (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994); Silvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg:

cultural practices that developed in the North American fur trade during the last quarter of the 18th century, the relationship between Indigenous women and European men produced offspring who, over time, developed identities and economic interests distinct from either their mothers' or fathers' peoples.[2] While Colonial governments and trading interests took varying formal and informal approaches to this new cultural dynamic, each were able to appreciate the implications of these new relationships for trade.

New France in particular encouraged their servants, or *engagés*, to develop relationships with Indigenous women.[3] Of the men employed to lead trading parties to the interior, some became successful *coureur de dérouine*, or itinerant traders, whose success was dependent on the development of three key relationships.[4] First, the trader had to seek out a suitable marriage partner from within the Indigenous group he wished to trade with. Having built a trade relationship with a specific First Nation, these itinerant traders sought a companion closely related to prominent male leaders within the group.[5] After

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Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1996); Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada 1780-1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994); Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Martha Harroun Foster, *We Know Who We Are: Métis Identity in a Montana Community* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Heather Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family 1660*-1900 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2012); Chris Andersen, *Metis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015); Gerhard J. Ens and Joe Sawchuk, *From New Peoples to New Nations: Aspects of Metis History and Identity from the Eighteenth to Twenty-first Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

[2] Among the first to consider the critical role that Indigenous women played in the fur trade, Van Kirk places emphasis on what she labels 'fur trade society', and the dynamic way women chose to respond to new challenges associated with the fur trade. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*.

[3] In the last decades of the 17th century, small parties of men were sent out from a central post to trade with First Nations in their winter territories, and as First Nation leadership preferred to trade with family, many *engagés* set out to formalise these relationships.

[4] John E. Foster explains in the development and importance of these three key relationships. See "Wintering, the Outsider Adult Male and the Ethnogenesis of the Western Plains Métis," in *From Rupert's Land to Canada*, ed. Ted Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1994).

[5] Itinerant traders were included in the social system of the First Nation he sought to establish a trade relationship with, and the knowledge of his wife was key to successfully navigating intra-community relations with his new extended family. More often than not, these women were the lynchpin in the survival

formalizing this liaison through country marriage, or *á la façon pays*, the trader then worked to build a relationship and reputation among her male kin to maintain his ongoing acceptance despite his status as an outsider. Third, the itinerant trader developed a reputation among his fellow *engagés* as a trusted comrade, a relationship that would play an important role when select members chose to live apart from both the trading post and their Indigenous kin.[6]

As colonial dynamics began to transform the political landscape of the Great Lakes area, a number of these itinerant traders decided to sever ties with major trading posts and remain among their Indigenous kin in the interior.[7] Rarely British, these Freemen, or *l'hommes des libres*, were part of the Montreal-based fur trade and had successfully established themselves as reputable traders among both their wife's kin and their *engagé* peers.[8] Living apart from both kin and post for long periods of time provided these individuals a unique opportunity to develop ties with other Freemen families. These new relationships did not immediately, nor necessarily, lead to distinct cultural groups, but recognizable socio-cultural groups did begin to emerge within the Great Lakes region and along the northeastern periphery of the Northern Great Plains along the Red, Lower Saskatchewan, and Upper Missouri River systems.[9]

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and success of itinerant traders, and later their families. For other authors who have focused on the role of women in the fur trade: Brown, "Children of the Early Fur Trade"; Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Sherry Farrell Racette, "Sewing ourselves together: Clothing, decorative arts and the expression of Metis and half breed identity," PhD Dissertation (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2004).

[6] John E. Foster, "Wintering," 94.

[7] The conquest of New France in 1760 saw non-French economic interests gradually replace what had been a predominately French fur trade based out of Montreal.

[8] According to John Foster, it was this process of going free that was a critical first step in the emergence of the Plains Metis. Foster, "Wintering," 180.

[9] Intermarriage and kinship ties at this stage were generally with the Woodland Ojibwe, and later Cree and Assiniboine.

As more Freemen decided to form separate communities, their children became enculturated in circumstances distinct from either their Indigenous or European kin. Later, rather than marrying First Nation women to cement trade connections, the children of Freemen began marrying among themselves, and over the course of two or three generations, this played a significant role in the rise of a distinct group on the western periphery of the Great Lakes.[10] Remaining in close proximity to their Indigenous kin who provided furs and provisions, mixed settlements began to emerge and thrive in the Great Lakes area between 1725 and 1825: Detroit and Michilimackinac, Sault Ste Marie, Prairie du Chien, Saginaw, Grand Rapids and Milwaukee. With kinship connections grounded in multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-generational processes, shifting economic and environmental factors encouraged a number of these families to gradually move west and onto the Plains at the turn of the 19th century.[11]

As more of these dynamic kinship groups moved west and onto the Great Plains, British fur trade interests began to play a notable role in the development of what became Metis places. Granted a Royal Charter in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was an English trading interest that operated primarily as a coastal enterprise, first out of James Bay and later Hudson Bay.[12] Although HBC policy initially discouraged male employees from pursuing intimate relationships with Indigenous women, reality followed

[10] Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River."

[11] As the 18th gave way to the 19th century, and in response to the simultaneous decline of small fur-bearing animals and an increase in settlement, Freemen and their families were faced with one of three choices: become farmers or labourers; join their Indigenous relatives; or, move further west where opportunities remained that allowed them to continue as trappers and traders. Establishing themselves around the Red River and Pembina region, Freemen, through their Ojibwe kin, established peaceful relations with the already resident Cree and Assiniboine and remained far enough downstream on the Red River to avoid conflict with the Dakota to the South.

[12] Incorporated as The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, the HBC functioned for all intents and purposes as a governing body throughout the Hudson Bay watershed, or what would become known as Rupert's Land. Their first inland post, Cumberland House in Saskatchewan, was established by Samuel Hearn in 1774 and served to challenge the French fur trade originating out of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes.

a different path and the children that resulted were customarily integrated into Indigenous communities. In these early years, the HBC relied on local Indigenous peoples, namely the Lowland Cree, to procure provisions for their posts and to act as intermediaries to cultivate trade relationships further inland. Those Cree families with strong ties to the HBC and who resided in close proximity to fur trade posts became known as the Homeguard Cree, and although biologically mixed, remained culturally Cree.[13] The ongoing lax enforcement of HBC policy saw the gradual emergence of a group of men and women who could be distinguished from both the British and Homeguard Cree, with their male progeny often employed in HBC positions made unavailable to Cree men. Later known as Country-born, their daughters often married HBC employees and their children began to keep their British surnames.

The North West Company (NWC), a 1779 amalgamation of Montreal Partnerships and the XY Company, continued to encourage the intermarriage of their traders with Indigenous women in order to facilitate the expansion of the fur trade west. Over several generations, these social dynamics also produced a distinct ethnic group that was French speaking, nominally Catholic and shared several values and customs with their Indigenous kin. Many of these NWC traders and voyageurs[14] who had families with First Nation women chose to remain in the interior with their kin and leave the service of the trading company. Sharing a number of similarities with their Great Lake predecessors, these families sometimes joined pre-existing Great Lakes Freemen and became either independent traders or supplied provisions for company posts in the

[13] John E. Foster, "The Homeguard Cree"; Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*; Foster, *We Know Who We Are*.
[14] *Voyageurs*, or travellers, were responsible for transporting furs and provisions by waterway. Predominately French-Canadian, these were licensed and organised enterprises making them structurally different from the independent *coureurs des bois*, or runners of the woods.

interior.[15] By the end of the 18th century, these independent traders and Freeman were present in the Red, Assiniboine, Souris, and Saskatchewan River systems. This movement brought them into close contact with the Cree – and by association, the Assiniboine – with whom they also became connected to through marriage, trade, and later, in mutual defence against the Dakota.

The social policies and dynamics of these two fur trade companies in the North-West resulted in the formation to two distinct groups of New Peoples: a Metis, French-speaking, Catholic group with deep ties to both the Woodland Ojibwe and NWC; and, the Country-born, a predominately Protestant, English and Cree-speaking group with deep ties to both the Lowland Cree and HBC. These ties were significant enough that when competition over inland trade escalated between the two trading Companies, their First Nation, Metis, and Country-born employees were often found on the front lines.[16] Simultaneously, Lord Selkirk, a member of the British gentry, received his charter to establish the Red River Colony at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.[17] Following the Colony's arduous start and worried over a looming food shortage in the new settlement, Governor Miles MacDonell introduced a Pemmican Proclamation that

[15] Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers are noted as the first men of European descent to penetrate the interior using the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Dissatisfied with licensing rules established by the Governor of New France, and after having their furs confiscated for challenging those rules, their later work with the British played a significant role in the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[16] Tensions arose after the HBC began to move inland in response to NWC efforts to stop the flow of furs to Hudson Bay.

[17] Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, was a Scottish philanthropist who sponsored a number of immigrant settlements within Canada. After purchasing a controlling share in the HBC, Selkirk established the Red River Colony as a new home for displaced Scottish farmers. The Colony's administration oversaw the day-to day operations of all activities that fell within the area of Selkirk's original grant. A grant which just happened to coincide with what had by the 1820s become a space dominated by the Metis and their Ojibwe kin.

served to exacerbate already tense relations in the region.[18]

The North West Company's opposition to the Pemmican Proclamation and enlistment of their Metis kin in their struggle with the HBC played a significant role in the 1816 Battle of Seven Oaks, which temporarily dispersed the new colonists and firmly established the Plains Metis as a military and political force on the Northern Great Plains.[19] The battle also drew attention to the escalating conflict between these fur trade interests, forcing the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC in 1821. This later fur trading concern, known as the Hudson's Bay Company, and the subsequent restructuring of its labour force, had a number of far-reaching consequences. Many families, both French Metis and English Country-born, now retired or unemployed, chose to permanently relocate to the Red River Settlement where they pursued a way of life based on subsistence agriculture and bison hunting.[20] The culmination of these events saw the Metis emerge as the demographic majority within the Red River Settlement, making the settlement a key Metis and Country-born place within a wider Metis space that included Selkirk's original land grant.[21]

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[18] MacDonell's Pemmican Proclamation of 8 January 1814 forbade the export of pemmican from the Red River Colony for one year. The NWC saw this as a plot to deny their *engagés* and posts much-needed provisions. Six months later these tensions were exacerbated when MacDonell posted a proclamation banning the running of bison using horses. The Metis in particular considered this an attack on their economic livelihood.

[19] Building on simmering resentment from the Pemmican Proclamation, a group of Metis, led by Cuthbert Grant, seized a supply of pemmican from the HBC. On June 19th they met Governor Semple, MacDonell's replacement, just outside of Fort Douglas at Seven Oaks. The ensuing conflict resulted in 21 deaths among Semple's men, including Semple himself, and one Metis. Also known as The Victory of Frog Plain, several scholars suggest that this event marks the birth of Metis political consciousness. Gerhard J. Ens, "The Battle of Seven Oaks and the Articulation of a Metis National Tradition, 1811-1849," in *Contours of a People: Metis family, mobility and history*, ed. Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Chris Andersen, *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014).

[20] They settled in parishes along religious, language lines. See Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*.

[21] In *Homeland to Hinterland,* Ens focuses extensively on the differences between the French Metis and English Country-born of the Red River Settlement, emphasising that despite political and social polarity in the settlement, participation in the bison hunt traversed language and religion.

Supplementing trade income during the 1820s, the Red River Metis were engaged primarily in subsistence agriculture and family-based bison hunting. As the demand for provisions rose and the herds roamed further into Dakota territory, large groups of hunters would gather for biannual hunts during the summer and early fall.[22] Rendezvousing in the Pembina region to choose leaders and set rules for the hunt, these gatherings were comprised of Metis and Country-born who had settled at both Pembina and Red River.[23] The large group then proceeded in a highly self-regulated caravan to avoid spooking the large herds or drawing unwanted Dakota attention.[24] By the 1830s, the size of these hunts became so large that many Red River parishes were nearly emptied, as the large-scale preparation of both pemmican and dried meat became a family affair.[25]

As the Red River Metis became expert bison hunters and procurers of plains provisions, American traders began to establish themselves in close proximity to the

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[22] The 'dried meat hunt' took place between early June and late-July/early-August and supplied most of the dried meat and pemmican used in trade with the HBC. The 'green meat hunt' lasted from September to late-October/early-November and provided meat and robes for families during the cold winter months.

[23] Although fewer in number, a number of Country-born did participate in these bison hunts. As stated in the introduction, after settling in Red River, all Metis or Country-born heavily invested in the bison robe hunt are from hereon referred to as Metis. When the forty-ninth parallel was selected as the boundary between British and American territories in 1818, it was discovered that the settlement of Pembina fell within the newly defined American territory. In response, many Metis chose to relocate to Red River. As the Pembina hunt continued to grow in size, it eventually split in two, with the St. François Xavier group striking out on its own but remaining in close contact with the main group for security reasons. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*; Andersen, *Metis*; Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line*.

[24] Comprised of families from Pembina, the 'main river party', and the parish of St. François Xavier, the size of the hunt necessitated a very strict adherence to a structure whose composition and leadership were decided prior to departure. For detail of roles and key figures, see Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 39-42.

[25] A description of bison hide preparation is provided in Isaac Cowie's recollections: "For several days after 'the run' the women were busy drying the meat spread on stages or on the ground without being very precise as to the grass being clean…the noise of the scraping of the hair off the hides was incessant, the hide having been first stretched by pegging to the ground, while the adherent fat and flesh were scraped off, and then, so prepared, it was stretched on a wooden frame and set up in a sloping position convenient for scraping off the hair. Then followed the process of Indian tanning." Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867-1874* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 127.

International border hoping to target this highly coveted Metis trade.[26] After developing trade relations with the Metis of Pembina and St. Joseph,[27] these American trading interests focused on the St. François Xavier Metis who had deep kinship ties with the Metis south of the border. In seeking a competitive price for their product – and being well aware of the differences marked by the forty-ninth parallel – these St. François Xavier Metis directly challenged the HBC's monopoly of the fur trade in Rupert's Land. The establishment of posts at White River in 1827, Fort Union in 1829, and at Turtle Mountain and in the Souris River basin in the early 1830s allowed the Plains Metis to choose trading partnerships that offered them the greatest financial return. To challenge this growing American presence, the HBC implemented a tariff in 1845 aimed at keeping the Metis and their furs and robes within the Colony.[28] Despite this, the majority of Metis continued to take their robes out of Red River and across the International boundary to trade at prominent places like Pembina.[29] The HBC's efforts to enforce its monopoly culminated in the Sayer trial of 1849, which effectively broke the Company's monopoly in Rupert's Land.[30]

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[26] While Britain and the United States agreed on the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary in 1818, it remained undrawn and contested in practice.

[27] In a bid to be closer to bison herds, a number of Metis and their Ojibwe kin relocated from Pembina to the Turtle Mountain area.

[28] A tariff of 7.5% was placed on all trade goods coming in and going out of the Colony in order to raise revenue for the growing settlement. While this tariff was reduced to 4% on appeal to London, small traders were particularly frustrated with the policy. E.E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870, Volume III: 1821-1870* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1960), 531-533.

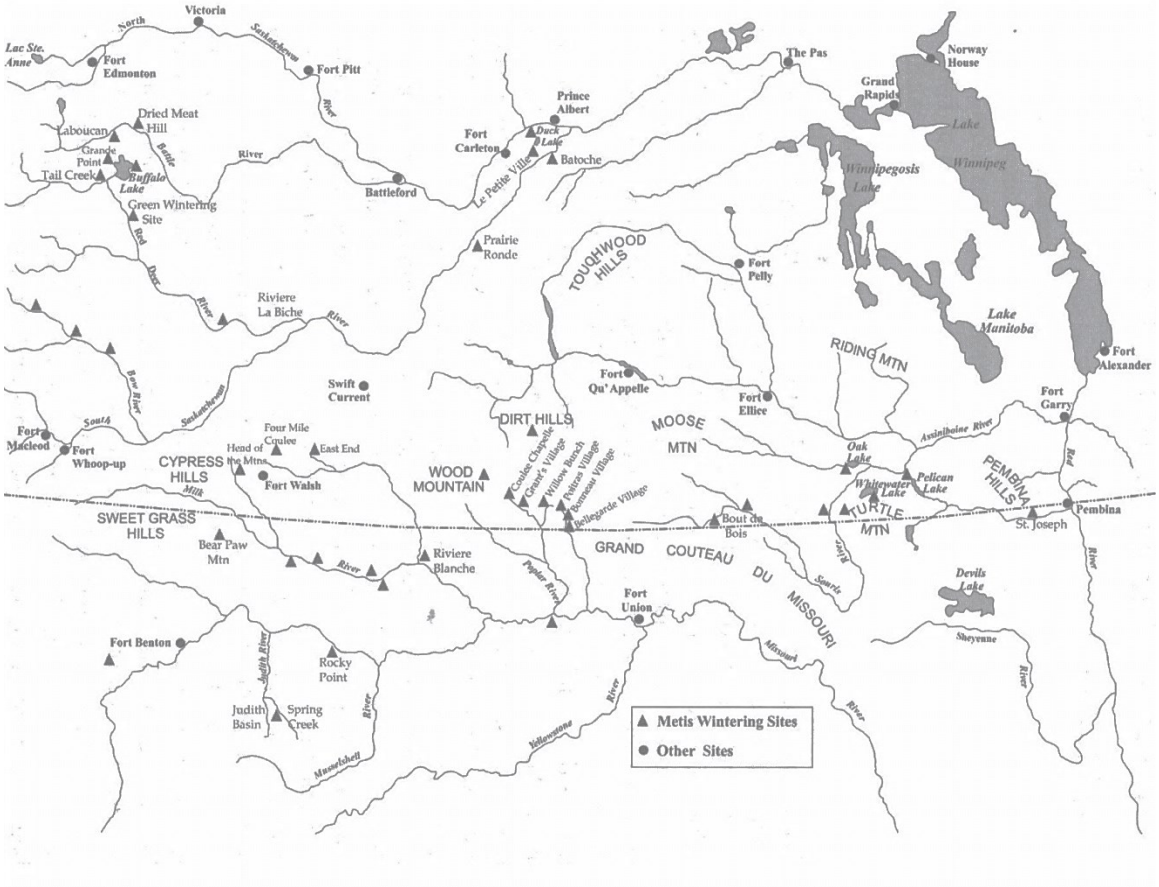
[29] Located just south of the international boundary, Norman Kittson's post – arguably a catalyst for the fur trade north of the border - acquired much of the Metis' trade with better prices and the relative ease in evading the HBC monopoly. The HBC opened and reopened a number of posts, closed in 1821, to counter this growing competition: Fort Dauphin, Brandon House, Fort Ellice, Manitoba House, Shoal River and Duck Bay.

[30] Pierre Guillaume Sayer was a Metis who traded with Norman Kittson at Pembina. Sayer was accused of the illegal trading of furs, and was found guilty at the Red River Colony in May of 1849. Due in large part to the crowd of armed Metis men gathered outside the courthouse, no fine or punishment was levied against Sayer. The inability of the HBC to enforce the guilty verdict resulted in the tacit termination of the HBC trading monopoly at Red River.

This establishment of freer trade in 1849 coincided with the changing spatial concentration of the bison herds. Starting in the 1840s, these herds ranged further west making it almost impossible to hunt bison for their robes out of Red River during the winter.[31] This growing Metis specialization in the bison robe trade was a direct response to an expanding capitalist market in the United States. Coveting these robes were businesses in the East that sought to manufacture wraps, bedding, throws, coats and boots. With the onset of the American Civil War in 1861, the Union government's demand for warm jackets saw the robes fetch as much as ten dollars a piece in urban centres like St. Paul, New York and Montreal.[32] Where the early bison hunt had focused on the procurement of meat for subsistence and provisioning purposes, the robe trade after the 1840s focused almost exclusively on the growing demand for these prime robes. Harvested between November and February, prime robes were collected when the hair was at full growth with the best colour and the least amount of wear. The tanning of these robes, a critical part of an emerging plains-based manufacturing, was the domain of Metis and other Indigenous women.[33] It was this new and rapidly expanding market for prime bison robes that would necessitate wintering on the plains in close proximity to the herds.

To this end, those Plains Metis who became heavily invested in the bison robe trade adopted the practice of *hivernement*, the first period of Metis occupation of the borderland region. Whereas the Red River biannual hunt that started in the 1830s fulfilled a demand for pemmican and other fur trade provisions, *hivernement*, with its demand for

[31] Although possible to reside at Turtle Mountain and still hunt bison into the 1850s, the Red River Settlement and Pembina were both too distant.
[32] Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 75-78.
[33] An important distinction between what would become the practice of *hivernement* and the earlier hunts out of Red River, this preparation of prime robes was a critical prior to their shipment east. Baling would significantly depreciate their value and so women and children, who were heavily involved in this manufacturing process, became permanent fixtures in *hivernement* sites.



"Locations of Métis settlements in Montana, circa 1900."
Ens and Sawchuk, *From New Peoples to New Nations*, 218.

prime bison robes, ushered in a new settlement practice on the Northern Great Plains. Multi-ethnic in composition, *hivernement*, or wintering villages, became a common sight in the 1840s along the Assiniboine, Qu'Appelle and Souris River systems, as well as Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Riding Mountain and in the Saskatchewan River Valley.[34] Small in size, these sites were built around one or more prominent Metis traders and their families. Typically, the more employees involved the larger the settlement, as their families joined these men for the duration of the season. Also frequenting these sites were local Indigenous peoples who, having harvested the robes, brought them to traders in exchange for goods and provisions. These raw prime robes were then tanned and

[34] *Hivernement* practices introduced by traders from New France were in part transferred to the Great Plains and used to adapt to a rapidly changing economy.

prepared for transport by resident Metis women and youth.

In addition to the presence of immediate family, these sites included extended family, other key community members, and were fairly uniform in their physical composition. For obvious reasons, sites were selected based on a pre-existing familiarity with the area, and for security reasons they were also found within Ojibwe, Cree or Assiniboine territory. With security reasonably assured by large numbers and kinship relations, attention focused on finding appropriate shelter from the prairie wind with a nearby source of water and wood in general proximity to grazing bison herds. The homes of major traders resembled one-room log dwellings and were spacious enough to serve as a gathering place for residents and visitors.[35] Large enough to hold trade goods, a separate building held ammunition, furs, leather and cured provisions.[36] Henry Martin Robinson, who for a time served as editor for Red River's *The New Nation* (1870), noted in some detail his recollection of a Metis wintering site:

> Some thirty or forty huts crowded irregularly together, and built of logs, branches of pine-trees, raw-hides, and tanned and smoked skins, together with the inevitable *tepee*, or Indian lodge; horses, dogs, women and children, all intermingled in a confusion worthy of an Irish fair…[37]

With doorways made of boards from their Red River carts, the floors were dug out to add warmth to buildings during the long winter months. These rough, unembellished structures were used for only one or two seasons, and their occupants would return to

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[35] These prominent traders were often known as *roi de traiteurs*, or kings of the trade. Ens spends some time detailing the rise of Pascal Breland who, following a brief period of financial hardship, became one of the wealthiest traders in Red River and a prominent political leader. Isaac Cowie, an HBC employee, also commented on the activities of Pascal Breland, and his time as a member of the Council of Assiniboia and Magistrate for the Red River Settlement under the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company. Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 381; Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 86-87.

[36] Cowie, 350.

[37] Henry Martin Robinson, *The Great Fur Land: Or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (New York: G.R. Putnam's Sons, 1879), 254-255. Published in 1865, Milton and Cheadle also offer several observations about Metis *hivernement* sites. William Fitzwilliam Milton and Walter Butler Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land* (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1865).

their homes at Red River, Pembina, and the Turtle Mountain every spring.[38]

These *hivernement* sites, while rarely located in hostile territory, certainly challenged rival groups' access to herds within this borderland region west of Red River. In the 1850s, the Souris/Mouse River in the East, Wood Mountain to the West, Devils Lake to the South and the North Saskatchewan River to the North bound the Plains Metis' hunting range, which coincided roughly with the bison grazing territory.[39] Considered a no-man's land due to the importance of this region's resident bison herds for a number of Plains groups, Metis *hivernement* sites were established along the periphery of this shared space.[40] Metis kinship ties to the Ojibwe, Cree, and Assiniboine provided ongoing access to this borderland region, and there was, to a certain degree, safety found in numbers. Despite this, conflict was fairly regular, first with the Dakota and Lakota, and later with the Blackfoot Confederacy.[41] As the herds continued their retreat westward in the 1850s and 1860s *hivernement* sites began to expand into the Milk River and Cypress Hills areas. This persistent expansion eventually drew opposition from even their Cree kin who considered the Metis' presence an unwanted incursion into their own established hunting territory.[42]

In response to a number of factors, an era of considerable emigration out of the Red River settlement began in the 1850s and accelerated during the 1860s. Of these

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[38] Robinson, *The Great Fur Land*, 79.
[39] For a description of territory, see: McCrady, *Living With Strangers*; Ens, "The Border, The Buffalo, and the Métis"; Hogue, *Metis and The Medicine Line*.
[40] The small pox epidemic that decimated Plains groups in 1837 changed inter-tribal relationships, with the Cree emerging stronger than either the Assiniboine or Blackfoot Confederacy. As a result, the Ojibwe and their Cree allies had more freedom to move west.
[41] Conflict with the Lakota and Dakota predates *hivernement*, as provisioning hunting parties based out of Red River often travelled into Dakota Territory to hunt the herds. The Ojibwe in particular, close kin of the Metis, led war parties against the Dakota in 1804 1806, 1807, 1813, 1814, 1816, 1818, 1820, 1821, and the winter of 1815-1816. Lara Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada*.
[42] Ibid., 155, 186.

factors, the distance of the herds from Red River, dramatic crop failures, and high mortality rates of the 1860s made the decision to leave easy for many Metis families.[43] Finally, the proposed annexation of Rupert's Land by the Dominion of Canada, the passage of the Manitoba Act in 1870, the subsequent implementation of Canadian law, border surveillance, and the influx of a hostile Protestant English-speaking population from Ontario served as the final catalyst, prompting many to permanently leave Red River for their western *hivernement* sites.[44]

For these Metis families, relocating west was viewed as an opportunity to sustain their economic role in the bison robe trade while maintaining the cohesiveness and safety of their communities. What had once been temporary and seasonal *hivernement* sites turned into semi-permanent Metis places from which the bison robe trade could continue to function. No longer returning to the Red River, Pembina or Turtle Mountain area by the 1860s, Plains Metis families were found residing around the Cypress Hills, Milk River, and its tributaries on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel.[45] Father Lestanc, an itinerant Oblate missionary, remarked on the significant presence of Metis from Pembina and St. François Xavier who favoured the Milk River area as prime bison hunting territory, traversing the forty-ninth parallel at will.[46] In fact, after noting the presence of

[43] Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 154-156.
[44] Ibid., 222. Following the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada, a majority of Metis were fearful of what Canadian control would mean for their religious, language, and land rights. Without clear title to their land, Metis concerns were heightened by Canadian intentions to re-survey land in the Settlement according to English land-holding customs. Stopping William McDougall from entering the colony and seizing Upper Fort Garry, the Provisional Government led by Metis leader Louis Riel, aimed to negotiate the best terms possible for Red River upon entering Canadian Confederation. Despite government assurances, the passage of the Manitoba Act in 1870 saw many Metis abandon the settlement with the influx of an anti-Catholic/French and Protestant English majority from Ontario.
[45] By the 1870s, Red River, Pembina and St. Joseph were empty of those participating in the bison hunt.
[46] These itinerant missionaries, or *mission ambulante*, travelled with the Metis hunting parties starting in the 1830s, and later adapted their proselytizing enterprise to meet the demands of *hivernement* communities, acting as a focal point after *hivernement* transitioned into more permanent settlements in the

93 families on Frenchman's Creek in 1873, he was forced to relocate along with his congregation after they permanently crossed into Montana.[47]

Canadian and American officials were well aware of this long-standing transnational tradition of the Metis. When these two settler-states set out to survey their shared boundary, surveyors from both sides of line made note of Plains Metis settlements throughout the borderland region.[48] George M. Dawson, on arriving at the Milk River in 1874, noted the presence of at least 200 tepees and described in detail the signs of abandoned wintering sites that dotted the landscape along the border.[49] Taking note of these semi-permanent settlements, Dawson noted the transnational movement of Indigenous communities, locating many of them along the White Mud River, "…well into U.S. territory."[50]

This practice of *hivernement* between the 1830s and 1860s and the subsequent exodus of many Metis from key places like Red River, Pembina, and Turtle Mountain was undoubtedly part of a larger westward movement of Indigenous peoples onto the Northern Great Plains where groups competed for greater access to the bison herds.[51] The

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1880s. "Memoirs of Father Jean Lestanc, 1910," based on a photocopy in the possession of Mr. Dollard Bissonete of St. Victor, Sask. Accessed on-line at: http://arvhives.chez-alice.fr/sarthissimo/montana1.html

[47] Ens, "The Border, The Buffalo, and the Métis," 145.

[48] "General Diary and Note Book, George Mercer Dawson 18745, British North American Boundary Commission," 31 May 1874. McGill University Archives. Accessed on-line at: http://ourheritage.net/index_page_stuff/Following_Trails/Dawson/Dawson_74/Dawson_1874_Intro.html

[49] George Mercer Dawson (1 August 1849 – 2 March 1902) was a Canadian who identified as both a scientist and surveyor. After studying geology and palaeontology at the Royal School of Mines in 1869, he returned to Canada to work with the Geological Survey of Canada and the Joint Boundary Commission. Published in 1875, his *Geology and Resources of the Region in the Vicinity of the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, with Lists of Plants and Animals Collected, and Notes on the Fossils from the Killadeer Badlands* details the pre-contact presence of old stone circles, bison carcasses, camping sites, abandoned fire pits, and well-travelled Red River cart trails winding back and forth across the border between Pembina and the Rocky Mountains.

[50] General Diary and Note Book, George Mercer Dawson 18745, British North American Boundary Commission," 31 May 1874. McGill University Archives. Accessed on-line at: http://ourheritage.net/index_page_stuff/Following_Trails/Dawson/Dawson_74/Dawson_1874_Intro.html, 19 July 1874.

[51] The Cypress Hills, by 1873, had become the last refuge for many Indigenous groups.

well-established presence of these multi-ethnic *hivernement* sites eventually gave way to semi-permanent settlements as the herds continued their westward retreat. After several generations of cross-border residence and travel, many Plains Metis developed an identity of an interchangeable or complete lack of national citizenship.[52] This Metis world-view was directly challenged during the second period of Metis occupation as both settler-states began the process of nationalising the borderland space between the 1860s and 1880s.

This second period of Metis occupation (1860s-1880s) saw the forty-ninth parallel transformed into a centrifuge, pushing the Metis to reconceptualise their place on the Northern Plains and adapt to new realities and government policies that had large repercussions on their lives and identities. This settler-state attempt to define boundaries and determine who belonged within them was part of a larger process of land-appropriation and racial Othering.[53] In the 1870s, both Canadian and American officials began the process of enforcing and regulating their Western territorial claims, with emphasis placed on the oft-porous forty-ninth parallel and the movement of transnational Indigenous peoples that continued to challenge those territorial claims.

Responding to rising tensions between the Lakota and American Army, key government officials in the U.S. became convinced the Metis were trading guns and

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[52] Martha H. Foster, *We Know Who We Are*, 72.

[53] This process sought to consolidate ethnic identities and to enforce real and perceived differences between the region's inhabitants. For further detail, see: Beth LaDow, *The Medicine Line: Life and Death on a North American Borderland* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005); Sarah Carter, "Transnational Perspectives on the History of Great Plains Women: Gender, Race, Nations, and the Forty-ninth Parallel," in *One West, Two Myths II*, ed. C.L. Higham and Robert Thacker (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006); Foster, *We Know Who We Are*; McCrady, *Living with Strangers*; Gerhard J. Ens, "Hybridity, Canadian Indian Policy, and the Construction and 'Extinguishment' of Metis Aboriginal Rights in the Nineteenth Century," in *Reconfigurations of Native North America: An Anthology of New Perspectives,* ed. John R. Wunder and Kurt E. Kinbacher (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2009), 236-251; Michel Hogue, "Between Race and Nation: The Plains Métis and the Canada-United States Border," PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 2009).

ammunition to the Lakota, and when pursued by the Army, were using the border to evade capture.[54] As early as October 1870, the U.S. Seventh Infantry was ordered to seek out Metis settlements along the Milk River, destroy all of their trade goods, and to drive 'British' Metis and traders from U.S. territory. Consequently, Metis attempts to continue hunting the bison that had retreated south of the forty-ninth parallel ran headfirst into a U.S. government seeking to eliminate their ongoing transnational movements. While many Metis "…laugh[ed] at the idea of being interfered with by the American authorities," the U.S. government invoked political language and legislation that rejected the Metis' view of dual-nationality, and categorised them as "…foreigner[s]…" to be forcibly removed to their own country.[55]

Reminiscent of tensions between Metis and their other Indigenous kin over dwindling bison herds during the 1850s and 1860s**,** the establishment of Indian reserves and reservations exposed growing discord over the Metis' continued presence in the borderlands. Accusing the Metis of bringing poverty and disharmony to the Fort Belknap Reservation, Gros Ventre and Assiniboine leaders not only opposed their presence, but also asked the U.S. government to have them forcibly removed from their Reservation.[56]

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[54] The Great Sioux War/Black Hills War of 1876-1877 culminated in the Battle of Little Big Horn (25 June 1876) and acted as the final catalyst for a U.S. government keen to eliminate Canadian Indigenous groups who they saw as destabilizing an American frontier eager for agricultural and ranching settlement. "Report of Edward McKay on the State of Affairs in the Northwest," encl. in letter from Pascal Breland to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 18 May 1873. Lieutenant Governor Morris Papers, MG 12 BI, #164, PAM.

[55] Major of 7th Infantry at Fort Belknap Guido Ilges to Acting Adjutant General of Montana District, 11 October 1878; Record 12149, 1878 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 362); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, DC. For Reference to "foreigners": *New York Times*, 14 July 1894. "Ejected Foreigners Protest: International Questions Grow Out of the Indian Territory Strike."

[56] While the Metis maintained close ties to the Ojibwe and Cree, their ties to the Assiniboine were tied, for the most part, through the Cree. Some close kin were permitted to remain: Gabriel Azure, Pierre Berger and their families – approximately forty families in total. Major of 7th Infantry at Fort Belknap Guido Ilges to Acting Adjutant General of Montana District, 11 October 1878; Record 12149, 1878 (National Archives

The long-standing practice of forming multi-ethnic communities meant many Metis had kinship ties, if not outright Indian Status, on Indian reservations like Fort Belknap, but it was a claim not always recognised by Indigenous leaders who grew increasingly alarmed over dwindling resources in the post-bison era.

Although the international boundary had been officially drawn across the Northern Great Plains in the early 1870s, the continued ambiguity of the border's location served to add to already heightened tensions across the region. As late as 1880 an officer from Fort Keogh described a trading post at Wood Mountain as an arsenal and refuge for murderers and robbers, asking the U.S. government to dismantle what he considered a Metis stronghold. In December of the same year he was notified that "…it was ascertained that the trader was located across the line, within the Dominion of Canada…."[57] This illuminates that even officials located in the borderland region remained uncertain of these new boundaries, and for some, the limitations they now imposed. Of the two settler-states, the U.S. expressed less tolerance for the continued presence of what they categorised as foreign Indians, motivated in part by the complaints of Army officials, Indian Agents and a rapidly growing and politically influential ranching interest in Montana which often accused the Metis of slaughtering their cattle in lieu of the now near-extinct bison.[58]

While some of the commanders of the U.S. Army posted in the borderland region

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Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 362); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[57] Report from Fort Keogh to Post Adjutant of Montana Territory, 6 December 1880; Record 12255, 1880 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 289); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB

[58] These complaints were severe enough that scouting parties were dispatched to investigate the possibility that Canadian Metis were slaughtering these ranging cattle herds. 2nd Lieutenant of 3rd Infantry from Fort Shaw Fred Thies to Post Adjutant of Montana Territory, 30 April 1881; Record 5607, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 290); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

remained uncompromising in their position that the Metis were 'Canadian Indians', others who, to a certain degree, understood the Metis' traditional occupation of the region thought it more practical to designate the Milk River as the southern boundary for the hunting Metis.[59] Despite General William T. Sherman's argument that "…[t]hese Indians cannot be expected to stop a hunt at the National Boundary Line, which is a parallel of latitude," those stationed along the forty-ninth parallel vehemently opposed any form of concession. In response to these growing criticisms, two military campaigns were launched in the fall of 1881 to ascertain the number and location of foreign Indians in U.S. territory.[60] Of the two, the October campaign culminated in the destruction of 208 homes as well as the forced removal of 1,400 Canadian Metis and other Indigenous people north of the line.[61] Concurrently, the American government began to push their Canadian counterparts to actively police their own Indigenous population.

The Canadian government responded to these pressures in 1882 by proposing a system of permits that would allow Indigenous peoples to cross the border for the purpose of visiting family, making them subject to arrest if found committing any unlawful act while in American territory.[62] Further complicating the enforcement of

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[59] Commanding General of the United States Army William T. Sherman to Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln, 16 June 1882; Record 1408, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 93); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[60] The unsuccessful September 1881 campaign was led by M.E. O'Brien, Captain of the 2nd Cavalry who left Fort Belknap with 110 men to locate Metis along the Milk River. Those residing in the camp likely heard of the Army's approach in early September and vacated north of the forty-ninth parallel prior to their arrival. Leaving Fort Assiniboine with 239 men from Fort Assiniboine, Captain Klein led the October 1881 campaign.

[61] For details of the October campaign see: Captain of the 18th Infantry Klein to Fort Assiniboine Post Adjutant Bates, 29 October 1881; Record 11535, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[62] This would include trading with American Indigenous peoples residing on Reservation land, or squatting on lands intended for settlement. British Minister in Washington Lionel Sackville-West to United States Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen, 10 May 1882; Record 1408, 1881 (National Archives

settler-state territoriality in the borderland region was the presence of several Dakota bands north of the International boundary that had fled to Manitoba and parts of Saskatchewan after the Minnesota Uprising of 1862. Later, Sitting Bull's appearance at Wood Mountain following the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876 would exacerbate tensions between the two settler-states. This Lakota presence was permitted by the Canadian state and when U.S. officials pushed for a harmonization of policy, the Canadians did not hesitate to point out to their American counterparts, that "…[i]t must be borne in mind that American Indians have crossed the border into Canada in search of game for many decades, and their movements have never been checked by the Government of the United States."[63]

Having identified their respective Indigenous groups in 1882, both settler-states grew increasingly frustrated with the slow resolution to this question of transnational identity.[64] Under orders, Army officials and Indian Agents in the U.S. continued to work in tandem to locate Metis communities and remove them north of the border, destroying homes and other property in the process.[65] American Indian Commissioner Hiram Price

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Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[63] Report of Minister of Interior John Alexander Macdonald, 16 September 1882; Record 9965, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[64] General Sheridan "…recognises the Sioux, Crows, South Blackfeet, and South Piegans to be our Indians,..." while "[t]he Canadian Government recognises the North Piegans, Blood, North Blackfeet, Cree, Salteaux and Assiniboines." Commanding General of the Unites Sates Army William T. Sherman to Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln, 16 June 1882; Record 1408, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 93); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

[65] Head of the Department of Missouri General Sheridan to Secretary of War Robert Lincoln, 5 June 1882; Record 1809, B 1882 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 93); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB. Many of these policies applied equally to what many in the U.S. termed the 'Canadian Wandering Cree'. For further detail, see Michel Hogue, "Disputing the Medicine Line: The Plains Crees and the Canadian-American Border, 1876-1885," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 52, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 2-17.

insisted that American law "makes no exception on behalf of foreigners who are in whole or in part of Indian Blood…" and that "…the presence of half breeds upon our soil is especially to be deprecated [as] they are [a] vicious and mischievous people."[66] He further argued that "[w]e have thrown clods of earth at these people long enough; the time has arrived, I think, when we should begin to throw stones."[67] Despite this frequent and often-virulent correspondence between Canadian and American officials, it was not until the events of 1885 that the Canadian government complied with American demands for mutual border enforcement and forced nationalisation of Indigenous peoples.[68]

The Rebellion of 1885 was sparked by the reluctance of the Canadian settler-state to recognise Metis land rights in the North-West Territories, the economic plight of the Plains Metis following the disappearance of the bison in Canadian territory, and the political aims of Louis Riel to establish an independent Metis state in the West. Returning from exile in Montana, Riel established a Provisional Government in Saskatchewan in 1884. Short lived, it was this direct challenge to Canadian territorial sovereignty that precipitated the largest mobilisation of Canadian troops after Confederation, ending with the military defeat of the Metis at Batoche, Saskatchewan in May of 1885.[69] With the surrender of Louis Riel and the capture of Cree leader Mistahi-maskwa (Big Bear), many

[66] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price to Secretary of Interior Henry Moore Teller, 1 May 1882; Record 1809, B 1882 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 93); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Dissatisfied with the Canadian Government's response to concerns raised by those Metis from the parish of St. Louis, the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan was established on 19 March 1885. Beginning with the Battle of Duck Lake on 26 March 1885, the Rebellion culminated in the Battle of Batoche on 9 May 1885, after which Riel surrendered and Gabriel Dumont escaped to Montana. Mistahi-maskwa's Cree continued with the Battle of Frenchman's Butte on 28 May 1885, but were forced to flee after the Battle of Loon Lake on 3 June 1885.
[69] Coinciding with these events was a divide between Mistahi-maskwa and a number of his followers. A small dissenting group of Cree men challenged his authority and initiated armed conflict with the Canadian settler-state during the Frog Lake Massacre and the Siege of Fort Battleford.

Metis and their Cree kin fled to Montana where American officials, at the request of the Canadian government, monitored their movement. Observing Metis populations and their movement south of the line as early as March 1885, Canadian officials requested that their U.S. counterparts keep anyone from crossing into Canada to join the conflict in Northern Saskatchewan. Reporting on population numbers at the Turtle Mountain locality in April 1885, Commander McKibben from Pembina reported that the "…majority of half breeds are now located about Turtle Mountain…" and that "…fully two thirds of our population are Canadian by birth…"[70] This transnational cooperation between the two settler-states marked not only the successful nationalisation of the Northern Great Plains borderlands, but also a dramatic shift in how the Plains Metis would interact with the forty-ninth parallel and the space it demarcated in the decades following 1885.

This new era saw both governments openly share intelligence with the mutual aim of prohibiting the movement of the Plains Metis and other Indigenous peoples across the forty-ninth parallel. The Canadian government, while slower to execute policies aimed at nationalising its Indigenous peoples, implemented strategies similar to those of the United States to enforce their territorial claims. As a result, the forty-ninth parallel was transformed from a porous boundary that could be crossed to hunt, visit kin and pursue an economic livelihood into a militarised border that fractured kinship groups and threatened the very foundation of the Plains Metis economy. Metis settlements established during

[70] Fort Pembina Commanding Officer McKibben to Department of Dakota Assistant Adjutant General Breck, 4 April 1885; Record 1875, B 1885 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 349); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB. Detail of Canadian requests to monitor Metis' movements: Bayan to United States Secretary of War William Endicott, 28 March 1885; Record 1563, C 1885 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 349); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928; Record Group 94; NAB.

the *hivernement* period relied on a set of very specific political and economic conditions that dramatically changed during the second period of nationalisation. As a consequence, their borderland communities underwent a critical transformation that had a profound influence on the Plains Metis on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel. How individuals and families reacted to ensure community continuity in the face of these dramatic changes will be the focus for the remainder of this project.

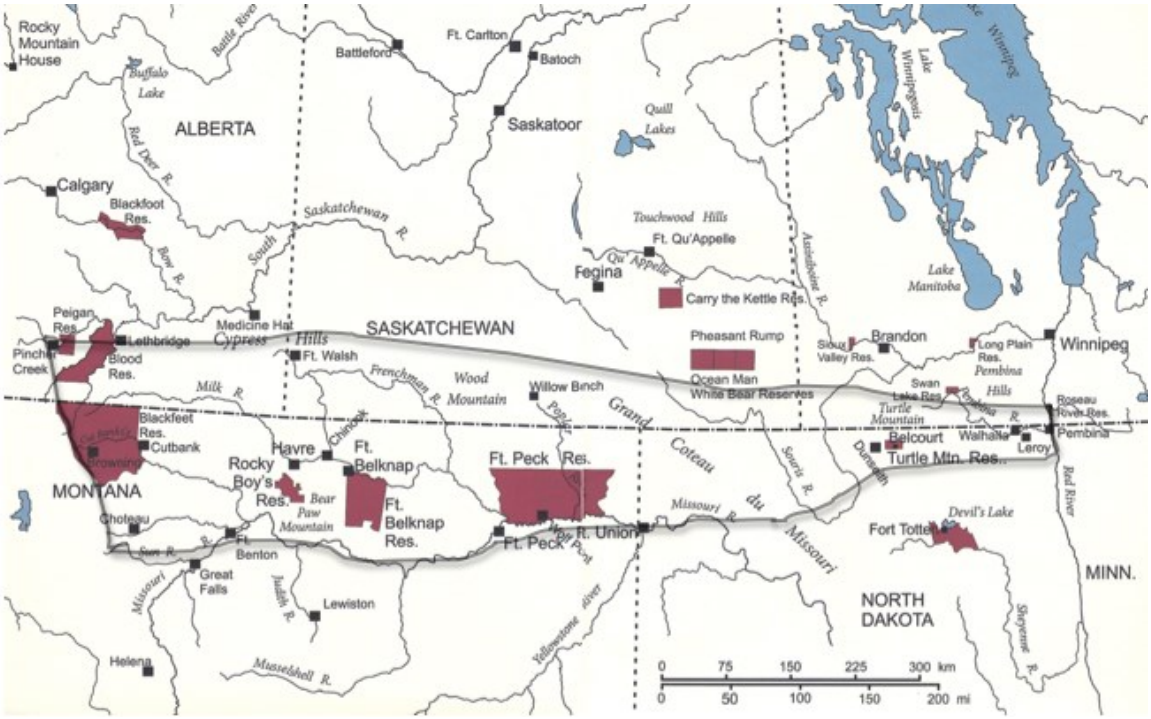
2. SPATIAL CONTEXT OF THE BORDERLANDS

In the aftermath of the 1885 conflict and the disappearance of the massive bison herds, a significant number of Plains Metis chose to remain in this borderland space. While the succeeding chapters will focus on the ways individuals and families were able to maintain their communities in this post-bison period, this chapter will focus on sketching the spatial context of this borderland world. To this end, definitions of the key terms used to conceptualise this space are followed by a detailed description of this study's four borderland localities. This context will create a backdrop against which to consider how these borderland Metis communities maintained their cohesiveness in the post-bison world. Closely associated with *hivernement* sites that defined the Plains Metis world prior to 1885, from east to west these localities are: Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and the Foot Hills.[1]

Drawing the connection between *hivernement* and these (re)settled sites, the detailed sketches of these trans-border localities will include a discussion of their natural environment, Indigenous and non-indigenous settlement, the establishment of reserves and reservations, and the creation of new territorial boundaries. This spatial context is crucial in understanding the history of implacement and the unique set of circumstances that influenced Plains Metis' tactics in response to settler-state strategies. Entering an era where self-identifying as and maintaining Metis communities became increasingly

[1] Originally, this project considered the Pembina Hills as one of five Metis localities bifurcated by the forty-ninth parallel. This settlement not only played an important role in the development of a Metis identity in what became American political space, but also served as the southern terminus to the early-19th century Red River Metis homeland. Despite its importance, a dramatic increase in non-indigenous settlement and the implementation of settler-state strategies meant that by the 1890s, the Pembina Hills Metis became unimplaced and the majority elected to relocate to other localities.

complicated, this spatial context illuminates the conditions in which Metis individuals and families made decisions about residence and community.



Canadian-American Borderlands

Borderlands, Space, Place, and Locality

Choosing borderlands as the framework for this study requires an explanation of the key terms space, locality, and place.[2] While the following discussion will show that each concept represents a difference in terms of scale, this is not meant to imply a hierarchy. Rather, this distinction serves to emphasise the complexity of these borderlands and the Metis' involvement at every level of scale and territoriality. Although there has been some work tying borderlands to a wider theoretical framework,

[2] Drawing heavily on the work of Andrew Jonas, these terms are informed by the New Regional Geography that emerged in the 1980s. "A New Regional Geography of Localities," *Area* 20, no. 2 (June 1988):101-110; "Reflections on the 'Scale Debate' in Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, no. 3 (Sept 2006):399-406; "Region and Place: Regionalism in Question," *Progress in Human Geography* 36, no. 2 (2012): 263-272. When referencing more specific place theory, I draw on the work of Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

the concept itself remains under-conceptualised for the Northern Plains. Put simply, this study's use of borderlands is predicated on the presence of the forty-ninth parallel, which as this project will show, had a profound influence on the families and communities that it bifurcated. The degree to which it influenced events in the post-1885 period is significant, and many of the tactics used by the borderland Plains Metis would not have been possible without it. This dynamic border complicated a predominately unified natural space, overwrote traditional Indigenous use, and introduced new ways of conceptualising community that challenged both settler-states' intended use of the space.

A central tenet of this project is that the Northern Great Plains borderlands, thick with meaning, significance, and intentionality, are best understood as a multilayered space. Unlike place, which represents stability and position, space is composed of mobile and variable elements with porous and moveable boundaries.[3] Rather than viewing these borderlands as one homogenous landscape, this project proposes that this Northern Plains region is composed of three types of space that intersect and interact to create these northern borderlands. This differentiation between three types of space – natural, political, and social – provides an opportunity to appreciate the complexity of this region and the Metis' knowledge and manipulation of the space. This is not to suggest that these borderlands became a uniform backdrop against which the Plains Metis recreated a homeland. However, it does place the emphasis on the social, economic, and political nuances that facilitated the survival of Metis borderland communities in the post-1885 period.

The first kind of space noted here is a natural space. Used to situate this project's

[3] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 123.

geographic area of study, this space is defined by natural features rather than artificial constructs. Constituting an area of roughly two hundred kilometres on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel, the northern terminus is marked by the mouth of the Oldman River before it empties into the South Saskatchewan River, and its southern boundary is the Sun River where it exits the foothills before joining the Missouri River. From there the study area stretches between the Red River in the east to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the west. Focusing on these natural features recognises not only the historic and ongoing importance of this natural space to Indigenous communities, but also speaks to the significance of these river systems as vital networks prior to the colonial incursions that would come to shape the region during the early 19th century.[4]

Stretching from Canada's Prairie Provinces south to the Gulf of Mexico, this natural space is defined by the Great Plains ecoregion,[5] of which this study focuses on the more topographically uniform Northern reaches. This landscape has been shaped by a number of glacial deposits that have created a topography dominated by gently rolling hills and several outlier ecosystems.[6] Influenced by high winds, the climate is dry and continental, characterised by short, hot summers and long, cold winters. Also subject to

[4] There are two watersheds that divide these borderlands: the Hudson Bay Watershed and the Missouri Watershed, which via the Mississippi River, drains into the Gulf of Mexico. There are also internal drainage areas like the one at Devils Lake, N.D.

[5] The Great Plains ecosystem is a relatively continuous and roughly triangular area covering about 3.5 million square kilometres. This extends for about 1,500 kilometres and is distinguished by several characteristics: relatively little topographic relief, grasslands and a paucity of forests, and sub-humid to semiarid climate. Secretariat of the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC), "Ecological Regions of North America: Toward a Common Perspective" (Montreal: Communications and Public Outreach Department of the CEC Secretariat, 1997), 26.

[6] These outliers coincide with three of this study's four localities: Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills. Characterised by a distinctive physiography, they have a distinctive climate and ecology when compared to the surrounding area. Rising abruptly to over one thousand feet, an increase in rainfall coincides with cooler temperatures, and with each a unique ecological system unto itself, they contain diverse plant and animal species. Robson Bonnichsen and Stuart J. Baldwin, *Cypress Hills Ethnohistory and Ecology: A Regional Perspective*, prepared for the Archaeological Survey of Alberta (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, 1978), 15-19.

periodic droughts, this Northern Plains ecological region was once covered with natural grasslands that supported rich and highly specialised plant and animal communities. Increasing from west to east, rainfall fed the diverse grasses that sustained the bison herds before their final retreat to Montana's Judith Basin in 1884. As mentioned in chapter one, this space also represents a contested terrain in which numerous Plains groups hunted the grazing herds. When Canada and the United States began the process of nationalising these borderlands, a settler-state political space began to overwrite the pre-existing Indigenous one.

International borders, by their very nature, are a politically constructed space – and in the case of the forty-ninth parallel – enforced and maintained by the settler-states of Canada and the United States. Once surveyed by the Joint Boundary Commission in 1818, much of the organization of this political space was carried out in cooperation between these two states for the dual purpose of opening their respective Wests to non-indigenous settlement and to extract the area's natural resources.[7] The British North America–United States boundary was initially porous and easily manipulated by residents, but became increasingly difficult to navigate over the course of the 19th century. By the 1870s, Canada's North West Mounted Police and the United States Army acted in tandem to forcibly relocate and remove Indigenous peoples, and in so doing, enforce the nationalisation of the space. This strategy of policing the borderlands was one of many tools used by both states to turn this natural space into a political one, with the explicit aim of overwriting Indigenous uses with an agricultural settler society.

This state strategy also sought to determine and enforce which Indigenous peoples

[7] Surveyed and marked between 1872 and 1874, the Joint Boundary Commission was responsible for marking the forty-ninth parallel with dirt mounds and other markers between Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains.

belonged on which side of the forty-ninth parallel. Refusal by the American government to recognise Metis status or identity south of the international boundary forced many to choose between the limiting ethnic categories of American Indian or Euro-American.[8] This post-1885 period also heralded a new era of information sharing and cooperation between Canada and the United States with the mutual goal of eliminating the autonomy of Indigenous peoples. Problematic for both states was the persistent crossing of the international boundary by what they considered 'undesirables'. Drawing on several strategies, both governments tried to determine who was eligible to participate in this new political space, and in what capacity.

In contradistinction to political space, the term social space refers broadly to the communities that Metis individuals and families were able to reconstruct within this region in the face of, and sometimes using, those settler-state strategies. These Metis tactics were a continuation of and adaptation to an earlier borderland Metis culture, and as such, comprise their own historical themes distinct from, and largely divergent from, dominant national narratives.[9] Founded on social and cultural practices reminiscent of *hivernement,* it is this difference that facilitates the stability, growth, and vitality of these borderland Metis communities after 1885. This social space simultaneously acknowledges an increasingly complex ethnic composition brought about by increased non-indigenous settlement. Key to understanding the Metis' continued implacement in

[8] For detail see: Gerhard Ens, "Hybridity, Canadian Indian Policy, and the Construction of Metis Aboriginal Rights in the 19th Century," in *Reconfigurations of Native North America: Selected Papers of the Ninth Biennial Maple and Eagle Conference on North American Studies*, ed. John Wunder and Kurt Kinbacher (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2008) and Michel Hogue, "Between Race and Nation: The Plains Métis and the Canada-United States Border," PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 2009).

[9] Thomas D. Ishern and R. Bruce Shepard, "Duty-Free: An Introduction to the Practice of Regional History along the Forty-ninth parallel" in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel,* ed. Sterling Evans (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), xxxi.

these borderlands is an appreciation of this region as a socially constructed space that could only come about through an intimate knowledge of the natural space and a familiarity with the political space that made the manipulation of the settler-state strategies possible.

Taken together, this intersection of natural, political and social space allows for a unique appreciation of locality and place. It is only after these spaces become familiar that they became the localities where Plains Metis individuals and families were able to recreate community. Generally speaking, locality refers to community, but one that challenges most settler understandings of the concept. Composed of specific places, each locality is bifurcated by a political border, and includes particular landscapes, ecosystems, landmarks – natural or otherwise, extended kin, and ancestors. Here, both locality and place refer to a more intimate space, a lived place, where Plains Metis individuals and families became deeply embedded. These places, created by those who chose to reside there, were rooted in the knowledge of, and attachment to, specific localities. This explicit challenge to both settler-state's expectation of how this space was to be used was a highly personal and community-based tactic employed by the Plains Metis throughout the Canadian-American borderlands.

Embedded in each locality, places shaped individual choices and identities and were fundamental in the construction of, attachment to, and maintenance of these Metis communities.[10] Influenced by internal and external forces, this understanding of locality and place draws upon the ideas of Edward S. Casey, who argues that existing at all is to "…have a place – *to be implaced*..." regardless of where, how long, or how often. It is

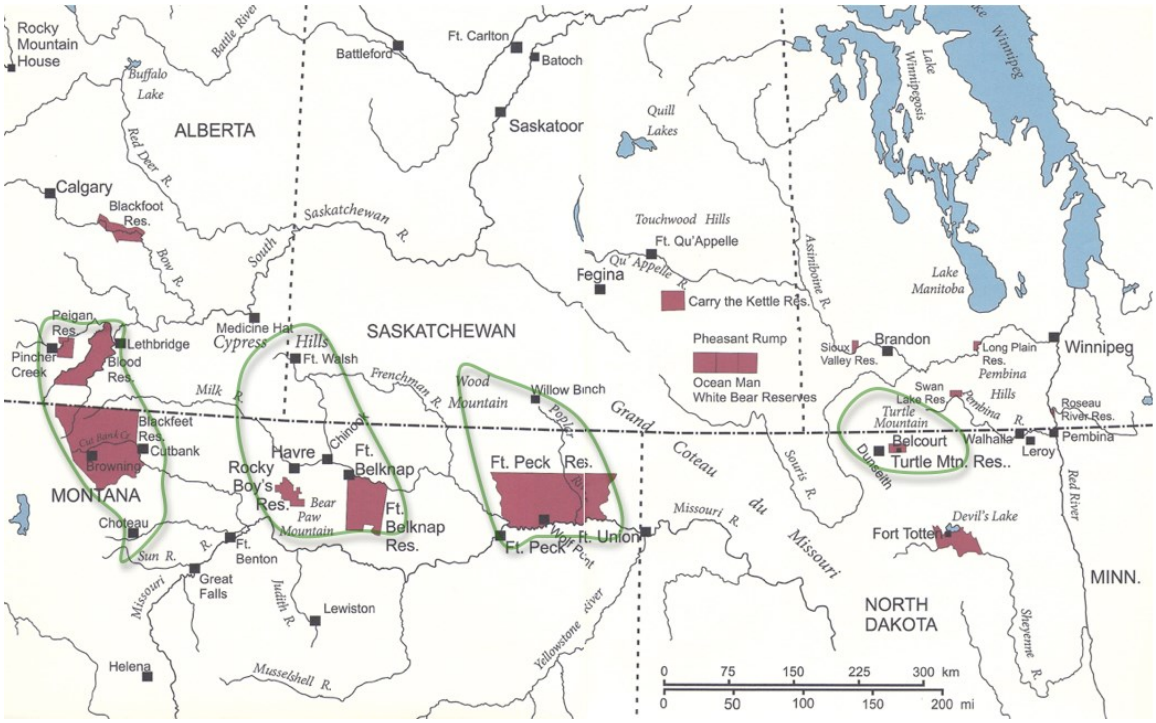
[10] Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does it Mean to be in the Place-World," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 4 (2001): 683-693.

these places that anchor us and become an essential part of our identity.[11] The act of "being in place" not only determines location in the literal sense, but *how* individuals are together with others and *who* they will become when they are together. In this sense, "…how and who we are [is] intimately tied to where. Which provides a context not available from any other source."[12] It is this detailed appreciation of these localities within this multilayered space that allows for a close analysis of Metis community and continuity in these Northern borderlands.

To suggest that a borderland residence created a set of circumstances that allowed for cultural continuity, one must consider how these localities and their places, collective in character, are also primary in culture. As each place becomes encultured, so too is "…every culture implaced."[13] As a matter of collective experience, these places are often created in a very specific cultural way. The cultural dimension of these places adds something new to the analysis where "…what matters most is the experience of being in that place…[of]…becoming part of the place."[14] In localities like Pembina Hills where a process of displacement occurred when individuals and families no longer considered the community their own, they left to find a new place where they could once again become implaced.[15] Critical in understanding the continuity of these communities is this cultural understanding of place and an appreciation of the social and historical conditions that

[11] For the purposes of this study, the term locality encompasses many of the same primary characteristics provided by Casey to denote place. Edward Casey, "Part I: Finding Place" in *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 13-14, 23; 1-40. Place as a construct has long been acknowledged as fundamental among Indigenous peoples, formalised by Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples that determined this attachment to place is fundamental to the well-being of Canada's Indigenous peoples. Canada Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission. Volume I: Looking Forward, Looking Back* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 1996), 489-492.
[12] Casey, *Getting Back into Place*, 23.
[13] Ibid., 31.
[14] Ibid., 33-34.
[15] Ibid., 34-35.

formed the basis of the Plains Metis' attachment to place. Contextualizing this implacement, each locality represents a collection of places within a natural, political, and social space that provides and denies certain opportunities depending on that context. This understanding encourages a close analysis of how localised practices draw upon certain tactics to challenge the imposed strategies that governed the lives of those Plains Metis in this borderland space.[16] To facilitate this analysis, what follows is a detailed sketch of each of this study's four localities.



Localities from West to East: Foot Hills, Cypress Hills, Wood Mountain, Turtle Mountain

Turtle Mountain Locality

As the bison-based economy continued to grow among the Plains Metis, so too

[16] Drawing on ideas of thick description introduced by Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

did their *hivernement* sites in and around Turtle Mountain.[17] Familiarity with the natural space saw a number of families permanently relocate to the area after the failed Pembina Treaty negotiations of 1863, from where a majority continued to participate in the expanding bison-robe trade, leaving Turtle Mountain in the fall and return in the spring with carts full of robes. When in the 1860s the bison ranged too far for families to return to Turtle Mountain, many elected to remain in their *hivernement* semi-permanent communities and the locality experienced a significant population decline. It was only after the near-extinction of the bison and simultaneous collapse of the Metis' traditional economy in the late 1870s and early 1880s that this out-migration was reversed and families began returning to the area. With the establishment of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indian Reservation, Turtle Mountain became a locale where a notable Metis community became permanently implaced.

Lying directly on top of the international border, the locality's surrounding prairie quickly gives way to a gradually rising landscape two hundred metres high, and is dominated by rolling hills and numerous independent bodies of water of varying length and depth. Dotted with over two hundred lakes and ponds, natural springs flow throughout the Mountain and feed the surrounding grasslands that once lured the long-gone bison herds. The rolling hills that make up the Mountain are covered in a generous forest of deciduous trees and shrubs with significant undergrowth of herbs and grasses.[18] This locality receives about twenty-three centimetres more precipitation than the

[17] Pelican Lake, Whitewater Lake, the Souris River Basin, and Oak Lake were other important *hivernement* sites around Turtle Mountain.

[18] These include: Trembling Aspen White Birch, Bur Oak, Green Ash, Manitoba Maple, Elm, and Balsam Poplar. Common shrubs include: hazel, chokecherry, pin cherry, saskatoon, nannyberry, hazel, raspberry, dogwood, and high bush cranberry. R.E. Smith, G.F. Beldhuis, et al., *Terrestrial Ecozones, Ecoregions, and Ecodistricts: An Ecological Stratification of Manitoba's Natural Landscapes.* Technical Bulletin 98-9E. Land Resource Unit, Brandon Research Centre, Research Branch, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1998), 274-275

surrounding prairie, which supports its substantial forest cover and wildlife. A seasonal slough of minimal depth, Whitewater Lake can completely disappear during a dry years.[19]

These ponds, sloughs, and lazy creeks provide the food, shelter and breeding grounds for a wide variety of life. The shores are covered with rushes and cattails where grebes, loons, and cormorants are often found nesting. Birds like the great blue heron and pelican return annually to their colonies, and painted turtles, salamanders, muskrats, beavers, and mink join them along the shoreline. Max and Metigoshe Lakes, lying on the east and west ends of the locality respectively, held jackfish, perch, and other species of fish. In the surrounding area, moose, white-tailed deer, and bear were also abundant. Fire also played a fundamental role in shaping this locality's vegetation and animal life, the worst of which swept through the area in 1897 and again in 1903.

This ecological outlier served as a gathering place for Indigenous peoples long before colonial incursions. To the east of Turtle Mountain, numerous Indigenous peoples converged at the Pembina Hills prior to and after colonial contact. When several Plains Metis families began to focus their resources on the emerging bison economy in the 1840s, Pembina became a key rendezvous place. Later, as the herds moved further west, the Pembina Hills became one of the first *hivernement* sites outside of the Red River

[19] Fed by springs and rainfall from the Mountains, this slough was a prime gathering place for bison, last seen in the area in 1883. During a particularly long dry-spell, the Canadian government applied the Homestead grid system and sold the land for $25 an acre. West of Hartney, MB, the Lauder Sandhills provided shelter from which to pursue bison on the surrounding plains. After 1869, several families joined those who had already settled there, and by the 1890s, they were joined by a group of Dakota before they relocated to Moose Mountain. When settlers from Ontario began to move in and the community of Grande-Clairiere was established, these families moved closer to Turtle Mountain, the Chippewa Reservation, or further west. Lawrence B. Clarke, *Souris Valley Plains – A History* (Souris: Souris Plaindealer Ltd., 1976); Turtle Mountain – Souris Plains Heritage Association, *Vantage Points: A Collection of Stories from Southwest Manitoba,* Volume 1 (Brandon: Leech Printing Ltd., 2009), 3.

Settlement.[20] It was not until the 1890s, with increased non-indigenous settlement and implementation of settler-state strategies that the Pembina Hills Metis became displaced and chose to move to other localities like Turtle Mountain.

Few trade posts were actually built on the slopes of Turtle Mountain. Erected in 1801, Lena House was on the north-eastern side, but was forced to close after one year due to Dakota hostility.[21] Despite its short life, the buildings were left intact and were repurposed several times over the next century.[22] Anticipating a settlement boom, Bernard B. LaRiviere, a freeman from Ontario, purchased the buildings and turned them into a trading post. Placing the buildings on both sides of the Boundary Commission Trail, its position on a prominent transportation route transformed the post into the burgeoning Old Wakopa town site.[23]

At the behest of the area's Metis population, the Catholic Church was the first denomination to establish a permanent presence in the area. What began as an itinerant mission tied to St. Joseph in the Pembina Hills became a permanent mission when Father

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[20] North of Dakota Territory and containing numerous lookout points, the Pembina Hills also provide a naturally fortified place of observation. Dorine Brown, ed., *Pembina Country, Land of Promise* (Altona, MB: W.D. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1974), 19-21.

[21] Lena House was built to challenge unlicensed independent traders in the area who were intercepting Assiniboine trade coming through Turtle Mountain. Lying along the Dakota War Road, Lena House and other traders who tried to establish themselves in the area were often on the receiving end of Dakota hostility.

[22] Its second reincarnation as a trading post was as Turtle Mountain House, operated by Antoine Desjarlais from 1846 to 1855. Serving the Boundary Commission during the 1870s, it became known as the Turtle Mountain Trading Post, and later, housed the NWMP during their inaugural trek west. Turtle Mountain-Souris Plains Heritage Association, *Vantage Points: A Collection of Stories from Southwest Manitoba*, Volume 1 (Brandon: Leech Printing Ltd., 2009), 11.

[23] L.O. Armstrong, *Meet You on the Trail or West Before the Railroad Volume I Southern Manitoba and Turtle Mountain Country, 1880* (Winnipeg: Boundary Commission—NWMP Trail Association, 1991); Boissevain History Committee, *Beckoning Hills Revisited "Ours is a Goodly Heritage" Morton Boissevain 1881—1981* (Altona: Friesen Printing, 1981). Having left the area for the Athabasca District by 1889, the post would pass through several hands and would remain a focus point and general store for the community of Wakopa and the surrounding area. Canada, Department of the Interior, "Part Four: Northwest Territories" in *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending* (Ottawa, 1889), 5; 1881 Census of Canada, "Bernard B. LaRiviere," *Western Extension and South Western Extension*, RG31, Roll C-13284, Page: 23, Family No: 227, LAC.

John Malo was sent to Turtle Mountain in 1879 to serve as the area's resident priest. Responding to the needs of a returning Metis population, he built St. Claude Church in 1882 along the eastern slope of the Mountain, and when this church became overcrowded, it was relocated to St. John in 1884. By the mid-1880s, it was this presence of the Catholic Church that provided much of the institutional basis for the area's Metis community.[24] When the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation was reduced to two townships and Father Malo relocated to Belcourt, most of his congregation followed.

As settlement increased, so too did both settler-states' need to settle Indigenous claims to the space. In Canada, the government extinguished Indigenous land claims in this region between 1871 and 1877 through what are known as the Numbered Treaties.[25] In exchange for large tracts of land, the federal authorities made agreements with Indigenous peoples throughout present-day Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and the North-West Territories that promised reserve lands, yearly annuity payments, education allowances, farming assistance, and hunting rights. Located between the lands of Treaties 1 and 2, there were no permanent reserves established within the Turtle Mountain locality north of the border.[26]

Unlike the Canadian side, a substantial reservation was created along the forty-ninth parallel in what was now American territory. Much of the confusion surrounding the establishment of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indian Reservation revolved around questions of membership. The Pembina Band of Chippewa, so named by the American

[24] Gerhard Ens, "After the Buffalo," 144.
[25] The numbered Treaties in Canada followed guidelines first established by the Royal Proclamation Act of 1763 and the British North America Act of 1867. The Proclamation of 1763 was key in establishing guidelines that the Crown was to follow when purchasing land from Indigenous peoples. With the BNA Act of 1867, those responsibilities transferred to the Dominion of Canada.
[26] Signed in August of 1871, it was also known as the Manitoba Post Treaty. With the same provisions found in Treaty One, it was also amended in April of 1875 to include verbal guarantees that were made during negotiations.

government to describe all peoples who gathered at Pembina during the 18th and 19th centuries, was a highly multi-ethnic group that did not easily fit into state-imposed ethnic categories.[27] From the first negotiations at Pembina, American authorities felt that the Metis were 'quasi-citizens' without Indian status, and were denied a place at negotiations.[28] During the 1863 Old Crossing negotiations, those Metis recognised as kin by the Chippewa community were able to participate in the treaty process, and provisions were made to provide scrip for those Metis that American officials considered not 'Indian' enough for tribal membership. This decision recognised that the Metis had some, if ill-defined, rights south of the forty-ninth parallel.[29] The ongoing refusal to create a reservation at Pembina and the movement of the Chippewa community to Minnesota saw many Metis move to Canadian territory and further west to the Turtle Mountain locality where the U.S. government had yet to extinguish Indigenous territorial claims.

When treaty negotiations began at Turtle Mountain, many Chippewa opposed the inclusion of the Metis, resulting in contradictory membership numbers and causing

[27] The group would eventually be divided further to include the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, the Red Lake Band of Chippewa, the White Earth Band of Chippewa and the Rocky Boy Chippewa-Cree

[28] Gerhard Ens, "The Border, the Buffalo, and the Metis of Montana" in *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel,* ed. Sterling Evans (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006): 139-154.

[29] For a detailed discussion of the negotiations between the Pembina Chippewa, Metis and the American Government, see: Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882-1905," *North Dakota History* 50, no. 1 (1984); Gregory S. Camp, "Working Out Their Own Salvation: The Allotment of Land in Severalty and the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band, 1870-1920," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 14, no. 2 (1990); Gerhard Ens, "After the Buffalo: The Reformulation of the Turtle Mountain Métis Community, 1879-1905," in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1998): 139-151; Nicholas C.P. Vrooman, *"The Whole Country was…'One Robe'": The Little Shell Tribe's America* (Helena: Drumlummon Institute, 2012). Ceding all lands west of Red River between the international boundary and Devils Lake, the 1863 agreement failed to provide for a reservation at Pembina, and instead, all Chippewa members were to relocate to the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. Ill-defined Metis rights allowed those men with kinship ties to either the Red Lake or Pembina Chippewa – provided that they were a *citizen of the United States* – to receive a homestead of one hundred sixty acres selected from within the area ceded by the treaty. In 1864 this was amended to scrip redeemable for land located on any lands ceded by said treaty in lieu of all future claims or annuities.

significant delays in the establishment of a reservation. This tension coincided with a growing number of Metis returning to localities like Turtle Mountain in the early 1880s. Ultimately, it was the influx of non-indigenous settlers and the increasing conflict over the region's natural resources that moved the U.S. government to deal with outstanding Indigenous land title in the locality. When the government chose to open the unceded land around Turtle Mountain in 1882 to non-indigenous settlement, they set aside a twenty-four by thirty-two mile tract of land for the purpose of a reservation.[30]

An investigation in 1884 reduced this to two townships and the McCumber Agreement of October 1892 re-confirmed this reduction and offered roughly ten cents per acre for the traditional territory claimed by the Plains Metis and their Chippewa kin in North Dakota. Based on the assumption that most of the resident Metis were Canadian-born, many were excluded from the reservation and, faced with ongoing delays, returned to Canada to take scrip, homestead, or elected to relocate further west.[31] As a result, it was a predominantly American Metis population that accepted the 1892 terms in 1904, making Turtle Mountain, despite its name, a largely Metis Reservation. This brief consideration of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation illustrates not only an ongoing Indigenous connection to place and sense of implacement that challenged state understandings of the space, but also illustrates how community membership was complicated by the newly imposed concepts of race, citizenship, and nationality.

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[30] In response to squatters and those harvesting timber from the Mountain slopes, Indigenous leaders posted signs warning settlers that "[i]t is here forbidden to any white man to encroach upon this Indian land by settling upon it before a treaty being made with the American government." Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882-1905," 22.

[31] Data gathered in 1883 shows 183 Chippewa, 731 Metis who claimed U.S. citizenship, and 400 individuals self-identifying as Canadian living on the reservation. The number of Metis living on the reservation would only increase in the years immediately following the Resistance of 1885. Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882-1905," 23-24; Gregory Camp, "Working out Their Own Salvation," 21-24.

Once Indigenous land claims were settled, both Canada and the United States continued the process of remaking this natural space into a political one. In the U.S. the locality was divided into the Counties of Rolette and Bottineau, named for prominent Metis leaders from what became Manitoba and North Dakota.[32] North of the line, the remainder of the Turtle Mountain locality was divided into four rural municipalities with local government representation placed in newly established settler prairie towns.[33] Homestead programs in both Canada and the U.S parcelled out the land surrounding Turtle Mountain, bringing new settlers from diverse ethnic backgrounds to the area.[34] The physical characteristics of this locality prevented the intensive settlement seen in other places like Pembina Hills, but eager settlers and land speculators quickly claimed much of the lands surrounding Turtle Mountain by the late 1870s and early 1880s.

The towns growing on the periphery of the Turtle Mountain locality provided vital services to residents residing on the Mountain. The Canadian towns of Wakopa, Boissevain, and Killarney and the American centres of Belcourt, St. John, Rolla, and Dunseith became a critical source of seasonal employment as well as a place to market

[32] Originally from Pembina, Joseph Rolette Jr. was a fur trader and politician, and Pierre Bottineau a Metis hunter and trapper who later became a successful land speculator. Before the subdivision of Rolette County and concentration of administration in Rolla, the county seat was located in Dunseith (1884 to 1885) and St. John (1885 to 1889), both also prominent Metis places.

[33] These include the RM of Turtle Mountain (1882), the RM of Morton (1890), the RM of Winchester (1890), and the RM of Whitewater (1883). From 1821-1879 the locality north of the line was administered by the Council of Assiniboia (1821-1870), which was responsible for governing the Red River Colony prior to Manitoba joining Confederation.

[34] The United States, followed by Canada, began to divide the land according to a grid system whereby 160 acre homesteads were allotted to individual settlers to encourage agricultural settlement. The U.S. Homestead Act of 1862 and the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 were responsible for implementing this land use strategy. The Dominion Land Survey was based on the U.S. Public Land Survey System, and proceeded to divide the land into one square mile sections between the Manitoba and the Rockies. The U.S. system of rectangular land surveys, although with some variation, typically divides land into 6-mile-square townships. The Turtle Mountain locality in Canada includes: Townships 1-3 and Range 17-23 west of the 1st Meridian. In the United States, it includes in the county of Rolette: Township 159-164 north, and Range 69-73 west of the Fifth Principal Meridian; and in the County of Bottineau: Township 159-164 north and Range 74-75 west of the Fifth Principal Meridian.

seasonal goods harvested on the Mountain. Although immigration complicated an already ethnically-diverse locality, several places within the Turtle Mountain locality retained a significant Metis population. Named for Father Belcourt from the Pembina Hills community, Belcourt, or *Siipiising*, was made the administrative capital of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation and provided employment opportunities on and off the Reservation. On the southern edge of the Mountain, Dunseith maintained a significant population that self-identified as Indigenous, as did St. John, which remained a prominent place before the Catholic Church's operations relocated to Belcourt.

Metigoshe, lying on the border in Canadian territory, was another key place that was established by a number of Metis families who were denied a place on the Reservation.[35] Lying adjacent to the International Boundary, these families arrived at the turn of the 20th century when most land around Turtle Mountain had already been claimed, and where what remained was deemed undesirable to the new settler-society. These Metis families, long familiar with the locality and still active hunters and trappers, rebuilt community there, as more families relocated around the areas of Lake Metigoshe, Lake Dromore and Long Lake. Being in such close proximity to the border, many would frequently cross to visit family and friends in and around the Chippewa Reservation. As settlement peaked and fire raged across Turtle Mountain at the end of the 19th century, the North-West Territorial government of Canada set aside 75,000 acres in 1895 to maintain a supply of timber for both settlers and industry. An Act of Parliament established the Turtle Mountain Timber Reserve when it passed the Dominion Forest Reserves Act in 1906, and with its creation, many local Metis became involved in the

[35] The first families who settled just north of the forty-ninth parallel on the western end of Turtle Mountain were the McLeods, Gosselins, and Racines.

construction of fireguard roads and livestock grazing to eliminate dry grass and thick shrub.[36]

Wood Mountain Locality

Following several years of hardship at Red River that culminated in the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada after the Riel Resistance of 1869-70, many Metis families decided to join the traders and their kin established at Wood Mountain since the late 1840s.[37] The Mountain itself served as a primary place of refuge in an arid ecoregion that was close enough to the border to access both the retreating bison herds and associated financial markets. The Metis' growing participation in the robe trade and the distance between Wood Mountain and the traditional markets of Red River and St. Paul meant that much of the locality's trade started to shift toward American forts and posts established along the Missouri River and its tributaries. The combination of environmental considerations and economic reorientation meant a shift in scale for both the Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills localities. The bifurcation of this natural and social space with the creation of a new political space also necessitated a great deal of cooperation between two settler-states. Escalating in the 1860s, American anxiety over transnational Indigenous populations was paired with a Canadian government opposed to

[36] Before 1930, land and resource questions were a federal responsibility. When fires swept through the area in 1879, 1881, 1885, and 1897 most of the area's timber was destroyed. In 1959, the eastern area of the forest reserve was designated a community pasture under the Prairie Farmer's Rehabilitation Act (P.F.R.A.). Turtle Mountain Provincial Park was not designated until 1961. Brad Bird, "Turtle Mountain Provincial Park" in *Beckoning Hills: Dawn of a New Millennium*, ed. Beckoning Hills History Book Committee (Brandon: Leech Printing Ltd., 2006); Canada, Department of the Interior, *Turtle Mountain Forest Reserve*, ed. Roy L. Campbell. (Ottawa: Government Printing Press, 1912).

[37] Successive crop failures, no land title, and high infant mortality rates saw many look to the western bison-robe trade and its myriad employment opportunities. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*. By 1868, *hivernement* sites were found along Frenchman River and the Milk River. Donald Merwin Loveridge and Barry Potyondi. *From Wood Mountain to the Whitemud: a Historical Survey of the Grasslands National Park Area* (National Historic Parks and Site Branch, Parks Canada, 1983), 59-61.

establishing reserves in close proximity to the forty-ninth parallel. Subsequently, those Metis who moved west after 1869-70 and were seeking a land base through treaty had to look to what was now American territory. Without access to treaty lands in the Canadian borderlands, Metis families needed to reconceptualise their communities by adapting to new settler-state policies that allowed them to maintain transnational ties. As this new political space came to dominate life on the Northern Plains, crossing the border became increasingly complicated and dangerous for those Metis reliant on the diminishing herds.

Referencing the poplar trees that dot the hills, the Metis called this area of the Great Plains *les Montagne de Bois*, while others refer to it as The Bench and Woody Mountain. Unlike the Turtle Mountain locality, which is comprised almost entirely of its geographic namesake, the Wood Mountain locality encompasses its namesake ecological outlier and several hundred kilometres lying to the south.[38] Reaching an elevation of 1,013 metres, the upper reaches of the plateau are populated with shooting star and mountain bluebell flowers, while its many coulees hold a collection of aspen, poplar, maple, and willow trees. Intermixed throughout are a variety of grasses and desert flora. The area laying north of the Hills hold the rolling prairie, a landscape interrupted occasionally with sloughs, alkaline lakes, and creeks, and to the south, rolling grasslands. With an annual rainfall of thirty centimetres, there are very few wetlands or permanent bodies of water, and this southern terrain is occasionally interrupted with dune-covered

[38] With Twelve Mile Lake forming the northern edge, the eastern boundary carries through Willow Bunch and Big Muddy Lakes, after which it follows Big Muddy Creek as it winds across the grasslands before emptying in the Missouri River at the Fort Peck Indian Reservation. The Missouri River forms the southern edge, after which the boundary follows the Milk River northwest until it is joined by Frenchman River. Continuing north along the Frenchman River, crossing the watershed divide and joining the Wood River where it eventually empties into Twelve Mile Lake.

sandhills and some potholing.[39] The Badlands begin to the southeast of Wood Mountain and run for fifty-five kilometres along the Big Muddy River Valley down into Montana. An important corridor, these badlands formed the northern end of what was popularly known as the Outlaw Trail.

Stretching over two hundred kilometres from east to west, the locality's ecological outlier – the Wood Mountain uplands – divide the area into two watersheds. Key to survival in this arid region, half of the waterways flow north and the other south, where they both work their way through a series of underground and surface channels before emptying into the Missouri River, and to a lesser extent, the South Saskatchewan River.[40] Born of Willow Bunch Lake, Big Muddy Creek winds through the badlands for 300 kilometres and forms an important transportation corridor that connects the north and south ends of the Wood Mountain locality.[41] A product of several forks that rise in Canada and converge in the northern half of the Fort Peck Reservation, the Poplar River also connects several key places in the locality before emptying into the Missouri River. With its headwaters originating north of Browning, MT, the Milk River was critical to both the Foot Hills and Cypress Hills localities and was a waterway around which many

[39] Saskatchewan Conservation Data Centre, "Ecozone: Prairie, Ecoregion: Cypress Upland" (http://www.biodiversity.sk.ca/ecoregions/Cypress_Upland.htm (accessed 19 December 2014). This potholing along the northern edge of the Couteau includes Big Muddy Lake, Willow Bunch Lake, Montague Lake and Twelve Mile Lake.

[40] Those that flow to the south include the tributaries of the Frenchman River, Rock Creek, Poplar River, and Beaver Creek. Those that flow north become part of the Wood River system that first flows into Old Wives Lake before working their way toward Willow Bunch Lakes, the Big Muddy Lake and back south into the Missouri River. Wood Mountain Historical Society, *Wood Mountain Uplands: From the Big Muddy to the Frenchman River* (Moose Jaw: Grand Valley Press, 2000), x. Marilyn Lewry, "Wood Mountain Plateau" in *The Encyclopaedia of Saskatchewan: a Living Legacy* http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/wood_mountain_plateau.html, accessed November 23, 2014.

[41] Big Muddy Creek has also been known as Big Muddy River, Little Yellow River, Martha River, Martha's River, Marthas River, Marthy's River and Park River. USGS, "Feature Detail Report for: Big Muddy Creek" *Geographic Names Information System* http://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=gnispq:3:0::NO::P3_FID:768809 (accessed 3 January 2015).

Metis *hivernement* sites were located during the final years of the bison herds.[42] A significant tributary of the Milk River and also a frequent *hivernement* site during the second half of the 19th century, the Frenchman River rises in the west at Cypress Hills and meanders south-east for 300 kilometres, connecting the Cypress Hills and Wood Mountain localities north and south of the forty-ninth parallel.[43]

These grasslands, interspersed lakes, and waterways drew the once large bison herds, and also supported a population of deer, elk, and antelope. Carnivores also roamed the area, with wolves and coyotes hunting the larger herbivores. Feeding on the few berry bushes, sage grouse were found near the badlands, with geese and ducks populating the few natural springs and creeks coming out of the Mountain. Willow Bunch Lake and Fife Lake provided those residing in the locality with freshwater fish species such as pickerel and jackfish.

The arid characteristics of the surrounding landscape meant that Wood Mountain became a key place of refuge for plains Indigenous groups. When Europeans first passed through the area, they noted that Cree from Hudson Bay, the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre from the south, and during the 19th century, the Ojibway and their Metis kin from the east, often frequented Wood Mountain and its surrounding areas. Much like Turtle Mountain, kinship ties provided families with access to a space on the edge of what, in the early to mid-19th century, was contested territory.[44] When Metis families began their sustained exodus from Red River after 1870, those that made their way to Wood

[42] Other names for Milk River include: Kinuhsisuht, Little River, Middle River, Scolding River, Ski'iyo'he, Wahkpa Chu'gn.
http://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=136:3:0::NO::P3_FID,P3_TITLE:774213,Milk%20River (accessed 3 January 2015).
[43] Frenchman River has also been known as Frenchman Creek and Whitemud Creek.
[44] Sharing a boundary with the Blackfoot Confederacy territory, travel to the west of Wood Mountain required a significant armed contingent to avoid/survive conflict.

Mountain joined those that had arrived earlier in the century with whom they shared kinship and community ties with from the Red River Settlement.

During these early years, many Metis gathered around the post of independent trader George Fisher at *Coulée Chapelle*, which became the nucleus around which as many as seventy-five families settled.[45] Before long, this significant Metis and other Indigenous presence drew the attention of several trading enterprises, and as early as 1855, companies and independent traders began to establish themselves among the locality's *hivernement* camps.[46] By the 1860s, what had been a contested space was transformed into a place where both Metis and other Indigenous peoples gathered as the bison herds continued to move further from places like Turtle Mountain.[47] Late to the area, the HBC sent Isaac Cowie to visit their lone wintering post at Wood Mountain in 1867, and his significant inventory speaks to the size of the population in and around Wood Mountain.[48] Supervised by a number of Metis traders, the post was often moved in response to the often-fluid *hivernement* sites before shuttering in 1871 and refocusing efforts at Cypress Hills.[49] Increasingly, trade in the area was carried out by independent

[45] Several *hivernement* sites established by the1850s included Ouellette's Post, Morin's Post, Légaré's Coulee and *Coulée Chapelle.* Lying just to the north of the locality, La Vielle, Jacob Bear, and Hotel Denomie were also important to the locality, providing several stopping points on the journey between Fort Qu'Appelle and Wood Mountain. Isobel Spence, "Chapter One: Early Trade and Traders" in T Poirier, ed., *Wood Mountain Uplands: From the Big Muddy to the Frenchman River* (Wood Mountain: Wood Mountain Historical Society), 14; Barry Potyondi, *In Palliser's Triangle: Living in the Grasslands, 1850-1930* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 1995), 29-31.

[46] Thomas Denig set up shop at Wood Mountain in 1855, identifying the area as Assiniboine territory. Wood Mountain Historical Society, *Wood Mountain Uplands: From the Big Muddy to the Frenchman River* (Wood Mountain: Wood Mountain Historical Society, 2000), 8.

[47] Jean Légaré, "Notes de T. Bonneau" and "Histoire de W.B," *Musée de Willow Bunch Files*, 1145.1, Box 1, file 5 (ca. 1914), SAB; Loveridge and Barry Potyondi, ed., "Chapter Two" *From Wood Mountain to the Whitemud: A Historical Survey of the Grasslands National Park Area* (Hull: Parks Canada, 1983); Barry Potyondi, "The Range," *In Palliser's Triangle*; Hildebrandt and Brian Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 38-40.

[48] Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventures*, reprint of William Briggs 1913 edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 255-258. Built in 1852, Fort Qu'Appelle was an HBC subsidiary of Fort Ellice (1817), both part of the Swan River District. Wood Mountain, in turn, was a subsidiary of Fort Qu'Appelle.

[49] In 1868, Cowie describes arriving at the home of Jerry McKay, an independent trader who with several men, were residing at the base of the mountain for the winter. On the east side of the Mountain, Oliver

Metis traders who transported their robes south of the line to places like Fort Union and Benton, and Forts Peck, N.J. Turnay.[50]

Jean-Louis Légaré, the most well-known trader from the Wood Mountain locality, became a prominent member of the Wood Mountain Metis community through his marriage to Marie Ouellette, the daughter of Metis trader Antoine Ouellette. His many trips to Fort Peck and Fort Buford were not without their risks, and it was following an attack in 1873 that this Wood Mountain community adopted larger winter hunting groups prior to entering American territory. In that same year, the bison herds were found so deep in American territory that this Wood Mountain hunting party split in two, with half remaining on the Milk River south of the line and the remainder returning to Wood Mountain.[51] This population shift was amplified by prairie fires that burned through Wood Mountain proper in 1879, and saw many Metis permanently relocate to *hivernement* sites along the Milk and Frenchman Rivers. Still, a significant number chose to relocate north-east and built the foundation of the town that became Willow Bunch. Responding to other forms of trade and industry, Légaré built the new town's first store, and this community saw a population increase in the early 1880s when the U.S. Army accelerated its campaign to confiscate goods and deport 'Canadian' Metis south of the border. On one such occasion, one hundred and thirty families who self-identified as Canadian were deported of which one third settled near Légaré's store at Willow Bunch

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Flemmand, a Metis employee of the HBC, was also sent to trade with a camp of transnational Metis. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 255.

[50] Wood Mountain Historical Society, *Wood Mountain Uplands,* xiv.

[51] In a newly nationalised American political space, U.S. authorities often confiscated Légaré's goods. Reflecting dwindling resources and despite his kinship ties in the region, Légaré's caravan was also attacked by a group of Assiniboine in 1873. The decision of Father Lestanc, a prominent Oblate Missionary from the Wood Mountain area, to remain with his congregants south of the line in 1873 had significant ramifications on sites like *Coulée Chapelle* in the following years.

or in the neighbouring *hivernement* sites of Grant, Poitras', Bonneau, and Bellegarde.[52]

Once again, the Catholic Church was a key institution in the Wood Mountain locality and around which several Metis communities emerged. Tied to the mission at St. Florent at present day Lebret, SK, Father Jules Decorby began serving the Wood Mountain community as a *mission ambulante* in 1868. Responding to the growing population at *Coulée Chapelle*, Father Jean-Marie Lestanc took over Decorby's responsibilities in 1870 when he arrived with a group of Metis families from the Red River Settlement, establishing the parish of St. Victor.[53] When the Metis abandoned the site in 1871, the congregation built another chapel on the Mountain roughly seven kilometres from the present town site of Wood Mountain.[54] It was the wild fires of 1879 that forced the relocation and centralization of services in the new community of Willow Bunch, after which St. Ignace Church emerged as the locality's primary place north of the line.

As interest in settling the area grew, so too did both settler-state's need to deal with the question of Indigenous land title. Falling within Treaty Four territory, the Canadian government reneged on their promise to establish a reservation within the Wood Mountain locality north of the forty-ninth parallel, and those classified as

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[52] These sites were found south of the Wood Mountain Post and along the Big Muddy River. F.T. Hugonard to Taché, 17 February [1879?], 25 November 1879. 1880 Canada Sessional Papers, 11, 14; Harroun Foster 2006, 191. Bonneauville, the forerunner of Willow Bunch, was first established in 1883 roughly two miles east of Légaré's store and three miles east of the present town site.

[53] St. Victor was tied to the mission at Willow Bunch. The congregation included one hundred Metis families who were still actively involved with the bison-robe trade. Assiniboia and District Historical Society, *Virtual Museum Canada: Churches of South Central Saskatchewan*, "Chapter Six: Catholics" http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=570&sl=4546&pos=1&pf=1 (accessed 12 February 2015).

[54] Lestanc's journal provides several accounts of a vibrant Metis community that thrived throughout the Mountain between the time of his arrival in 1870 and when he relocated south of the line after the Wood Mountain hunting party split in two in 1873.

Canadian Indians were relocated to reserves along the Qu'Appelle River Valley.[55] In American territory, the discovery of gold in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains saw President Grant unilaterally create the Great Northern Reservation in 1874.[56] Facing increasing calls to open the Reservation to settlement, the Sweetgrass Treaty of 1888 reduced the size of this reservation and established, in part, the Fort Peck Indian Reservation. With a growing Metis population seeking refuge in American Territory, the American Army was often called upon to remove these "foreign Indians" from Reservation lands. Despite these efforts, there were persistent reports of Metis communities in the area, including 130 families living in twelve camps along the Milk River in 1880.[57] Looking to settler-state policies, Metis families sought permanent membership on the Fort Peck tribal rolls, and when that failed, tried to remain in the locality surreptitiously.

With Indigenous title settled, both settler-states began the process of enforcing their territorial claims in the new political space. Originally part of Dakota Territory, Montana Territory was created in 1864 and oversaw the administration of the Wood Mountain locality south of the line.[58] Enforcing American Territoriality, Forts Kipp and Poplar housed Cavalry and Army personnel, positioned to remove foreign Indigenous

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[55] Report of Patrick to Superintendent-General, 16 December 1880. RG 10, vol. 3730, file 26,219, LAC; Assistant Commissioner E.T. Galt to Superintendent-General, 27 July 1880, vol. 3716, file 22,546; vol. 3757, files 31,393 and 31,333; vol. 3757, file 20,034; Dewdney to Macdonald, 3 October 1880. MG 26A, vol. 210, LAC. One exception was Wood Mountain Indian Reserve Number 160 lying northeast of the locality. Established for Lakota refugees, Canadian officials denied their claims to a transnational identity. These followers of Sitting Bull were most often found residing between Légaré's trading post in Wood Mountain and along Moose Jaw Creek until they were granted a land base in 1910.

[56] Previous negotiations between the Blackfoot Confederacy and the American government include the Fort Laramie Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), Fort Benton Council (1853), Lame Bull Treaty (1855), and the failed treaty negotiations of 1865 and 1868.

[57] Raymond Huel, *Archbishop A.A. Taché of St. Boniface* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 201.

[58] Montana Territory was carved out from parts of Oregon Territory (1848-1859), Washington Territory (1853-1863), Idaho Territory (1863-1864), and Dakota Territory (1861-1864).

peoples and to resolve conflict between the area's Indigenous and growing settler populations. When Montana gained statehood in 1889, the area was further divided into Counties, and the Wood Mountain locality fell entirely within Valley County with government representation located in the town of Glasgow, MT.[59]

Canada was slower to enforce its territorial claims north of the line. It was not until the Cypress Hills Massacre of 1873 that the state created and dispatched the NWMP to assert sovereignty north of the forty-ninth parallel. Establishing their first Wood Mountain post in 1874, the Force's primary responsibility was curbing the illegal whiskey trade coming across the border through the badlands. The NWMP was required to take on additional responsibilities when Chief Sitting Bull arrived at Légaré's trading post in 1876 with roughly five thousand followers seeking asylum. When he and most of his followers received amnesty and returned to the United States in 1881, the NWMP shuttered their Wood Mountain post.[60] After 1882, the locality fell under the jurisdiction of the District of Assiniboia and under the authority of the federally controlled North-West Territorial Government. When the Province of Saskatchewan was created in 1905, the locality was eventually divided into three Rural Municipalities.[61]

Sparsely populated north of the line, the present site of Wood Mountain was built in response to the coming of the railway and lies roughly eight kilometres north from

[59] Valley County was established in 1893, and was later divided into Daniels County (1920), Roosevelt County (1818) and Sheridan (1913).
[60] Concerns about possible conflict between Indigenous groups saw the Canadian government to increase its NWMP presence at Wood Mountain. To that end, Superintendent James Walsh, known for his relationship with Sitting Bull, was sent from Cypress Hills to command the post and oversee a staff of twenty-two men. For detail see: David G. McCrady, *Living with Strangers*; Rivard and Littlejohn, *The Metis of Willow Bunch*; Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line*.
[61] First established as Local Improvement Districts, these were transitioned into RMs in 1909 and include: Old Post, #43. Waverly, #44 (1913), and Willow Bunch #42 (1912).

where the original NWMP post was located.[62] Called *Talle-de-Saules,* or clump of willows by the Métis who relocated there after the fires of 1879, Willow Bunch is on the northern edge of the Wood Mountain plateau and is the area's primary population centre. Chosen for its livestock raising possibilities and ample shelter, families joined André Gaudry who is said to have settled in the area prior to 1879.[63] Locating themselves along the southern slope of Willow Bunch Valley, those Metis that settled here did not occupy the land according to the Government's township survey, settling on Hudson's Bay, School, and Railway lands around Jean-Louis Légaré's reconstructed store.[64] Légaré introduced ranching to the locality when he brought forty-five head of cattle from Manitoba in 1884 and this soon became a key part of the local economy.[65] By the time the railway arrived to area in 1907, there were over fifty ranch brands located throughout the locality.[66] While its founding Metis population heavily influenced the early political organization of this place, this influence began to decline as the settler-state began to remake the political space.[67] Compared to Turtle Mountain, homesteading came late to

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[62] Bonneauville was first established as a *hivernement* site in 1883, roughly four kilometres east of Légaré's store and three miles east of the present site of Willow Bunch. Seen as the precursor to Willow Bunch, the site, like many *hivernement* sites, was built around a church constructed by Reverend Pierre St. Germain. In response to the 1885 Resistance, the NWMP built a barracks in the community with a staff of twelve. Following the Resistance, the barrack's staff was reduced to two constables.

[63] The first officially recognised settler to the area was William/Guillaume Klyne in 1879. Homestead Files [H.F.] 690072; Clovis Rondeau*, La montagne de Bois, 1870-1920*, volume 1 of *Histoire de Willow-Bunch, Saskatchewan, 1870-1979* (n.p., 1923), 105-106; Adrien Chabot, *Willow Bunch, 1920-1970*, volume 2 of *Histoire de Willow-Bunch, Saskatchewan, 1870-1979* (n.p., 1923), John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People*, volume 3 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing, 1924), 1047-1048.

[64] Rivard and Littlejohn, *The History of the Metis of Willow Bunch*, 209; Becky Hamilton, "Métis land settlement at Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan, 1840-1910" *Prairie Perspectives: Geographical Essays* 10 (October 2007): 10-12.

[65] The area's limited transportation infrastructure and small local market meant many of these early ranching enterprises remained small until a rail line was built in 1926. Doris O'Reilly, ed., *Poplar Poles and Wagon Trails* (Willow Bunch: Willow Bunch Historical Society, 1998), 1-9; Barry Potyondi, *In Palliser's Triangle,* 47-60; Rivard and Littlejohn, *The History of the Metis of Willow Bunch,* 201, 218.

[66] Wood Mountain Historical Society, *Wood Mountain Uplands: From the Big Muddy to the Frenchman River* (Wood Mountain: Wood Mountain Historical Society, 2000), xv.

[67] Despite the delayed arrival of the Canadian state, the natural space, once heavily populated with mixed prairie grasses, was gradually transformed into an agricultural landscape that more accurately conformed to

the Wood Mountain locality and did not begin in earnest until after the turn of the century.[68] Many of these early settlers embarked on agricultural pursuits while the Metis continued with ranching and cattle-raising. As the agricultural potential around Wood Mountain was poor, those Metis who had not yet gained title to their land were seldom plagued by problems that those Metis further east faced.[69]

South of the border, Wolf Point and Poplar, both fur trade hubs prior to the creation of the Fort Peck Reservation, continued to serve as community centres after 1885. Poplar, home to the present-day Fort Peck Agency, served as the administrative centre, and Wolf Point became the largest population hub on the Reservation. If denied a place on the Fort Peck Reservation, many Metis elected to settle in other prairie towns that grew up along the Hi-Line Railroad including Glasgow, Brockton, Fort Kipp, and Frazer. While not primarily Metis places, these communities allowed individuals and families to remain within the locality and in close proximity to kin on and off the Reservation.

Cypress Hills Locality

Known variably as I-kim-e-kooy, Manâtakâw, wazíȟe, and by the Metis as *les montagnes des Cyprès*, the Cypress Hills, like Wood Mountain, served as a primary natural place within the wider Cypress Hills locality. Due to its close proximity to the

settler-state expectations of land use. When Reverends Alphonse Lemieux, O.M.I. and Louis Pierre Gravel arrived in 1905, they were so taken with the area they encouraged French colonisation of the area, after which the Metis began to decline in political standing. They did, however, continue to reside close to their kin, leading to what became a significant divide between the Metis and the new French-Catholic residents.

[68] The Wood Mountain locality in Canada includes: Townships 1-6 and Range 8-22 west of the 3rd Meridian. In the United States, it includes township 27-37 North, and Range 33-55 East of the Prime Meridian (MT).

[69] While available land around places like Willow Bunch had been claimed by 1910, those Metis who had not filed for a homestead entry, and under the law identified as squatters, were rarely forced off their land.

territory of the Blackfoot Confederacy, this ecological outlier was highly contested and largely off limits to other Indigenous groups until the early 1870s. As the bison herds continued their retreat further into what was now American territory, so too did the Metis' *hivernement* sites, coinciding with an economic shift toward places like Fort Benton. As the U.S. Army stepped up enforcement of their territorial claims in the 1870s, they actively removed 'foreign' Metis to British territory, destroying their livelihood in the process. In light of this, the Cypress Hills offered a sanctuary from an increasingly agitated American Army. By 1885, these Hills served as one of the last places of refuge on the Plains where Indigenous groups gathered before the impending reorganization of the Plains into a settler-agrarian society.

Rising approximately two hundred metres above the prairie, these hills lie in present-day southwest Saskatchewan and southeast Alberta approximately sixty kilometres north of the International boundary.[70] The Cypress Hills plateau covers roughly 2,600 square kilometres, reaching their highest elevation of 1,466 metres at Head of the Mountain before they gradually drop back toward the plains in the south. While dominated by the Cypress Hills, the locality itself is an incredibly diverse natural space.[71] To the north and east of the Hills are prairie grasslands interrupted occasionally by badlands and sandhills, and to the south, gently rolling grass-covered hills.[72] Sub-humid and cool, the climate of the Hills' forested slopes varies considerably compared to the

[70] Named *I-kim-e-kooy* by the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Cree referred to the Hills as *Manâtakâw*, and the Assiniboine called them *wazíȟe*.
[71] The largest of this study's communities, the Cypress Hills locality extends as far north as Maple Creek, SK after which it continues in a southeast direction past Eastend before crossing the forty-ninth parallel just north of the headwaters of Cottonwood Creek. Continuing south to Malta, MT, the southern edge of the locality coincides with the southern boundary of the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation from where it follows the Missouri River before crossing the plains to Fort Benton where the western edge cuts straight north to the slope of the Cypress Hills.
[72] Walter Hildebrandt and Brian Hubner, *The Cypress Hills: An Island by Itself* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Limited, 2007), 14.

surrounding arid grasslands. Receiving between two and four hundred millimetres of annual precipitation between May and June, this adds to the snowmelt and fills the area's many ponds, sloughs, and creeks before feeding the surrounding grasslands.[73]

The Cypress Hills also serve as a major continental drainage divide, emptying into both the Gulf of Mexico via the Missouri River and the South Saskatchewan on its way to Hudson Bay. Originating in Alberta, the Hills themselves are drained by Battle Creek as it wanders its way east-southeast through Saskatchewan.[74] Connecting the Cypress Hills and Wood Mountain localities, both the Milk and Marias Rivers were critical waterways around which several Plains Metis *hivernement* settlements were established. Flowing east across Montana before emptying into the Missouri River north of Fort Benton and fed by numerous streams on the south slope of the Hills, the Frenchman River flows in an eastward direction before joining the Milk River.[75] Draining north, Swift Current Creek also served as a significant corridor that connected the locality to the South Saskatchewan River system. Criss-crossed with several other waterways that fed these prominent rivers, Elkwater Lake, Cypress Lake, and Wildhorse Lake are the largest bodies of water within the locality.

Providing a vital habitat for a dynamic flora and fauna, the Cypress Hills and the surrounding natural space were critical to Plains peoples. The plateau's tree cover provided shelter, and in areas above 1,300 metres, the prized lodgepole pine were abundant; the larger trees were used for lodge poles and the smaller in the construction of

[73] Natural Regions Committee 2006. Natural Regions and Subregions of Alberta. Compiled by D.J. Downing and W.W. Pettapiece. Government of Alberta. Pub. No. T/852. (accessed 23 December 2014).
[74] Battle Creek is also known as the North Fork of the Milk River.
[75] The Marias River was also the site of what is known as the Marias Massacre, when in 1870 a band of Piegan Indians led by Heavy Runner, were attacked by the American Army in a case of mistaken identity.

travois.[76] The grasslands blanketing the surrounding prairie drew the bison herds until 1876, which also supported a population of pronghorn antelope, deer, elk, and moose. Seeking them out were smaller carnivores like coyotes, fox, lynx, and bobcat that came to dominate once the larger animals – like prairie wolves, mountain lions, and grizzly bears – had been hunted to extinction.[77] The waterways and bodies of water provided a home for trumpeter swans, geese, and various ducks, which in turn drew muskrat, mink, beaver, and weasel.

These Hills and their abundant resources was a critical oasis on the arid grasslands, becoming a key *hivernement* site year-round. Using this area were the Cree, Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Siksika, Dakota, Crow, Tsuu T'ina, and Kainai, who were joined in the 1860s by Metis traders, freighters, and labourers who had pre-existing kinship ties with many of the area's Indigenous groups. Still a no-man's land, the Hills remained a contested space as the Cree and Blackfoot fought over access to remaining herds and associated trade throughout the decade.[78] As the plains economy shifted to the robe trade, the Plains Metis found themselves uniquely positioned to pursue the herds that were increasingly confined to American territory. Because this space was contested, with no one gropu ble to claim in as their own, it soon became a prominent place for all plains

[76] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills*, 12.
[77] The bison herds were gone from Cypress Hills by 1876, followed by grizzly bears in 1890, and the prairie wolf in 1925. n.a. "Mammals of the Cypress Hills," http://www.albertaparks.ca/media/2829057/cypress_hills_-_mammals_checklist.pdf (accessed 12 Jan 2015).
[78] Starting in the 1860s, Cree and Assiniboine allies began to invade Blackfoot Confederacy territory and move towards the Cypress Hills. Responding to a weakened Confederacy following the smallpox epidemic of 1869-1870, a massive military campaign that culminated at the junction of the Oldman and St. Mary's saw the Cree solidly defeated. The following year the Cree and the Confederacy entered into a treaty outlining peace, granting access to the Cree for hunting purposes. John Sheridan Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy ad War, 1790-1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 253-254.

groups from both sides of the line who remained engaged in the bison economy.[79] From the late 1860s onward, Metis traders established approximately fifteen significant *hivernement* sites throughout the Hills.[80]

Following the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870, several Metis traders and families chose to resettle in the Cypress Hills locality on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel. By the 1870s, prominent semi-permanent Metis places included: Chimney Coulee (Hunter's Settlement, East End), Four-Mile Coulee, Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp, and Head of the Mountain (Kajewski Cabins). At Chimney Coulee, the fifteen families who relocated there in 1868 were joined by an additional fifty by the mid-1870s.[81] When the herds ceased crossing into Canadian territory, the Hills were transformed into a resource-rich staging area from which to access retreating herds while evading an increasingly persistent and hostile American Army.

The Hudson's Bay Company made at least one attempt to establish a presence in the Cypress Hills when Isaac Cowie built his post, Cyprè Hills, at Chimney Coulee in 1871. Competition from whiskey traders and conflict between the Cree and Blackfoot Confederacy forced Cowie to withdraw from the region, after which the HBC opted to employ independent Metis traders. South of the line, licensed traders were often found around army posts until the demise of the American Fur Company in 1865 opened the Missouri River basin trade to a variety of new interests.[82] Building on pre-existing trade networks, the new 'merchant princes' of Fort Benton developed substantial connections

[79] Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 303-304.
[80] Hildebrandt and Hubner, *The Cypress Hills,* 22.
[81] David V. Burley et al., *Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: an archaeological, architectural and historical study* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1992), 85; C. Jones, *History of Reminiscences of East End and District, Saskatchewan* (Golden Jubilee Anniversary, 1953).
[82] Unlicensed traders were forbidden to trade in Indian Territory under the American Trade and Intercourse Act, which was enforced by the U.S. Army starting in the mid-1860s.

and employed itinerant traders to deal directly with Indigenous peoples on the Northern Plains. Many of those traders were prominent Metis traders who worked out of *hivernement* sites in the Hills and along the Milk and Frenchman Rivers, with an estimated forty-five American-funded trading outfits established throughout the locality by the early 1870s.[83] Building Fort Walsh in 1875 one mile north of the site of the Cypress Hills massacre, the Canadian settler-state's sought to enforce their new territorial claims to the region.[84] After eliminating the whiskey trade, they served as customs and border guards while simultaneously establishing supply and mail routes to Fort Benton, Wood Mountain, and Fort Macleod on the northern edge in the Foothills locality. Like Wood Mountain, the Cypress Hills locality fell under the St. Florent Mission at Lebret and was visited by itinerant missionaries who travelled through Cypress Hills; first with the Metis on their bi-annual bison hunts, and then more permanently as families began to settle throughout the Hills.[85] When settlement became concentrated at Maple Creek, a small village church was built in 1911 and was serviced by Priests out of Lethbridge until a permanent appointment was made in 1913. South of the line, St. Paul's Mission was built in 1855 on the Fort Belknap Reservation by German Jesuits to meet the needs of the

[83] Margaret A. Kennedy and Brian O.K. Reeves, "An Inventory and Historical Description of Whiskey Posts. Inventory of Whiskey Posts in Southern Alberta" Alberta Culture, Historic Sites Service (Edmonton, 1984); Margaret A. Kennedy, "Whiskey Trade Frontier on the Northwestern Plains," PhD Dissertation (University of Calgary, 1991).

[84] Fort Walsh served as headquarters for the NWMP between 1878 and 1882. After its closure, the NWMP established detachments at Maple Creek and Medicine Hat. When the NWMP established a post at Chimney Coulee in 1876, they renamed the community East End, and it became an important place until it was abandoned in 1887. This post was crucial in overseeing Sitting Bull's activities and those of his followers when they first camped in the area.

[85] David V Burley et al., *Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: an archaeological, architectural and historical study* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1992), 85; Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A history, a story, and a memory of the last plains frontier* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), 65. Maple Creek & Area History Committee, *Maple Creek and Area: Where Past is Present* (Saskatchewan, 2000), 41-45.

Gros Ventre and Assiniboine community.[86]

The rapid decline of the bison herds after 1879 saw families and communities shift in the locality, with many Plains Metis relocating to tributaries along the Missouri River. Also drawing them away from the Hills were the large Indian Reservations created just across the border in American territory. After signing Treaty 4 (1874), several Indigenous groups requested their Reserves be located in the Cypress Hills. Among those, the Assiniboine selected a 340 square mile tract of land roughly thirty kilometres from Fort Walsh at Head of the Mountain. Despite beginning to survey the Reserve in 1880, by the early 1880s, Canadian officials began a process of clearing Cypress Hills, first, of non-treaty Indians, and later, Treaty Indians, prohibiting the establishment of reserves within the Cypress Hills locality.[87]

In American territory, the extinguishment of Indigenous land title followed a similar process as that found in the Wood Mountain locality, culminating in the creation of the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1888. It was to this Reservation that many Metis families looked for a permanent land base in the Cypress Hills locality. While some families with close kinship ties were considered for tribal membership, increasing hardship on the Reservation meant that the Metis' Indigenous kin were hard-pressed to share dwindling resources. Those Metis not granted tribal membership maintained their presence on the Reservation as squatters, removed themselves to one of the other

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[86] After a time at Harlem, the church was relocated nearer to the Little Rockies and the present-day community of Hays. Reverend Lawrence B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831-1891* (Lancaster, PA, 1922), 51; Reverend William N.S. Bishoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon: 1840-1940*. (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), 23-29, 65-66, 82-83, 100-105; Reverend Gilbert J. Garrahan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), Vol 2, 240-248, 310-312.

[87] Despite efforts to transition to agriculture, contradictory claims by government officials were used to justify the removal of the Assiniboine from the Cypress Hills. Reducing rations to encourage an exodus from the locality, members had little alternative but to move to the new reserve at Indian Head. For further detail, please see chapter three.

localities, or looked to Canada's revised Half-Breed Scrip policy in 1900-01. Others relocated near local towns and became known as the 'landless Indians' or the 'wandering Canadian Indians'.[88] After years of agitation, this group was granted a permanent land base in 1916 on what had been the Fort Assiniboine Military Post, named for Chippewa leader, Asiniiwin, or Rocky Boy.[89] This Reservation was for those Cree who had left Canada after 1885 and refused to return, displaced Chippewa from the Turtle Mountain locality, and many Metis families electing to self-identify as Indian to gain a land base. Those denied membership at Rocky Boy were often found at places like Hill 57 at Great Falls, MT.

Like Wood Mountain, the American government began enforcing their territorial claims when this locality was added to the Department of the Northwest in 1864. Fort Benton was purchased from the American Fur Company in 1865 and, under the administration of the U.S. Army, became the area's primary military hub.[90] Long an important economic place on the Upper Missouri River, it also served as the northern terminus of the Mullan Road that brought thousands of settlers to the area. This process was accelerated when gold was found in the Mountains around Helena in 1862. This dramatic influx of people meant an increased need to organise the area into a political space. To this end, Congress approved Montana Statehood in 1889, and between 1865

[88] With a growing 'landless Indian' population on the Blackfeet, Crow, Flathead, and Fort Peck Reservations and in the surrounding towns of Billings, Butte, Havre, Glasgow, Great Falls and Helena, local officials began pushing the government to set aside land for the group.
[89] Containing over 700,000 acres, Fort Assiniboine fell between the Missouri and Milk River and includes the Bear Paw Mountains. Housing both enlisted men and their families, the Fort included over one hundred buildings. Much of this infrastructure was still intact when the government established the Rocky Boy Reservation in 1916. In total, the Reservation included 56,035 acres, or three townships of Hill County, which was later expanded in 1936, doubling its size to over 107,000 acres.
[90] To warn of potential attacks from the North by the Lakota, Fort Assiniboine was established following the Battle of Little Big Horn.

and 1916 there were four counties created that oversaw administration of the locality.[91]

The political space north of the line emerged more slowly and only after the NWMP was established and sent west after the Cypress Hills Massacre. Arriving in 1874 under the direction of Superintendant James Morrow Walsh, a Fort Walsh was built in the Cypress Hills along Battle Creek in June of 1875. Having eliminated the illegal whiskey trade, the newly established force served primarily as mediators in an increasingly tense social space as multiple Indigenous groups faced increasing competition over dwindling resources.[92] When the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta joined Confederation in 1905, they divided the Cypress Hills locality into six rural municipalities and three counties.[93]

Built north of Fort Walsh in 1879, an Instructional Farm became the foundation for the town of Maple Creek that grew up three miles to the north. When the CPR made its way through the area in 1882, men on the construction crew wintered at Maple Creek, around which buildings were erected, forming the basis for the present-day town site. They were joined by the NWMP after Fort Walsh was shuttered. They built their barracks on the bank of Maple Creek four kilometres west of the new town. Given the

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[91] Prior to the creation of Montana Territory, areas of present-day Montana had been part of Oregon Territory (1848-1859), Washington Territory (1853-1863), Idaho Territory (1863-1864), and Dakota Territory (1861-1864). The four counties came to include Choteau (1865), Blaine (1912), Hill (1912), and Phillips (1915).

[92] Fort Walsh served a critical role in transforming the region's post-bison economy. The livestock industry was started when the NWMP introduced cattle to feed the area's starving Indigenous population. When the CPR came through the area in 1883, other ranchers joined the already resident Metis population.

[93] From 1882-1905 the Cypress Hills locality fell within the District of Assiniboia as an administrative district of the North-West Territories. It became a Provisional District when the NWT gained representation in the House of Commons. From 1883-1887, The District of Assiniboia established local government areas by passing the Municipal Ordinance, soon replaced by the Local Improvement Ordinance. After 1905, each province took over administrative responsibilities and in 1909 Saskatchewan began to gradually transition to Rural Municipalities, and Alberta passed the Rural Municipality Act in 1912. Municipalities in Saskatchewan: Reno, #51 (1911); Maple Creek, #111; White Valley, #49 (1913); Frontier, #19 (1919); Piapot #110 (1913); Lone Tree, #18 (1913). Counties in Alberta: Warner, #5 (1954); Forty Mile, #8 (1954); Cypress (1985).

unpredictable characteristics of the locality, agriculture was less popular and ranching came to dominate much of the region.[94] Sheep and cattle were grazed throughout the locality on ranches small and large, with the first flock of sheep brought to the area in September of 1889.[95] Under the Dominion Forest Reserves Act, the Cypress Hills Forest Reserve was established in 1906 and also served to further alter the locality by enforcing new territorial rules and accessibility to the critical natural space.[96]

Across the line in the United States this locality was also dominated by stock-raising except in those areas close to waterways where some agriculture was possible. As the Hi-Line Rail line made its way across northern Montana, Prairie towns began to crop up along its route. Both on and off the Fort Belknap Reservations, these include: Lodge Pole, Harlem, Malta, Chinook, and Havre.[97] Falling within the Reservation boundaries, the towns of Hays and Zortman became critical centres. When Rocky Boy Reservation was established in 1916, the Rocky Boy Agency became the administrative hub while to the west, on the Hi-Line ReailwayBox Elder emerged as a major centre.

Foot Hills Locality

In their pursuit of the declining bison herds, Metis traders, hunters, and their families found themselves in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the late 1870s and

[94] Those that came to the area in the early 1880s had difficulty in gaining patent unless located near to a reliable water source. The Cypress Hills locality in Canada includes: Township 1-9 and Range 19-30 west of the 3rd Meridian as well as Township 1-9 and Range 1-5 west of the 4th Meridian. In the United States, it includes Township 24-37 and Range 13-20 East of the Prime Meridian (MT).
[95] Maple Creek & Area History Committee, *Maple Creek and Area,* ix.
[96] The area was expanded in 1931 with the creation of the Centre block in Saskatchewan. Alberta designated the Elkwater area a Provincial park in 1945, which became Cypress Hills Provincial Park in 1951. In 1989 Alberta and Saskatchewan signed an agreement that saw the creation of the Cypress Hills Interprovincial Park.
[97] The Great Northern Railroad ran from St. Paul, Minnesota to Seattle, Washington. Completed by James J. Hill in 1893, it was the most northern trancontinental route in the United States and included several branch lines in Montana that ran to the forty-ninth parallel.

early 1880s. This locality became one of the last spaces where the Plains Metis pursued the bison and established *hivernement* sites that would later transition into permanent communities. This locality stretches from the Beaver Mines—Pincher Creek area, south along the foot of Rockies to the Chouteau area of present-day Montana, and includes the Blackfoot Reservation and parts of the Piikani and Kainai Reserves in Canada.[98] Lying just north of the bison's last grazing range in the Judith Basin and the better-known Metis community of Lewistown, the Foot Hills community has ties that spread throughout the Northern Plains. After the demise of the bison, and with nowhere left to go, many sought out alternative options that would allow them to remain in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.

Located on the westernmost edge of the plains, the Foot Hills locality is the most ecological diverse region of this study. Falling within the Montana Valley—Foothills Parkland area of the U.S. and the Rocky Mountain-Grassland-Parkland Natural regions of Canada, the southern end of the locality sees a more dramatic joining of the plains and Mountains and in the north sees a more rolling topography before giving way to the front ranges. Averaging between 550 metres on the plains and 1,700 metres along the front ranges, the locality is firmly located within the Chinook belt and experiences dry, warm summers and mild winters.[99] This unique landscape means that the higher in elevation

[98] The foothills of the Rocky Mountains serve as the western edge, the Teton River bounds the locality on the south as it meanders its way eastward after which the boundary moves north to the mouth of the Marias River. The eastern boundary coincides with the eastern boundary of the Blackfeet Reservation until the forty-ninth parallel, after which it cuts across the grasslands to include the southern portions of the Kainai and Piikani Reserves before joining the present-day Old Man River Reservoir and terminating in the foothills.

[99] The Montana Valley-Foothill Grasslands contains high valleys along the front range as well as the drainage basins of the Missouri, Saskatchewan, and Columbia River systems. The grasslands area includes a high, gently rolling landscape interrupted by hills and wide river valleys. The Montane Natural Subregion in the Rocky Mountain Natural Region dominates the lower elevations along the front ranges. Lying on the eastern edge of the locality, the Foothills Fescue Natural Subregion and the Mixedgrass Natural Subregion

one travels, the more precipitation falls and the cooler the annual temperature become, with vegetation and wildlife populations reflecting that fact.

These foothills share several features with the Cypress Hills to the east. With highly variable microclimates throughout the area, they remain the only location outside of the Cypress Hills that hold the much-desired lodgepole pine. Other vegetation throughout the locality is well defined and determined by elevation and slope facing, with drought tolerant grasses dominating the surrounding plains and trees along the area's waterways.[100] Matching the diverse topography and vegetation, animal populations vary widely throughout the region and their numbers rise and fall based on fur trade demands, sport hunting, and later, conservation efforts. When Lewis and Clark passed through the southern part of the locality, they spoke of large herds of bison, elk and bighorn sheep, which would have been sought out by wolves, mountain lions, and bears. The elk, deer, woodland caribou, and sheep populations were also a vital resource for local peoples. Lakes and rivers provided habitat for several hundred smaller species, as well as a diverse population of native fish species. As one moves into the surrounding grasslands, various herbivores and carnivores are joined by a variety of waterfowl that call the meandering waterways home.

The Continental Divide defines the watersheds in the Foot Hills locality, with most of the area drained by the Missouri River, whose tributaries include the Milk, Sun,

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Rocky outcrops include the Bear Paw, Big Snowy, Judith, and the Little Rocky Mountains. Natural Regions Committee 2006, *Natural Regions and Subregions of Alberta*, compiled by D.J. Downing and W.W. Pettapiece. Government of Alberta. Pub. No. T/852. (accessed 23 December 2014), 47-50, 61-66, 81-85, 92-95, 100-112.

[100] The upper slopes are dotted with fir and pine trees with a varied ground cover, while several variations of grasses dominate the lower. Open forests include stands of Lodgepole Pine, Douglas Fir, Aspen, and White Spruce. In the Foothills Fescue Natural Subregion, balsalm, popular, cottonwood, and willow stands are found. Natural Regions Committee 2006, *Natural Regions and Subregions of Alberta*, 61-63; 101-102

Marias, and Yellowstone Rivers.[101] Rising out of the Rocky Mountains and meandering east and west for over 3,500 kilometres, the Missouri River empties into the Mississippi just north of St. Louis, Missouri and served as a critical transportation corridor prior to, during, and after the fur trade era. Joining the Milk and Marias as one of its major tributaries, the Sun River winds east-southeast for over two hundred kilometres before joining the Missouri at Great Falls, MT.[102] North of the line, the Bow and Elbow Rivers join with the Oldman to form the South Saskatchewan River.[103] Although the area now contains several man-made reservoirs aimed at managing the locality's water supply, Waterton, Minnewaka, Abraham, and Brule Lakes provided ample opportunities to harvest waterfowl and fish.

Knowledge of this natural space and its abundant resources was crucial to survival on the semi-arid plains, drawing members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Lakota, Shoshone, Arapaho, Kootenai, Cheyenne, and Salish prior to colonial incursions. The epidemics of 1869-1870, which weakened the Blackfoot Confederacy, altered the

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[101] These include: the Missouri system that drains into the Gulf of Mexico; the Belly, St. Mary's and Waterton systems that drain into Hudson's Bay; and the Columbia River system, which terminates at the Pacific Ocean.

[102] The Marias has also been known as Bear River, Grizzly River, Maria's River, Marriah River, Moriah River, and Kay-i-you River. Explored during the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it was named by Meriwether Lewis for his cousin, Maria Wood. USGS, "Feature Detail Report for: Marias River, " *Geographic Names Information System* http://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=gnispq:3:::NO::P3_FID:799001 (accessed 13 February 2015). Other names have included Fancy River, Rose River, Tansey River, and Mone-e-kis. USCS, "Feature Detail Report for: Teton River," *Geographic Names Information System* http://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=gnispq:3:::NO::P3_FID:792009 (accessed 13 February 2015). The Sun River has also been known as the Medicine River, Point of Rocks River, and Mah-pah-pah-azh-hah. USGS, "Feature Detail Report for: Sun River," *Geographic Names Information System* http://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=gnispq:3:::NO::P3_FID:802208 (accessed 13 February 2015).

[103] Other tributaries include: Pincher Creek, Beaver Creek, Willow Creek, Little Bow River, and Livingstone River. The major tributaries of the Oldman River are responsible for draining a small area of Montana into Hudson Bay. A major tributary of the Oldman River, the St. Mary River rises in Glacier National Park and flows through several lakes before making its way through the Blackfeet Indian Reservation and into Alberta. Originating just south of the line in Glacier National Park where it flows north-northeast, the Belly River enters Alberta where it is joined by Waterton River and empties into the Oldman River west of Coalhurst, AB.

political landscape of the foothills locality.[104] It was this shift in Indigenous power-dynamics and the arrival of the NWMP that enabled the Metis to reside throughout the borderlands and into the foothills without fear of other Indigenous reprisals.[105]

Like the Cypress Hills locality, the majority of these Metis traded at Fort Benton. Built in 1847 by Auguste and Pierre Chouteau Jr. on behalf of the American Fur Company (AFC) to encourage trade with the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Fort dominated the economy of this locality for the next forty years. A large structure with military fortifications, it sat near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, capturing steamboat and overland traffic via the Mullan Road. Declining revenue saw the AFC sell the post to the American Army in 1865, after which it continued to serve as a key financial hub on the northern plains. It was to Fort Benton, not Red River or St. Paul, that harvested bison robes were being sent in the final days of the robe trade. A number of other fur posts were established in the locality, but independent traders conducted a majority of this trade beyond Fort Benton.[106] North of the line, the presence of whiskey traders along the Bow and Oldman Rivers saw the NWMP establish a military presence at Fort Calgary in 1875.

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[104] Ongoing conflict with settlers and the U.S. Army in Montana severely depleted Confederacy resources. The Marias Massacre of January 1870 saw the U.S. Army attack an innocent and smallpox-ravaged group of mostly women and children Piikani. The slaughter represents the last armed conflict between the members of the Blackfoot Confederacy and U.S. State. Binnema, "With Tears, Shrieks, and Howlings of Despair," 128.

[105] In 1870 the Belly River was the site of the last major conflict between the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Cree. Weakened in the aftermath of a smallpox epidemic, members of the Blackfoot Confederacy were attacked by a Cree party for control of the Cypress Hills area. Despite having the initial advantage, the Cree were soundly defeated.

[106] These include: Fort F.A. Chardon (1843-45), Fort Cotton (1844-45), Fort Jackson (1833), Fort Lewis (1845-1847), Fort Piegan (1831), and Fort Mackenzie (1832-1844). John E. Sunder, *Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 60-62; Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 78-80; Hiran Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, Vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 673, 961-963; Hiran Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, Vol. 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 334-335.

Like this study's other localities, religious institutions arrived alongside traders and other financial interests. In 1872 Oblate priest and itinerant missionary Albert Lacombe was sent to work among members of the Blackfoot Confederacy in what became Canadian territory.[107] Our Lady of Peace Mission became the base of operations for these OMI activities in the locality, and Fort Macleod emerged as the administrative centre.[108] Missionary efforts arrived south of the line in the 1840s in the form of Methodist Robert Rundle, followed by the Jesuit priest Pierre-Jean De Smet.[109] The first permanent non-Indigenous settlement in Montana was established by de Smet at St. Mary Mission in the Bitterroot Valley, working among the Blackfoot Confederacy, Gros Ventre, and Assiniboine. [110] When the Blackfeet Agency was built on the north bank of the Sun River in 1857, the mission was relocated, and opened again in 1874 as St. Peter's after local tensions abated. It was out of this church that area priests were supplied to the surrounding parishes.[111]

Controlling access to the locality, the Blackfoot Confederacy dominated this area of the plains and restricted access to outsiders. It was not until disease and starvation that

[107] Lacombe first went west in 1852 and lived among the Cree and Metis in the Fort Edmonton area before travelling the southern plains between 1865 and 1872. When he was recalled in 1872, he was replaced by Constantine Scollen and Léon Doucet

[108] St. Michael's was built in 1886 by local Metis, including Remi Beauvais and Dolphus Cyr. St. Joseph's Church at Cowley was also an itinerant mission of Fort MacLeod until a church was built in 1927. Pincher Creek and District Historical Society, *Mountain Pass to Prairie Grass: History of the Pioneers of Pincher Creek and District* (Pincher Creek and District Historical Society, 2013), 38, 452.

[109] Rundle spent eight years among the Piikani without gaining influence. Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885*, 1995 reprint (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 136-138.

[110] Tensions in the area forced the mission to close in 1846.

[111] These included the Holy Family Mission on the Blackfeet Reservation, and St. Paul's among the Assiniboine. Because the Catholic Church was not allowed within the boundaries of the Blackfeet Reservation until 1885, the Jesuits built a small log cabin on the south bank of Birch Creek just across from the Reservation. Once permission was granted, they proceeded to build missions among the Blackfoot Confederacy (Holy Family Mission), the Crow (St. Xavier's Mission), and at Fort Peck. Reverend Lawrence B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest,* 51; Bishoff, *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*, 100-105; Garrahan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 310-312.

leadership was forced to accept reservations and reserves as part of both settler-states' process of remaking the natural space into a political one. As the 19th century progressed and the boundaries between members of the Blackfoot Confederacy became more distinct, the Kainai and Siksika remained north of the forty-ninth parallel, and the Piikani were divided by the forty-ninth parallel and were named 'North' and 'South' accordingly (Piikani and Pikuni). In Canadian territory, declining resources saw the Assiniboine, Tsuu T'ina, Kainai, Piikani, and Siksika meet at Blackfoot Crossing on 22 September 1877 to sign Treaty 7. Lying to the south and partially falling within the Foot Hills locality, the Piikani (IR 147) and Kainai (IR 148) selected reserves along the Oldman River and Belly River respectively.[112] Signing treaties with both settler-states, the Piikani were further divided between the Northern and Southern Piikani (Blackfeet). Like the Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills localities, the Foot Hills locality south of the international boundary fell within the Great Northern Reserve of Montana, out of which the Blackfeet Reservation was carved in 1888. The creation of this Reservation and the presence of two Reserves in Canadian territory presented a number of opportunities tied to treaty policy, but very few Metis were able to gain tribal membership.

The discovery of gold in Montana saw an influx of fortune seekers and financiers who ran headlong into an Indigenous population opposed to their incursions on traditional lands. As conflict increased in both frequency and severity, the U.S. Army built a number of military forts to consolidate their territorial claims south of the line. Initially meant to oversee increased steamboat and settler traffic, they were later used to protect settlers and economic interests during what became known as the American

[112] The Assiniboine, Tsuu T'ina, and Siksika selected reserves along the Bow River, which are currently reflected by the Assiniboine (IR 142, 143, 144), Tsuu T'ina (IR 145), and Siksika (IR 146) Reserves

Indian Wars.[113] These posts and the military personnel posted there were also critical in rounding up and removing Canadian Metis traders, hunters, and their families from American territory. When Montana was granted statehood by President Cleveland in 1889, the Foot Hills locality was divided into three counties, two of which are dominated by the Blackfeet Reservation.[114] Lands north of the line fell under the administration of the North-West Territories within the District of Alberta, divided first into local government areas and then into two rural municipalities when Alberta joined Confederation in 1905.[115]

With the area's Indigenous population confined to reserves and reservations, ranching spread throughout the locality, often encroaching on Indigenous treaty lands. While many of these early ranches were founded on homestead entries, later leasing arrangements saw land holding and ranches balloon in size and number.[116] Falling between the Rockies and the Porcupine Hills, places like Pincher Creek had ample water and grazing resources, and benefited from the Chinook winds that provided moderate winter temperatures. When The NWMP shuttered their Pincher Creek horse farm in 1881, the officers and the Metis families who had gathered around this place remained, forming the basis of the community when it was incorporated as a village in 1898.[117]

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[113] This included: Camp Cooke/Fort Clagget (1866), Fort Shaw/Camp Reynolds (1867), Fort Ellis (1874-75), and Fort Maginnis (1880-1890). Camp Poplar River survived three years and shared its location with the Fort Peck Agency three kilometres north of the Missouri on the Poplar River.

[114] These include: Glacier County (1919), which was original part of Teton County (1893); Toole County (1914), which was formed out of parts Hill and Teton County; and Pondera County (1919), which was originally part of Teton County (1893) and Chouteau County (1865).

[115] In 1887, the Herd Districts (1883), Fire Districts (1886) and Statute Labour Districts (1887) were amalgamated under the Local Improvement Ordinance until the 1912 Rural Municipality Act divided the locality into Cardston County (1954) and the District of Pincher Creek, #9 (1944).

[116] The Foot Hills locality in Canada includes: Township 1-6 and Range 26-30 west of the 4th Meridian as well as Township 1-6 and Range 1-3 west of the 5th Meridian. In the United States, it includes Township 27-37 and Range 8-15 West of the Prime Meridian (MT).

[117] When the NWMP established a horse farm at Pincher Creek in 1878, several Metis families joined retired members of the RCMP who began to settle in the immediate vicinity. Initially supporting the

Beauvais Lake also emerged as an important place around which several Metis families settled,[118] followed by Mountain Mill that came about when the Department of Indian Affairs established a sawmill southwest of Pincher Creek.[119] Twenty kilometres west of Pincher Creek, Beaver Mines was established as a coal town, and those who worked in Turner Valley Oil fields often placed their children in the local boarding school.[120] To the west, the town of Brocket served an important role as the administrative headquarters of the Piikani Reserve.

Just over the forty-ninth parallel, many of the locality's key places are found within the boundaries of the Blackfeet Reservation, while the cattle-towns of Billings and Missoula were built up along rail lines.[121] Although very few Metis were able to reside on the Reservation as tribal members, many elected to settle in the surrounding towns of Cut Bank, Dupuyer, and Chouteau where mining dominated the area's economy well into the

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NWMP, these freighters and traders were joined by a settler population that boomed after the railroad arrived in 1884. This included William Gladstone, who married Metis woman Mary Vandal, living in both Montana and Alberta. They were joined by James Whitford, who was born in St. Boniface in the mid-1850s, after which he moved to the U.S. and worked as a scout for the U.S. Army. He moved to Pincher Creek in 1883, where he married Mary Herbert, granddaughter of Cree Chief Ermineskin where they raised four children. In 1883 William Allen Hamilton was a freighter out of Fort Benton who ran goods up to Fort Macleod, and married Vernie Mary (Marie) Dumont, daughter of Gabriel Dumont. *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 348, 379.

[118] Other Indigenous families moved to the area around Pincher Creek and Beauvais Lake, including the Aflred Therriault family. His wife, Angeline Bourdon, was born 1876 at Frenchtown, Montana, received an allotment on the Flathead Reservation, and was identified as one quarter Kootenai and 1/8 Cree. After living a time in Montana, the family move to Picher Creek and raised thirteen children. Louis and Mose Fiddler lived at Beauvais Lake and Mountain Mill, and Mose worked as a ranch hand for the Gervais Family, who were related to the Gladstone, Smith, and Gareau families. *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 377, 716.

[119] John Keen was sent by the Indian Department to establish a sawmill and timber reserve of 50 square miles. It was sold to private interests in 1883 and became a major source of industry and business in the area until it was shuttered in 1899, closing permanently in 1902. *Prairie Grass*, 709-710.

[120] Lee Montgomery and Barbara Montgomery, "Metis Family: David and Madeline Carpenter, in *Prairie Grass to Mountain Pass*, 809.

[121] Communities within the reservation include Babb, Browning, East Glacier Park Village, Heart Butte, Little Browning, North Browning, St. Mary, South Browning, Starr School, Cut Bank.

20th century.[122] Created in 1897, the Lewis and Clark National Forest was established along the foothills before being made into a National Park in 1910. Sharing the forty-ninth parallel, Glacier National Park in the United States and Waterton Lakes National Park in Canada account for a combined area of nearly 4,500 km^2.

The spatial context of these borderlands shows how the idiosyncratic characteristics of this multi-layered space were critical in the creation of a borderland region in which the Plains Metis were uniquely placed to evade and manipulate settler-state policies and categories in order to maintain community following the collapse of the bison economy. These sketches of the Turtle Mountain, Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, and Foot Hills localities illuminate the characteristics of this multi-layered space and the unique opportunities available to those who called them home. Their familiarity with this complex space put the Metis in a position where they were able to navigate shifting population patterns, and the imposition of settler-state policies aimed at their erasure while simultaneously adapting to an emerging settler-economy to remain in place.

[122] This began with the discovery of silver at Butte in 1875. Other economic interests include oil and gas, coal, hard rock mining, lumber, and tourism.

3. SHIFTING CATEGORIES AND NEW ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BORDERLANDS

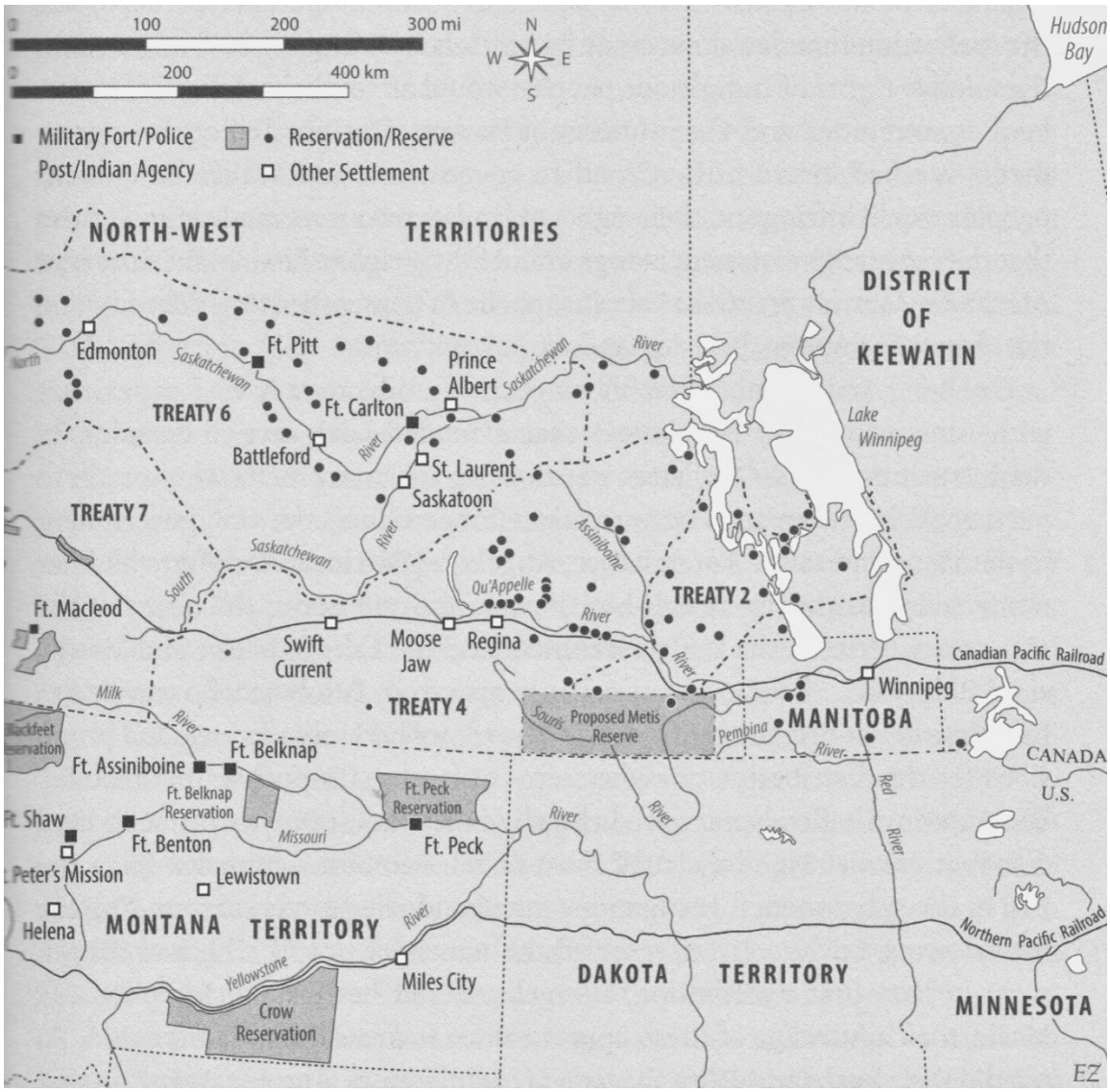
Having established the spatial context of these borderlands, this chapter will place the Metis back in this multi-layered space. To that end, the focus will shift to a discussion of the opportunities available to individuals and families that allowed them to remain in this region in the post-1885 period. As the American government went about extinguishing Indigenous land title, Metis individuals actively took part in a treaty process that could potentially grant them membership on treaty rolls and residence on one of five reservations established within the borderland region. Following suit, Canadian officials began a similar process using what are known as the Numbered Treaties, but one that allowed for only one reserve within the borderland region. When Canada opened its Metis scrip process in 1885, many Metis on both sides of the line left treaty and applied for either money or land scrip certificates. Fraught with complication and disagreement over residence, race, and nationality, claims to this Metis identity were often challenged by the Canadian government. In tandem with or separate from these settler-state policies, Metis individuals and families took advantage of other economic opportunities that were often unique to each of this study's four localities. Involved in capitalist markets since the fur and bison-robe trade, many Plains Metis drew on this familiarity to navigate new realities in the borderlands. Drawing on formal market activities like wage labour, this was often supplemented with informal enterprise, such as harvesting natural resources, in order to ensure family and community self-sufficiency. This melding of market engagement and traditional practices was unique to each locality, and was aimed as sustaining family and community in place.

Accordingly, this chapter will provide a brief context of the treaty making process on the Northern Great Plains and the land set aside within the borderlands, showing how the Turtle Mountain and Cypress Hills localities were shaped by these settler-state strategies in different ways. The conversation will then move to Metis scrip and how applicants in these two localities placed themselves in relation to it, concluding with a discussion of new pecuniary possibilities introduced within these two communities. A consideration of these market adaptations will illuminate some of the critical tactics used by the Plains Metis to ensure the continuity of their borderland communities in the post-bison era.

As non-indigenous settlement to the Great Plains increased, officials on both sides of the line were required to deal with the pre-existing territorial claims of Indigenous peoples. To that end, both settler-states adopted a policy of land cessions in exchange for reservations in the United States and reserves in Canada. This treaty-making process not only nationalised the various indigenous groups of the borderlands, but acted as a centrifuge that excluded individuals and families on the basis of race, citizenship, and band membership.[1] Despite the policies of both governments, community cohesion was in part maintained after 1885 by using those reservations and reserves lying along the international boundary. Without separate legal status in either country, many Metis saw joining treaty as a way to receive government assistance while maintaining a land base

[1] In both Canada and the United States, Indigenous peoples were considered a federal responsibility, and as such, treaty-making fell to settler-state appointed agents. Intended to prevent future conflict with Indigenous peoples, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 served as the foundation for treaty-making policies in areas that had been British Territory. With the signing of the British North American Act in 1867, the Canadian Dominion took over the responsibilities of the Crown. As Indian policy evolved after the American Revolution south of the line, the federal government assumed responsibility for Indian Affairs. Later, as the United States began its territorial expansion into the west, policy shifted from one of negotiation to one of force, which saw policies fall under the authority of the President and Congress, while the day-to-day operations fell to the Secretary of War.

within traditional territories among other Indigenous kin.[2] For this reason, the pertinent treaties that divide this borderland region are briefly summarised below, providing important context for the later analysis of Metis tactics in relation to treaty.



"The Northern Plains." Reserves and Reservations.
Hogue, *Metis and The Medicine Line*, 111.

[2] The Manitoba Act of 1870 granted Metis of the new province a separate status and rights, but this was not extended to those Metis outside of the postage-stamp province until 1885.

When non-indigenous territorial expansion commenced south of the line, the U.S. government began negotiating treaties with Indigenous peoples of the Northern Great Plains. Falling on the eastern edge of this study's borderland region, the American Government entered into negotiation with the Red Lake and Pembina band of Chippewa in 1851, which would have seen them cede their lands along the Red River Valley floor.[3] A second attempt was made in response to increased tension over increased settlement, culminating in the Old Crossing Treaty of 1863, and those Chippewa residing at Turtle Mountain were joined by their Metis and other Indigenous kin who refused to adhere to the 1863 Treaty.[4] When officials opened up the ten million acres claimed by the Turtle Mountain community to settlement before settling outstanding claims, the community sent a delegation to Washington to voice their opposition.[5] In response, President Chester A. Arthur signed a Presidential Executive Order in December of 1882 that saw the creation of a twenty-two-township reservation, or twenty-four by thirty-two mile tract of land, along the forty-ninth parallel.[6] Ongoing disagreement over who would be granted membership in Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indian Band saw the reservation reduced from

[3] This included roughly 50 kilometres of land on both sides of the Red River. Conflict between southern and northern states over the balance of free and slave states meant the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the agreement. Dakota claims to the area east and south of the locality had been dealt with earlier in the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and in the Treaty of Mendota, and were ultimately resolved after the Sioux uprising of 1863.

[4] The agreement saw the Pembina community cede roughly 40,000 square kilometres in exchange for roughly five cents an acre. The agreement provided for two reservations amounting to 640 acres per family, and payments to the 'half-breed' kin of the Chippewa who were citizens of the U.S in the form of 160 acres within ceded territory. Although the Chippewa expressed dissatisfaction with the terms of the treaty, it was the U.S. Senate that refused to ratify the treaty because they considered it too generous. The 1864 Supplemental Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Old Crossing, returned some of the earlier benefits, and members were relocated to the Red Lake and White Earth Reservations in present-day Minnesota. As for the Metis, their claims to the Red River Valley were ignored in favour of their Chippewa kin.

[5] When Chief Ayabiwewidang and his follower erected signs warning trespassers away from Turtle Mountain proper until outstanding claims were settled, settlers called on the government to open the region to settlement. The government did offer to protect any land on which Indigenous people made improvements, but few had done so in line with how the state defined them, or were Metis and not recognised by the settler-state.

[6] However, the establishment of this reservation did not mean that the area's Indigenous population had ceded their claim to, or receive compensation for, their ten million acres of territory.

twenty-two to two townships in 1884.[7] The McCumber Agreement of 1892 aimed to settle land and membership questions at Turtle Mountain, with the government selecting thirty-two men from the community to negotiate the cession of their outstanding territorial claim. Dubbed the 'Ten Cent Treaty', Chippewa members were offered one million dollars in exchange for their ten million acres of traditional territory. Turnover in leadership after the 1892 Agreement meant that it was not ratified until 1904, following a sharp rise in economic and environmental poverty throughout the region.

When the Oregon Trail opened the American's western territorial claims to settlement in the 1840s, the settler-state began treaty negotiations with the peoples west of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri Rivers. While these early treaty negotiations sought to define the territorial boundaries of each Indigenous group, it was not until the United States government decided in 1853 to expand their railroad west of the Mississippi that they established direct contact with members of the Blackfoot Confederacy.[8] Treaty-making efforts over the next ten years, including the Lame Bull Treaty, saw the settler-state continue to expand is physical presence while trying to end

[7] The U.S. Government reneged on this 1882 agreement. Instead Congress set aside funds to relocate the Chippewa to the White Earth Reservation. Refusal to relocate resulted in a special report, written by Indian Agent Cyrus Beede, who determined that tribal population had been overestimated and that the majority of residents were 'Canadian' Metis. Based on Beede's report, the Reservation was reduced from twenty-two to two townships, with the remaining land designated as public lands available for sale. The Mahone Commission of 1890 was unable to finalise an agreement with members of the 'American' Turtle Mountain Chippewa community. It was the escalation of a taxation dispute that saw the Government send a three-man committee to relocate members to the White Earth Reservation, with the Chippewa and Metis countering with demands that the reservation be returned to its earlier 1882 boundaries.

[8] Their first attempt in 1851 called on all major tribes from the Upper Missouri area to meet at the Platte River. This included leadership from among the Assiniboine, Mandans, Crows Rickaras/Ahrikara, Minnetarres, Hidatsa, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and 'Sioux'. Most Kainai and Siksika resided in what was then British Territory, so were not present for Treaty negotiations. Regardless, the settler-sate determined their historical boundaries. John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet, Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 217.

conflict between Indigenous groups.[9] The discovery of gold in the mountains of present-day Montana saw a dramatic rise in non-indigenous settlement, culminating in the creation of the Montana Territory in 1864 and the need to settle all outstanding territorial claims in the area. Despite attempts between 1864 and 1868,[10] increasing conflict saw the land question go unresolved until President Ulysses S. Grant unilaterally decreased the size of Blackfoot Confederacy Territory defined in 1855, confining the area's Indigenous peoples to what was known as the Great Northern Reservation.[11] Encompassing most of present-day Montana north of the Missouri River, the Sweet Grass Agreement of 1888 saw this land base again reduced, culminating in what are known today as the Blackfeet, Fort Belknap, and Fort Peck Reservations.[12]

In Canada, treaty-making in the west began in 1871 and by 1877 the settler-state had extinguished Indigenous land title throughout the southern Prairie Provinces (Treaties

[9] With the goal of exploring and surveying western lands for a 'practicable and economical route' for a transcontinental railway, the Fort Benton Council of 1853 was held at the confluence of the Judith and Missouri Rivers. The Lame Bull Treaty of 1855 sought to create a neutral zone between the Blackfoot Confederacy and other southern Nations. Explained as a Peace Treaty rather than a land surrender, the agreement effectively pushed Blackfeet Territory north from the Yellowstone to the Musselshell River. Hugh A. Dempsey, *The Great Blackfoot Treaties* (Calgary: Heritage Press, 2015), 30-34; 40-46.

[10] Officials returned to the Blackfeet in 1865, promising $50,0000 a year for 20 years in exchange moving their southern territorial boundary north from the Musselshell River to the Teton River, and for maintaining peace with the U.S. setter-state, settlers, and other Indigenous groups. Ongoing conflict in the Territory saw Congress refuse to ratify the agreement. Efforts were made again in 1868, but the Piikani refused to sign without the Kainai and Siksika present. Of note, these negotiations introduced a provision that provided 160 acres of land for each mixed-blood child residing on the reservation. Facing opposition from Montana Territory's new settler population, this agreement failed to be ratified - ending treaty-making efforts between the Blackfeet and the U.S. settler-state. Dempsey, *The Great Blackfoot Treaties*, 48-49.

[11] Grant's Executive Order of 1873 established a Great Northern Reservation to be jointly occupied by the Gros Ventre, Piikani Kainai, Pikuni, and River Crows. Defined by an Act of Congress in 1874, this Great Northern Reservation included all lands falling north of the Missouri and Sun River between the Rocky Mountains, the North Dakota border, and the forty-ninth parallel.

[12] Sweet Grass negotiations began in 1887 when the Northwest Commission travelled to each agency to negotiate land cessations among members of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Congress ratified these negotiations in May of 1888. The boundaries of the Blackfeet Reservation were altered again in 1895 when tribal leadership agreed to sell another 800,000 acres along the foothills of the Rocky Mountains for 1.5 million dollars to make way for Glacier National Park and part of the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve.

1-7).[13] Closely aligned with the civilization policies introduced after 1812, these Numbered Treaties encouraged signatories to settle on their assigned reserves, build permanent communities, adopt agriculture, and permit the state to educate their children.[14] These agreements made between Indigenous representatives and Dominion officials – proxy for the British Monarch – made it possible for the new settler-state to fulfill its policy of filling the west with agrarian settlement, making way for a transcontinental railway, and later, resource extraction.[15] Within the scope of this project, four of Canada's Numbered Treaties divide the borderland region north of the forty-ninth parallel: 1, 2, 4, and 7. These treaties coincided with the destruction of the once massive bison herds. Without this key resource, families across the plains faced starvation, and with few options other than to sign treaty and relocate to reserves, government rations became a critical means of survival. Facing similar conditions and without any status of their own, thousands of Metis in the Canadian territories elected to enter treaty, and in doing so, became 'Indian' in the eyes of the Canadian state. For many, kinship ties with other Indigenous groups opened new opportunities when negotiations began, and

[13] The genesis of these Numbered Treaties was the Robinson Treaties of 1850, which sought to end conflict between the Province of Canada and Indigenous peoples around Lakes Huron and Superior. The Robinson Treaties, critically, made provisions for a land base in the form of reserves based on sites chosen by Indigenous leaders. Following the purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadian Government acquired its Northern Territories from the British Crown in 1880 under the Adjacent Territories Order. Alan D. McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 319-321; Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, reprinted Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1971 (Toronto: Belford, Clarke and Co. 1880), 17-21.

[14] These agreements required that signatories observe the treaties, keep the peace, and not molest non-indigenous subjects. Later, this was expanded to include obeying Canadian laws, to not bother persons travelling through their lands, and to assist the Canadian government in bringing about justice against any Indians who may break the law. Far from uniform, the details of each Treaty differed according to the outcome of negotiations for each.

[15] Treaties 1 through 7 were critical in opening up the North-West Territories for settlement and facilitating the implementation of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's National Policy and Transcontinental Railway. Treaties 8 through 11 focused more exclusively on the extraction of natural resources.

provided they were acknowledged by their other Indigenous kin, they were enrolled as members, providing them with a land base, annuities, and provisions.[16]

Treaty 1, signed in 1871, covers a significant area of present-day central Manitoba, including Winnipeg, the southern portions of the large lakes, and west to the hundredth Meridian, or just west of present-day Brandon and Boissevain, MB. Three months later, Treaty 2 contained provisions very similar to those of Treaty 1 and covered land in southwest Manitoba and a small area of southeast Saskatchewan. In exchange for land ceded, both Treaty 1 and 2 provided signatories with the promise of a land base in the form of reserves.[17] With provisions similar to the first two Numbered Treaties, Treaty 4, also known as the Qu'Appelle Treaty, was signed in September of 1874 and includes all of present-day southern Saskatchewan not included in Treaty 2 as well as a small section of land in southeast Alberta.[18] Treaty 7 saw the cession of the remaining lands within the geographic scope of this project. Signed in September of 1877 at Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River, this Treaty provided the Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, and Tsuu T'ina with reserves and the right to continue hunting and trapping in their traditional

[16] For Indigenous peoples, these agreements represented an agreement to shared usage and responsibility for those lands being ceded — not a land surrender. To the Crown, these treaties were understood as a massive land surrender, bringing Indigenous peoples under the authority of the Dominion Government. Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999): 100-114, 121-123, 132-136, 140-143; Jill St. Germain, *Indian Treaty-Making Policy in the United States and Canada, 1867-1877* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001): 1-60, 129-138; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "The Numbered Treaties (1871-1921)," *Summaries of Pre-1975 Treaties*, last modified 4 June 2013, accessed 16 March 2016, https://www.aadncaandc.gc.ca/eng/1360948213124/1360948312708.

[17] Treaties 1 and 2 also included a grant of 160 acres per family. Both Treaties were amended by an Order in Council on 30 April 1875 to account for provisions that were verbally promised by government representatives during negotiations.

[18] Treaty 4 provisions included the creation of reserves amounting to 640 acres of land per family of five. Six additional adhesions to this treaty saw Indigenous groups that resided in the Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills localities cede their territorial rights in exchange for similar provisions. Six additional adhesions were signed before September 1877: For Ellice 21 September 1874, Qu'Appelle Lake signing, 8 September 1875, Additional Qu'Appelle Lakes signing 9 September 1875, Swan Lake signing 24 September 1875, Fort Pelly signing 24 August 1876, Fort Walsh signing 25 September 1877.

territories.[19] Where possible, Metis outside of Manitoba became signatories to these treaties to receive benefits, and as was the case in Treaties 1 and 2, hundreds of Metis were enrolled in Treaty 4.[20] Whereas treaty-making in the United States resulted in the establishment of five reservations within the borderland region, only one reserve was established in Canadian territory within the borderland region.

These treaty-making policies of both Canada and the United States define much of the context within which the Metis of this study operated to gain a land base and access to critical resources during this transition period on the Plains. Already divided by the forty-ninth parallel, each of this study's localities is further divided by Canadian and American Indian treaties and at least one reserve or reservation.[21] The Turtle Mountain locality is divided in half by two of Canada's numbered treaties and the 1892 McCumber Agreement south of the forty-ninth parallel. Both the Wood Mountain and Cypress Hills localities fall within Treaty 4 territory in Canada what was originally known as the Great Northern Reserve in Montana, now home to the Fort Peck, Fork Belknap, and Rocky Boy Reservations. The Foot Hills locality is home to the Blackfeet Reservation, and in Canada, the locality falls within Treaty 7 territory and includes the very southern portions of the Kainai and Piikani reserves. These reserves and reservations, aimed at containing Indigenous peoples within a certain space, were used by the Metis as a means of remaining within this traditional borderland territory. Some of those attempts were more successful than others, but all demonstrated the agency that individuals and families

[19] Like Treaty 4, signatories of Treaty 7 were granted 640 acres per family of five. An adhesion to Treaty Seven was signed 4 December 1877 to accommodate some leaders who were not present at the September signing.
[20] With fewer kinship connections, the number of Metis entering Treaty 7 was significantly smaller. As we shall see later in this chapter, this contributed to demands made for their own reservation in 1878.
[21] The Foothills locality is the exception, containing one American Reservation and portions of two Canadian Reserves.

maintained in the face of settler-state policies designed to categorise people by race and nationality, limiting transnational Indigenous movement within the borderland region.

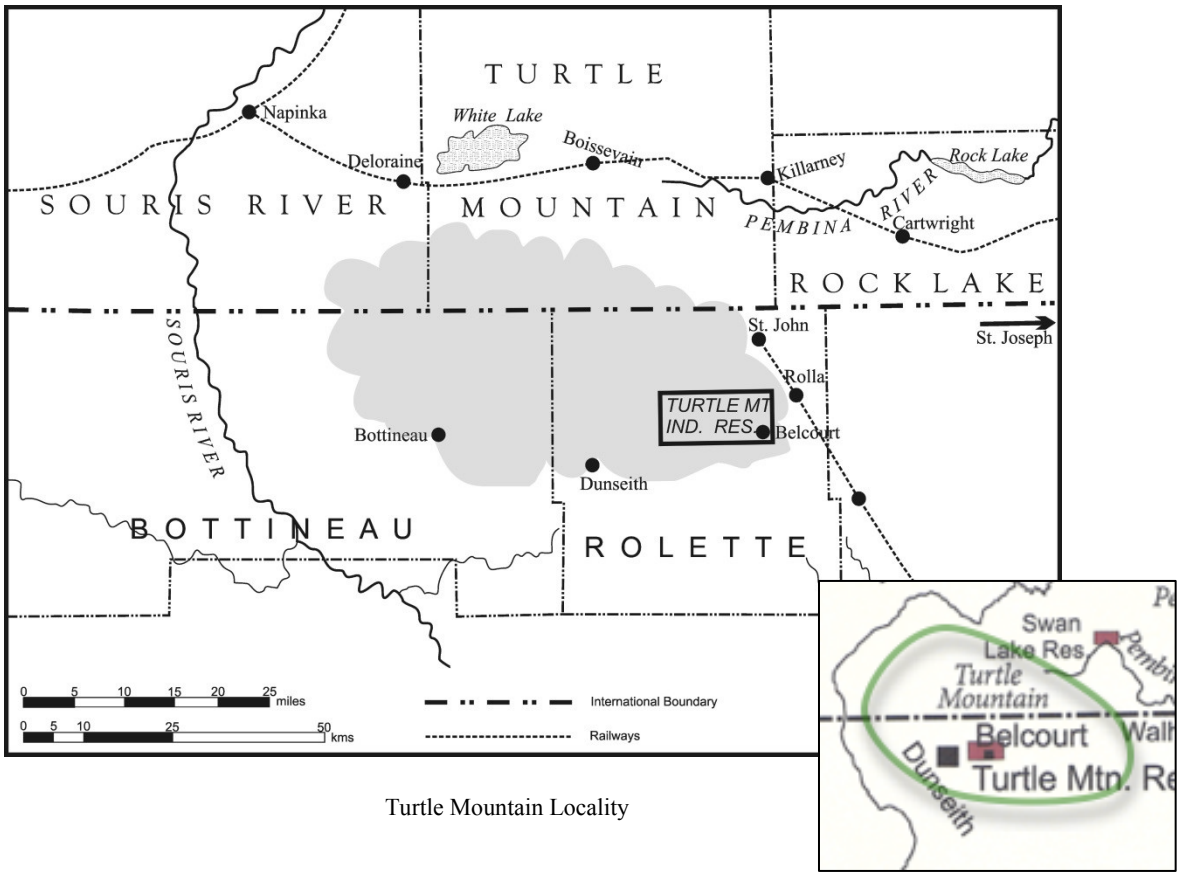
While each of this study's localities provide distinct experiences associated with treaty membership, the following discussion will consider the Turtle Mountain and Cypress Hills localities to detail the ways settler-state policies were used by Metis individuals and families in order to remain in the borderlands. While the Turtle Mountain locality emerges as an exception to the rule and a marked example of successful manipulation of state strategies to ensure community continuity, the Cypress Hills shows how concern over settler-state territorial, social, and racial boundaries saw the Metis pushed to the margins in the locality. While many were able to maintain a community in this locality, they failed to become major players in the Fort Belknap Reservation as they had at the Turtle Mountain Reservation.

Turtle Mountain – Success

Lying within the Turtle Mountain locality, this reservation serves as a key example of a Plains Metis community responding to, and engaging with, American and Canadian Indian policies. Despite the fact that Indigenous peoples were denied a land base within this locality in Canadian territory, the creation of the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in 1882 in the United States (ratified in 1904) had a profound impact on the cohesion of this Metis community.[22] While details accounting for initial community formation are covered in the first two chapters of this project, the tensions that grew between the Metis and their Chippewa kin between 1882 and 1904 needs to be explored

[22] An exception to this was when the Canadian Government had made concession to Dakota Refugees of the Minnesota Massacre by creating IR60 in the Turtle Mountains just north of the forty-ninth parallel. This land was sold off and its inhabitants relocated to Oak Lake by 1912.

in some detail. Doing so will illustrate how, by 1904, the Turtle Mountain Reservation was, despite its designation as an Indian Reservation, a Metis community.



Turtle Mountain Locality

In creating and enforcing new boundaries of belonging on the Plains, the American governments' refusal to recognise Metis claims in the borderland region served to exacerbate growing tensions between the Metis and their Chippewa kin at Turtle Mountain.[23] This tension was noted as early as 1852 when declining resources in the

[23] In tying Metis territorial claims to that of their Chippewa kin during early land negotiations at Pembina, the American government had tacitly acknowledged a Metis claim south of the line but one that was contested well into the 20th century. This acknowledgement came out of the 1863 Treaty and Indian Claims Commission that concluded that descendants of the 'mixed-blood members of the Pembina group would receive benefits provided by the treaty. This included that descendant from mixed-bloods who received scrip in 1863, who were at least 1/4 Pembina Chippewa. This 1/4 rule extended to awards given after the Government's redistribution of land ceded by the McCumber Agreement. Camp, "The Turtle Mountain

locality became a source of concern for the already-resident Chippewa, who requested that the Metis remain at Pembina and cease hunting at Turtle Mountain. The economic downturn of the 1850s exacerbated these tensions, aggravated further by the influx of non-indigenous settlement to the Turtle Mountain locality.[24] Relations simmered until the late 1870s when Metis families began returning to familiar localities where they had a long tradition of implacement. Declining bison herds and increased American military enforcement of the borderlands encouraged many Plains Metis to return in anticipation of a reservation. For those that had been denied membership on other Treaty rolls and access to Manitoba Halfbreed scrip, Turtle Mountain remained a viable opportunity for a permanent land base, attracting a population of approximately 1,200 Metis and other Indigenous people by the early 1880s.[25]

In response, the area's Indigenous population demanded that their territorial claims be recognised and protected, prompting the government of President Chester Arthur to create the Turtle Mountain Reservation on December 21st, 1882.[26] Disagreements quickly arose within the community on several fronts, with emphasis on

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Plains-Chippewa and the Métis," 72-95; *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1854* (Washington: government Printing Office, 1865), 190-191. n.a. "Summary under the Criteria for the Proposed Finding for Federal Acknowledgment of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana," (2000), 39-45; n.a "Proposed Finding: Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana," *Technical Report* (2000).

[24] Gregory Camp identifies three periods between 1821 and 1854 that define the Turtle Mountain locality: isolation, intrusion, and reaction. From 1810 to the early 1840s the Turtle Mountain Chippewa and their Metis kin were largely on their own, occasionally participating with the large bison hunts at Pembina. Intrusion began when the fur trade brought more Metis to the region, effectively ending the locality's isolation. The failure of the 1851 Treaty negotiation, influx of Pembina Metis, and growing presence of both settler-states coalesced, resulting in the reaction period, defined by calls for a land base by both the Turtle Mountain Chippewa and their Metis kin. Camp, "The Turtle Mountain Plains-Chippewa and the Métis," 72-75.

[25] LAC, Affidavit of Joseph Laverdure, 19 January 1895, vol. 713, f. 367406, microfilm T-12442; Ens, "After the Buffalo," 142-145.

[26] The government was forced to act when Chief Ayabiwewidang posted signs on the Mountain demanding that settlers stop trespassing until Indigenous claims to the area had been dealt with. The settler population responded with anger, culminating with the government opening the Turtle Mountain Community's ten million acres of territory to settlement.

the ever-growing 'Canadian' Metis population on the reservation. Determining that the tribal population had been overestimated in 1883, Indian Agent Beede classified Canadian Metis as foreign and denied them membership on tribal rolls. The Reservation was subsequently reduced from twenty-two townships to two, or 46,080 acres, with the remaining lands designated as public and opened for sale. Chief Ayabiwewidang (Little Shell III) vehemently opposed this unilateral decision, and as hereditary Chief of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, fiercely advocated that all Metis residents, who he acknowledged as kin, be added to the tribal rolls.[27] Although the settler-state continued to refuse recognition of Canadian Metis claims to the locality, many continued to reside as squatters in the surrounding area, bringing them into direct conflict with homesteaders and other non-indigenous peoples who had recently acquired the surrounding land.

Once again, the locality saw a population influx after the conflict of 1885, bringing membership questions to the fore once again.[28] Established in 1892, the McCumber Commission looked into the possibility of moving the reservation while investigating the cross-border movement of 'Canadian' Metis onto the Reservation. The reduction from twenty-two to two townships in 1884 severely limited settlement and sustainability possibilities on the reservation for the roughly 2,100 members, causing further intra-community tensions.[29] Taking advantage of that divide and an absent Chief Ayabiwewidang, local agents appointed 32 men - 16 full-blood and 16 American Metis -

[27] Chief Ayabiwewidang was first recognised as hereditary leader of the Turtle Mountain Band during the 1863 negotiations at Pembina.
[28] Rising tension in the community saw the House Committee of Indian Affairs appoint and send three men to the reservation to settle the outstanding territorial claims of the community and to relocate the Turtle Mountain community to the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. This little-known Mahone Commission of 1890 was unsuccessful because enough time and distance meant the Turtle Mountain Chippewa saw themselves as separate from those at White Earth (Pembina Chippewa). The community countered with a demand that their reserve be expanded to its earlier 1882 boundaries.
[29] Ens, "The Reformulation of the Turtle Mountain Métis Community 1879-1905," 143.

to act as community representatives in the negotiations.[30]

When the McCumber Commission arrived at Devils Lake later that year, tensions in the community ran high. Ayabiwewidang's representatives continued to call on the government to recognise their Metis kin, arguing "When you first put your foot upon this land of ours you found no one but the Red Man and the Indian Woman, by whom you have begotten a large family [Metis]. The are the children and descendants of that woman; they must be recognised as members of this tribe."[31] A series of decisions made by local agents saw the deliberate omission of Ayabiwewidang and the silencing of his pro-Metis perspective from negotiations. Many American Metis residents, having waited over a decade for a land base, were willing to exclude the Canadian-born Metis as long as they were permitted to select homesteads on the public domain surrounding the Reservation. The government-appointed council agreed to the terms of the McCumber Agreement, which provided one million dollars in compensation for the ten million acres of land claimed by the Turtle Mountain community, earning it the epithet 'The Ten Cent Treaty'. The subsequent tribal roll included 1,476 Metis and 83 full-bloods, with 177 Metis members rejected on account of their perceived Canadian nationality.

After government officials left the area, Ayabiwewidang returned with his followers and retook control of the Turtle Mountain Community, rejecting the McCumber Agreement, demanding that the reservation be increased in size, and that all

[30] Local government officials focused on this divide between Chief Ayabiwewidang and the Chippewa population and their American Metis allies. U.S. Congress, Senate Document 444, 56th Congress, 1st Section, 1904, Serial 3878. Stanley N. Murray, "The Turtle Mountain Chippewa, 1882-1905," *North Dakota History* 50, no. 1 (1984), 25. These settler-state agents were the Reservation's Farm Instructor, E.W. Brenner and Devils Lake Indian Agent John Waugh. Rumours in January of 1892 that the government-appointed council intended to reduce membership on the tribal roles, Ayabiwewidang's appointed council of twenty-four agreed to grant full membership to all Metis in the community, both Canadian and American. Camp, "The Turtle Mountain Plains-Chippewa and the Métis," 135-142.
[31] Camp, "The Turtle Mountain Plains-Chippewa and the Métis," 139.

Metis be reinstated as Tribal members. As a result, Congress chose to not ratify the 1892 Agreement, stalling progress on a settlement for a further twelve years. While 'Canadian Metis' were often blamed for the delay,[32] relationships were further complicated by an economic depression that hit all of North Dakota in the 1890s, seeing a number of residents from the Turtle Mountain Reservation relocate to towns lying within the locality but off-reservation. In an unanticipated twist, many Metis moved onto the Reservation replacing those who left.[33]

When Ayabiwewidang died in 1901, the leadership of the Turtle Mountain Reservation requested that the 1892 Agreement be ratified. Congress did this in 1904, but without an expansion of reservation lands and without the reinstatement of 'Canadian' Metis on Tribal rolls.[34] Those Metis who were denied membership either removed themselves to Canada, taking advantage of the most recent round of Metis scrip, elected to move further west to the Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills, or Foot Hills localities, or to new places within the Turtle Mountain locality but off-reservation. When a census was taken of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in 1904, it found that the Metis population had risen by roughly four hundred and the Chippewa population had decreased.[35]

Long a multi-ethnic locality on the Great Plains, intra-community relations grew more complicated as the space was divided by an international boundary that saw two settler-states try to impose their new categories of race and belonging onto its residents. Despite tensions that occasionally arose between the Chippewa residents and their Metis

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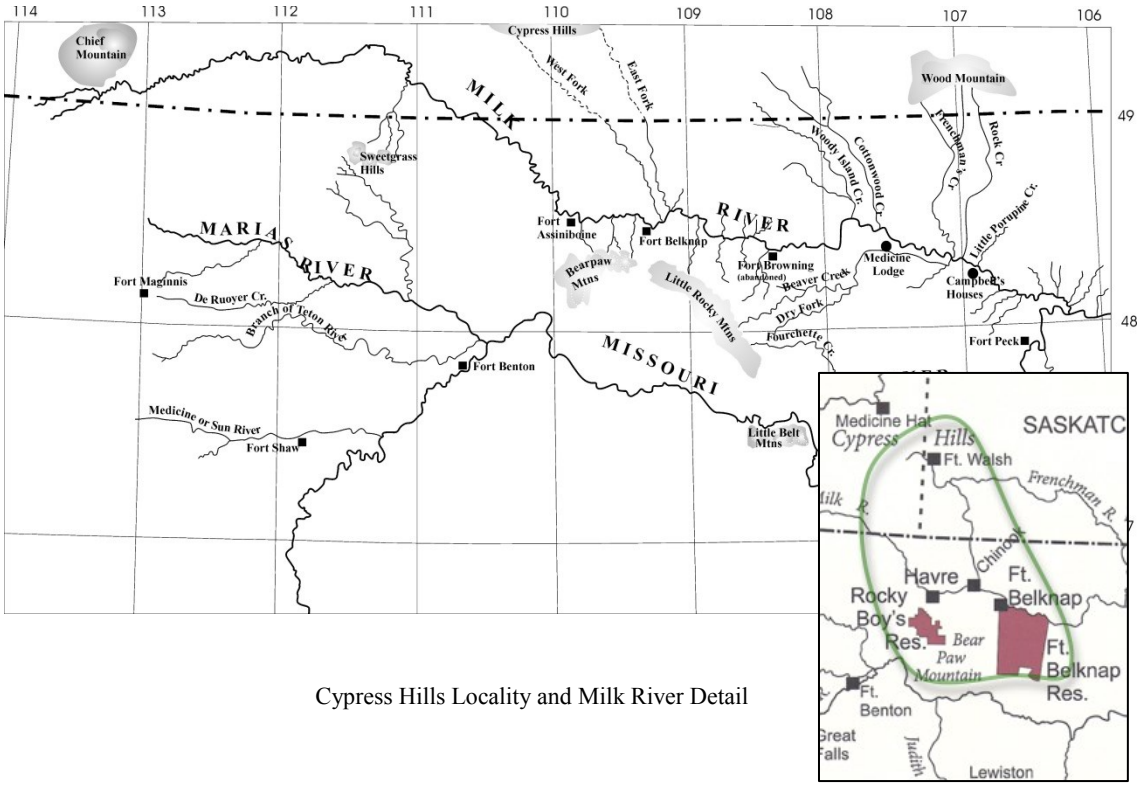
[32] *Grand Forks Daily Herald*, 28 October 1892, page 1.
[33] "Report of the Turtle Mountain Commission," Serial 3105, page 9-23. For those able to secure scrip after 1885, they were denied membership as scrip identified them as Canadian. LAC, Edgar A. Allen to J.A.J. McKenna, 19 June 1906, RG 15, vol. 990, f. 1232425, microfilm T-14568.
[34] Ayabiwewidang and his followers were dropped from the Rolls, the descendants making up the majority of today's 'landless' members of the Little Shell Chippewa Band of Indians. For detail see Vrooman, *"The Whole Country was…'One Robe'"*.
[35] N.a*., St. Anne's Centennial: 100 Years of Faith* (Rolla: Star Printing, 1985), 93.

kin, a vocal group persisted in recognizing the Metis' historical claims in the Turtle Mountain community even as the settler-state sought to eliminate those they now categorised as 'Canadian'. As 'full-blood' Chippewa left for opportunities off-reservation, an influx after 1892 of both Canadian and American Metis remade the Turtle Mountain Reservation into an American Indian Reservation populated primarily by Plains Metis by 1904.[36] For those 'Canadian' Metis who were refused membership in the Turtle Mountain Tribal rolls, other opportunities would emerge that allowed them to remain in the locality.

Cypress Hills – Failure to Secure a Metis Reserve or Reservation Status



Cypress Hills Locality and Milk River Detail

[36] The first tribal roll conduced by Charles Davis, the Reservation's Indian Superintendent, listed 201 full-blood Chippewa and 1,893 Metis. Only 326 members received allotments, with the majority taking land within the public domain. Of those that were unable to reside on the Reservation, some took allotments within the locality, others in Western North Dakota near present-day Williston, others still in South Dakota, and in eastern Montana, making the reservation's land base the most widely dispersed in the United States.

Not all attempts at manipulating settler-state strategy to maintain a Metis community met with success. When the Canadian state reneged on its Treaty 4 promise to provide reserves in the Cypress Hills, Metis residents of this locality were forced to look to the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in American Territory for a government-sponsored land base. However, unlike the Turtle Mountain Reservation and a similar history of implacement, the decision of whether to include them fell to Assiniboine and Gros Ventre members who, facing increasing hardship, were reluctant to grant the growing Metis population access to dwindling resources. To illustrate this dynamic, a brief discussion of the Assiniboine Reserve at Cypress Hills in Canadian territory shows how its 1880 establishment was followed almost immediately by a shift in Canadian policy that sought to remove all reserves within the borderland region. Consideration will then turn to the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation and how kinship ties permitted only a few Metis families, now categorised as American Indians, to reside on the reservation. These difficulties demonstrate that Plains Metis attempts to manipulate state policy in the Cypress Hills often resulted in failure, forcing them to look to other places and forms of resistance in order to remain in the borderlands.[37]

With a history of implacement, Metis traders and their families who came to the

[37] Metis claims to multiple government categories — Indian, non-indigenous, and Metis — continued to cloud the racial, spatial, and political boundaries drawn by the settler-state. While the issuance of Metis Scrip as part of the Manitoba Act set a precedent for dealing with Metis territorial claims in Canadian political space, the adoption of the Canadian Indian Act in 1876 drew on ideas of band membership and blood quantum in an attempt to clarify who qualified as 'Indian'. For those Metis unable or unwilling to claim an Indian father, new state policies immediately denied their claims to Treaty membership and residence on a reserve. These policy shifts were a marked divergence from one that relied on communities to define membership, drawing instead on new state-imposed categories of race and citizenship to determine membership – aimed at limiting the number of Metis who crossed ethnic and racial lines to claim an Indian identity. The Act went on to exclude Indian women who married non-treaty Indians, illegitimate children, Indians residing outside of Canadian Territory for 5 years or more, and any Metis who received Manitoba Half-breed scrip. *Statues of Canada*, 1876, 39, Vic, c.8, s.3.

area to broker trade arrangements with other local Indigenous groups established places like Chimney Coulee and Four-mile Coulee. When the Canadian government began enforcing their western territorial claims by building Fort Walsh in 1876, the community that grew outside its fortified walls came to represent the complex, multi-ethnic community that called the Hills home by the early 1870s.[38] With conditions continuing to deteriorate on the Plains, the Indigenous community of the Cypress Hills locality turned to the treaty process and the security it offered. When Treaty 4 negotiations began in 1874, Metis from the Cypress Hill locality attended alongside their other Indigenous kin in the hope of being included.[39] Not only were the annual payments critical at a time when economic possibilities were narrowing, the negotiations also had a bearing on Metis' claims to land and resource rights in the new political space.[40] However, a settler-state in the process of creating and enforcing racial boundaries between Indigenous peoples rejected the Plains Metis' transnational claims.

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[38] Residents by the late 1870s included, the Metis, Cree, Assiniboine, Siksika, Kainai, Piegan, Ojibwe, Chippewa, Gros Ventre, and Lakota. Close enough to the international border to provide access to the remaining bison herds yet far enough to escape an increasingly agitated American settler-state, the Cypress Hills became a critical place of survival by the 1870s.

[39] Labelled American, the Assiniboine were excluded from Treaty 4, but were later included in Treaty 4 Adhesion. Several refused to return south to Fort Belknap after realizing that the Cypress Hills fell within Canadian territory, strengthening their claim when it came time to allotting reserves. Government officials compared tribal lists from Fort Belknap with those arriving at Cypress Hills for annuity payments associated with Treaty 4, and those appearing on both, were denied. Similar practices were followed on the Fort Belknap Reservation. J.M. Walsh to E.A. Meredith, October 28, 1877, F. 8280, RG 10, vol. 3649, reel C-10190, LAC.

[40] To this end, a group of Metis presented the representatives of the Canadian government with a petition calling on the state to provide them title to the land they occupied and for the regulation of hunting practices on the Northern Great Plains. F.L. Hunt, "Notes of the Qu'Appelle Treaty," *Canadian and Monthly National Review* 9, no. 3 (1876):173-176; Arthur J. Ray, Jim Miller, and Frank Tough, *Bounty and Benevolence: A History of Saskatchewan Treaties* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 200); Harold Cardinal and Walter Hildebrandt, Treaty Elders of Saskatchewan, *Our Dream is that Our People Will One Day Be Clearly Recognized as Nations* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000). During negotiations at Qu'Appelle, a group of Metis men presented government representatives with a petition asking that title be granted for land already occupied by their families, and that they be permitted to continue hunting on the plains to the southwest of the Qu'Appelle Valley without interference. LAC, Department of Indian Affairs, "Augustin Braland et al. to Alexander Morris, 11 September 1874," RG 10, f. 4041, vol. 3613, reel C-10106.

When treaty payments were distributed at Fort Walsh two years later, officials were greeted by Treaty 4 members demanding that the Assiniboine and Metis who lived among them, but who had been unable to sign in 1874, be permitted to join.[41] As far as the gathered members were concerned, the Metis were "…their brothers of the plain…" who in turn argued that they should be free to cross the border without having to pay customs duties on what they carried.[42] Members of this group included those Assiniboine that were granted, if briefly, a reserve within the Cypress Hills. Requesting a land base at the western end of the Cypress Hills at Head of the Mountain and west of Fort Walsh, an additional ten Treaty 4 signatories also requested that their reserves be located within the Cypress Hills.[43] Stipulated by Treaty 4, signatories had the right to select the location of their reserve, and in the early spring of 1880 the Canadian government agreed to establish reserves for the Cree and Assiniboine within the Hills.[44] After consultation with Assiniboine leadership, Dominion Land Survey representative A.P. Patrick began surveying their reserve at Head of the Mountain.

Closely aligned with assimilation policies, the government quickly set about instructing the now-sedentary Cypress Hills community in agricultural practices.[45]

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[41] Payment were made at Fort Walsh in order to facilitate the summer bison hunt of the Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibwe. Assiniboine leaders Cuwiknaga Je Eyaku (Man Who Takes the Coat), Teepee Hoksa (Long Lodge), and Wica Hostaka (Lean Man), facing starvation, signed an adhesion to Treaty 4 on September 25th 1877.

[42] LAC, Department of Indian Affairs, "J.M. Walsh to Minister of the Interior, 12 September 1876," RG10, f. 7088, vol. 3637, reel C-10112.

[43] Cree Chief Minahikosis (Little Pine) applied for a reserve roughly fifty kilometres northeast of Fort Walsh, and Cree Chief Payipwât (Piapot) requested one beside him. Many other bands requested that their reserves be located alongside these two.

[44] LAC, Department of Indian Affairs, "Report of Patrick to Superintendent-General, 16 December 1880," RG 10, vol. 3730, file 26,219, LAC; "Assistant Commissioner E.T. Galt to Superintendent-General, 27 July 1880," vol. 3716, file 22,546; vol. 3757, files 31,393 and 31,333; vol. 3757, file 20,034; "Dewdney to Macdonald, 3 October 1880," MG 26A, vol. 210.

[45] With the establishment of an Indian Affairs office at Fort Walsh, Indian Agents and Farm Instructors began to filter into Treaty Four territory. The Indian Agent at Fort Walsh was Edwin Allen and the Farm Instructor was J.J. English. When the survey of the Assiniboine reserve was completed in June of 1880,

Correspondence between government officials and Edgar Dewdney, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the North-West Territories, provides an early articulation of government plans to empty Cypress Hills of its Indigenous population. Although agricultural pursuits in the area showed promise in their first two years, all government farms were closed after a unilateral decision was made in 1881-1882 to remove all Indigenous peoples from the Cypress Hills, telling residents they would have to relocate north and east to Qu'Appelle, Fort Pitt, or Battleford. To enforce the decision, the NWMP at Fort Walsh were ordered to cease their distribution of rations.[46]

Ultimately, it was the interplay of both state's desire to see Metis and other Indigenous people adhere to the new political, social, and racial boundaries that informed this policy shift. Canadian concerns over the Cypress Hills' proximity to the International boundary was informed in part by American claims that Canadian Indians were causing the starvation of American Indians, slaughtering American cattle, squatting on American Indian lands, and exacerbating tensions among American Indigenous groups. Ramping up efforts to enforce territorial claims, the U.S. Army began harassing Metis residents south of the forty-ninth parallel who, when pursued by the Army, crossed the border to evade capture. Frustrated by these cross-border movements, the American government launched

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English had already started a home farm for the Assiniboine reserve, just eighteen miles from Fort Walsh along the banks of Maple Creek. John Setter's Home Farm, just downstream of English's, documented great success during its brief lifetime despite facing widespread regional drought. English often remarked that the Indigenous population was eager to prove their agricultural pursuits successful, and by 1882 there were 115 acres under cultivation. Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 111-115.

[46] In a bid to enforce this policy, Dewdney requested that the Canadian government pass legislation that would make it a criminal offense for a band to not relocate to a reserve site suggested by government officials. LAC, Department of Indian Affairs, "Dewdney to Macdonald, 3 May 1884," MG 26A, file 37; "Reed to Superintendent-General, 19 April 1884," RG 10, vol. 3745, file 29,506-4.

several campaigns to eliminate the 'foreign Indian' presence south of the line.[47] Officials captured those Metis they found, destroyed their property, and often deported them north to Canadian territory.[48] American officials from the Montana, Dakota, and Missouri Districts all argued for the removal of foreign Indians from American territory before claims to an American nationality could be substantiated,[49] and complaints by the stock-raising industry that the Metis were killing cattle in lieu of bison were considered severe enough that scouting parties were dispatched to investigate.[50]

In light of these transnational tensions and the state of a now largely disarmed, starving, and impoverished Indigenous population in the Cypress Hills, the Canadian government began the process of removing them from the borderland region to reserves

[47] PAM, "Report of Edward McKay on the State of Affairs in the Northwest," encl. to letter of Pascal Breland to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 18 May 1873," *Lieutenant Governor Morris Papers*, MG 12 BI, #164.

[48] Some were permitted to remain in American territory provided they adhered to American laws and ceased engaging in illegal trade with Indigenous peoples. PAM, "Adams Archibald to Secretary of State for the Provinces, 22 May 1872," *Adams George Archibald Papers*, dispatch 68, Reel 3, MG 12 A1.

[49] Colonial Thomas H. Ruger, Commander of the Montana District, Commander Alfred Howe Terry of the Dakota District, and General Philip Henry Sheridan, Commander of The Department of Missouri all argued that the boundary was clearly marked and that Canada's Indigenous peoples needed to respect the differences that it marked. Memorandum of Commander of Montana District Colonial Thomas H. Ruger in response to Sherman Memorandum, 15 December 1881; Record 9961, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (NAB). Memorandum of Commander of Dakota Territory Alfred Howe Terry in response to Sherman Memorandum, 4 January 1882; Record 9961, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB. Memorandum of Commander of the Missouri Department, General Philip Henry Sheridan, in response to Sherman Memorandum, 9 January 1882; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB. This categorization of Indigenous peoples as foreign was found in Newsprint across Montana, making its way to the New York Times in 1894, suggesting that foreigners without a passport be levied a fine of $1,000. N.a., "Elected Foreigners Protest: International Questions Grow Out of the Indian Territory Strike," *New York Times,* 14 July 1894.

[50] Scouting parties were sent from Fort Shaw to investigate the claims, but confirmed there was no evidence that cattle had been killed or consumed within abandoned Metis camps. 2nd Lieutenant of 3rd Infantry from Fort Shaw Fred Thies to Post Adjutant of Montana Territory, 30 April 1881; Record 5607, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 290); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.

at Touchwood Hills, Qu'Appelle and Crooked Lake.[51] Facing starvation and with little alternative, the Assiniboine were removed to Indian Head, Saskatchewan in June of 1882.[52] Even though rations were no longer being distributed at Fort Walsh, approximately 260 lodges were back in the area by October of 1882, and in May of 1883 the government began the process of forcibly removing the Assiniboine by train back to Indian Head.[53]

These decisions did not mean that border crossing ceased. American officials made ongoing reports detailing the state of starving Canadian Indians in the U.S., and Canadian officials remarked on the state of those near Maple Creek and the new NWMP barracks. Throughout the early 1880s, settler-states blamed one another for ongoing cross-border movement. Bilateral communication about Indigenous movement was hardly a new policy, and American officials were calling for an agreement as early as 1883 that would see both settler states communicate openly about the movement of Indigenous peoples across the border.[54] The Canadian government's tepid response to American demands saw attempts at a joint policy passed over in favour of one that

[51] When rumblings of a large Indian Council gathering spread across the Plains, the American Army moved to confiscate the weapons and horses of the large Cree population south of the border. It the end, it was this 1881 disarmament that provided opportunity for the Canadian state to remove the Indigenous population from the Cypress Hills. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree," 218.

[52] Dissatisfied with the new location, many immediately returned to the Cypress Hills. To expedite the removal of Indigenous peoples from the Hills, Dewdney suggested that Fort Walsh be closed and that all rations, which for many were their only means of survival, be terminated. Dewdney to Macdonald, 19 June 1881, vol. 210, MG 26A, LAC; Galt to Vankoughnet, 16 July 1881, vol. 247, MG 26A, LAC.

[53] Those that continued to return to Cypress Hills were denied rations and told to walk to Swift Current for supplies, resulting in the death of many members. At this juncture, some government officials began to challenge Dewdney's calls for fewer rations. Although Cree leaders like Payipwât requested and were granted a reserve in the Qu'Appelle region, the Assiniboine were denied similar consideration and Indian Head was surveyed for them in 1885, resulting in a reduction from the 340 square miles they were allotted in Cypress Hills to 79 square miles northeast of the Wood Mountain locality.

[54] Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln to Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen, 12 April 1883, Record 1614, B 1883 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 93); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.

removed the foreign intruders by force, destroying property, and forcibly deporting them to Canada.[55]

It was not until the Resistance of 1885 that Canadian policy coalesced with their American counterparts to restrict Metis movement across the forty-ninth parallel. Canadian officials requested that American officials prohibit Metis from crossing into Canadian territory and to communicate their movements south of the line, which saw officials from both North Dakota and Montana sent regular reports to Canadian officials.[56] While American pressure was critical in the decision to terminate reserves in the Cypress Hills, records also illustrate Canadian preoccupation with fears of another Metis uprising. Familiar with the Metis' claims to multiple ethnic identities and their kinship ties with other local Indigenous peoples, Sheriff S.E. St. Onge Chapleau was hired for a confidential assignment by Prime Minister Macdonald to locate Metis settlements south of the forty-ninth parallel and to determine the likelihood of their participation in another armed resistance.[57]

Although Metis as an ethnic category existed in Canada after the Manitoba Act of 1870, those that chose a residence south of the international boundary were faced with the limiting categories of either Indian or Euro-American. Mounting competition between Plains groups over the remaining bison saw several Indigenous communities try to

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[55] Correspondence between American secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen and British Minister in Washington, Lionel Sackville-West, highlights American frustration to what they perceived as a slow Canadian response. When the Privy Council proposed a system of permits that facilitated ongoing border-crossing, American officials were less than receptive. British Minister in Washington Lionel Sakville-West to United States Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuyesen, 10 May 1882; Record 1408, 1881 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 291); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.

[56] Bayan to United States Secretary of War William Endicott 28 March 1885; Record 1563, C 1885 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M689, Roll 349); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.

[57] LAC, Prime Ministers' Papers, "Correspondence between Macdonald and S.E. St. Onge Chapleau," *Sir John A. Macdonald Papers*, Manuscript Group 26A, vol 446, 221265-221266, 206550-206582; vol. 443/xi, 219818-219821; vol 214, 91052-91055, 91054-91055, 91069-91070; vol. 527/1, 206.

restrict transnational hunting and competition. When the Metis and their kin continued crossing into Montana in the late 1870s and early 1880s searching for the last of the bison herds, it was often the Indigenous residents of the three Montana reservations who, facing increasing hardship in their own communities, demanded that the American government defend their newly established Reservations boundaries against outsiders.[58]

Blaming this transnational Metis population for the starvation of their Indigenous population,[59] officials at Fort Assiniboine in 1881 noted that the "Fort Belknap reservation was swarming with foreign Indians," hunting what remained of the bison.[60] This was followed by reports in 1882 that a "large number of Crees, other foreign Indians and Half Breed[s]" were destroying what remained of game in the area of the Fort Belknap Reservation, and that the community would be unable to meet their own needs for the coming winter.[61] A further three hundred Metis families were reported living on the Fort Peck Reservation in the Wood Mountain locality, having built homes and planted crops.[62] Expecting their residence to be sanctioned by Congress, these Metis openly "laugh[ed] at the idea of being interfered with by American authorities" when they were apprehended by Army officials in 1878.[63] However, by 1898 Chief White Weasel was petitioning the American government to do something about the trespassing of "Red-

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[58] Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree," 217; *Benton Weekly Record*, "Starving Indians," 7 May 1880.
[59] Constant Williams to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, February 6, 1878, reel 394, M666, 1652 AGO 1878 (f/w 1056 AGO 1878), Record Group 94, NAB.
[60] Michael F. Foley, *An Historical Analysis,* 46.
[61] Ibid., 51.
[62] Fort Peck Indian Agent Wellington Bird to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, 3 October 1878, RG94, record 11187, 1878 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 362); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.
[63] Major of 7th Infantry at Fort Belknap Guido Ilges to Acting Adjutant General of Montana District, 11 October 1878; Record 12149, 1878 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 362); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General 1881-1889; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1775-1928, Record Group 94; NAB.

River-half-breeds and Northern Canadian Assiniboines" on the Reservation. [64]

For government officials, those 'American' Metis resident along the Milk River were generally permitted to stay, but the remainder would have to remove themselves north of the line. Those Metis allowed to remain had to negotiate their tribal membership with the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre, who were growing increasingly disenchanted with the ballooning Metis presence. Even those Metis communities located near trading posts like Fort N.J. Turney since the 1860s faced questions about residency. Men like Gabriel Azure, whose mother was Assiniboine and who married the daughter of an Assiniboine woman, were required to make their case to Belknap community members in order to remain within Reservation boundaries.[65] Increasingly, membership became tied to participation in Belknap's Gros Ventre and Assiniboine community, with more recent arrivals denied access. Nor was this exclusion limited to the Metis. When Lewis Morgan, a 'squaw man', was accused of exploiting his wife's tribal rights to graze cattle, her earlier categorization as a Peigan (Pikuni) woman resulted in their expulsion from the Belknap Reservation.[66] As the 19th century came to a close, relations on the Reservation were further inflamed when a number of Assiniboine made their way to Fort Belknap from Canada, tipping the population balance from the Gros Ventre to Assiniboine.[67]

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[64] White Weasel and other Chiefs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 2 January 1898. Foley, *An Historical Analysis,* 169.

[65] Several families, resident in the area since the 1860s, had extensive kinship ties with the Assiniboine. Among them, Gabriel Azure was the son of a French fur trader and an Assiniboine woman. Morin, *Métis Families*, 1: 64-67; *Red River Settlement Census*, 6. Foster, *We Know Who We Are*, 60-75. U.S. Census Bureau, *1850 Territorial Census*, Pembina District, 53.

[66] Foley, 302. See Sarah Carter for detail on the category of Squaw-men. "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the Indian Woman in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13 (1993): 147-161.

[67] Loretta Fowler, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 70-73.

Although many were denied membership, a significant Metis population was permitted to remain in the community. During a Federal investigation of the Agency in 1902, Investigator George Bent praised the reliable and "very intelligent young mixed blood" who assisted him throughout his investigation.[68] When the Supervisor of Education, Fred Baker, visited the reservation in 1912, he was approached "by a group of young, intelligent mixed bloods [who] came to me with stories of great suffering and distress among the old and indigent."[69] Their presence is also noted in American reports to their Canadian counterparts that detailed the location of Metis camps, describing the small communities along the Missouri River and its tributaries up to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.[70] Sheriff Chapleau visited several Metis communities who, facing economic hardship and increasing political pressure, were moving back and forth across the forty-ninth parallel in search of what little work was available.[71] These government records detail an ongoing Metis presence in multi-ethnic communities, reflecting the porosity of new categories introduced by both settler-states.[72]

Denied a place in the Cypress Hills and access to the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, individuals and families looked to other options in Montana. This included

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[68] Foley, *An Historical Analysis,* 199.
[69] Reports that were confirmed by Father Siam of St. Paul's Mission. Foley, *An Historical Analysis*, 299.
[70] This same correspondence details the growing number of families were residing in the Foot Hills locality surrounding the Blackfeet Reservation, who unable to gain membership, elected to reside in the towns surrounding it. In July of 1887, Chapleau details more than 12 families around Dupuyer who were working for local families. LAC, Prime Ministers' Papers, "Chapleau to Macdonald, 13 June 1887," *Sir John A. Macdonald Papers*, MG26A, vol. 443/xi, 21918-21921. Chapleau never did catch up with Dumont before he signed on with Wild Bill's show and departed for Europe.
[71] LAC, Prime Ministers' Papers, "Chapleau to Macdonald, 13 June 1887," *Sir John A. Macdonald Papers*, MB26A, vol. 443/xi, 21918-21921, MG26A.
[72] The 1922 Census of Assiniboine members of the Fort Belknap Reservation list James Gladu, a French and Cree man and member of the Stone Sioux Tribe, his wife, Hotu icaga (Isabel Brisbe), his three stepdaughters: Masa tawa (Rebecca Thinker), Huk a ku ye ke (Dora Thinker), and Margaret J. Perry, as well as his and Hotu icaga's two children: James M Gladu Jr and Beatrice Gladu. Also residing with him was his nephew Joseph Howard. U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S., Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940* [database on-line], Year: 1922, Roll: M595_129, Line: 1, Agency: Fort Belknap.

residence on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation lying on the western edge of the Great Plains in the Foot Hills locality. Although there were kinship connections that tied certain Metis to members of the Blackfoot Confederacy on both sides of the line, residents of the Pikuni, Piikani, Siksika, and Kainai Reserve/ations were not receptive to permitting membership to Metis kin unless they lived with and were incorporated into Blackfoot society. Those who decided to reside away from and marry into non-Blackfoot networks found it difficult to gain permission to reside on any of the four reserves/ations belonging to members of the Blackfoot Confederacy.[73]

Having exhausted the options available through Treaty in the Cypress Hills locality, the Metis turned to petitioning the Canadian government for their own land base. In 1878 a group of Metis requested that the Canadian government provide them with their own reserve along the international boundary. Drafted prior to the creation of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation, this petition suggested a strip of land roughly 250 kilometres long commencing where the Pembina River crosses the forty-ninth parallel, extending into present-day Saskatchewan and eighty kilometres north to south.[74] Although the request fell on unsympathetic ears in Ottawa, the Metis continued their agitation for a land base until the government revisited the Metis scrip process in 1885.

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[73] Sometime during the 1820s, Hugh Munro was married to Sinopah, the daughter of the prominent Peigan (Piikani) Chief Nitaiwa'wuhk (Lone Walker), and took on the name of Rising Wolf. He became prominent community member on the Blackfeet Reservation, where he died and was buried. He had seven children. They include Felix, Piskan, and Olivier, all of whom assisted members of the Palliser Expedition between 1857 and 1859. Felix also worked for the HBC for a time. His better-known sons with Sinopah (Felix and Piskan) eventually married Cree/Metis women of the Lac Ste Anne/St. Albert district, becoming prominent members in that Métis community. 'Even marriage to a Peigan woman could not ensure membership in Blackfoot society unless it also entailed permanent residence in their bands.' Gerhard Ens and Ted Binnema, eds., *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 371.

[74] Also a response to the Buffalo Ordinance of 1877, the Petition of 1878 requested a re-opening of the bison hunt between 14 November and 15 February and that the Metis be granted a Metis 'Reserve'. The petition emphasised the importance of the hunt to Metis families, and that they receive "at least the same privileges that are granted to Indians."

While band and tribal membership provided some Metis with access to a land base in the borderlands, others faced an uncertain future on the Great Plains as non-indigenous settlement began to flood the area. Those south of the border had no option other than to self-identify as American Indian or Euro-American, but in Canadian territory, the Riel Resistance of 1869 and the passage of the Manitoba Act forced the government to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Metis' territorial claims in the North-West through their Indigenous ancestry. Scrip remained out of reach to those Metis residing outside of the new province of Manitoba until 1885, when the Dominion government opened up the Metis scrip process to adults and children born in the North-West Territories prior to 1870. Canada's Metis scrip policy was adjusted again in 1900 to include those Metis born in the North-West Territories between 1870 and 1885. Intended to settle the Metis land question once and for all by identifying, quantifying, and racializing this 'in-between people', scrip became another option for those Metis wanting to remain in the borderland region. This Metis scrip archive, in addition to identifying borderland Metis communities, allows us to consider how Metis individuals and families positioned themselves in relation to Canadian government policies.

Canada's revamped 1885 Metis scrip policy provided new opportunities for those previously denied access in 1870.[75] Following several petitions and the enumeration of the Territory's Metis population, the growing settler-state sought to finally settle the Metis' outstanding land claims in the region.[76] Initiated just prior to the outbreak of the

[75] OIC of 28 January 1885 (PC 135) enumerated Metis residing in the North-West at the time. The 1885 North-West Half-Breed Commission granted Metis heads of family residing in the Territories *outside* of Manitoba between 15 July 1870 and 15 December 1885 either the lot or land that he is currently in occupation of up to 160 acres, or if no residence, $160.00. And for each child of a Metis head of family residing in the North-West Territories, up to 240 acres or money scrip redeemable in land.

[76] Petitions authored by Plains Metis dealing with outstanding territorial claims: Blackfoot Crossing, 19 September 1877; Petition from Peter Lapierre and Others, n.d., received 2 September 1882; Petition from

1885 Resistance, the North-West Half-Breed Commission was immediately overwhelmed by the number of applicants requesting to leave Indian Treaty and take Half-breed scrip. There were several reasons that Metis individuals would elect to leave Treaty by 1885. For those that found their homes and farms outside of newly surveyed reserve/ation boundaries, scrip provided an opportunity to gain title to their home. Scrip also provided the possibility of a land base within the borderland region without having to enter treaty and identify as Indian. For others, financial immediacy was paramount. Officials at the Turtle Mountain locality were so overwhelmed by applications that the 1885 Commission held additional sittings just over the line at St. John and St. Joseph. In fact, the 1885 Commission extended applications into 1894 to accommodate the significant number of families who relocated to the Dakotas.[77]

Of the twenty-five Commission Sittings between 1885 and 1889, there were five places falling within the Borderland region, including: Griswold, Willow Bunch, Maple Creek, Pincher Creek, and Fort Macleod. Of those, 21 individuals identified with the Turtle Mountain locality and 102 claimed association with the Wood Mountain

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John Simpson and Others of Fort Qu'Appelle, n.d., received 29 August 1882; Petition from Gabriel Dumont, 4 September 1882; Petition from M.W. Bremner and Others, 19 November 1883.Order-in-Council on 30 March 1885 established the commission that would grant scrip certificates to those Metis heads of family and children of same if living in the North-West Territories prior to 15 July 1870.

[77] In 1885, the North-West Half-Breed Commission (10 April 1885 to 28 August 1885) investigated 1,815 claims, awarding 55,260 acres in land scrip and $279,200.94 in money scrip. Commission members were Chairman William P.R. Street, Roger Goblet, and Amédée Forge. Order-in-Council, P.C. 309, 1 March 1886 authorised the First Extension of the North-West Half-Breed Commission (21 May 1886 to 17 November 1886), which was overseen by Commissioner Roger Goblet, received 1,414 claims, awarding 2,640 acres in land scrip and $261,689.14 in money scrip. The second extension was authorised by Order-in-Council, P.C. 898, 9 May 1887 (7 June 1887 to 26 November 1887), and was overseen by chairman Roger Goblet and Narcisse O. Coté, investigating 565 claims, awarding 3,120 acres in land scrip and $81,804 in money scrip. The Department investigated the claims of those Metis who had moved to the Dakotas (P.C. 778, 28 April 1886), and in 1887, those Metis living within the extended borders of Manitoba outside the Postage Stamp province in 1870 (P.C. 1075, 21 May 1887). In December of 1888 the Department was authorised to enumerate those Metis who were part of the Green Lake Treaty 6 adhesion (P.C. 2675, 14 December 1888). Finally, those Metis who had been unable to appear before an 1885 scrip commission were permitted to supply their application to a Dominion Lands Agent no later than 1 May 1894, who then referred it to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands for a final decision (P.C. 1394, 14 June 1889; P.C. 630, 12 March 1892).

community, primarily at places like Wood Mountain and Willow Bunch.[78] Cypress Hills proper, Maple Creek, and Milk River emerge as primary places in the Cypress Hills locality, with 43 people claiming a vital event there in their 1885 application.[79] Further west, 32 claimants identified with the Foot Hills community, most identifying with either Macleod or Pincher Creek.[80] Although these numbers represent but a fraction of those Metis residing in the borderlands, they do provide insight into the places Metis resided in and identified with between the time of the Red River exodus and when the Canadian government opened Metis scrip to those born in the N-WT before 1870. However, members of the Metis community were agitating at this time to have the scrip process opened to those born in the Territories between 1870 and 1885.

When these concerns threatened to derail Treaty 8 negotiations in 1899, the government agreed to extend scrip to those Metis living in Treaty 8 Territory provided they had not previously received scrip and had been born in the Territories between 1870 and 1885.[81] Recognizing that Metis and First Nation rights were co-existent and needed to be extinguished concurrently, the settler-state then opened the scrip process to those Metis from territories already ceded and who were born in the North-West Territories between 1870 and 1885. To this end, the government established two commissions: The

[78] Places in the Wood Mountain locality include: Moose Mountain (10), Willow Bunch (59), and Wood Mountain (33).
[79] The Cypress Hills locality in 1885 included: Cypress Hills (11), Maple Creek (14), Milk River, MT (11).
[80] The Foot Hills locality in 1885 included: Macleod (15), Pincher Creek.
[81] When the settler-state declared that those Metis born after 1870 would remain ineligible for scrip, the community responded by encouraging their Indigenous kin not to take Treaty. In response to Metis demands, the government agreed to provide scrip to those Metis residing in Treaty 8 territory, eliminating the difference in scrip entitlement between adults and children. Ens and Sawchuck, *From New Peoples to New Nations: Aspcects of Metis History and Identity from the Eighteenth to Twenty-First Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 165-167; OIC 6 May 1899 (P.C. 918). A sign of what was to come, J.A.J. McKenna disallowed several claims made by Metis during the treaty 8 process based on pre-existing Indian Band membership.

Alberta-Assiniboia Commission, and the Saskatchewan-Manitoba Commission.[82] These policy changes provided new opportunities to those Metis either still seeking a land base or those who wanted to leave treaty.[83] The Alberta-Assiniboia Commission visited many of the same places the 1885 Commission had, holding sittings in Willow Bunch, Maple Creek, Macleod, and Pincher Creek. When additional sittings were held in 1901, 2,122 applications were collected in new places like Killarney, MB, where 1,326 were allowed and a further 796 disallowed. Commissioner J.A.J. McKenna's understanding of the law saw claims made by those Metis who elected to reside outside of Canadian Territory rejected. For those Metis of the Turtle Mountain locality, this meant that new settler-state categories denied them access to Canadian Metis scrip based on their residence in American territory, and American officials denied them a place on the Turtle Mountain Reservation because of their implied Canadian nationality.

This question of nationality and citizenship was the largest challenge the 1900-1901 Commission faced. An ad-hoc approach saw these transnational applications handled differently by the two Commissions; with the Saskatchewan-Manitoba Commission permitting them and the Alberta-Assiniboia Commission rejecting them.

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[82] Manitoba included those areas of the Province lying beyond the original Postage Stamp boundaries. Members of the Alberta-Assiniboine commission were James A.J. McKenna and James Walker. Members of the Saskatchewan/Manitoba Commission were Joseph A. Coté (Narcisse O. Coté following Joseph's illness), and Samuel McLeod. J.F. Prudhomme served as secretary.

[83] In total, the 1900-01 Commission investigated 4,397 claims, disallowed 235 of them, and reserving a further 856. $315,600 in money scrip was awarded and 477,840 acres in land scrip. Of those, the Saskatchewan/Manitoba Commission investigated 2,146 claims, allowed 1,990 and reserved 23; awarding $344,266.55 in money scrip was awarded and a further $117,680 in land scrip. The Alberta/Assiniboia commission investigated 4,397 claims, disallowed 235, and reserved 856 reserved; in total, $315,600 in money scrip and $477,840 in land scrip was awarded. Alberta/Assiniboia 1900 Sittings: Willow Bunch, Fort Qu'Appelle, Touchwood Hills, Swift Current, Maple Creek, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Macleod, Pincher Creek, Calgary, Edmonton, Victoria, Saddle Lake, St. Paul des Metis, Lac la Biche, Athabasca Landing, St. Albert, Lac Ste Anne, Fort Saskatchewan, Wetaskiwin, Duhamel, Lacombe. Saskatchewan/Manitoba Members: Joseph A Coté/Narcisse O. Coté, Samuel McLeod. Saskatchewan/Manitoba Sittings: Prince Albert, St. Louis, Batoche, Snake Plains, Sandy Lake, Devil's Island, Green Lake, Battleford, Onion Lake, Bresaylor, Fort a la Corne, Sturgeon River, Cumberland House, Birch River Portage, The Pas, Cedar Lake, Grand Rapids, Saskatoon, Red Deer Lake.

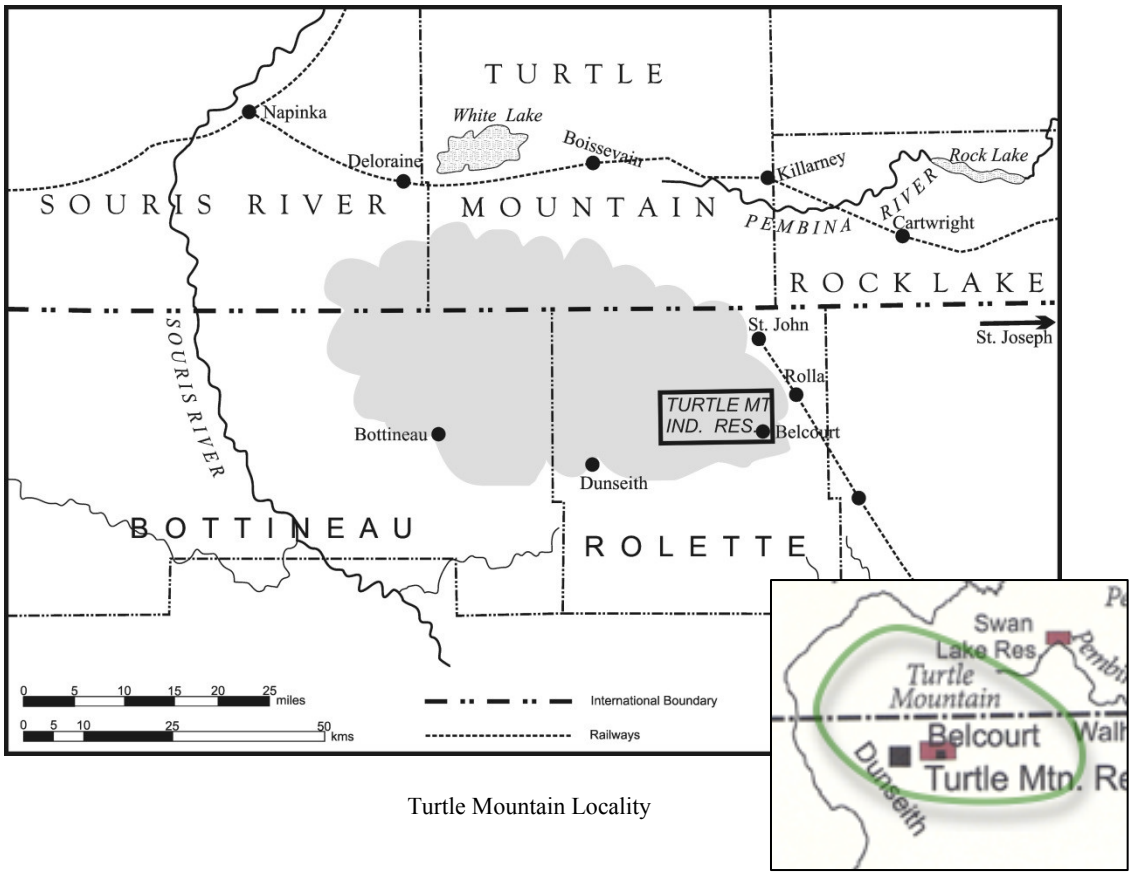
Faced with a large number of applicants residing along the Milk and Missouri Rivers or on one of the four American Indian Reservations in American territory, J.A.J. McKenna decided that only those Metis born in the Canadian Territories who had maintained residence north of the line would have their claims considered. This decision to disallow these borderland Metis claims faced a legal investigation and a subsequent reversal of this exclusionary approach to transnational Metis applicants.[84] The announcement that these disallowed claims would be re-examined prompted a significant rise in borderland applicants who previous avoided the process based on the government's restrictive policies at the time.

An analysis of borderland scrip applications following the government's policy shift in 1900-1901 shows that the 21 individuals who identified with places in the Turtle Mountain locality during the 1885 Commission had grown to 386 by 1900-1901.[85] Of those, 152 were located in Dunseith, a further 64 in Turtle Mountain, and 55 at Devils Lake. In the Wood Mountain locality, a similar increase in numbers occurred, rising from 102 in 1885 to 645 in 1900-1901.[86] The primary places in the locality remained unchanged between 1885 and 1900-1901, with Wood Mountain, Willow Bunch, and Moose Mountain remaining the most popular, with Glasgow emerging as a popular place just over the line in Montana. In the Cypress Hills locality, Cypress Hills proper, Maple Creek, and Milk River remained primary Metis places, growing to include Fort Walsh, Havre, and Fort Assiniboine, increasing from 43 applicants in 1885 to 628 in 1900-

[84] The J.S. Ewart Investigation determined that those Metis born between 1870 and 1885 and who resided in the Territories until 1885 be entitled to scrip. Order-in-Council of 12 August 1904 was passed to re-examine those claims disallowed and reserved by McKenna.
[85] Key places in 1900-1901 in the Turtle Mountain locality were: Belcourt (27), Devils Lake (17), Dunseith (152), Oak Lake (55), Saint John (18), Souris River (13), Turtle Mountain (64), Boissevain (6), Killarney (5), and Williston (8).
[86] In 1900-1901, those places grew to include Estevan (18), Glasgow (34), Moose Mountain (20), Willow Bunch (203), Wood Mountain (345), Fort Kipp (6), and Poplar River (5).

1901.[87] A similar scenario played out in the Foot Hills community where the 32 claims from 1885 at Macleod and Pincher Creek multiplied to 331 applicants in 1900-1901, and included new primary places like Choteau, Dupuyer, Box Elder, and Browning.[88] Like 1885, these numbers provide us with a glimpse into the places around which a substantial Metis population gathered between 1885 and 1900-1901.

New Opportunities in the Turtle Mountain and Cypress Hills Localities



Turtle Mountain Locality

[87] The Cypress Hills locality in 1900-1901: Cypress Hills (314), Fort Assiniboine, MT (21), Fort Walsh (75), Havre (67), Malta (11), Maple Creek (111), Milk River, MT (16), Benton (6), Hill (7).
[88] The Foot Hills locality in 1900-1901 included: Augusta (11), Choteau (34), Duper (40), Fish Creek, AB (19), Macleod (126), Pincher Creek (50), Sweet Grass (29), Box Elder (7), Browning (9), Sun River (6).

As the setter-state continued to encourage an influx of non-indigenous settlement and as new investments entered the borderland region, many Plains Metis found themselves in a position to take advantage of a variety of new economic opportunities. This discussion of engagement with new market options highlights the influence that a growing settler population had on traditional economic activities and how the Plains Metis, long at the forefront of responding to economic change, were quick to adapt. These decisions, often used in tandem with settler-state policies like Treaty and Half-breed scrip, made a certain degree of financial security possible in the post-bison era.

An excellent example of this adaptability, the community at Turtle Mountain maintained traditional practices based on knowledge of the natural space while pursuing new commercial circumstances as they presented themselves. Some families remained in the locality by applying for both scrip and homestead entry, combining efforts in order to maintain community. Three Allary men, whose fathers were born in the mid-19th century at Red River, moved to the Turtle Mountain area in the late-19th century and came to call the locality home. When not travelling to Wyoming and Montana to collect bison bones, Louis Allary hunted and trapped throughout Turtle Mountain, and when able, filed for homestead on the east slope of the Mountain in U.S. territory. Receiving patent after a second attempt, he sold the land to buy a town lot in St. John to be closer to his grown children. Andre Allary worked odd jobs north of the line, frequently sending money back to family at Turtle Mountain. Applying for and receiving Metis scrip in 1901, he sold his certificate and returned to St. John to be among family. Henry Allary and his family resided in the vicinity of Boissevain, and recounted frequent border crossings well into the 20th century to collect bison bones, cut firewood on the Mountain, and to visit kin at

St. John.[89] The experience of these three men illustrates how the settler-state strategies of homesteading and scrip were repurposed by Metis families as tactics, allowing them to remain in the Turtle Mountain community.

Gregoire, the Brien family patriarch, followed a similar pattern by shifting between scrip, treaty, and new capitalist markets to facilitate family continuity in the locality. Working as a ranch hand and harness maker on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana, he relocated to Turtle Mountain to be closer to kin where he worked as a trapper, bone collector, wood hauler, and mail deliveryman.[90] Also a resident of the borderlands, Ambrois Lafontaine elected to sell the land he farmed for six years in Montana so that he could relocate and be among kin at the Turtle Mountain locality.[91] As a member of the Turtle Mountain Reservation, Freeman Belgarde, in addition to the 40 acres he was allotted on the western edge of Turtle Mountain, was provided an additional 120 acres in Montana. Staying long enough to develop the property, he sold his land in Montana and returned to Turtle Mountain where he rented additional land adjacent to his

[89] Gail Morin, *Metis Families: A Genealogical Compendium Volume One* (Pawtucket: Quintin Publications, 2001), 17-23; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Josephte Allary," RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol 1333, File 203; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Andre Allary," RG15, D-II-8-b, Vol 1343, File 1572; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Andre Allary," RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol 1333, File 203; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Angelique Alary," RG15, D-II-3-c, Vol 1333, File 1003; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Francois Allary," RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol 1333, File 155; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Charlotte Alary," RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol 1333, File 1004; LAC, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Alexander Alary," RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol 1333, File 1720. SHSND, "Biographical file of Louis Allary," *Pioneer Biography Files*, Works Projects Administration (WPA), Historical Data Project Records, RG69, Series 30529.

[90] Morin, *Metis Families: A Genealogical Compendium Volume One*, 308. GA, *Edgar Dewdney Fonds*, "Report on Halfbreeds in Montana and Dakota, 7 May 1886 – St. Johns," series 17, M320, pp 1290-1297. SHSND, "Biographical file of Gregory Brien," *Pioneer Biography Files*, WPA, Historical Data Project Records, RG69, Series 30529. LAC, Department of the Interior, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Nancy Brien Cardinal," RG15, D-II-3-c, vol 1338, file 1034, microfilm C-14953; "Half-breed Scrip Application of Liza Daisy Brien," RG15, Series D-II-8c, vol 1338, file 1037, microfilm C-14953; "Half-breed Scrip Application of Nancy Brien," RG15, D-II-3-c, vol 1338, file 1034, microfilm C-14953.

[91] SHSND, "Interview of Ambrois Lafontaine," *Pioneer Biography Files*, WPA, Historical Data Project Records, RG69, Series 30529.

40-acre farm.[92] For Lafontaine and Belgarde, entering Treaty provided them with a land base that they were able to sell, the proceeds of which allowed them to return to Turtle Mountain to be among kin and community.

William Davis, a prominent member of the Turtle Mountain locality, provides another example of adaptation to new opportunities. A Canadian French-Indian whose parents are both identified as mixed bloods had emigrated to the U.S. in 1852. When interviewed in 1930 by the WPA he disclosed a diverse and highly varied work history.[93] Providing valuable insight into market engagement in the post-bison era, William Davis' interview details his transnational movement before and after 1885, including details of the various tactics used to ensure his family's ongoing residence in the Turtle Mountain community.[94] Born near Winnipeg in 1845 to William Davis Sr. And Marie Eneau, William travelled the plains until he married his first wife, Franzinne "Omile" in 1867.[95] When she died in 1875, he worked odd jobs, including time as a blacksmith at Fort Totten and as a carpenter at neighbouring Devils Lake. He married his second wife Sarah Nolan in 1876,[96] participating in the bison hunt between Winnipeg, Devils Lake, and into Montana until they were enticed back to Turtle Mountain in 1882 by Reservation

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[92] SHSND, "Interview of F. Belgrade," *Pioneer Biography Files*, WPA, Historical Data Project Records, RG69, Series 30529.
[93] U.S. Census Bureau, *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Year: 1930, Census Place: Township 162, Rolette, North Dakota, Roll: 1741, Page: 3A, Enumeration District: 0029, Image: 449.0, FHL microfilm: 2341475.
[94] SHSND, "WPA & Bioraphical Interview with William Davis," *William Davis Papers*, A35, Box 1, folder 1. He identifies as French Indian in the WPA questionnaire, illuminating the racial categories available as defined by the U.S. settler-state.
[95] Franzine 'Omile', or Euphrosyne Amelie, was born in 1846 in North Dakota and married William Davis in 1867 at Devil's Lake. She died in 1875 at White Earth. Together, they had four children. SHSND, "WPA & Bioraphical Interview with William Davis," *William Davis Papers*, A35, Box 1, folder 1.
[96] Sarah married William at 21 years old and was the daughter of a Canadian mixed-blood father and Chippewa-American (North Dakota) mother. U.S. Census Bureau, *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Year: 1910, Census Place: Township 162, Rolette, North Dakota, Roll: T624_1147, Page: 40B, Enumeration District: 0155, FHL microfilm: 1375160; *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], Year: 1930, Census Place: Township 162, Rolette, North Dakota, Roll: 1741, Page: 3A, Enumeration District: 0029, Image: 449.0, FHL microfilm: 2341475.

developments. Following the McCumber Agreement, William and Sarah moved to Montana where she took up her allotment at the Wood Mountain locality.[97] Returning to his own allotment at Turtle Mountain, William received patent in 1911, which he sold in 1912 for $1,457. Using this money to move closer to Belcourt, he appears as a member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Band along with his wife and two youngest daughters.[98] Making between $25 and $100 per month running the mail between 1899 and 1924, William and Sarah were also active participants in community events, like the Belcourt Bazaar, which raised over $1,000 in 1919.[99] These same sources show his extended kin residing on or near the Turtle Mountain Reservation, illuminating the frequent trips he and Sarah took to Montana to visit kin who elected to settle there.[100] William Davis' experience shows how he navigated and adapted to new economic opportunities to remain in place, while maintaining wider borderland connections.

Just over the forty-ninth parallel, the influx of settlers after 1880 saw 3,500 individuals file for homestead in the Turtle Mountain area, leaving little unclaimed land when those who were denied membership after ratification of the McCumber Agreement in 1904.[101] However, land considered undesirable for agricultural settlement remained unclaimed around Lake Metigoshe, forming the nexus around which a Metis community reformed in 1908. Denied a place on the Chippewa Reservation, several individuals and

[97] In addition to Sarah's allotment, his son Maxime received NW 3 35 55 W, his grandson Jerome Champage SE 4 35 55, and his daughter Delia Jean NE 4 35 55. SHSND, "WPA & Bioraphical Interview with William Davis," *William Davis Papers*, A35, Box 1, Notebook 3.
[98] A members of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indian Band, the 1900 Federal Census identifies Davis as Cree, shifting to Ojibway by 1912. U.S. Census Bureau, *Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940* [database on-line], Year: 1911, Roll: M595_595, Page: 60, Line: 9, Agency: Turtle Mountain. He appears on the Indian Census Rolls from 1895 to 1937 until William Davis, half-blood member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, died at 91 years of age. U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S., Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940* [database on-line], Year: 1938, Roll: M595_607, Page: 1, Line: 14, Agency: Turtle Mountain.
[99] SHSND, *William Davis Papers*, Personal Notebook 1, A35, Box 1, folder 1.
[100] Together, William and Sarah had thirteen children.
[101] Deloraine History Book Committee. *Deloraine Scans a Century, 1880-1980* (Altona: Friesen Printers, 1980).

their families moved just over the forth-ninth parallel and onto the western edge of the Mountain. Close enough to burgeoning prairie towns, many individuals found work as seasonal labourers while maintaining traditional practices of hunting, trapping, and fishing on the Mountain. This multiplicity of opportunities continued to draw Metis individuals to these still-unclaimed bush and lake-covered sections of land. When Louis Lee Racine Sr., cousins Elzear (Zero) McLeod and Peter McLeod, and Billy Gosselin first arrived, all but Billy brought their families with them from Belcourt, N.D. and settled on Section 3-1-22W1; bordered on the south by the international boundary and the northeast shore of Lake Metigoshe.[102]

When HBC and Railway lands were opened to settlement in 1913, families still looking for a land base made their way to Turtle Mountain and into the areas surrounding Metigoshe, Dromore, and Long Lakes. William (Willie) Goodon came from the Northern Metis community of Sandy Lake, arriving in Turtle Mountain in 1920. He brought with him his mother Madeleine and two sisters, Alice and Roseanna, who all married into the Turtle Mountain community within a few short years.[103] Willie spent several years living in North Dakota where he met and married Florentine Villeneuve (Amoyette), had three children, and returned north of the line where he and his wife had four more children. Members of this post-1910 transnational family held citizenship on both sides of the line, opening up a multiplicity of opportunities that ensured family and community

[102] William Gooselin applied for entry on 27 June 1910, receiving patent 4 August 1921. LAC, Records of the Department of the Interior, "William Gooselin", *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E, application 18876, district 7, file 381494.
[103] Madeleine married Louis Racine Sr in 1923. In 1931 Roseanna married Billy Gosselin and Alice married Louis Racine Jr. Late-comers to the area, Frank and Bill Ducharme moved to the area as teenagers in the early 1920s and obtained a homestead on the northern slope of Turtle Mountain ten kilometres southwest of Boissevain. Bill was known for speaking Michif, and both worked for local farmers. BCA, *Ducharme Family Fonds*, MG14/C409.

continuity.[104]

While a few Turtle Mountain families were able to practice mixed farming, most cut posts and firewood from the Mountain to sell in town or worked as labourers on local farms. Increasingly, seasonal work in places like Boissevain became a critical economic resource.[105] Mildred Racine explains, "My husband [Manfred Racine] made a living as a heavy equipment operator until fall around Deloraine, then he would go to the Mountain to trap. Trapping was more important than having steady employment. Even if there was no money coming in, it was part of [our] heritage." [106] In fact, Racine Sr. paid the taxes on his land at Metigoshe by hauling wood for new homesteaders and trapping muskrat for .05 cents apiece.[107] Children also contributed to family income, with many setting snares on their way to school and collecting what was caught on their way home.[108] Throughout this study's time period, fishing and hunting in and out of season remained a critical provisioning resource. Although government policy intended to limit hunting and trapping on the Mountain, Metis residents often challenged these regulations. As Francis Goodon highlights,

> The fur buyer came around, as far as he could with a vehicle, then he'd hire a team to go to each house. He wouldn't just come to one house, because then everybody would know your business. The fur buyer had to shut his mouth. If you got reported, you had to pay a fine. Once someone gave my dad some deer meat and then ratted and my dad got caught and

[104] Mary Conway, *The Lilley Family History: A Manitoba Métis Genealogy* (Winnipeg: Conamara Publications, 2002).
[105] For most community members, hunting and trapping on the Mountain subsidised family income during the winter months, and summers were spent working in local towns. Of the small towns that survived, Wakopa, Metigoshe, Boissevain, and Killarney in Manitoba; and Belcourt, St. John, Rolla, and Dunseith in North Dakota became critical places for those Metis looking for either seasonal or semi-permanent work.
[106] BCA, "Mildred Racine," *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* MG8/B4.
[107] Deloraine History Book Committee, *Deloraine Scans a Century*, 462, 630-631. Mary Conway, *The Lilley Family History*.
[108] Roger Goodon's wife Shirley purchased her first winter jacket by trapping and stretching squirrel hides. Lorne Conway worked out at 13 for about a dollar a day, and also worked at part of a threshing outfit for .90 cents an hour. BCA, "Francis Goodon Interview," *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* MG8/B4.

had to pay a $20 fine. If you ratted you got money for a reward.[109]

Local merchants like Maynard's Meatmarket in Deloraine bought these pelts from residents in and out of season. Louis and Max, two well-known Jewish merchants from Killarney were also known to go up onto the Mountain to pick up furs, visiting individual homes to avoid detection by game wardens. When merchants were unable to make it to the Mountain, individuals like Willie Goodon bought pelts from his neighbours and sold them in town for a small profit. Similar stores and merchants were critical south of the border as well.[110]

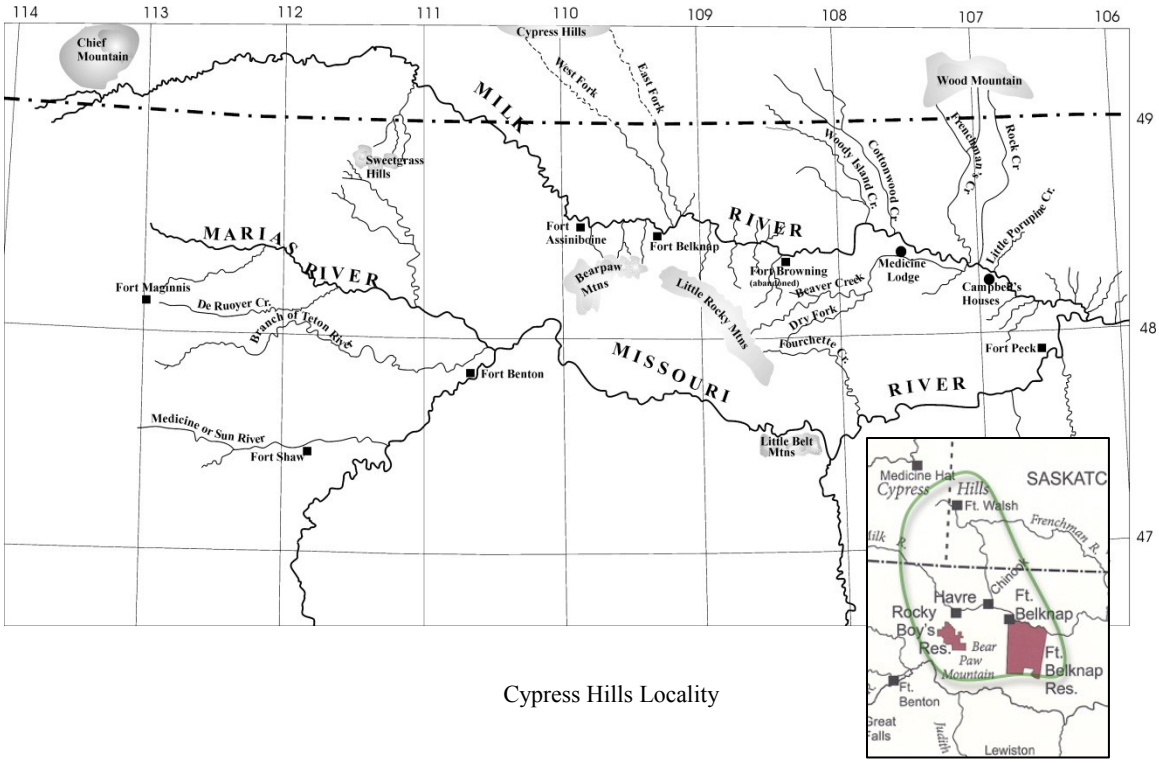
Women also looked to the intersection of traditional practices with new capitalist structures found in growing towns to supplement family income. As a child, Francis Goodon recollects picking pails of wild cranberries, chokecherries, saskatoons, and strawberries with his mother, taking them to Lake Metigoshe, and selling them to tourists. With the money earned, his mother bought sugar the family used to can their own fruit.[111] Women like Esther Canada recount working at the hotel in Boissevain, cleaning rooms and making beds to help her family make ends meet.[112] By 1910 a growing tourism industry at places like Lake Upsilon had several hotels and 800 cottage sites, where many women worked during peak season. From 1883 to 1908, local men found seasonal work on the western slope of Turtle Mountain at a variety of short-lived small mining operations. South of Dunseith extensive deposits of limestone built the foundation for

[109] BCA, "Francis Goodon Interview," *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* MG8/B4.
[110] Stores like Daggard's in North Dakota were easier to get to than Deloraine and Killarney, and was where many community members purchased flour, tea, sugar, salt, and fabric. Near the Reservation, F. Martineau ran a store with permission from the local 'half-breeds'. Laura Thompson Law, *History of Rolette County North Dakota and Yarns of the Pioneers* (Rolla: Start Printing, 1953), 75-79.
[111] BCA, "Francis Goodon Interview," *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* MG8/B4.
[112] BCA, Esther Canada, *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* MG8/B4.

many area homes, and a lime kiln to the east was used to build their chimneys.[113] Other businesses like the Lake Max Sawmill serviced the Turtle Mountain area for over fifty years, providing seasonal work and a place for local processing.[114] While many of these enterprises were short-lived, others had their share of success and provided additional market possibilities in the locality between 1885 and 1930. At the tail end of this study, bootlegging and rum running were popular across the borderland region, first during prohibition in Canada (1916-1924) and then the United States (1920-1933). Easily evading the customs offices at Bannerman and St. John, the Dunseith Trail between Dunseith, ND and Brandon, MB saw a number of local residents make a small fortune running rum across the forty-ninth parallel.[115]

Moving west, the experience of the Dumont family provides an excellent opportunity to consider how one family positioned themselves in relation to scrip, and using it in tandem with emerging economic opportunities, were able to maintain

[113] Prairie Past and Mountain Memories Book Committee, *Prairie Past and Mountain Memories* (n.p., 1982), 104.
[114] Those unable to afford the fees could work for the mill and be paid in lumber. After the fires of 1896, the Mill was sold to Fred McKinney who moved it two miles north and used it for small projects until the timber reserve was opened again in 1930. The mill was moved to Brandon before being dismantled and shipped to Calgary. William Moncur, *Beckoning Hills Pioneer Settlement Turtle Mountain Souris-Basin Areas*. Compiled in conjunction with Boissevain 75th Jubilee (N.p., 1956), 215-217.
[115] A potential $10,000 payday awaited those willing to take the risk. BCA, "Frank Godon Interview," *Turtle Mountain Oral History Fonds,* AV1/C5. The Bannerman Customs Office (1905-1936) was the first stop on the rail line to Brandon, and the town was abandoned when these services were moved to Boissevain. Customs were housed at St. John starting in 1882. Boissevain History Committee, *Beckoning Hills Revisited "Ours is a Goodly Heritage" Morton Boissevain 1881-1981* (Altona: Friesen Printing, 1981); BCA, William Moncur and Anna Grace Diehl, "Whitewater Settlement Tour," in *Bill Moncur Fonds*, MG14/C164, Box 1, Series 1-4.



Cypress Hills Locality

community in the Cypress Hills locality after 1885.[116] Residing on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel, this branch of the Dumont family successfully navigated the transition from a bison economy to a settler economy while remaining in place. Born on the plains in 1863 to Vital Dumont and Adelaide Gagnon, Henri spent his young life participating in the bison hunt across the northern plains, frequenting places like Red River, Qu'Appelle, Duck Lake, Cypress Hills, and the Sweet Grass Hills.[117] When "the buffalo

[116] Information of Henri and William Dumont's experience in the Cypress Hills locality is taken from the memoirs written by his grandson, Willard Dumont, in 2004. Additional information has been gleaned from an interview he gave to Parks Canada in 2011.

[117] In his memoir, Willard Dumont identifies his great-great grandparents and Isidore Dumont and Angela Landry, but a detailed consultation of several sources identifies them as Vital 'Creole' Dumont and Adelaide Gagnon. Vital was born to Jean Baptist Dumont and Marguerite Laframboise. Isidore was the brother of Jean Baptist, who married Louise Laframboise. One of their children, Gabriel Dumont was the uncle of Henri. Willard's obituary identifies his parents as William Dumont and Vitaline Duguerre and his grandparents as Henri Dumont and Melanie Fayant. N.a., "In Memory of Willard Alexander Dumont, 1918-2012," Saamis Memorial, Funeral Chapter and Crematorium. http://www.saamis.com/book-of-memories/1329600/Dumont-Willard/obituary.php. Looking to the 1916 Census, William Dumont and his wife Vitaline are found living in Maple reek (aged 29 and 18 respectively), and living with them were Henry Dumont, born 1863 and Emily [sic], born 1866. Data from Statistics Canada, *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba*, Saskatchewan, and Alberta [database on-line] Year: 1916, Census Place: Saskatchewan,

[were] lost to the Cypress Hills, and the clamp down [started] on cross border hunting, many of the Metis people had to leave the Cypress Hills and make their way to other places."[118] Returning to Red River with his parents, Henri married Melanie Fayant in April of 1884, and remembering with fondness his time at Cypress Hills, returned there in 1889. Once there with his wife and newborn son, he selected a quarter section eight kilometres upstream from Fort Walsh and built a one-room home.

They resided there for roughly three years before settlement pressures convinced Henri to look to Montana. He and his family settled for a time south of Havre at the Bear Paw Mountains (present-day site of the Rocky Boy Reservation) where he worked as a ranch hand for the Peppin Ranch, sending his children to Fort Shaw Boarding School. Hearing of the money that could be made working on the Great Northern Railway (Hi-Line), Henri took his own horse and camping equipment and started moving and grading earth in preparation for the line. In the winter of 1889 he built a cabin on the north slope of the Sweet Grass Hills just south of the forty-ninth parallel, and his family called this home for the next several years. Joining them were several friends and kin who also elected to build on the Hills' slopes. While there, Henri spent the summer months working on the line and cutting timber from the Hills during the winter to make rail ties. Two more sons were born here, and in 1902 the family decided to permanently relocate to Canadian Territory. Settling at Black Butte on the Milk River, he built a cabin just to the northeast of his previous home. Here he made ends meet by continuing to cross the boundary to work on the railway and hunting along the Milk River during the winter

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Maple Creek, 07, Roll: T-21940, Page 6, Family No: 61. Next, Henri's scrip application also identifies his parents as Vital Dumond [sic] and Adelaide Gagnon. LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Henri Dumond," RG15, Series D-II-8b, volume 1327, microfilm C-14938; "Application of Henry Dumont for his deceased daughter Philomène," RG15, Series D-II-8c, volume 1246, microfilm C-14938.

[118] Dumont, *My Trail Through Life* (n.p., 2004), 28.

months. Preferring life among the Cypress Hill coulees, the family moved back to their original homestead at Cypress Hills in 1906. His grandson recollects, "he had a lot of reasons for going back there" as it had better hunting, timber, shelter, water and grazing lands. A number of close friends from Black Butte also elected to relocate to the Cypress Hills at this time.[119]

When the Canadian government reclassified this area of the Cypress Hills in 1910, Henri and many of his neighbours found their homes in a newly defined Forest Reserve. Now categorised as squatters, they were told to vacate the Hills, and many left for places like Qu'Appelle, Willow Bunch, and Browning. Those able to prove up on their land were permitted to stay, while those who could not but wanted to stay in the area were forced to relocate outside of the new Reserve's boundaries. Falling into this last category, Henri moved his family just outside of the Forest Reserve's eastern boundary. There they raised cattle and chickens, breaking 30 acres for crops and 10 acres for a garden. During the summer months the family would pick wild raspberries, strawberries, blueberries and saskatoons, travelling to Maple Creek and selling them by the ten-pound pail. Henri hunted deer in the Hills and antelope on the prairie, while his winters were spent trapping coyotes, muskrats, beaver and rabbits. Henri also hunted porcupine, harvesting quills that Melanie used to decorate clothing, moccasins, and purses. Occasionally he kept a hide for Melanie who, from time to time, still made moccasins for the family. Before long, the family became known in the community for their horses, several of which were sold to new farmers and ranchers who were in need when they first

[119] Dumont, *My Trail Through Life*, 46; Dumont, *Interview,* 5. The families Willard identifies are: Adams, Anderson, Bird, Belanger, Boney, Bulyea, Cayen, Culvert, Deguerre, Dubeau, Eno, Fayant, Guardepuy, Gunn, LaBarge, LaFramboise, LaDoux, LaVallie, McKay, Montour, Pelletier, Sinclair, St. Denis, Swain, Trottier, Whiteford.

arrived to the area.

Before his death in 1933, Henri had acquired a 3/4 section of land or 480 acres: 1/4 was homesteaded, 1/4 was purchased, and the last 1/4 was part of his son Lewis' World War One Soldier Grant.[120] Henri, in part, was able to acquire this land through the North-West Half-breed scrip process. When Henri applied in 1885, he did so as the child of a head of a Half-breed family, having travelled with his parents as plains hunters throughout the Great Plains prior to 1870. Speaking to porous settler-state categories, Henri identifies his father as both a halfbreed and Treaty Indian, "belonging to the Band of Tee-po-wyan/Bobtail" who drew annuity for himself and his children.[121] For Henri, this meant clarifying his ethnicity, and that "I never myself took annuity and do not intend to take such annuity and do not consider myself a Treaty Indian."[122] While it remains unclear to whom Henri sold his scrip certificate, the proceeds were most likely used when the family moved upstream of Fort Walsh in 1889 where they built their one-room home. Melanie also applied for scrip in 1885. Born at Oak Lake on 22 February 1863, Melanie and her parents were part of the Red River exodus of 1869, afterwards settling at Fort Qu'Appelle. In her application she stated "I prefer scrip for $240 rather than land," which would have also been used by the family in their move to Red River to

[120] Henri and Lewis lived on 19 7 29 W3, Henri on the SW quarter and Lewis on the NE, with Henri applying for entry in 1911 and Lewis in 1912. Living beside Lewis was Alexander Eno, and just southeast along the creek was Adolph Whitford and his family, who were ranchers. LAC, Records of the Department of the Interior, "Lewis Dumont NE 19 7 29 W3", *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E, application 14064, file 473468; "Henry Lewis, SW 19 7 29 W3," *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E, application 7107, file 423650; "Alexander Eno NW 20 7 29 W3," *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E; "Adolph Whitford SW 13 7 29 3," *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E. Data from Statistics Canada, *1921 Census of Canada* [database on-line], RG 31, Folder Number: 155, Census Place: Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, Page 2; *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba*, Saskatchewan, and Alberta [database on-line] Year: 1916, Census Place: Saskatchewan, Maple Creek, 07, Roll: T-21940, Page 6, Family No: 61.

[121] Of Vital's children, only Frank (François) remained a member of Treaty. When Henri applied to scrip on behalf of his deceased siblings in 1900, Frank is identified as a member of the Bobtail Band.

[122] LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Henri Dumond," RG15, Series D-II-8b, volume 1327, microfilm C-14938.

Cypress Hills after her marriage to Henri.[123]

Henri once again drew on Half-breed scrip when in 1900 he applied on behalf of his deceased daughter Marie Philomène and his deceased twin siblings, John and Mary. In addition to highlighting their borderland residence from 1885 onward, records show that in 1902 Henri sold the $240 scrip certificate he received for Marie Philomène to Edward James Fewings for $75, the Manager of the Merchants Bank in Medicine Hat. This income may have been used by the family to facilitate their relocation north from the Sweet Grass Hills and into Canadian territory at Black Butte. In addition to this $75, Henri received an additional $120 for his deceased siblings. This application also shows the way that other family members interacted with settler-state policies after scrip was opened to additional applicants in 1900.

While both his brothers Joseph and Louis, residing at Medicine Hat and Wood Mountain respectively, had their scrip applications approved, their brother Frank, a labourer from File Hills, chose to reside among kin at Okanese First Nation while applying for scrip. In subsequent investigations, Indian Agent D.W. Graham of the Qu'Appelle Agency notes Frank as a member of "Okanees Band" from the File Hills Agency, however, annuity paylists do not list him as a member, illuminating why his scrip application was permitted despite this connection. Selling the scrip certificates he received for his deceased siblings to E.J. Fewings for $65 in 1901, he elected to remain among kin at the File Hills Agency in the Qu'Appelle Valley.[124] A half-brother of Henri,

[123] LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Melanie Fagnant [sic]," RG15, Series D-II-8b, volume 1327, microfilm C-14938.

[124] LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Henry Dumont for his deceased daughter Philomène," RG15, Series D-II-8c, volume 1246, microfilm C-14938. In exchange for his $120 scrip, Louis accepted $50 from the same Fewings. Shortly after, Louis sold ¾ of a section located on 16-21-W2 in the Wood Mountain locality to William Cayley, a lawyer in Regina, for $360.00. LAC, Department of the Interior, "Dumont, Louis Vital (Son of Vital)," RG15, Series D-II-8-f, volume 1395, file 258654; "Dumont, Louis

Louis, and Frank, Alexander Dumont's 1901 scrip application was also thoroughly investigated by J.A.J. McKenna, who chose to disallow it based on his Indian status. Unlike his siblings, Alexander remained enrolled as a member of One Arrow's Band at the Duck Lake Agency, falling under his father (Vital's) ticket #56. A child of Vital's second marriage to Ellen [Helen] Ledoux, this may reflect the kinship connections from the second marriage that coincided with narrowing economic opportunities in the mid-1880s. After the death of Vital in 1896, Alexander and his two sisters constituted family #56 at Qu'Appelle, and all three attended the Qu'Appelle Industrial School where they each collected their annuity payments.[125] N.E. Jones, Indian Agent at Duck Lake, notes that "the rest of the family are scattered, married and do not belong here."[126] The individual decisions made by the Dumont family to sell their scrip certificates to a third party or remain in treaty speaks to the immediacy of their financial need during this post-1885 economic transition, critical in maintaining place and community.

Born after 1885, none of Henri's children were eligible for scrip, and instead drew on the locality's new opportunities associated with growing capitalist markets. After running away from the Fort Shaw School, Henri's son, William (Willie), spent his time

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of Willow Bunch, Sask., Farmer to Hamilton, William Cayley of Regina, Sask., Barrister-at-law," RG15, Series D-II-8-1, volume 1442. Louis likely had property in both locations, but elected to permanently move among kin at Cypress Hills at the turn-of-the-century, and these certificates would have been critical in offsetting the cost of relocating. When he applied for scrip in Moose Jaw on behalf of his deceased daughter Marie Adelaide in 1901, he details residing at Swift Current, Maple Creek, Fort Assiniboine (M.T.), and Sasktathewan. LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Louis Dumont for his deceased daughter Marie Adeline Dumont," RG15, Series D-II-8c, volume 1346, microfilm 14968. LAC, Department of the Interior, "Frank Dumont dit Cayolle as brother and heir of John Dumont," RG15, Series D-I-8-f, volume 1400; Frank Dumont dit Cayolle as brother and heir of Mary Dumont," RG15, Series D-I-8-f, volume 1400. At this time, File Hills included Peepeekisis (Cree), Little Black Bear (Cree-Assiniboine), Star Blanket (Cree), and Okanese (Cree-Saulteaux).

[125] Chief Bobtail signed an adhesion to Treaty 6 on 25 September 1877 for a reserve 31.5 square miles in size. After the community abandoned it, the land was reallocated for the Montana Band of Indians. Bobtail, not wanting to participate in the conflict of 1885, led his followers to Montana and some wound up as members of the Rocky Boy Reservation.

[126] LAC, Department of the Interior, "Application of Alexander Dumont dit Gayse," RG15, Series D-II-8-c, vol. 1345, Reel C-14966.

working with his father at Sweet Grass Hills, remaining in Montana and working as a ranch hand after his parents returned to Cypress Hills. Returning to Canada in 1906, he spent the next seven years working for the Spencer-Yatlor Ranch where he broke horses and trailed cattle to pasture between Milk River and the Cypress Hills. As settlement to the area increased and the era of open-range ranching began to decline, Willie left the Spencer-Yatlor outfit and filed for a homestead in 1912 among his kin at Cypress Hills.[127] Willard explains that everyone lived "all along the same Creek. The people were like that in the olden days. They were fond of staying in the places where they already knew people."[128]

When Willie married Vitaline Rose Deguerre in 1913, he replaced his bachelor house with a three-room home where they lived among at least ten other Metis families in the immediate area.[129] For these families that remained, knowledge of the locality proved critical. Willie owned over 40 horses that he was able to graze on the Forest Reserve for ten cents a head, and like his father, he worked for the Federal Forest Reserve from spring through fall caring for the tree nursery and planting saplings in the surrounding

[127] William applied for entry on NE 26 8 28 3 on 16 June 1912 and received patent on 27 Jan 1921. By 1921, he lived there with his wife Vitaline and their four children, Harry, George, William Fr. and John. LAC, Records of the Department of the Interior, "William Dumont NE 26 8 28 3," *Land Patents Branch, Homestead Grant Registers,* R190-75-1-E. Data from Statistics Canada, *1921 Census of Canada* [database on-line], RG 31, Folder Number: 155, Census Place: Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, Page 2.

[128] Also farming on 7 28 W3 was Peter Adams, identified as a French man, born in Montana and married to a Cree woman, Mary. Living adjacent to them was Isidor Laframbois, working as a hired hand making roughly $600 per year. To the north on 8 28 W3 was the Montour family, Isadore on SE 35 8 28 W3, Barney on SE 34 8 28 W3 and Alfred on NE 34 8 28 W3. To the west of them on 8 1 W4 were Joseph Eno and Edward Dumais with his extended family. LAC, Records of the Department of the Interior, "Isadore Montour, SE 35 8 28 W3," R190-75-1-E, file 456293, application 13134; "Barney Montour, SE 34 8 28 W3," R190-75-1-E, file 560593, application 12419; "Alf Mountour, NE 34 8 28 W3,", R190-75-1-E, file 485935, application 1580; "Edward Dumais, SW 6 8 1 W4," R190-75-1-E, file 270379, application 13417; "Joseph Eno, SE 6 8 1 W4," R190-75-1-E, file 225798, application 10789. Data from Statistics Canada, *1921 Census of Canada* [database on-line], RG 31, Folder Number: 155, Census Place: Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, Page 2; *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta* [database on-line] Year: 1916, Census Place: Saskatchewan, Maple Creek, 07, Roll T-21940, Page 6, Family No: 61. Dumont, *My Trail Through Life*, 60-65.

[129] These included Eno (Deguerre), Fayant, Belanger, Adams, Guardepuy, Boney, Swain, and Trottier. Dumont, *My Trail Through Life* (2004), 62.

forest. When the Forest Reserve decided to build a tourist cabin at Elkwater in 1924, Willie cut and hewed the logs by hand and built the structure. When automobile culture made its appearance, Willie was involved in building bridges, culverts, and cut several roads through the Hills' sandstone. Not a farmer himself, he also hired out as a haying crew. In the winter months he hunted throughout the Hills, usually taking his furs to Ben Bornick in Maple Creek who traded furs for groceries and other supplies. When Vitaline wanted to send their children to school in Maple Creek, Willie could afford to build a second home in town. Only after he and Vitaline separated did he abandon his home in the Hills, thereafter making his living fencing throughout the locality.

The extended Dumont family and the dozen other Metis families who chose to make the Cypress Hills home at the turn of the 20th century, rebuilt and maintained their community in these ways. With children born on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel, these transnational families elected to permanently settle in places with a tradition of implacement, where the intersection of traditional practices with capitalist structures is observed. Even when Henri and Melanie were forced to move out of the Forest Reserve at the turn of the century, the move provided new opportunities for economic self-sufficiency for both him and his son.[130] Through Metis scrip, homesteading, horse-raising, seasonal labour, and hunting, this Dumont family ensured financial stability and continuity in the Cypress Hills.

(Re)placing the Plains Metis in this borderland space shows how a history of implacement moved families and individuals to take advantage of new government

[130] Under contract, he would take filled gunnysacks to headquarters and be paid. Forestry wanted the seeds, which as part of a forestry exchange program, were sent to Australia and New Zealand. When William returned to the Cypress Hills, he was hired to plant saplings throughout the hills.

policies and economic opportunities associated with a growing settler-state to remain in place. Despite policies designed to remove Indigenous peoples from the landscape and confine them to reserves and reservations, families actively decided to combine well-established practices and new opportunities to remain among kin in familiar places. Those that could took advantage of treaty negotiations in Canada and the U.S. that guaranteed a land base and much-needed provisions. Half-breed scrip commissions, first in 1885 and then in 1900-1901, provided much needed money (selling the scrip to speculators) that allowed many families to re-establish themselves on homesteads; in the surrounding bush of the Turtle Mountains, or in the coulees of Cypress Hills among friends and family.

In addition to navigating these settler-state policies, many looked to emerging capitalist markets associated with a growing settler population on the Great Plains. The Turtle Mountain locality shows how hunting and trapping on the Mountain was often supplemented with homesteading and seasonal work in new Prairie towns to advance the family economy. In the Cypress Hills, the Dumont family highlights ongoing transnational movement well into the 20th century, taking advantage of government policies and opportunities drawing on traditional practices and capitalist structures on both sides of the line. The Dumonts, and other Metis families like them, chose to remain in the locality because it was a place where they were at home and where their community had been implaced since the end of the 19th century. They did so despite the government efforts to remove them from this borderland space.

4. HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT:
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND COMMUNITY

The previous chapters have revealed how Plains Metis families and individuals navigated settler-state policies and new economic opportunities to remain among community and kin in the borderlands in the post-bison era. The following discussion, drawing on material culture studies, will illustrate how these communities remained rooted in place while participating fully in modern North American life. Used in tandem with documentary evidence, these photographs give voice to narratives absent from more traditional sources, revealing socio-economic changes as the borderlands were flooded with a new settler society. These photographs, from both the period prior to and after 1885, show how Metis individuals and families chose to portray themselves through dress. These visual representations of everyday life serve to destabilise declensionist narratives of borderland Metis communities showing how families and individuals adapted to mainstream material culture and dress, while simultaneously preserving their communities in the Cypress and Foot Hills localities well into the 20th century.

The visual history of North American has long drawn on Indigenous peoples as a source of imagery. Central to colonizing efforts, information about the continent's original inhabitants was communicated through a myriad of visual representations that broadened at the end of the 18th century to include various collections and ethnographic exhibitions used to satiate the fascination of colonial observers. As the circulation of printed materials increased, so too did visual representations of the 'Other'. When scientific rationality and racial hierarchies emerged in the late 19th century, they converged with technological advancements that framed Indigenous peoples in

opposition to modernity. These representations of Indigenous peoples almost always romanticised, objectified, and stereotyped participants, coalescing in the late 19th century with North American settler-state territorial expansion and settler apprehension over modernity.[1] As Euro-Americans expanded across the continent, the 'vanishing Indian' became tied to romanticised images of a pre-modern time, replete with images of the 'noble savage', fur traders, and mountain men. In this narrative of North America's march to modernity, Indigenous peoples were relegated to a pre-modern era of settler-state formation.[2]

Using these images as primary source material is not new, and historians have spent considerable time analysing the visual representations of Indigenous peoples by outsiders and the power dynamics embedded in that exchange. These images show that continuity defined non-indigenous representations of Indigenous peoples, and that outsider visual representations are based in a small sampling of basic images and assumptions that construct a foundational understanding of Indigenous peoples. Those adding a gender analysis reveal how these same assumptions are influenced by representations that situate those same presumptions in relation to non-indigenous ideas of masculinity and femininity. More recent scholarship has used photographs to examine the divergent and conflicting roles of commercial photographers, governments, and

[1] Colleen O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and Discourse of Development in American Indian History an Introduction," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian Hosper and Colleen O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004): 1-26; Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Phillip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

[2] John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995). Ideas associated with the 'vanishing Indian' originate with post-Enlightenment thought that differentiates modern America and Europe from the pre-modernism of 'ancient' cultures. David W. Penney, *North American Indian Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 57-60; Cory Willmott, "The Lens of Science: Anthropometric Photography and the Chippewa, 1890-1920," *Visual Anthropology* 18 (2005): 309-337.

missionaries in the photo-documentation of colonial expansion during the late-19th and early-20th centuries.[3]

Early representations of the Plains Metis were often tied to the photo-documentation of colonial and settler-state expansion across the Great Plains, coinciding with efforts to document the continent's Indigenous peoples before they vanished from the landscape.[4] Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's invention in 1839 saw studio photography spread across the globe, making its way to the Northern Plains where photographs depicting the Plains Metis prior to 1885 were taken and disseminated across the British Empire.[5] Of significant social, political and economic standing, prominent individuals like Pierre Bottineau and Joseph Rolette, who had kinship ties to the local Metis community, posed for portraits that hung in prominent political spaces in Minnesota and North Dakota.[6] To the north, studio photography made its first appearance

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[3] John C. Ewers, "Artifacts and Pictures as Documents in the History of Indian-White Relations," *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox*, ed. Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka (Washington: Howard University Press, 1976); Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Elizabeth Vibert, "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Trader's Narratives," in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader,* ed. Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Carol Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[4] Examples of these settler-state expeditions include the: Lewis and Clark Expedition, United States Geological Survey, Joint Boundary Commission, Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, Palliser Expedition, and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. Photography largely replaced sketching as a way of documenting the region's newly acquired territories and their natural resources by the mid-19th century. Understood as more reliable, photography served as a critical tool for both settler-states in enforcing their territorial claims.

[5] The Daguerrotype process was the first photograph processing technique available to the public. Starting in the 1860s, this processing technique was gradually replaced by Calotype and glass plate negatives.

[6] Illustrated in chapter two, both Bottineau and Rolette entered the realm of politics as the settler-state enforced new territorial and political boundaries and both have Counties named for them in North Dakota. There is some debate about whether Joe Rolette was in fact a 'half-breed'. The son of a prominent French Canadian man employed by the American Fur Company in the upper Mississippi region, Joe Jr. was educated in New York City before relocating to Pembina County in the 1840s where he also worked for the American Fur Company. Key in the development of cart traffic to St. Paul, Rolette's marriage to Angélique Jerome provided him access to the region's trade as well as membership in the area's Metis community. Despite frequently being noted as a 'half-breed', genealogical work identifies him as mostly European with an Indigenous ancestor from Ottawa, several generations removed. Despite his contested ethnic identity, the clothing he chose to wear in this portrait communicates aligns closely with what Racette identifies as

in the early 1860s at the Red River Settlement when Ryder Larsen began photographing local residents in their homes.[7] As the medium made its way across the Northwest, images of the Plains Metis appear alongside their Indigenous kin as both settler-states sought to visually record and justify their territorial claims. When plastic film photography gained traction in the 1890s, photography became increasingly democratised, moving away from the studio and into the home.[8]

Facing political persecution and economic collapse after 1885, the bright cultural displays long associated with the Plains Metis began to fade and were largely confined to the private sphere for use in intra-community celebrations.[9] These intimate collections capture individuals and families often erased from the landscape as new settler-state categories of belonging were solidified. Most photographs of the Great Plains between 1885 and 1930 celebrate a very specific small-town prairie life. However, hidden in those same photographs and their accompanying pioneer testimonials are the Metis and their other Indigenous kin who laid the foundation for many of those same communities.[10] The gradual proliferation of photography saw private moments recorded, allowing for a unique opportunity to consider the everyday lives of those who chose to remain in their

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'half-breed fashion.' Bruce M. White, "The Power of Whiteness: or, the life and times of Joseph Rolette Jr.," *Minnesota History* 56, no. 4 (Winter 1998-99): 188-189.

[7] Virginia Berry, *A Boundless Horizon* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1983), 40-45.

[8] Often in the form of the point and shoot camera box. Joy Porter, ed., *Place and Native American Indian History and Culture* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2005).

[9] Paintings, lithographs, and photographs featuring Plains Metis were often tied to a cultural 'golden age', relegating discussion to a paradigm of cultural evolution and decline. This suggestion that a distinct Metis material culture peaked and subsequently disappeared has been successfully debunked in recent years by the research of Sherry Farrell Racette.

[10] Spread across all provincial and state archives, these are also found in the settler centennials of 1980-1983 that chronicle the history of rural municipalities in Canada, and counties in the U.S. See bibliography for a comprehensive list of these publications from each of this study's four localities. As seen in chapter two and three, the foundations for many of these early prairie towns were laid by the Plains Metis who played a role in establishing primary places throughout the borderlands prior to non-indigenous settlement.

borderland communities after 1885.[11] Responding to expected norms of behaviour and respectability, many Metis families adapted their outward appearance in order to evade settler criticism and the panoptic eye of the settler-state. While dress is not the only focus of this chapter, given its importance in what it communicates about "fitting in", it bears some consideration here.

Dress in Images

Over the last twenty-five years, a material culture analysis of dress has moved from the margins of academic debate to the center of a lively and interdisciplinary analysis.[12] As ambassadors of the past, dress and its embedded meanings serve as a visible mark of ethnicity, often dependent on historical moment, community, region, and context. Proclaiming social position for everyone at all times, dress also has the ability to capture a group's common past, representing traditions and displaying cultural heritage.[13] Indeed, the distinctive dress of the Metis has been a constant source of fascination from the earliest days of the Red River Settlement.

These early paintings, drawings, lithographs, and photographs of Plains Metis tend to focus on the brightly dressed men and women residing in the Red River Settlement and surrounding area. Identified as "half-breed fashion" by onlookers,[14] an

[11] While commercial and state-sponsored photography has its own story to tell about the Plains Metis, this project is interested in the images preserved in personal collections and in private donations to archives and museums.
[12] The amalgamation of distinct methodological approaches – including archaeology, anthropology, social history, and art history – has played a critical role in moulding the field of material culture. Advocates of material culture have long expressed the belief that an analysis of dress moves the discussion beyond the functionality and practical considerations often associated with dress.
[13] Joanne Eicher, "Introduction," *Dress and Ethnicity: Changes Across Space and Time* (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 1995).
[14] Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific*, reprint (Toronto: Coles, 1970), 80.

early example of this is reflected in Joseph Rolette's 1860 studio photograph (image 4.1). Dressed in a capote trimmed with fur along the lapels, hood, and cuffs, he wears a sash that secures his capote, and tucked into that is an elaborately beaded firebag with a floral motif, which is more clearly seen in a painted portrait from five years later (image 4.2). With trade connections to centers like St. Paul and Montreal, the men and women of the Red River Settlement found themselves on the cutting edge of the latest fashion trends, evidenced in many of these pre-1885 images. As settler fashion trends travelled across the continent, they too were adapted to Indigenous dress practices and turned into something new and relevant before being further disseminated across the Northern Plains. Sherry Farrell Racette charts these shifting dress practices and the emergence of an identifiable style of collective Metis dress, suggesting that a 'half breed fashion' developed and spread across the North and West during the early- and mid-19th century.[15] Similar research shows how the decision to include Indigenous or European-style dress was a self-conscious assertion of Indigenous modernity as individuals navigated an increasingly complicated social and political space.[16] Others suggest that the decision to wear European or traditional dress often depended on the economic pursuits of the individual and their community, an idea with several parallels on the Great Plains.[17]

As racial and ethnic boundaries hardened at the end of the 19th century, and as the utility of identifying as Metis declined, the need to blend in mediated individual and collective identities within each locality. The act of sitting for a photograph in the post-

[15] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Metis and Half Breed Identity," PhD Dissertation (University of Manitoba, 2004), 116.
[16] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "The Dress of His Nation: Romney's Portrait of Joseph Brant," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 209-228.
[17] Cory Silverstein-Willmott, "Men or Monkey's? The Politics of Clothing and Land within Ontario First Nations, 1830-1900," in *Native Voices in Research*, eds., Jill Oakes et. al. (Winnipeg: Aboriginal Issues Press, 2003): 127-140.

1885 era presented individuals with an opportunity to claim a distinctive space within new settler-state categories. How to portray oneself was a highly personal decision that varied between and within families, and individuals often elected to choose one or more of these categories by wearing either traditional, western, or a combination of the two dress styles. This social, ethnic, and racial positioning could also serve to elevate an individual's or family's social image.[18] Two portraits, taken in Helena, MT at approximately the same time, provide an example of two families navigating the shifting social and ethnic categories on the Great Plains through the photographic lens.

We know relatively little about these two families or why they chose to pose for these photographs, yet they reveal two different ways of belonging on the Northern Plains. Identified as 'Cree Indians', the studio photograph of Patrick Henry's family (image 4.3) was taken in 1925 and shows his wife, their five children, and two extended family members.[19] Residing at Box Elder in 1930, Patrick and his family were variably identified as Indian, Cree, Canadian Indian, and French Indian, reflecting new and often porous ethnic categories.[20] For this photograph, the family has opted for settler dress, with the four eldest children wearing either a variant of a tunic or the more popular turn-

[18] Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).
[19] On the left is Mary Henry holding Theresa Henry, and beside her is Beatrice Lafromboise holding Joe Lafromboise. In the front seated left to right are Geneviva Henry, Mary Henry, May Henry, and Joe Henry. "Patrick Henry's Family", *Al Lucke Collection, Cree Indians – Families and Portraits*, Photographic Print Collection, 955-701, MHS (hereafter Montana Historical Society).
[20] U.S. Census Bureau, *1900 United States Census Records*, United States of America, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Census Place: Glasgow, Valley, Montana. Roll: 915, Enumeration District: 0140, FHL microfilm: 1240915, Washington, D.C., 1900, T623, 1854 rolls, U.S. National Archives and Record Administration (NARA), *Ancestry.com*; *1930 United States Census Records*, United States of America, Bureau of the Census. RG: Montana, film number: 2340992, line number: 6, publication number: t626, microfilm roll number: 1257, sheet letter: a, sheet number: 1, record number: 4720, NARA, *Ancestry.com*.

of-the-century romper.[21] Dressed in their finest, these children are also wearing either a derby, pork pie, or newsboy hat. Standing behind them, Mary Henry wears a collared white blouse, and to her left, Beatrice Lafromboise is dressed in a similar high-necked blouse paired with mid-length print skirt and tailored jacket. Both women wear their long hair up and are holding the photograph's two youngest participants, with at least one child dressed in a sailor suit that was common until the end of World War One. Choosing not to incorporate Indigenous elements, this family is clearly aligning with Montana's rapidly modernizing society, avoiding correlation with the region's Indigenous community through their clothing choices.

Taken at roughly the same time, image 4.4 gives us a glimpse of Jim Denny's family. Married to Maggie (the daughter of Ayimâsis, or Chief Little Bear), their son William and daughter Florence join them in the frame for this family portrait. Jim worked for the Great Northern Railway and his family moved between Great Falls and other places in Montana prior to settling at the Rocky Boy Reservation where he worked as a labourer for local farmers and ranchers.[22] Taken shortly after they relocated to Rocky Boy,[23] Jim's elaborately beaded vest and braided hair stands out, as do Maggie's beaded moccasins, headscarf, and shawl tied around her waist over her mid-calf print skirt. Florence also wears her hair in braids, as well as a headscarf, medallion, and beaded belt

[21] A play-suit, rompers were worn by both boys and girls, evolving in part from the popular tunic suits that were paired with knickers. In the bottom left of the frame, the child appears to be wearing a form of the Buster Brown Suit, paired with shorts, round hat, and haircut with bangs.
[22] "William Denny Sr.," Oral History Interview, 14 March 1983, *Métis Cultural Recovery Collection* 543, MHS.
[23] Spelled Dinnie in 1907 and Denny in 1917. "Census of Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewa Indians of Montana by T.W. Wheat, Clerk, Allotting Services, April 8-14, inclusive, 1909, " copied by Verne Dusenberry April 15, 1953, *Verne Dusenberry Papers, 1885-1966*, accession 85015, series 4, box 10, MSUL (hereafter Montana State University Library); "Tentative Roll of Rocky Boy Indians, May 30, 1917," copied by Verne Dusenberry April 15, 1955, *Verne Dusenberry Papers, 1885-1966*, accession 85015, series 4, box 10, MSUL.

with pouch. Their son William, dressed in settler-style bib overalls, white collared shirt, and straw hat, stands out. Known for their durability, comfort, and convenience, overalls were rarely dress-wear, but served as functional work wear. With the exception of William, members the Denny family elected to incorporate elements of both traditional and settler dress.[24] Although both families are identified using various settler-state "Indian" categories, their decision to dress in different ways demonstrates their strategic self-fashioning. Being Indigenous in Montana, particularly a 'landless Indian' from Canada, was difficult, and choices in dress could easily influence how outsiders perceived and interacted with them. For those families desirous of 'hiding in plain sight', western dress was used to avoid conspicuous difference. For those like the Denny family, who moved between multiple ethnic categories, membership on the Rocky Boy Reservation required that they demonstrate their Indian bona fides to community members as well as outsiders. One way to communicate this claim was to clothe themselves in articles of dress denoting that connection.

Individuals also made decisions about dress in order to convey specific ideas about belonging. George Watson (image 4.5) posed for his portrait at the turn of the 20th century in the same studio.[25] Also known as Cree Indian Whitehead, not much is known of George Watson Sr., but he does appear on the initial Rocky Boy Indian Roll in 1917 and remained a member until at least 1930, during which time he was identified as Canadian-Cree, Chippewa-Cree, and mix-Cree.[26] Born in Saskatchewan in 1890, he was

[24] "Indian Family – Jim Denny, "*Al Lucke Collection, Cree Indians – Families and Portraits*, Photographic Print Collection, 955-700, MHS. William may be wearing moccasins, but his feet are not visible in this photograph.
[25] "George Watson, Whitehead, Cree Indian", *Al Lucke Collection, Cree Indians – Families and Portraits*, Photographic Print Collection, 555-690, MHS.
[26] Rocky Boy Reservation membership rolls between 1917 and 1930.

residing in Montana Territory by 1896 – a distinction made clear by government representatives on his application for entry. We also know he was convicted in a coyote bounty racket, and was sentenced to eight months in prison for his part.[27] George Watson Sr.'s choice to wear a brightly beaded vest over a buckskin jacket, beaded and fringed gauntlets, beaded leggings and armbands, a neckerchief, bone necklace, and a large brimmed hat with a feather is deliberate and sends a very clear message. This ornate dress not only indicates identity, but also identifies him as economically independent, an image perhaps cultivated and tied to his own economic and social aspirations.[28] The placement of this ensemble in front of a natural landscape also locates this particular Indigenous man in a very specific space, and when combined with this 'authentic' interpretation of Plains Indigenous dress, closely conforms to non-indigenous romanticisation of and preoccupation with the 'vanishing Indian'. Rarely would this combination of dress elements be worn simultaneously, and George's decision to incorporate them for this portrait aligns closely with settler stereotypes and expectations of Indigenous dress.

A similar analysis of Plains Metis dress requires a critical (re)reading of the earlier mentioned pre-1885 cultural displays noted by colonial and settler-state officials. As one of the dominant political and economic groups on the Plains, identifying as a member of the Plains Metis community was beneficial and often done through dress. Early scholars looked to these images and identified a golden age paradigm between the 1820s and 1870s when Metis artistic output peaked and when a separate material culture

[27] This fake coyote pelt racket saw participants oil and colour gopher pelts to resemble pup skins in the hopes of getting the $2.00 bounty on coyotes "Indians Sentenced for Coyote Bounty Racket," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, 11 November 1936, page 4.

[28] Beaded floral iconography on buckskin, gauntlets, leggings, and moccasins were understood as representative of Indigenous culture. With matching iconography across his outfit, beadwork such as this was expensive, when combined with sitting for a studio portrait, indicates a certain level of financial independence.

and its influence earned them the title "flower beadwork people".[29] However, this perspective limits Metis originality and adaptability to a pre-1870 period, when in fact, these practices continued well into the 20th century. At the forefront of and often driving change in Great Plains fashion, the Metis embraced various facets of European dress since their early settlement at Red River and Pembina.[30] This adoption of ready-made clothing later in the 19th century, as it became more affordable, presaged a similar transition to everyday dress for a majority of Plains people. These clothing choices of Metis and Half Breeds reflected historic events that affected Metis society over time: the fur trade, the changing economy, resistance and displacement.[31] In effect, garments that later became emblematic of Metis identity emerged in key places and times across the Northwest.[32] It stands to reason then that when facing economic collapse and political persecution after 1885, it would be advantageous to hide overt displays that would identify one as Metis. Facing increasing hardship and loss of political power, Metis dress became more subdued, and items emblematic of Metis identity were tucked away in trunks for use only on special occasions.

Thus, if one looks at photographs of Metis individuals after 1885 and expects brightly beaded vests, leggings, hide jackets, and sashes, one will be disappointed.[33]

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[29] Ted J. Brasser, "In Search of métis art," in *New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985). Although uncritical of the ongoing dialogue between Metis, other Indigenous groups, and non-Indigenous groups, Brasser was crucial in identifying Metis artefacts in several museum collections across North America.

[30] A similar exchange happened between the Metis and other Indigenous groups on the Northern Plains, with stylistic elements circulating to varying degrees across Northern North America.

[31] Racette consulted present-day Metis artists, who are often the descendants of the Metis women she discusses in her dissertation.

[32] In making this argument, Racette analyses the popular finger-woven sash, capote, and leggings.

[33] After 1885, the bright floral beadwork most associated with the Metis had disappeared as a marker of cultural identity. However, a number of authors have considered the production of floral motif artwork that proliferated from the turn of the 19th to mid-19th century as symbolic of a unique Metis ethnic identity. Frances Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 86, Reprint (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1929); Marius Barbeau, *Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers* (Toronto:

Although dress that incorporated bright floral beadwork did not disappear among the Plains Metis, to avoid conspicuous differences every-day dress practices were adapted. As a result, dress serves poorly as a way of differentiating between the Metis and their settler-neighbours. While the older generation, especially women, continued to wear the dark full-length dresses, aprons, head scarves, and shawls that Racette notes, increasingly, young women and men — like their contemporaries — adopted emerging trends more often tied to socio-economic status.[34] Long-standing trendsetters who adapted to changing tastes and demands during the fur trade era, post-1885 individuals and families continued to tailor their physical appearance to navigate the new social and political space.

At its most basic then, the following discussion shifts away from an explicit focus on dress and uses other features found in photographs to study Metis family and community in the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities. The everyday lives that fill these frames speaks to an involvement in the locality, with individuals and families going

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Macmillan Company, 1936); Ted Brasser, "Metis Artisans," *The Beaver* Outfit 306 (Autumn 1975): 52-57; Kate Duncan, "The Metis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic, *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1981); "In Search of Metis Art," in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*, ed., by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985): 221-230; Brasser, "Flower in Native American Art: A Review," Paper presented to the Native American Art Studies Association, Denver, 1987; Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan, *Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Bristol, Rhode Island: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1989); Duncan, "So Many Bags, So Little Known: Reconstructing the Patters of Evolution and Distribution of Two Algonquian Bags," *Arctic Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (1991): 56-66; David Penny, "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 1 (1991): 53-77; Thomas P. Myers, "The Cook Collection: A Turn of the Century Collection from the Nebraska Frontier," *American Indian Art Magazine* 19, no. 1 (1993): 60-67; Sharon Blady, "Beadwork as an Expression of Metis Cultural Identity," *Issues in the North, Volume 1,* ed., Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe (Calgary: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1995): 133-144; Blady, "The Flower Beadwork People: Factors Contributing to the Emergence of a Distinctive Metis Culture and Artistic Style at Red River from 1844 to 1969," M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, 1995.

[34] Emphasised by Linda Baumgarten, "[n]owhere was social inequality more evident than in the clothes people wore." *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, In association with Yale University Press, 2002), 106.

about their everyday lives while actively participating in a rapidly modernizing North America. Pushed to the margins of an emerging settler-society, the Plains Metis created fluid cultural spaces to facilitate the adaptation and continuity of their borderland communities, which are evident in the photographs of the era.

New Opportunities and Everyday Life in Photographs

Long an important locality among the Plains Metis, the Cypress Hills became the home of a number of Metis families after the government had attempted to remove all Indigenous peoples from the Hills in the early 1880s. Those that could joined their kin on the Fort Belknap Reservation, while others squatted on or filed for homesteads on both sides of the line. The Dumont family is particularly instructive in this light. Their family photographs illustrate one family's connection to place while situating them within a larger Metis community. Often when personal photographs are removed from their original context, we loose track of the photograph's story, of who the people in the frame are. However, when these images are placed alongside Willard Dumont's memoir and interview, they retain their critical context. Significantly, the everyday moments captured by these photographs challenge static representations of Plains Metis people, replete with leggings, beaded vests, and sashes.

As noted in the previous chapter, three generations of Dumont men and their families resided in the locality and worked at numerous jobs to make ends meet between the late 1880s and 1930s. As creators and curators of these photographs, Willie and his son Willard became documentarians, recording the everyday lives of family and wider

community in the Cypress Hills locality.[35] That the Dumonts owned a camera speaks to the democratization of photography, and the Plains Metis' adaptation to technological modernity. The preservation of these photographs also speaks to the importance they held within the family, emphasising their attachment to place in the Cypress Hills. In addition to the photographs of the Dumont family, images of the Gladstone-Riviere family provide another glimpse of family and community in the Foot Hills locality.

After establishing his family at Cypress Hills among extended kin and community, Willie Dumont (b.1888) maintained a small herd of horses while continuing to hunt and trap throughout the Hills (image 4.6). This photograph shows a particularly robust harvest of coyote pelts that would garner between .75¢ and $2.00 each depending on quality.[36] The image also shows Willie and his daughter standing outside of their first home at Cypress Hills, accompanied by the family dog. Dressed in typical 1920s men's working garb, Willie is holding the rifle used for hunting and feeding the family when seasonal labour opportunities were at a minimum.[37]

While hunting and trapping remained a critical source of income, the Dumont family relied primarily on their work with horses to make ends meet. Many photographs in the family's collection point to the prominent role horses played in their everyday activities. Known in the locality for their way with livestock, Henri (b. 1860) and Willie often made money breaking their own horses that they later sold to incoming settlers, or by training animals brought to them by recently arrived settler-neighbours. Having spent his younger years in Montana and Alberta working as a ranch hand before settling at

[35] Glenn Willumson, *Iron Muse: Photographing the Transcontinental Railroad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
[36] On the far left corner of the roof are a number of weasel pelts as well.
[37] This includes a button up plaid or wool patterned sweater coat, similar in style if not cut, to the Mackinaw jacket. He is also most likely wearing work trousers and boots.

Cypress Hills, image 4.7 highlights Willie's time on the range by showing a group of men roping saddle horses along the Milk River of Alberta in 1912 where Willie was employed after leaving Montana.[38] While Willie himself is not discernible in the photograph, it records the time he spent working for the Spencer-Yatlor Ranch. In the process of earning a salary with free room and board, he was able to save money to build a larger home at Cypress Hills when he retired 1913.

Just prior to leaving the Spencer-Yatlor outfit, Willie posed for a photograph (image 4.8) taken during a round-up along the Milk River. In this photograph Willie elected to include the tools of his trade. In addition to work dress, this included his shotgun, lasso and horse tack. Aside from his hat, shirt and bandana, Willie also wears a style of chaps called woollies. Normally made of fleece or hair-on cowhide, they were lined with canvas to keep their owner warm when the wind tore across the open prairie. Common across the Northern Great Plains, and an item that identified its wearer as a member of the ranching community, other Metis families, like the Gladstone-Rivieres of the Foot Hills locality, are also seen wearing this attire in photographs (image 4.9). Alex Gladstone, the son of Nellie Gladstone and Frenchie Riviere, was a member of the Foot Hills ranching community and renowned for his skill on a horse. His choice to wear a white shirt, vest, handkerchief, and woollies communicate his desire to be identified as a cowboy active on the range, and as a stock-raiser.

Key to maintaining a herd of cattle in this semi-arid locality was the procurement of feed, and members of the Dumont family cut hay for their own use. In the following photograph (image 4.10) we see three male kin members harvesting hay from the Hills.

[38] A medical student who travelled west, A.E. Brown took this photograph in 1912 as part of his "Western Canada Ranching Series." While the same photograph appears in the family collection, the family is unsure how the photograph came to be in their possession.

Owning his own haying outfit was crucial, and after providing for his own immediate needs, Willie would rent out his labour as part of a work crew to those without their own. This was a valuable commodity in a locality where such tools were few and far between. As settlers entered the area with few improvements of their own, Willie's haying outfit served as a valuable source of family income. This new economic opportunity, alluded to in Willie's memoir, is on full display here and shows how the financial security of families also drew on kin and community connections.

The horse culture, noted above, was not confined to the men of the Dumont family (image 4.11).[39] Known for her skill on a horse, Mary LeBarge (the sister of Willie Dumont), was often observed by locals riding through the area.[40] Born in Montana and permanently relocating to the Cypress Hills with her family in 1912, Mary was widowed by the age of 25 and cared for her infant daughter while living with her brothers Willie and Louie.[41] In this image we see her riding in the Hills, dressed in the style of a horse-woman including trousers, chaps, hat, cotton shirt with sleeves rolled up, and lasso. Although not employed by a corporate ranching interest, the work Mary carried out on the family's ranch was critical to its overall success. More often than not, women engaged in the same work as their male kin and were critical in the day-to-day running of the household and family business. This photograph shows the active role that women played in the family economy during this tumultuous period, particularly in a realm usually stereotyped as male.

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[39] The eldest son of Roger and Madeline LeBarge, John came to Canada with his parents from Montana in 1909 to homestead in the Cypress Hills. He married Mary Dumont shortly after their arrival. John died six months later, and born seven months after John died, Gladys and her mother Mary stayed among her kin in the Cypress Hills. Her sister, Georgelina married Barney Mountour.

[40] Cypress Hills (Alberta) Historical Society. *Cypress Hills Country* (Elkwater, SK: Cypress Hills (Alberta) Historical Society, 1991).

[41] Data from Statistics Canada, *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta*, Census Place: Saskatchewan, Maple Creek, 07, Roll T-21940, Page 6, Family No 62, *Ancestry.com*.

The Gladstone-Riviere family was located further west in the Foot Hills locality, and was involved in the early establishment of Pincher Creek. Here they emerged as prominent members of that area's ranching community. A versatile individual who worked on both sides of the line, Frenchie Riviere (image 4.12) worked throughout the foothills after marrying into the local Metis community.[42] Leaving France at 14, he worked at sea for several years before ending up in Butte, MT where he worked for a time as a cowboy. Moving north, he arrived in Pincher Creek in 1888 where he herded cattle, broke horses, and took hunting parties into the foothills. It was here that he met and married Nellie Gladstone, and following a brief period packing supplies for the Klondike Gold Rush, the couple settled at Pincher Creek among her kin and took a homestead in 1903 at the headwaters of the town's namesake. It was his marriage to Nellie that gave Frenchie entre into this borderland Metis community, a community formed around an assemblage of families who were brought together by a group of inter-related women. Nellie was the granddaughter of prominent Metis NWMP interpreter and carpenter William Gladstone Sr., who joined other members of his family at Pincher Creek when he retired.[43] Together, Frenchie and Nellie had eleven children and built up the Victoria Peak Ranch at the head of Pincher Creek. Their children became expert horsemen, and when Frenchie was away for work, Nellie provided overnight lodging for those travelling through the locality.

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[42] Henri Amous Riviere, or Frenchie Riviere, was born 9 January 1868 in Paris, France. "Riviere Family History File," Pincher Creek Community Archives (hereafter PCCA)

[43] William Gladstone Sr. was born in Montreal, worked with the HBC as a carpenter starting in 1848, and married Harriet Leblanc in 1855 at Fort Edmonton. After leaving the HBC in 1862, he worked as a carpenter across the borderlands, building several prominent structures, including Fort Whoop-Up. After retiring to the Mountain Mill area, he and his family worked at the newly-built government Mill. William Gladstone Jr. married Marie Somat, who changed her name to Johnson and became Marie Somat Vandal Johnson Gladstone. "Gladstone Family File" and "Gladstone Family History File," PCCA.

Between 1911 and 1928, Frenchie served as Game Guardian, and in 1914 was appointed Game Warden and Fisheries Inspector in Waterton National Park. A colourful character, Frenchie also worked as a guide and storyteller at Waterton, where he was often noted in the company of Kootenay Brown; both of these men were noted for their 'colourful garb of the country'.[44] Here Frenchie drew on knowledge gained from his connection with the local Metis community to illustrate an 'authentic' narrative for tourists. Taken in 1930, image 4.12 shows Frenchie posing outside of the Prince of Wales Hotel wearing a kerchief, buckskin vest, leather 'cowboy' cuffs, sash, fringed and beaded firebag, and beaded moccasins. His 'Indian garb', for which he was well-known, was made by his wife and daughters. Though not Indigenous himself, this 'traditional' outfit provided him with additional authority when it came to speaking of the locality's history and its original inhabitants with outsiders.

These photographs, when paired with the available documentary and oral sources, provide a rare glimpse into the experience of Metis families in the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities as they adjusted to new political and socio-economic realities in the borderlands. After 1885, the Dumont family returned to the Cypress Hills and established themselves as ranchers and stock-raisers while continuing to hunt and trap in the Hills to supplement income when seasonal labour opportunities slowed. In the Foot Hills locality, the Gladstone-Riviere family entered ranching early and were celebrated in the area for their stock-raising connections. In this locality, a community grew around a core group of Metis women who elected to remain in the area with their families after the bison disappeared from the landscape. Their husbands and sons, seizing new economic

[44] "Gladstone Family History," PCCA; Marie Rose Smith, "Eighty Years on the Plains," *Canadian Cattlemen* 12, no. 2 (September 1949). Full name of Frenchie was Henri Amous De LaRiviere.

opportunities, were quick to adopt a ranching lifestyle while the kinship connections of their wives and daughters formed the basis of community membership and growth.[45]

People, Places, and Community in the Borderlands

Useful in illustrating the intersection of capitalist structures with traditional practices and the everyday lives of those Metis who elected to remain in their borderland communities, these same photographs serve to physically (re)place the Metis in both the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities in the post-1885 period. Looking first at photographs of people, the Dumont family collection physically places them in this transnational community of the borderlands. The simple act of photographing Gladys LeBarge and her grandmother Melanie Dumont picking berries in the mid-1920s shows not only the critical work of women, but quite literally places them in the Hills after the region was supposedly emptied of Indigenous inhabitants (image 4.13). Scrawled across the back of the photograph is the note 'at Willie's place', placing this stand of berry bushes in the Cypress Hills locality. Picking what appear to be saskatoons or chokecherries, Gladys and Melanie are doing as countless women before them had; they harvested the locality's natural resources, and if there was a surplus, they sold it at Maple Creek to other local families. Both appear in long print dresses, and Melanie wears an apron, often used to gather the berries being picked. Both women dress much as their non-indigenous contemporaries would have and Gladys sports a short stylish haircut.

In another photograph from the late 1920, Willie's three youngest children sit perched on the running board of a neighbour's automobile (image 4.14). A status symbol

[45] Brenda Macdougall spends considerable time charting the crucial role women played in Metis community formation and continuity. *One of the Family: Metis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (Victoria: UBC Press, 2010).

that communicated individualism and financial security, the vehicle sits parked in Maple Creek, where the family frequently travelled to visit and to conduct business. Identified on the back of the photograph, these three children are dressed similar to their peers at the time, with young Willard (b. 1916) holding a prized toy. Automobiles such as this gradually became a more common sight in the locality as Willie and his father continued to cut roads throughout the Hills. With increased access and financial stability, Willard purchased the family's first car in the early 1940s; first a Wippet car, followed a short time later by a Ford Model T. As full participants in a modernizing Northern Great Plains, the Dumont family invested in this new automobile culture, providing increased access to the locality and surrounding borderlands.

Taken outside of Willie's three-bedroom home, image 4.15 shows Willard playing his prized guitar. Dressed in work trousers, shirt, and hat, Willard chose to bring his instrument into the frame with him, speaking to the importance it held for him. Music had long been associated with Plains Metis culture and was an important cultural expression among the Metis of Cypress Hills. Willard's great-uncle Louie was known for his fiddle playing and dancing, and the music produced by him and Gladys rang out in the community for many years. Willard's memoir and other community publications identify the Dumonts and Fayants as the locality's music makers, providing years of entertainment on weekends and during special occasions.

Also telling are the photographs taken of specific places within the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities. The images of the homes built by the Dumont and Gladstone-Riviere families illuminate more than types of house construction. Void of people but critical to this project, these images show the implacement of families through the

construction of permanent homes that were lived in throughout this study's time period. Taken in 1973, image 4.16 provides a rare glimpse of what remained of Henri Dumont's house on the edge of the Cypress Hills where he and Melanie lived following their removal from the newly created Forest Reserve. Preserved in part because the space was protected from agricultural development, Henri's descendants were able to find the home that once served as a central hub in the Cypress Hills community, retaining a visual representation in their family archive. Hewn logs were stacked, chinked, and the corners dovetailed, and while the roof is long gone, one can imagine it being constructed using bark shingles or sod. Built in one of the Hill's many coulees, the home was sheltered from the prairie wind and serves as a testament to an historic and ongoing Metis presence in the locality.

The photograph of Willie's final house at Fish Creek in the Hills (image 4.17), serves to highlight an intergenerational presence in this space. Constructed much the same way as his father's home, Willie lived here for a time after his wife's move to northern Saskatchewan and before he abandoned the house in the early 1930s. Thereafter, he lived among kin as he worked throughout the Hills. Both of these homes have since disappeared from the landscape, but the deliberate decision by family to record their historical presence in the Hills at the turn of the century provides tangible proof of that lived presence. These homes built by Henri and Willie would have mirrored their neighbours, who are noted throughout Willard's memoir and are confirmed in homestead records. Of note, image 4.18 was taken at the same time as the photographs of Henri and Willie's homes, but provides a unique view of the natural space surrounding Fort Walsh. As chapters two and three illustrate, this was an important place within the

wider locality before the Canadian government tried to remove all Indigenous peoples from the Hills. Drawn in black by Willard Dumont from the vantage point of Henri's first home in the Forest Reserve is the road that took visitors and residents down into Fort Walsh. Although the house no longer stands, Willie's knowledge of the place and space speaks to the family's familiarity with the landscape and their knowledge of a borderland community that spans the pre-modern and modern divide.

Like the Dumonts, Frenchie Riviere's decision to build a home further upstream of Pincher Creek just prior to 1930 serves as further evidence of the Metis claims to this locality (image 4.19). Closer to the mountains and away from a growing settler-population, Frenchie decided to build a home south of his ranch where he permanently retired after the death of his wife. This two-story log home with attached shed speaks to the family's financial security, the success of their ranching enterprise, and other economic pursuits. Although void of people, these photographs serve as evidence of an ongoing physical presence of Metis families in these two communities during the post-bison era. Adapting to new realities on the Great Plains, these homes — identified in memoirs, on the back of photographs, and by descendants — were lived in well after 1930. This small sampling speaks to a wider community, illuminating how photographs as source can be used to place Metis families in the borderlands.

While personal photograph collections tend to focus on immediate family, there are instances where the photographers document the wider community, key places, and the people that lived there. Image 4.20 provides a glimpse of the Foot Hills and the Metis women who helped to maintain this community through kinship ties.[46] Kin to Nellie Gladstone, Marie Rose Delorme Smith is photographed with several neighbours outside

[46] Macdougall, *One of the Family*.

of the house built by the Brown family in the foothills. A prominent Metis woman whose life spanned the entire borderland region, Marie's memoir details the wider Foot Hills community and the relationships that bound those who called the locality home.[47]

Seated in front is Chee-pay-tha-qua-ka-soon (Isabella Brown), the wife of John George 'Kootenai' Brown. Of Irish origins, John spent five years with the British army before making his way to the Cariboo goldfield in 1861. He lived a time among the Metis in Duck Lake, SK before he moved to Upper Fort Garry in 1866. From there he travelled north and west to trade whiskey, and to the south-east to transport furs to St. Paul. Relocating south of the international boundary, he met and married his first wife Olive Lyonnais in 1869, and after a brief time at Fort Totten, he worked as a trapper, scout, and interpreter for the American Army. When he left the Army, he remained among his wife's kin in North Dakota until the bison disappeared and they moved west into the foothills. When his first wife died, he married a local Cree woman Chee-pay-tha-qua-ka-soon, and other than a brief time with the Rocky Mountain Rangers, he worked as a local guide in the Kootenay Lakes area.[48] This photograph of the community at Pincher Creek thus shows its transnational and ethnic complexity, providing a glimpse of the primary role women played in community formation and continuity in the Foot Hills locality after 1885. Like Frenchie, it was George's marriage into the Metis community that granted him special access and privileged knowledge of the social and natural space, which he was able to use when he was appointed as fisheries officer in the Kootenay Forest

[47] Doris J. MacKinnon, *The Identities of Marie Rose Delorme Smith: Portrait of a Métis Woman, 1861-1960* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2012).

[48] Brown was an early advocate for the environmental protection of this area, and in 1895 the Kootenay Lakes Forest Reserve was created
and Brown was appointed fishery officer until 1912. William Rodney, *Kootenai Brown: his life and times, 1839–1916* (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1969); Graham A. MacDonald, ""Kootenai Brown" in the Red River Valley," *Manitoba History* 30 (Autumn 1995); "William McD. Tail," *Kootenai Brown Clipping Files,* Glenbow Archives.

Reserve.

A similar photograph from Maple Creek (image 4.21) shows a gathering of men at the local store. This photograph gives us a glimpse of Rodger LeBarge and Barney Montour, both standing on a raised plank sidewalk outside the general store noted often by Willard. Recent immigrant Phil Lindmen and storeowner Ben Bornick join these two men in this snapshot of a rapidly diversifying community. Dressed in town attire, including vest, tie, and hat, this image shows two prominent men from the Metis community indistinguishable in dress from non-Metis residents. Like LeBarge and Montour, many Metis families and individuals "hid in plain sight" while maintaining other traditional activities such as trading furs and pelts with Borick in exchange for store credit.

This phenomenon can also be glimpsed in a photograph taken outside of Marie Montour's home (image 4.23). Here six children from the community, representing the Dumont, LeBarge, Montour, and Stier families, surround a seated Marie Mountour. The boys are dressed in overalls, bandanas, and long-sleeved shirts, and the girls in white dresses with stockings. Willard Dumont's memoir, interviews, and homestead records, allow us to identify these children as Metis from families in the Hills. This photograph also serves to illuminate the connections between these families, which predated 1885 and continued well into the 20th century.

The final photograph (image 4.24) was taken outside of Henri Dumont's house near the Forest Reserve. In it you can see the home he and Melanie built in the background; this is the same structure seen in image 4.16, which served as a frequent gathering place for the wider community. On this particular day, the Fayants and Adams

were visiting, and given the prominence of Marie Fayant's accordion, one can assume music played a role in the gathering. Henry and Melanie are in the centre of the photograph, both wearing informal dress; Henri with overalls, button down long-sleeved shirt and hat, and Marie with long dark dress and apron. Anthony Fayant and Jeremiah Adams are also in everyday dress, with work trousers, button down long-sleeved shirt, and vests, while Marie Fayant wears what appears to be a light-coloured dress, bandana and head scarf. Standing slightly apart are Gladys LeBarge and George Dumont who, as the youngest of the group, are both seen wearing fashionable hats, with George in a button-down wool jacket and trousers. Taken in 1927, this photograph could easily represent any number of new settler gatherings that dotted the Northern Great Plains. However, when combined with documentary evidence, this intimate image illustrates how dress was used to avoid conspicuous difference while families maintained community and their own cultural expression in the Cypress Hills locality.

In his memoir, Willard Dumont remembers his grandmother Melanie wearing moccasins she made herself, but notes that his grandfather Henri always wore ready-made shoes. Willard explains that "Grandma and Grandad dressed the same as everyone else. It was just the moccasins that Grandma kept. None of the Metis in our area ever wore the traditional sashes that were part of the culture."[49] Sherry Farrell Racette's work on the way individuals chose to conform to or manipulate clothing and visual appearance to negotiate entry into other groups or social classes remains relevant into the 20th century as families found themselves navigating new and restrictive categories of belonging.[50] Metis families often found it easier to evade the notice of the settler-state and their

[49] Dumont, *My Trail Through Life*, 35.
[50] Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together," 215-217.

neighbours by dressing similar to the growing settler population. This is not to say that the brightly beaded items disappeared, but they were increasingly reserved for intra-community events and were no longer an accessible way for outsiders to visually identify Metis individuals and communities. Instead, this chapter has used a combination of photographs and textual records to highlight the phenomenon of hiding in plain sight while preserving Metis community ties. These photographs are critical first, in showing the ways families were able to make an income that allowed them to remain in the locality; and second, as visual confirmation of Metis people, places, and community continuity without being conspicuous.

Capturing the everyday lives of the Dumonts, Gladstone-Rivieres and their neighbours, this intersection of private and community life shows how families in these two localities adapted to a rapidly changing space, remaining proud of their community and their place in it. Far from static, these families drove automobiles, played guitar, and incorporated modern clothing trends into their every day. While settler-state policies had largely succeeded by the early 1890s in removing Indigenous peoples from the Great Plains, these families persevered and, indeed, incorporated outside settlers into their communities. These photographs of handsome men and women in contemporary suits and dresses allow us to understand how Plains Metis families understood their place in the post-1885 borderlands. These images intimate a shared tradition while highlighting the networks that connected the locality to national, transnational, and global networks. Free from the stereotypes long embedded in popular representations of Indigenous populations as a ‘vanishing people’ confined to a pre-1885 era, this analysis disrupts declentionist narratives by showing these families and communities as active participants

in a rapidly modernizing North America.

5. WOMEN'S ARTWORK AND COMMUNITY CONTINUITY

Considered less valuable than the elaborately beaded moccasins they often rest beside, souvenirs and similar pieces of artwork lie scattered throughout the borderland museums of Canada and the United States. Having created the context through which these items circulated, this chapter argues that these often-overlooked objects illuminate the critical role that Metis women played in the economic stability of their families, and by association, the continuity of their borderland communities. To illustrate this, a concise discussion of Metis women's work after 1885 will be followed by a brief consideration of material culture studies' contribution to our understanding of Indigenous women's work. This is followed by an exploration of the influence that new settler-state categories has on identifying Plains Metis artefacts housed in collections across the Northern Great Plains.

Far from static, the voices of these not-so-silent women are then featured in three case studies that consider the items produced by Metis women and their Indigenous kin. Our first example looks at a Pembina family who, drawing on their knowledge of the borderland region, acquired items from the Turtle Mountain locality that incorporated Indigenous artistic influences and settler form. A brief consideration of Wood Mountain traces similar form and function in artistic production across space, and how the availability of local resources influenced object aesthetic. This chapter concludes by looking at the artwork produced by women residing on Cypress Hill's Rocky Boy Reservation. Established in Northern Montana, this Reservation comprised a diverse ethnic composition that was reflected in a unique doll production that was later marketed

through Montana's Art Cooperative with an eye toward the tourist trade. Taken together, this analysis attempts to show how Metis women and their other Indigenous kin adapted to the demands of a growing settler society by revising pre-existing artistic practices and well-established trade networks to make an economic contribution to their families and communities. Considered alongside their intimate knowledge of this borderland space, this chapter will argue that Metis women were in a unique position to respond to a rapidly changing plains economy, which proved critical in community continuity.

As traditional economies failed and Plains Metis families and communities found themselves marginalised in this borderland space, women turned to the intersection of traditional practices with new capitalist structures in order to supplement family income. As illustrated in the previous two chapters, this often involved joining their male kin in cutting fence posts and firewood, or gathering bison bones. Some trapped alongside their male kin and maintained their own lines, while others looked to new prairie towns as a source of occasional labour. Many collected resources from the land and sold their surplus, such as berries and roots, to homesteaders who dotted the landscape at mile-long intervals. In an interview, settler Charles Lockett recounts that in the late 1880s he "…did a little profitable trading with the migratory Indians, which may include an occasional pelt, and medicinal roots…"[1] Yet, as opportunities continued to narrow, some women were observed by settlers "frequently search[ing] the town's dump-ground…looking for cast-off articles they could use in their own camps."[2] Many of those denied a place on one of Montana's three northern Reservations found themselves at places like Hill 57 just

[1] Charles L. Lockett Manuscript 1950, "Recollections of 1888 in North Dakota," *SHSND Historical Manuscript Collections*, MSS 20021, State Historical Society of North Dakota (hereafter SHSND).
[2] Thomas H. McKee, "A Boy in Bismark: When Both Were Very Young: Some random notes on early life in Bismarck set down here by Thomas H. McKee, mainly for the information of his descendants," March 1953, *Historical Manuscript Collections*, MSS 20022, SHSND.

outside of Great Falls, MT, where 'landless Indians' gathered after the 1880s in a bid to find a place of their own.[3] While these options were crucial in offsetting financial hardship after 1885, many Metis women turned to artwork and souvenir production as a path to financial security.

The integration of this material culture in historical research provides valuable insight into this critical women's work on the Plains after 1885.[4] Taking an object-driven approach, this chapter understands this souvenir production as evidence of complex social relationships that criss-crossed the Northern Great Plains.[5] Focusing on people and everyday experiences, this analysis moves beyond the things people made, consumed, and disposed of, and considers the context objects moved through and the differences marked in that process.[6] Imbued with their own meanings, these objects allow us to consider the individuals involved in their production, exchange, and use, and by extension, their community. This object-driven approach is supplemented by written sources that illuminate Indigenous women's artistic production as an explicit challenge to the fracturing of kin and community in the borderlands after 1885.

These artefacts also highlight the ongoing exchange between Indigenous and settler women; the sharing and adaptation of styles, materials, and skills by women now

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[3] One of the 'moccasin flat' communities around Great Falls, MT, the property lying under Hill 57 belonged to a Metis-Cree family who permitted the settlement's ongoing presence into the 1970s.

[4] Highly interdisciplinary, material culture studies looks to anthropology with its focus on human and social relationships, social history and its emphasis on the non-elite, as well as art history with its attention to the aesthetic. Anne Smart Martin, "Shaping the Field: The Multidisciplinary Perspectives of Material Culture," *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, eds., Anne Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997).

[5] Differentiating between object-centred and object-driven, where the first focuses on technological developments, typologies, and aesthetic; and the second, on the emotional and psychological dimensions of material culture. Herman, Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 7-10.

[6] Early focus of material culture was on the history of consumption, which emphasised change over continuity, and the elite class. Calls to shift attention from production and consumption to the cultural meaning embedded in objects and their shifting contexts spurred new questions.

occupying the same space.[7] Similar to the fur trade era, the interactive zone where these objects were made saw techniques and materials exchanged, where women served as intermediaries, adapting Indigenous technique and design to settler form and function to produce items in high demand. Here, context is critical. An expanding consumer culture, new ethnic categories, rigid gender roles, and concepts like nationality were being navigated while these objects circulated. Bringing these patterns of exchange to the forefront of analysis will also show how this material exchange continued into the post-bison era as Indigenous women drew on and expanded pre-existing networks.[8] For many Metis women, the flow of objects and materials empowered them in a variety of ways, and a growing settler and tourist trade became an explicit tactic many used for economic and cultural survival. These objects were made in places beyond the gaze of both settler-states, the proceeds of which allowed Metis families to remain in this contested borderland space. At the centre of this borderland history, women were actors "recogniz[ing] things of interest and value in the dominant culture, [and] modifying them to suit needs and tastes."[9] This emphasis on the artwork created by Metis, and their other Indigenous kin, challenges an entrenched authenticity paradigm that marginalises these

[7] For a detailed discussion of transculturation, see Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).
[8] Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Phillips, *Trading Identities*; Abby Sue Fisher, "Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain," in *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500-1850,* ed., Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka et al (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009): 175-190; Laura E. Johnson, "Goods to Clothe Themselves: Native Consumers and Native Images on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1712-1760," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 115-140; Karen Harvey, "Introduction: Practical Matters," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (New York: Routledge, 2009): 1-28.
[9] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, xiii.

types of objects, their producers, and their contribution to a largely undocumented female economy that was critical to family and community stability.[10]

This chapter is indebted to Ruth Phillips, whose work has brought this undervalued women's work to the forefront of analysis, and to Sherry Farrell Racette, whose work on a distinct Metis and Half-Breed material culture emphasises women's critical role in a post-bison economy. In her analysis of souvenir production among Northeast Indigenous groups, Phillips challenges the exclusion of this souvenir art from historical analysis. Overlooked because it disturbs our stereotypical expectations of 'Indianness', she defines souvenirs as 'commoditized object, market-oriented arts," produced predominately by women that exist on the edges of acceptable artwork.[11] Blending field, archival, and museum research, Phillips highlights the complex intercultural exchanges that occurred throughout the Northeast that allowed objects and images to flow across the region.[12] A similar expanding consumer culture on the Great Plains replaced the trade in furs with crafts and souvenirs, and many Metis families acclimated to meet new and evolving settler demands**.** Pairing pre-existing artistic practices with these demands, women created objects that outsiders prized as 'authentically Indian' and 'western.' Transcending new settler-state boundaries, these items ended up in private homes and collections across the borderlands, North America, and the globe.

Building on similar themes, Sherry Farrell Racette's work shows that Metis

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[10] For female economy, this project draws on ideas introduced by Beverly Lemire's *Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England ca. 1600-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Knophf, 2001).
[11] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, x.
[12] This souvenir art production illuminates the sharing and imitating of styles, material, and skills between women of different communities and cultures. Ibid, 73-89.

women were often the sole economic support for their family in the late 19th century as their artistic production became crucial as traditional economies failed.[13] As the 19th century progressed and both settler-states formalised their territorial claims and categories of belonging, these women remained rooted in the local while continuing to engage with regional, transnational, and global networks of exchange to distribute their artwork.[14] Expanding this analysis into the 20th century, it follows that these unique material sources provide valuable insight into the experiences of Indigenous women in the borderlands of northern North America.[15] Women were uniquely placed to encourage an expansion in production and circulation, drawing on networks built during the fur trade era to move their artwork around the Great Plains. While dress is not the focus here, Racette's examination illuminates the techniques and networks developed by Metis women to produce and circulate their art across the borderlands.

The sheer volume of work produced by Metis and other Indigenous women speaks to the economic and aesthetic influence they had on the Northern Great Plains. This influence varied by region and, as other authors have illustrated, geographical

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[13] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Sewing ourselves together: clothing, decorative arts and the expression of Metis and half-breed identity," PhD Dissertation (University of Manitoba, 2004), 158.

[14] In her 2006 article, Sophie White's analysis of colonial New Orleans shows how commercial activities can be used to expose the role of gender and social standing in the formation of broader economic and cultural frameworks, revealing how the meanings ascribed to retail activities can illuminate colonial mentalities. Sophie White, "A Baser Commerce: Retailing, Class, and Gender in French Colonial New Orleans," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (July 2006): 517-550.

[15] The field of material culture has produced a number of works that discuss the gendered production of material goods. This project has drawn on the ideas of: Jean Allman, *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Joanne Eicher, "Dress as an Expression of Ethnic Identity," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, ed, Joanne Eicher (Darby, PA: Diane Publishing Co., 1995); Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Gender and Difference: Youth, Bodies, and Clothing in Zambia," in *Gender, Agency and Change: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Victoria Goddard (New York: Routledge, 2000); Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life*; "Introduction: Fashion and the Practice of History: A Political Legacy," in *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*, ed. Beverly Lemire (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010); Laura Peers, "Many Tender Ties: The Shifting Contexts and Meanings of the S Black Bag," *World Archaeology* 31 No. 2 (October 1999): 288-303; White, "A Baser Commerce"; Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*.

context played a role.[16] Transculturation among Indigenous peoples and between Indigenous and non-indigenous populations produced different results, with objects made in specific localities reflecting the experiences and connections of those that lived there. Revealing the ever-shifting natural, political, and social space of the Northern Plains, these objects are embedded with individual women's connection to place and locality. However, the categories imposed by both settler-states during the second half of the 19th century makes the task of identifying much of their artwork a difficult task.

The imposition of ethnic categories by both settler-states had significant ramifications for the way artefacts are identified in museum and community collections. Each of this study's localities were part of a complex social space prior to and after the demarcation of the borderlands — a complexity that increased as settler-society flooded the area.[17] Early in the research process, it became clear that these same ethnic categories influenced which objects were collected and how they were labelled. While Metis as an ethnic label appears in the Canadian context, the designation is almost completely absent south of the forty-ninth parallel. This denial of a distinct Metis ethnicity means that items made by Metis women are often categorised as products of their other Indigenous kin, whether it was Chippewa, Chippewa-Cree, Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, or occasionally, Blackfeet. This ignores the complex reality of the Great Plains, the sharing of knowledge among Indigenous women, and the prominent role that Metis women played in object production and circulation.

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[16] Ted J. Brasser, "In Search of Métis Art," *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, eds. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Kate C. Duncan, "The Metis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 17, 3 (1981): 1-8.

[17] Unknown author, "Indian Crafts," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954,* Box 1 Folder 16, Montana Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

Conversely, recognition in Canada of Metis as a distinct ethnic category is reflected in its cultural institutions, tied to a long-held belief that floral iconography originated with and was disseminated by Metis peoples. This assumption has had a profound influence on the identification of artefacts north of the forty-ninth parallel.[18] Here, instead of erasing the Metis' role in artistic production and circulation, the contributions of their Indigenous kin are sometimes excluded from museums and other collections. This premise sometimes sees items adorned with detailed beadwork and floral iconography categorically labelled as 'Metis' without recognizing that these designs were part of complex cultural exchanges between and within multi-ethnic Indigenous communities. Indigenous artisans collectively responded to supply and demand, and these adaptations were not unique to Metis women. Too often 'Metis' is applied without considering the historical context that made each Metis community and its artistic traditions unique.[19] The artwork created by these women needs to be placed

[18] Frances Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 86, Reprint (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1929); Marius Barbeau, *Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1936); Ted Brasser, "Flower in Native American Art: A Review," Paper presented to the Native American Art Studies Association, Denver, 1987; Ted Brasser, "Metis Artisans," *The Beaver* Outfit 306 (Autumn 1975): 52-57; Brasser, "In Search of Metis Art," in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*, ed., by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985): 221-230; Kate Duncan, "The Metis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic, *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1981); Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan, *Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Bristol, Rhode Island: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, 1989); Duncan, "So Many Bags, So Little Known: Reconstructing the Patters of Evolution and Distribution of Two Algonquian Bags," *Arctic Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (1991): 56-66; David Penny, "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 1 (1991): 53-77; Thomas P. Myers, "The Cook Collection: A Turn of the Century Collection from the Nebraska Frontier," *American Indian Art Magazine* 19, no. 1 (1993): 60-67; Sharon Blady, "Beadwork as an Expression of Metis Cultural Identity," in *Issues in the North, Volume 1,* ed., Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe (Calgary: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1995): 133-144; "The Flower Beadwork People: Factors Contributing to the Emergence of a Distinctive Metis Culture and Artistic Style at Red River from 1844 to 1969," M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, 1995.

[19] Items made by Metis communities from the Mackenzie River district varied from those made in the borderland region or among those of the Red River Metis. Trudy Nicks discusses in detail the pitfalls of this 'Pan-Metis identity', whereby sashes, capotes, and similar items have been interpreted to "express a shared identity and sense of destiny" without appreciating the complex differences that define diverse

within a wider community context, recognizing local affiliation and economic situation. While some of these labelling concerns have been addressed, many of the items found in the museum at the State Historical Society of North Dakota (SHSND) are identified as Chippewa or Native American but were made, purchased, and circulated by Metis women. Among the diverse holdings of the SHSND are a host of items made specifically for women to adorn their new domestic space on the plains. With an eye to this labelling complexity, and given the differing practices and institutional memory of two different settler-states, labels need to be critically considered in the following analysis.

Turtle Mountain: A Cavalier Home

The ties between Pembina and the Turtle Mountain locality did not disappear when the community at Pembina relocated. Pembina's location on a critical North-South transportation corridor meant it was one of the first places in the borderlands to see an influx of settler population. With that influx came a demand for Indigenous artwork, which by the turn of the century, was also driven by a growing tourist industry and emerging automobile culture. Also fuelling this demand for Indigenous art was a growing population of settler-women who, far from urban centres, drew on the skills of local craftspeople to fill their new prairie homes. Both of these groups reflect part of a wider trend to acquire items from local Indigenous communities before they 'vanished' while simultaneously decorating their domestic space to authenticate a 'Western' identity.

Turtle Mountain Locality with Pembina for reference.

Metis communities. Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17, 2 (1 January 1985), 110-112.

Many of these items were placed in common living spaces for the enjoyment and consumption of family, friends, and visitors.

Once a critical borderland locality, our first example takes us to Pembina, ND where one family's intimate knowledge of the historic ties between Turtle Mountain and the Red River Valley allowed them to acquire items to display in their turn-of-the-century home. In fact, several items in the Cavalier family's collection at Pembina originated in the Turtle Mountain locality between 1880 and 1930, gathered through their extensive and historic borderland networks.[20] Colloquially known as 'The Father of Pembina', Charles Turner Cavalier (image 5.1) was born in Springfield, Ohio in 1818 and after a brief time in Illinois, moved to Minnesota Territory where he purchased land that would later house the Merchants Hotel and Union Depot in St. Paul.[21] Visiting Manitoba in 1851, he married Metis woman Marguerite Decoteau and they moved to Pembina where he served as Collector of Customs from 1851 to 1853. Divorcing Decoteau in 1853, he entered into a partnership with the trading outfit Forbes & Kittson before moving to St. Joseph in 1854 and opening his own trading post where he married his second wife, an "Indian Sauteaus Woman."[22] Little is known of his second wife other than she was born in Minnesota Territory and is noted in records as Cavalier's 'country wife'. The arrangement did not last long, and less than one year later he married his third wife

[20] This is not to suggest that Metis households were not filling their homes with similar items, but the sale to and consumption by settlers is the primary focus here.
[21] Charles Turner Cavalier was born 6 March 1818 in Springfield, Ohio to Charles Turner Cavalier Sr. and Rachel Trease. He died in Pembina on 4 August 1902.
[22] In July of 1853, Cavalier was found in the company of Norman Kittson, Joe Rolette, and Father Delacour on their way to St. Paul with furs, robes, and pemmican obtained from the Metis of the Pembina locality. Joseph L. Gavett, *North Dakota: Counties - Towns & People*, Part I (Tacoma, WA: Judd's Workshop Publications, 2008), 47-50. Little is known of his second wife or why their marriage ended. Together, they had one daughter, Rachel, who did end up residing at St. John in the Turtle Mountain locality. She gave birth to a son, Louis Cavalier, in 1877 at Leroy in Pembina County. In all likelihood, this second marriage was an economic arrangement that Charles Cavalier made to further his trading prospects in the region.

Isabella Murray, a Metis woman from the Red River Settlement. He remained active in the area's fur trade, and later, the economic development of the new political space in and around Pembina. During his three marriages he had a total of nine children who were born up and down the Red River between Winnipeg and Pembina.[23] Each of his living sons married a Metis woman from the area, and his daughter from his second marriage resided in the Turtle Mountain locality.

His time at Pembina provided Cavalier with membership in a prominent Metis locality until the community there became displaced by Euro-American settlers in the late-1890s, after which many of the Metis from this locality relocated to other places like Turtle Mountain. Cavalier was an active participant in the area's economy, evidenced by his second 'country marriage' that provided him with further ties to the region's Indigenous community and associated trade. When most of the Metis community abandoned Pembina, Cavalier and his family remained, becoming prominent business and political leaders in the region. Throughout this process, Charles accumulated several pieces of artwork from the borderlands for his personal collection. Born of Charles' third marriage in 1861 at St. Paul's Parish in the Red River Settlement, Albert Donald Cavalier maintained his father's collection while gathering his own items crafted in both the Turtle Mountain locality and the Red River Valley. In 1938, Albert donated his family's

[23] He married Marguerite dit Descoteaux in 1852, 'Indian Woman Sauteuse' in 1855, and Isabella Murray in 1856. With Marguerite he had one son, Alexander (1853-1933), and with 'Indian Woman Sauteause, one daughter, Rachel (1855-1943). With his third wife, he had seven more children: Edmond Kittson (1858-1915), William Mack McMurray (1860-1896), Sarah J (1857-1861), Albert Donald (1861-1941), Lulah Belle (1864-1930), Julia Isabella (1864-1926), and Louis (1877-1878). While little is known about Isabella Murray, the 1881 Census of Canada identifies an Isabella Murray, aged 23, residing at Selkirk. The daughter of Alex and Letitia Murray, she was the third of 6 children. The scrip affidavit of their son, Edmond Kittson Cavalier, clearly identifies Isabella Murray as a "half breed" as shown on her baptismal certificate. Records of the Department of the Interior, "Half-breed Scrip Application of Edmond Kittson Cavalier," RG 15, D-II-8-A, volume 1319, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC); Data from Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada 1881*, Census Place: Assiniboia, Selkirk, Manitoba. Roll: C_13282, Page: 22, Family No: 93, *Ancestry.com*.

collection of artefacts to the State Historical Society of North Dakota, a sampling of which are used here to show how community connections provided this family with access to items crafted by Indigenous women that incorporated indigenous design and materials while adapting to growing settler demands.

The accession records for several of these items indicate that LuLu Cavalier, who we assume was Albert's sister, Lulah Belle Cavalier, made use of them in the family home. She was born at Kildonan in the Red River Settlement in 1864 to Charles Cavalier and his third wife when they were in the settlement for business. Indicative of her family's status, she attended school in Pembina, St. John's Academy in Winnipeg, and then Carleton College in Northfield, MN. Having never married, she resided with her older brother and widowed mother in Pembina, making frequent trips to visit kin throughout the borderlands.[24] This living arrangement, and her family's role in the growing community, required that Lulah frequently entertain visitors.[25] As a part of that process, she filled her home's public rooms with items indicative of her family's status and history in the area, often by items collected from the Turtle Mountain locality. Following her mother's death, Lulah lived for a time in the hotel her brother owned, and when his sister died in 1930, Albert donated the family's collection of items to the SHSND. Of those items collected by the Cavalier family, this study considers two tablemats, one seat cushion cover, and one book jacket as a sampling of the items that

[24] In 1920 both Lulah and her brother — a bachelor — resided with their mother, who was listed as the head of household at 84 years of age. Charles Turner Cavalier died of heart failure in 1902. "Lulah Cavileer Papers," *Manuscripts by Subject – Family/Local History*, MSS 10022, SHSND; U.S. Census Bureau, *1920 United States Federal Census*, Census Place: Pembina, North Dakota. Roll: T625_1338, Page: 6B, Enumeration District: 98, Image: 290, *Ancestry.com*; *1910 United States Federal Census*, Census Place: Pembina Ward 3, North Dakota. Roll: T624_1145, Page: 6B, Enumeration District: 0148, FHL microfilm: 1375158, *Ancestry.com.*

[25] U.S. Census Bureau, *1880 United States Federal Census*, Census Place: Pembina, Dakota Territory. Roll: 114, Family History Film: 1254114, Page: 48B, Enumeration District: 075; Image: 0110, *Ancestry.com*.

combined Indigenous aesthetic design and settler form that would have been displayed in the family home's public areas. Speaking to this confluence requires a discussion of how these items were constructed. An object-driven approach draws on interdisciplinary connections, and this following analysis is indebted to community members and museum curators whose knowledge of object composition has been critical in illuminating the cross-cultural exchanges embedded in this artwork.

We begin by looking at two tablemats donated to the SHSND by the Cavalier family following Lulah's death. Different from a placemat, tablemats can be placed under a hot serving dish to protect a table's surface, or can serve as a decorative piece on a hard surface. A common sight in Victorian sitting rooms, these two examples draw on Indigenous materials and designs. Drawing on resources from the locality, both tablemats are roughly 12x6 inches in size and made of flattened and dried birchbark with elaborate floral motifs etched in dyed quillwork. With little apparent wear on the front or back, both of these tablemats likely served a decorative function when placed in the family's public space for the enjoyment of family and visitors. One (image 5.2) is cut into an elongated octagon, and the other (image 5.3), is cut in the shape of an oval. The first is comprised of quillwork laid into the birchbark, which has been dyed white, orange-rose, and green. This quillwork floral iconography winds around the edges of the tablemat and consists of just-budding flowers, and has been trimmed with clear glass beads attached with white cotton thread. The second tablemat is also decorated with dyed quillwork, including various shades of green, white, orange, and purple. Whereas the first tablemat had three-petal flowers, this one has four-petal flowers that serve to divide the mat into two halves. This tablemat is edged first in quillwork of varying colours, followed with a

single string of glass beads sewn onto its outer edge with cotton thread.

Although the accession records tell us Lulah Cavalier used both items, there is no record of the provenance of the two items. We do know that they were purchased by Albert at the turn of the 20th century while he 'was out west' of Pembina – likely in the Turtle Mountain locality, but the artist's name and ethnicity remain unknown. Several discussions with Dr. Laura Peers shows a Great Lakes influence in the design of these two table mats, illuminating the ongoing circulation of objects between the eastern woodlands and Northern Great Plains.[26] Reminiscent of popular Anishinaabeg designs, these table mats may have been purchased by Metis artisans from their other Indigenous kin and brought back to the Turtle Mountain locality where they were sold for a profit. The above descriptive analysis also illustrates how popular floral iconography, often symmetric in design and set against a dark cloth background using seed beads, was transposed onto decorative pieces of artwork for domestic use. The decision to use dyed quillwork, a labour intensive process, also speaks to the traditional skill of the artisan. This same quillwork, along with the choice of birchbark, illuminates how Metis and other Indigenous women continued to draw on the locality's natural resources to create these pieces. Spotted throughout Victorian sitting rooms, these tablemats met a desire for an Indigenous aesthetic that became synonymous with an 'authentic west' in many Great Plains homes.

Similar floral motifs found their way onto many of the items coming out of Turtle Mountain and the surrounding borderland region. Acquired by Albert in the 1890s, this seat cushion (image 5.4) measures 26x26 inches wide and two inches in depth. Perhaps a crowning piece from the sitting room of the family home, it would have been stuffed with

[26] A special thank you to Dr. Laura Peers for taking the time to unpack the design elements of these objects.

bird feathers of some description to help keep its shape. Rarely, if ever, sat upon, this cushion would have served a decorative rather than functional purpose in the home.[27] The edges of the cover have been trimmed with a leather fringe and two additional leather straps with tassels are attached to the four corners. For utilitarian purposes, two leather straps have been attached to the back to affix the once-stuffed cover to a chair. There are eleven circular appliques on the front of the case, with all but two placed among vines embroidered directly onto the hide with green, red, and blue embroidery thread. Floral motifs were a common theme among Metis artisans, and here are connected with tendrils or stems of some description. Each applique has been edged with two lines of stitching, and at their centre are felt cut-outs on which eleven distinct floral patterns have been embroidered. These cut-outs are of varying design and colour, and have been individually sewn onto the cover (image 5.5). Made of caribou hide and reminiscent of designs being produced at Norway House, the item also speaks to the long-standing trade networks that moved materials across the Northern Great Plains.[28]

Women drew on pre-existing trade networks to bring materials like caribou hide, a popular material among artisans, to the northern plains.[29] The embroidery on this seat cushion is also highly skilled, and would have been learned from female kin or in one of the many educational institutions that dotted the borderlands. For Metis families facing economic hardship, embroidery often replaced the long-popular glass beads as a more

[27] The back of the seat cover is lined in a tan floral fabric and shows very little wear.
[28] Thank you to Dr. Sherry Farrell Racette who brought to my attention the similarities in design between this seat cushion and what was being produced by artisans at Norway House.
[29] Caribou hide coats were especially popular in Northern areas of Northern North America. Transculturation saw form and function adapted to the prairies, most often using deer or moose hide. See: Dorothy K. Burnham, *To Please the Caribou: Painted Caribou-Skin Coats Worn by the Naskapi, Montagnais, and Cree Hunters of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1992); The British Museum, *Technical Research Bulletin* 7 (2013); Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together."

cost-effective method of artistic expression.[30] The accession record identifies the cushion as being made by a 'Metis or Cree' from out west, which also reflects the multi-ethnic composition of places like the Turtle Mountain community. As with the tablemats, we do not know who the artist was, but we do know her needlework was highly skilled and that she had connections to trade networks that extended well above Lake Winnipeg.[31] Metis artisans in the Red River Valley were connected to a variety of regional, transnational, and global networks, which in turn circulated a wide selection of trade materials: various glass beads, cotton calicos, velvet, silk ribbon, and other manufactured goods. It is the combination of floral iconography, caribou hide, and embroidery in its settler-inspired seat cushion form that makes this an excellent example of the cross-cultural interaction and artistic production in the borderlands.

Similar items would have been found throughout the Cavalier home's common space, much like this book jacket (image 5.6). Made from one piece of buckskin, the edges are trimmed in a cream satin ribbon and have been attached with cotton thread, and the front of the book jacket has been painted with a floral motif in various shades of yellow, red, white, brown, and green. Some wear is visible along the trim and portions of the painted motif are faded, implying the cover was well-used for a time. Identified as 'Native American', there is no record of who made the cover, but it likely came from the same area of the borderlands as the tablemats and seat cushion. The presence of a book cover indicates a level of literacy in the Cavalier home, and with Lulah's educational background, the jacket may have been used by her. As a trained artist, it is also conceivable that Lulah herself painted the book jacket, having drawn on local harvesters

[30] Detailed embroidery was found throughout the borderlands during the fur trade era.
[31] This connection is implied based on an artisans' ability to acquire caribou hide, whose range falls above Lake Winnipeg and Cedar Lake.

and other artisans to acquire the piece of cured and tanned buckskin.

The multi-ethnic composition of localities like Turtle Mountain meant a sharing of artistic styles and materials, making identifying items as Chippewa or Metis especially difficult. However, given the Cavalier's historic ties in Turtle Mountain and Pembina, and with family residing in both places, these items likely originated in the Turtle Mountain locality and were used by the Cavalier family to authenticate their position in the 'west' as a founding family of the Pembina community. Perhaps Cavalier purchased them during one of the many community bazaars noted in William Davis' notebooks from the Turtle Mountain locality. A prominent community member, Davis reported an income of $1,635.42 at the 1919 bazaar, a yearly occurrence that garnered anywhere from $600.00 to $2,300.00 per year for the community.[32] This demonstrates a concerted community effort to sell a variety of items to new settlers and a growing tourist population, providing women with a platform to market their goods at the local level before they were circulated beyond the locality.

Lewis F. Crawford's journals also illuminate the types of objects community artisans produced: parflesche bags, cases, and boxes, ranging from $1.00 to $5.00 depending on size and design.[33] Here, a fully beaded pair of men's moccasins ranged from $4.00 to $8.00, depending on design and materials, and a buckskin coat crafted by

[32] Partial Translation of Five French Notebooks Written by William Davis, Belcourt, secured July 1927. Translated by Emily Olson, *William Davis Papers*, A35, Box 1, SHSND.

[33] Born in Missouri in 1870 and later a graduate of Harvard University with a masters degree in history and political science, Lewis Ferandus Crawford moved to Dickson in 1899 where he served as superintendent of schools for four years before moving to Sentinel Butte and worked in the banking business. Filling several roles in the banking, educational, and business sector between 1913 and 1921, he moved to Bismarck in 1921 and served as the curator for the State Historical Society from 1922 to 1928. He then moved to Fargo and worked in the retail book business, ending up in Minneapolis where he lived until his death in 1936. He published several small books on the history of the early west and was considered an authority of Indigenous archaeology and ethnology. "Biographical Sketch," *Lewis F. Crawford Papers: 1907-1927*, State Historical Society, MSS10058, SHSND; Lewis F. Crawford, "10-24 August 1930," *Lewis F. Crawford Papers, 1907-1928*, MSS10058, Box 1, Book 4, SHSND.

Mrs. Vincent fetched $25.00 in 1930.[34] While visiting the area, Crawford also purchased drums, various dolls for $2.00, a porcupine beaded purse from Mrs. S.E. Gilmore for $7.00, one little girl's velvet dress decorated with cowry shells, and one long man's shirt and blanket leggings for $40.00. In one day alone, Crawford spent $11.75 on seven pairs of men's, women's and children's moccasins. Crawford also acquired materials for artisans, and in August of 1930 he noted supplying Anna Onahan with 28 bunches of beads. Anna, in turn, requested he send an additional 12 bunches of white beads.[35] Often the artist was not recorded, as was the case with the cloth and beaded chaps he purchased for $6.00 and 15 beads "from the Road."[36] Crawford's journal provides unique insight into the types of items being made by Turtle Mountain's Indigenous artisans, on which beadwork and floral iconography remained popular.

As ready-made clothing became the norm across the borderlands, the work that went into applying this detailed beadwork to garments also changed. To accommodate this shift in dress patterns, beadwork started to be done on patches that were then applied to clothing so that they could be easily removed when the garment was no longer wearable. A beaded floral spray shown in image 5.7 (roughly 24x12 centimetres) was made in the late 1880s and was stitched onto a piece of black wool using green, blue, white, pink, orange, yellow, brown, and red glass beads. Connected by stems using a double curve or s-curve motifs, designs like this were often centred on a larger primary flower.[37] Surrounding that central motif are various seeds, buds, leafs, and fruit. This

[34] Ibid.
[35] Lewis F. Crawford, "26 August 1930," *Lewis F. Crawford Papers, 1907-1928*, MSS10058, Box 1, Book 4. SHSND.
[36] Lewis F. Crawford, "23 August 1930," *Lewis F. Crawford Papers, 1907-1928*, MSS10058, Box 1, Book 4, SHSND.
[37] Also frequently found in Metis designs are stems with feathered accents.

popular design, long-associated with Metis artistic production throughout the Turtle Mountain locality, was purchased by settlers and tourists to use themselves or to give as gifts, adding a touch of 'authenticity' to their time on the Northern Great Plains. While rarely seen on everyday clothing after 1885, beadwork such as this continued to be worn on special occasions within the locality, if increasingly beyond the gaze of the settler-state.

Wood Mountain: Form, Function, and the Natural Space

Many of the objects held in community collections highlight the skills that women acquired across the Great Plains from their female kin, as well as religious and educational institutions. Combining Indigenous techniques and motifs with local materials, Plains Metis women were able to use these myriad skills to produce items that were desired by tourists and non-indigenous women as they sought objects to fill their own domestic spaces.

The artist of the whisk and matchstick holder (image 5.8) drew on many of these skills, as well as local resources, to produce a pair of utilitarian objects that would have had a place in any number of prairie kitchens. Made in 1912, the matchstick holder (image 5.9) is made of moose hide and contains two pockets at mid-point. Just below these two pockets, the year 1912 is beaded across the front in yellow and white, bookended by what appear to be variations of plains grasses from the area. A similar design is found on the header, which is dominated by a four-petal flower of alternating blue, purple, green, and aqua-coloured glass beads. The entire artefact is trimmed with large gold-coloured beads, with what was once eight looped tassels made with the same

beads along the bottom. Potentially made by the same artist, the whisk holder (image 5.10) also has its date of 1913 stitched along its triangular base in white beads. The pocket that holds the whisk in place is adorned with one large circle of alternating red and white beads with two inner rings of gold-coloured beads.[38] Like the matchstick holder, the item is trimmed in large gold-coloured beads, and the prairie grass makes a return appearance along the base and sides. Tassels fall along the bottom of this artefact as well, using gold, white, red, and black alternating beads. Attached to the top is a string of clear beads that was used to affix it to the wall beside the kitchen stove.

Wood Mountain Locality

Small in size, both items were donated by a local settler family with deep ties to the Wood Mountain locality.[39] Perhaps acquired at a craft sale or from a neighbour, they were likely taken home and placed near the cooking stove in a new prairie home. The act of decorating their home with these two utilitarian objects simultaneously filled an immediate need while displaying the locality's 'disappearing Indian' community. These match and whisk holders, made a year apart, also illustrate how the locality's natural space shaped art. With a healthy local moose population, moose hide features prominently in many of the objects made and now housed in the Willow Bunch

[38] There is no artist attached to these two items, but design elements speak to a Lakota influence. The Willow Bunch Museum, founded in 1972, has collected several items from local families that speak to the community's history and the Metis' involvement in its founding. This includes a Plains exhibit/room, which includes artefacts from the region's diverse Indigenous population. The museum is housed in the Convent School built in 1914 by the Sister of the Cross.

[39] Donated by John Wiens, the family traces its involvement in the Wood Mountain locality to the turn of the 20th century. The accession record in image 5.8 incorrectly spells the family's surname 'Weins'.

community museum.[40] These two artefacts also illuminate several features of Metis women's artistic production in the borderlands. Like Turtle Mountain, the multi-ethnic composition of this locality is reflected in the community's artwork. The floral and circular beadwork motifs speak to both a Metis and Lakota influence, discussed in previous chapters, and reflects the complex reality of this locality. This artistic influence is further complicated by the adaptation of settler-form that sees these two items as a manifestation of Indigenous transculturation, as well as Indigenous/non-indigenous transculturation. In effect, this item is a visual representation of this Metis community and the ethnic complexity that defined it. Incorporating popular beadwork influenced by Lakota design, resources from the natural space were harvested and shaped into a desirable form that served a practical use the area's growing number of prairie kitchens.

Cypress Hills — Adaptation and Expansion

Like Turtle Mountain, the multi-ethnic reality of the Cypress Hills locality complicates our analysis of the artwork crafted and circulated by Metis women from this community. New settler-state ethnic categories ignored the historic presence of the Plains Metis in this area of the Northern Great Plains, limiting them to the categories of 'Indian' or Euro-American. Denied a place on one of Montana's Reservations and facing narrowing opportunities in the borderlands, those

Cypress Hills Locality

[40] To the east of the Wood Mountain locality, Moose Mountain Provincial Park is an indication of the area's once robust moose population. The Willow Bunch Museum and Heritage Society has gathered a diverse collection of items from the locality, a significant number of which are made of moose hide.

Metis remaining in the Cypress Hills locality were designated 'landless Indians' or the 'wandering Cree' by settlers and American government officials. Among the last to pursue the declining bison herds, other Indigenous kin fleeing Canadian territory after 1885 joined them along the Milk and Missouri Rivers. Finding themselves in American territory but without recognition as a distinct ethnic group, several community members continued to agitate for a land base of their own.[41] Denied by the settler-state, Metis individuals and families found ways to use those same limiting ethnic categories to remain in the Cypress Hills locality after 1885.

Choosing to self-identify as 'Indian', many joined with Chippewa leader Asiniiwin (Stone Child or Rocky Boy) and his followers in their search for a land base in North-western Montana. This diverse group included Chippewa from across the Northern Great Plains, as well as several Metis families who were either denied a place at the Turtle Mountain Reservation or had elected to follow the bison until the herds' demise in 1884.[42] The size of the community grew significantly when Cree leaders Āyimâsīs (Little Bear or, Little Bad Man), Papewas (Chief Lucky Man), and their followers returned to Montana following their involvement in the Frog Lake Massacre and burning of Fort Pitt in April of 1885.[43] Fearing settler-state reprisals after the Battle of Batoche, a significant

[41] This included a petition in 1880 written by Louis Riel and the Montana Metis population in Montana. Sent to General N.A. Miles, signatories requested the government create a Reservation for them.
[42] Asisiiwin, along with Chief Ase-anse (Little Shell I or Thomas Little Shell), were the primary Chippewa leaders in Montana during the late 19th century. When Ase-anse died in 1901, Asisiiwin became the community's primary liaison with the American settler-state. When Chief Ayabiwewidang (Little Shell III or Thomas Little Shell) and his followers left treaty at Turtle Mountain for Montana, community membership grew to include a significant number of Metis who were also denied a place on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation.
[43] Refusing to sign Treaty 6 in 1876, Chief Mistahi-maskwa's (Big Bear) camp attracted those Cree opposed to Canadian settler-state policies. It was only after the bison herds disappeared from Canadian territory and facing starvation that Mistahi-maskwa, after being returned to Canadian territory by the U.S. Army, signed an adhesion to Treaty 6 in 1882 (Minahikosis or Little Pine, signed in 1879 but died of illness in 1885). Persistent inadequate rations saw Mistahi-maskwa continue to agitate for peaceful resistance to settler-state policies. Despite his call for calm, on 2 April 1885 Ayimâsis (son of Mistahi-maskwa) and

number of Metis individuals and families joined the Cree in this exodus. This growing Indigenous population was met with increased hostility and calls to remove what many saw as 'Canadian' Indians from American territory.[44] When they were forcibly deported in 1896, Metis and Cree found their fears justified when Canadian government representatives arrested Āyimâsīs and Papewa at the border.[45] After their release at the turn of the 20th century, they returned to American territory and joined with Asiniiwin in agitating for their own Reservation.[46] Facing increasing hardship, Asiniiwin formally requested in 1909 that their outstanding Indigenous land title be settled by the American settler-state. However, it was not until 1916, and after the death of Asiniiwin, that President Woodrow Wilson set aside Fort Assiniboine at the Bear Paw Mountains for Asiniiwin's band and other 'landless Indians'.[47] Many Metis were included on those early rolls, and over the years, additional members were added by the community.

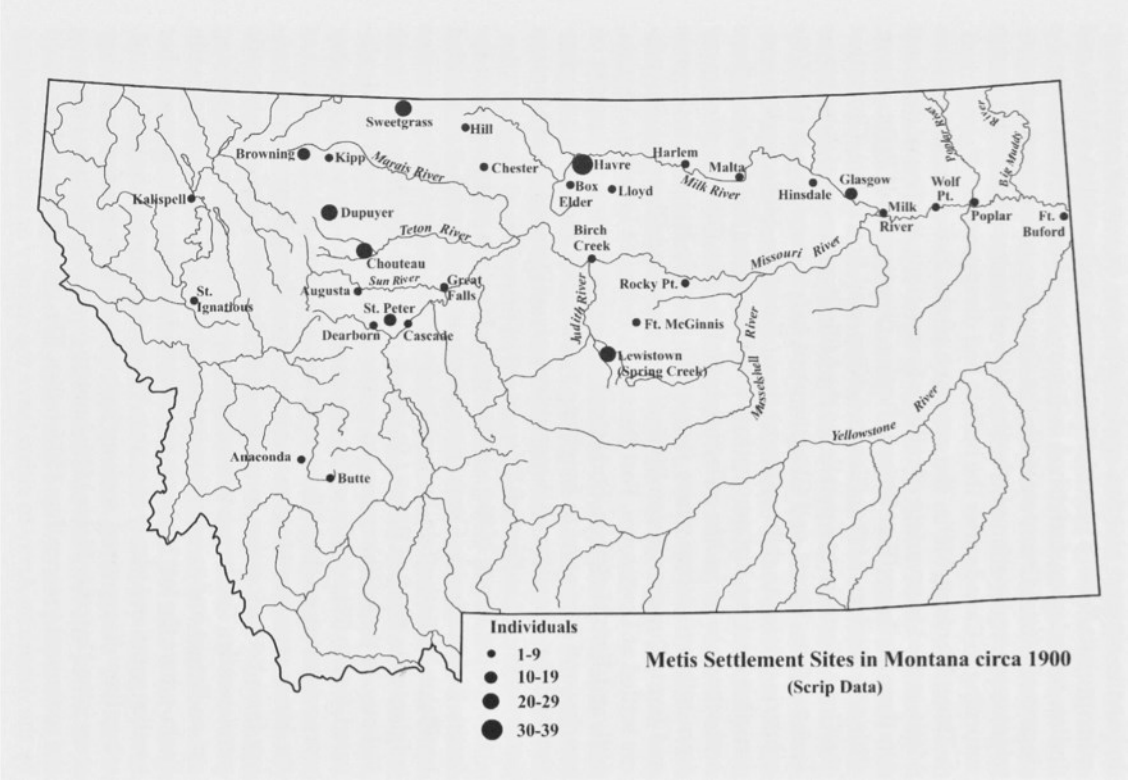
Papewas joined Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit), Mistahi-maskwa's War Chief, in an attack on the settlement of Frog Lake, Alberta. Killing Indian agent Thomas Quinn when he refused to leave town, a further eight settlers were killed in the ensuing panic. Dubbed the Frog Lake Massacre, Ayimâsis and Papewas fled with their followers through the Babb area of Montana, afterwards remaining in American territory on the Blackfeet and Flathead Reservations. Kapapamahchakwew was subsequently charged with treason and executed, and Mistahi-maskwa, also found guilty of treason, spent three years in Manitoba's Penitentiary. The events of 1885 scattered Papewas' and Minahikosis' people, and those that did not go to Montana settled on Little Pine's Reserve east of North Battleford.

[44] For further detail of forced removals, see: Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line*; McCrady, *Living With Strangers*; Pollock, "From Borderlands to Bordered Lands."

[45] Papawas was arrested for the murder of settler George McIvor when a trade agreement over his rowboat turned violent as the Cree were fleeing Canadian territory in 1885. Although McIvor was killed by one of Papawas' followers, the act excluded Papawas from amnesty granted to most Rebellion participants in 1886.

[46] Requests in 1904 to be allotted space on the Flathead Reservation were denied.

[47] Asiniiwin's first request to President Theordore Roosevelt in 1902 for a land base was denied, followed by a bill in 1904 that was also unsuccessful. Attempts by Indian Inspector Frank Churchill in 1908 to set aside all of Valley County for a Chippewa Reservation was granted by the Department of the Interior, but community members rejected relocating to northeastern Montana. Asiniiwin and his followers were then transported by train to the Blackfeet Reservation in 1909, numbering approximately 100 at the time. Also known as the Babb Reservation, land was set aside for them between St. Mary, Babb, and the International border where they were then joined by Āyimâsīs and his approximately 200 followers. Unhappy with the government's arbitrary decision and with few kinship ties to the community, many left the Reservation and joined the roughly 600 Chippewa, Cree, and Metis residing on the Fort Assiniboine Military Reservation. Still, some community members ended up in small towns along the Hi-Line, while others found themselves at Hill 57 in Great Falls. It was not until 1916 that President Woodrow Wilson set aside Fort Assiniboine for Rocky Boy's band and Montana's other 'homeless Indians'.



"Locations of Métis settlements in Montana, circa 1900."
Ens and Sawchuk, *From New Peoples to New Nations*, 236.

As a result, the community that formed at Rocky Boy Reservation in 1916 was multi-ethnic, with resident Metis being categorized as 'Indian' by the settler-state and its various institutions. In fact, to be considered for membership, Metis had little option other than to self-identify as 'Indian', as identifying as Metis would have denied them a place on the new Reservation. It is the complex history of this multi-ethnic community that allows for a consideration of a long-standing, if unacknowledged, Metis presence at Rocky Boy Reservation in the Cypress Hills locality. As we observed in Turtle Mountain, these ethnic categories are also reflected in museum and community collections, where the artwork of Metis women from the Cypress Hills locality has been categorically labelled as Native American, Chippewa-Cree, or 'landless Indian'. However, primary documents and community resources allow us to trace these Metis women and their

artwork through the community, wider borderlands, continent, and globe.

Located roughly one hundred miles north of Great Falls, MT, members of the Rocky Boy community found what work they could in surrounding towns like Wolf Point, Havre, and Anaconda, while others travelled to larger centres like Great Falls, Missoula, or Helena. For some families, the art produced by community women became a critical source of income. With kin residing across four localities and women sharing intra-community knowledge, this artistic production became increasingly diversified across Northern Montana so as to avoid inter-community competition.[48] As Metis and other Indigenous women continued to acclimate to meet the consumer demands of a growing settler-population and emerging tourist trade, they began to develop niche artwork trades of their own.

At the Rocky Boy Reservation, the National Association of Indian Workers, a Protestant nondenominational mission organization, began marketing the community's artwork in the mid-1920s after seeing examples on display in New York City. When the Lutheran Church took over, they began marketing the art through the Mohonk Lodge, selling items to other churches and individuals. At its height in the mid-1930s, this organization employed as many as sixty women with an arts and craft showroom located

[48] The Blackfeet became known for their heavily beaded buckskin jackets, which were so popular that Abercrombie & Fitch and other sports shops in New York City were carrying the jackets by 1938. Mrs. Jessie Donaldson Schultz, Community worker at Blackfeet Agency, and Mrs Ethel B. Arnett, Director, Division of Education and Recreation, WPA, "Blackfeet Crafts Workers Ready for Summer Season," in *Indians at Work: A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service* V, no. 10, ed., Office of Indian Affairs (June 1938): 21-23" in *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 16, MHS. At Fort Belknap, the "modern use of the rawhide for waste baskets and desk baskets" was so popular, items were often sold prior to reaching market at Browning. Rose K. Brandt, Superintendent Indian Education (US Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Field Office) Billings, MT to Mr. Joseph Howard, 5 March 1945, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.

in an old Agency Building on the Reservation.[49] Rocky Boy artisans were well-known for adapting horn and bone to meet modern demands. Most popular were their hand-polished buffalo hoofs that were moulded into ash trays, adorning many a living room and office. Also popular were their polished rings of cow-horn that were used to add a 'Western' touch to sport sweaters, jackets and dresses. They also adapted traditional ribbon-work and added it to sportswear, belts, cuffs, blouses, and dresses.[50]

Popular on all of Montana's northern Reservations but varying in design between communities were hand-crafted dolls. Those coming out of the Fort Belknap Reservation were made of buckskin, with "well shaped leather faces giving them a look of distinction,"[51] and the dolls made by their Blackfeet peers reflected the community's popular and elaborate hide jackets. Unique among their contemporaries, the dolls originating from the Rocky Boy Reservation were made of different materials, which resulted in a different aesthetic. Dolls from this area of the Cypress Hills locality were hand-carved from wood, and modelled after local characters like Jakup, a "half-breed interpreter with his hair cut short and wearing store pants."[52] Their dolls were also known for being historical — from a period dominated by "old Indians and white traders."[53] While women dominated the artwork trade in Montana, the skills of their husbands were

[49] Unknown author, "Indian Crafts," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954,* Box 1 Folder 16, MHS; Unknown author, "Northern Plains Indians Arts and Crafts Association." In *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.
[50] The Wind River Arapahos and Shoshones were known for their excellent tanning and jackets, jerkins, moccasins, and lapel ornaments. Carl L. Pearson, Superintendent of Rocky Boy Agency, Box Elder, MT to Mr. Joseph Kinsey Hoard, 10 November 1944, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.
[51] Carl L. Pearson, Superintendent of Rocky Boy's Agency, Box Elder, MT to Mr. Joseph Kinsey Hoard, 10 November 1944, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Rose K. Brandt, Superintendent Indian Education (US Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Field Office) Billings, MT to Mr. Joseph Howard, 5 March 1945, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.

also crucial.[54] These men were renowned for their ability to invoke the likeliness of the local people they used for inspiration.[55] Many of these dolls were draped in long coats sewn from Hudson Bay wool cloth and the trader's head was often topped with a fur hat. An excellent example of this is evidenced in image 5.11, "Rocky Boy Cree Male Wood Doll." Carved by Joe Gopher and clothed by his wife Sitting Pretty, the doll stands over ten inches tall and has movable arms incorporated into its design. This doll sold for $7.50 and featured leggings under a wool coat, which is reminiscent of the popular capote most often associated with the Metis of the Red River Valley. The capote features piping along the seams and is held closed at the waist with what may be interpreted as a sash.

Another male wood doll (image 5.12), was carved by the husband of Mabel Runningbird, who in turn crafted the cloth and leather clothing that adorn it. This doll features shirt and pants that were originally aqua in colour but have since faded to tan. This doll is also dressed with a vest, breechcloth, leggings, and moccasins made of leather, and accessorised with a collar and tie made of a small button and piece of red felt. With his hair in braids tied with red wool, the doll's headdress is made of an undetermined material, which was listed for $7.70 when it was purchased in the late 1930s. Unique among the collection and reflecting the dress of local women at the time, "Wood Female Doll" (image 5.13) wears a headscarf with a knee-length black and white dotted print dress and undershorts. The doll also features a yellow shawl, red leather belt, tan stockings, and white leather boots. This ten-inch doll sold for $7.50 and was carved with movable arms by Joe Gopher and clothed by Sitting Pretty. These three dolls serve

[54] Northern Plains Indians Crafts Association, Browning, MT, "Items on Loan, 18 December 1944," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 2, Folder 15, MHS.
[55] Rose K. Brandt, Billings, MT to Mr. Joseph Howard, 5 March 1945, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.

as a sampling of the dolls coming out of Rocky Boy at the end of this study's time period. Standing out from other dolls made in this region, these wood-carved dolls were unique for their likeness to local residents, and their moveable arms were often noted by officials as being distinct.

This artwork was adapted in part to meet the demands of a growing automobile tourist trade associated with the establishment and promotion of Waterton (1895) and Glacier (1910) National Parks, which saw several artists begin sending their artwork to the Blackfeet Reservation to be sold at Browning.[56] Glacier National Park's Curio Shop initially refused to sell their artwork because it did not conform with more popular Southwest stereotypes of 'authentic Indian' culture, suggesting that if they "…could just make something of buckskin with a few beads…" they would sell without difficulty.[57] This was confirmed when local women tried to sell their work on the July 4th holiday in 1936, and the first visiting family demanded "… Navajo Rugs. Have you any Navajo rugs?"[58] Artisans adapted, and the next year moccasins, beaded bags, and beaded buckskin dolls were sold on the July 4th weekend to much fanfare.[59]

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[56] Many artisans continued to use traditional artistic practices, while others looked to new trends associated with the emerging Progressive Era. This shift was manifested in the preservation of objects and images of the continents 'vanishing Indians', and the use of social capital to improve the human condition. Critical of rising economic inequality and rising class conflict, this was but one suggestion from a range of solutions aimed to cure 'societal problems' associated with industrial development.

[57] Donaldson Schultz, "The Blackfeet Indian Craft Shop," *Indians at Work: A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service* IV, no. 13, ed., Office of Indian Affairs (15 February 1937): 40-42 in *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954,* Box 1, Folder 16, MHS. Prior to forming a cooperative, the Blackfeet Indian Craft Shop at Browning sold rugs and similar items to locals and the growing number of tourists passing through the locality on their way to Glacier National Park.

[58] Ibid. Most tourists on that July 4th weekend requested Navajo rugs and Hopi pottery, speaking to a settler familiarity with 'authentic' Southwest Indigenous material culture, but little awareness of the Northern Plains and its inhabitants.

[59] Later that same year, the Blackfeet community repurposed the old hospital and council chamber, renovating it to serve as a community craft shop and building a secondary structure to capture tourist traffic on the Park Highway alongside the St. Mary entrance to Glacier National Park. This was originally the home of trader Jack Monroe, which was procured by the Department and moved to the highway where it was repaired and made ready for tourist traffic. Schultz, "The Blackfeet Indian Craft Shop; Mrs. Jessie Donaldson Schultz, Community worker at Blackfeet Agency, and Mrs Ethel B. Arnett, Director, Division

The summer of 1938 marked a critical shift at Glacier National Park. Where before the majority of goods sold to tourists were imported and non-indigenous in origin, that summer Indigenous artwork from Northern Montana dominated the shelves.[60] While the summer automobile tourist trade at Glacier National Park remained a critical source of revenue, by the early 1940s this artwork was so popular that department stores on both coasts were selling the merchandise. One government official at Rocky Boy noted "the bead work in my opinion is the best I have seen. Articles made, however, are such as will meet demand of the modern market and thus are not intrinsically Indian. Evening bags, cigarette cases, coin purses, label ornaments are popular items."[61] A growing familiarity with settler demands saw artisans adapt their artistic traditions to produce items that were desired on both coasts, which were also purchased by tourists who transported them across various global networks.

With the creation of the Northern Plains Indian Arts and Crafts Association (NPIACA) in 1942, the disparate art production on the Rocky Boy, Blackfeet, and Belknap Indian Reservations was brought together in an art cooperative. Meeting at the Museum of the Plains Indian at Browning (1941) and informed by the wider Progressive movement, the goal of those gathered was to "develop retail and wholesale markets for Indian arts and crafts products of the various northern plains tribes and to contribute to

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of Education and Recreation, WPA, "Blackfeet Crafts Workers Ready for Summer Season," *Indians at Work: A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service* V, no. 10, ed., Office of Indian Affairs (June 1938):21-23 in *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 16, MHS.

[60] Mrs. Jessie Donaldson Schultz, Community worker at Blackfeet Agency, and Mrs Ethel B. Arnett, Director, Division of Education and Recreation, WPA, "Blackfeet Crafts Workers Ready for Summer Season," *Indians at Work: A News Sheet for Indians and the Indian Service* V, no. 10, ed., Office of Indian Affairs (June 1938):21-23," in *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 16, MHS.

[61] Unknown author, "Indian Crafts," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 16, MHS.

the industrial prosperity of the Indian people."[62] Although falling outside the time frame of this project, the creation of the NPIACA speaks to the growing organization of this trade and Indigenous women's fundamental role in its formation and subsequent growth.

	1942	**1943**
Belknap	1,092.72	501.60
Rocky Boy	2,173.32	752.16
Blackfeet	5,382.65	6,698.40
Wind River (A)	1,308.32	1,612.32
Wind River (S)	120.12	831.96
Total	10,077.13	10,396.44

Table 5.1 Payout to Individual Reservations, February 1945 [63]

As the art co-operative in Montana grew, so too did the income and number of community participants. Table 5.1 shows that members of this cooperative generated a substantial income for their communities. On the Rocky Boy Reservation, these items brought in a combined annual income in 1943 of $2,5000 and drew on the expertise of at least fifty-four community members.[64] In 1944, an Assiniboine wastebasket from Fort Assiniboine (Rocky Boy) sold for $13.00, and moccasins from Fort Belknap and Rocky

[62] The initial membership of this community initiative included the Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, Chippewa-Crees, and the Arapahos and Shoshones from the Wind River Reservation at Fort Washakie, WY. Pending members included those from the Flathead Indian Reservation at Dixon, MT and the Tongue River Agency at Lame Deer, MT. Unsure of joining but in discussions were communities from the Fort Peck Reservation and Crow Agency. Schultz, "The Blackfeet Indian Craft Shop; "Items on Loan, 18 December 1944," Northern Plains Indians Crafts Association, Browning, MT," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 2, Folder 15, MHS.

[63] Documents suggest that the fall in profit between 1942 and 1943 on the Belknap and Rocky Boy Reservation was due to a large purchase of supplies in order to produce goods for the following season. Wind River (A) denotes Arapaho, and Wind River (S), Shoshone. Notes from Meeting of the Northern Plains Crafts Association, Browning, 12 and 13 February, 1945, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 16, MHS.

[64] Carl L. Pearson, Superintendent of Rocky Boy's Agency, Box Elder, MT to Mr. Joseph Kinsey Howard, 10 November 1944, *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 1, Folder 15, MHS.

Boy each sold for $5.50 and $7.00 respectively.[65] Far from women's only economic contribution, they often supplemented their income from this artwork by knitting and crocheting which, in turn, served as a critical opportunity for community women to gather.[66]

The community at Rocky Boy is an excellent example of how new settler-state ethnic categories influenced community formation. As opportunities narrowed and without a land base in the Cypress Hills locality, Metis individuals and families joined with Asiniiwin, Āyimâsis, and their 'full-blood' followers in agitating for, and then settling on, the final reservation established in Northern Montana. It is this appreciation of the Reservation's complex and multi-ethnic genesis that facilitates an appreciation of a prominent Metis presence. Despite the limiting settler-state categories that necessitated Metis residents identify as 'Indian', this analysis of the community's artwork illuminates a Plains Metis presence otherwise erased from the American settler-states' institutions.

The long-held belief that adaptations made by Indigenous women to their artistic traditions and production somehow made their contributions less valuable is a disservice to Metis women's critical contribution to community continuity in the borderlands. Responding to changing trends since colonial contact, Metis women and their other Indigenous kin were often at the front of changing aesthetics and adapted quickly to meet the demands of a growing settler-society. While many joined their male kin and navigated new market opportunities after 1885, a material culture analysis shows us a very distinct women's contribution that ensured financial security following economic

[65] Northern Plains Indians Crafts Association, Browning, MT, "Items on Loan, 18 December 1944," *Joseph Kinsey Howard Papers, 1927-1954*, Box 2, Folder 15, MHS.
[66] Ibid.

and social collapse in the 1880s. Although new settler-state categories aimed at defining and labelling the region's Indigenous peoples complicates our identification of Metis artistic production, a detailed contextual understanding of the social space provides a nuanced appreciation of these complications and the people that navigated them. To that end, this chapter's three case studies illustrate how an intimate knowledge of each locality, the amalgamation of Indigenous art with settler form, and the similarity in form and function across space made it possible for women to respond to changing realities on the Northern Plains. This is clearly illustrated in doll construction at the Rocky Boy Reservation, where Indigenous women, well aware of consumer demands, actively formed a cooperative to better market their artistic production.

Excluding souvenir art from historical inquiry silences the producers of these objects, whose engagement with a growing consumer culture became an explicit means of ensuring financial self-sufficiency and cultural survival after 1885. This material culture analysis has shown how objects can act as additional primary source material through which we can consider themes and questions otherwise inaccessible – most critically, the everyday artistic production among Plains Metis women and their other Indigenous kin after 1885. Consumed largely by outsiders, this women's labour was exchanged for cash and was critical to household income, serving to further the social, economic, and political agendas of Metis individuals, families, and communities in the borderlands.

CONCLUSION

As a small child, visiting my grandparents' home a mile distant was always exciting. Two stories tall, there always seemed a new room to explore or a treasure to find. I enjoyed listening to the many stories my grandmother shared about our family's history in that place, replete with tales of log runs down the Assiniboine River and meeting travellers on the old cart trail that ran through the back of the homestead. We often poured over albums and it was always a special treat when Grandma brought out one of the many tubs filled to the brim with photographs and documents from our family's 135-year history in south-western Manitoba. However, in all my exploring and our many visits, I overlooked an amazing piece of artwork in the basement. Of little interest to a small child, the solitary basket hanging over the washing machine failed to catch my attention. However, when I was home in the winter of 2016 I asked about the overlooked basket hanging from a nail high on the basement wall (image 6.1).

Purchased just prior to 1930 by Ethel Snider (my great-great-great grandmother), she travelled to Turtle Mountain specifically to acquire this basket. It was made by an artisan well-known for the exceptional quality of her work.[1] While her name has been lost to time, this skilled artisan made a high-quality product that was coveted by Ethel and many of her peers. Travelling south for the day, Ethel purchased the basket and brought it back to the homestead where it served as a laundry basket for many years; it was later repurposed as a baby basinet. Made of willow boughs of varying colours to give it a striped appearance, larger boughs have been whittled to provide ribs over which the body was placed. With elaborate and densely braided handles, there are no other

[1] Born in 1881, Ethel (Snider/Cassan) moved from Ontario to Manitoba with her parents.

materials used in the object's construction. Given that it was consistently used for over fifty years, there is surprisingly little wear on the basket.

Moving through several contexts in the past ninety years, this laundry basket speaks to implacement, community, women's artwork, female economy, and a sharing of resources and knowledge between Indigenous and non-indigenous women in these Canadian-American borderlands at the turn-of-the-century. A source of income for the native artisan, it became a functional object in a settler-home, and it eventually was transformed into an object that evoked the memories of my grandmother: symbolic of our ties to the area, representative of my family's early interaction with the area's Indigenous community, it has become a primary source for my doctoral research that illustrates the critical role that this type of artwork played in Indigenous community continuity.

When the settler-states of Canada and the United States began the process of enforcing their territorial claims to the Northern Great Plains, the Plains Metis found themselves navigating new government policies aimed at erasing the presence of Indigenous peoples on the borderlands. With a history of implacement that spanned the forty-ninth parallel, the international boundary came to act as a centrifuge, forcing individuals and families to reconceptualise their communities in order to maintain their transnational presence. Drawing on unique opportunities offered by their residence in these Northern borderlands, this project has drawn on examples from four distinct localities to illustrate the various ways Plains Metis were able to maintain community following economic and political collapse after the demise of the bison herds and the Rebellion of 1885.

Reintegrating the Plains Metis in this space after 1885 challenges the predominant narrative that relegates these peoples to a pre-1885 context. Not only were these Metis borderland communities critical in shaping state territorial expansion in the west, but their ongoing residence challenged how Canada and the United States understood those new territorial claims. Critical players throughout this tumultuous period, these communities remained rooted in place and continued to shape the borderlands long after the claims of both settler-states were finalized and the majority of Indigenous peoples were removed to reserves and reservations. Choosing to remain, Metis individuals and families continued to build community after the influx of settler-society, finding ways to maintain social and cultural cohesion while adapting to an increasingly complex ethnic social space.

The decision to remain in the Northern borderlands challenges the idea that legal frameworks and hardening racial categories were a barrier to community continuity; further, these Plains Metis communities were never strictly Metis. Far from static, Indigenous communities had always been multi-ethnic during the bison-robe trade era, and they continued to adapt to new realities and opportunities after 1885. The argument that this multi-ethnic composition precluded an identification as Metis is a disservice to the history and connections that had existed between the Metis and their other Indigenous kin since the late 18th century.

Instead of being understood as the periphery of two settler-states, reconceptualising these borderlands as a critical Plains Metis space allows for a consideration of how these communities and their members adapted after 1885. Drawing on cultural and spatial theory has allowed me to investigate how the Plains Metis, using

tactics unique to each locality, challenged settler-state opposition to borderland communities. Reconceptualised as 'other' in their traditional territories, individuals and families frequently manipulated and crossed new social, political and ethnic boundaries to manipulate and circumvent policies aimed at their erasure from these borderlands. Focussing on these tactics allows for an analysis of the every day activities whereby individuals and communities were able to manipulate settler-state policies, conforming to them only so as to evade them.[2] Adapting pre-1885 practices to new conditions and policies allowed families and extended kin networks to remain in these four borderland localities.

Initially, manipulating settler-state policies of treaty and scrip made it possible for many individuals and families to remain in this contested space. In American territory, treaty permitted some to remain on Reservation land among their other Indigenous kin. For others, policy revisions in 1885 and 1900-1901 opened up Half-breed scrip to those born in the North-West Territories between 1870 and 1885. While this scrip was often sold to land speculators, many families used this infusion of capital to adjust to the growing settler economy; many used the money to buy land in close proximity to Reservations and among kin where they became farmers or ranchers. Often the ambiguity of the Plains Metis' ethnicity meant that some individuals and families were able to move between racial categories (Indian/White), providing opportunities not anticipated by either settler-state. Some settled on reservations as "Indians" while others applied for homesteads alongside the growing number of settlers, often filing in groups to maintain family and community.

[2] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiv.

Long associated with changing economic trends on the Great Plains, the Plains Metis after 1885 continued to adapt while maintaining traditional practices within each locality. These adaptations included: wage labour supplemented by traditional activities such as hunting and trapping to sustain family and community. The more formal engagement with market activities included wage labour in local towns, work as farm and ranch hands, and marketing harvested natural resources for sale to a growing settler population. Informal activities, drawing on traditional practices, included hunting, gathering, and harvesting other natural resources for use by family and community in both a spiritual and aesthetic capacity. Metis individuals and families were well acquainted with the principles of capitalist market activities and, drawing on that familiarity, adapted their activities to a post-bison context. These new economic opportunities were often rooted in a particular locality and season.

Arts and crafts produced by Metis women and their Indigenous kin proved to be a critical component of this economic engagement in ensuring the financial security of their immediate family, and by extension, their communities. This very gendered appreciation of continuity and market engagement illuminates women's involvement from the earliest days of the fur trade well into the 20th century. In considering the context these objects moved through and the differences they marked allows for an assessment of an ongoing interactive zone of exchange where women's artistic production became a tactic in evading the confines of both settler-states. Often created and sold beyond the reach of government officials, this income was crucial in supplementing family income when wage labour and other various seasonal activities fell short in an increasingly competitive space. Drawing on settler expectations of an 'authentic Indian' and other western

stereotypes, Plains Metis women continued to engage in an intercultural exchange that was rooted in the local while simultaneously engaging in an increasingly globalised trade. Influenced by the natural and social space, this artistic production became increasingly formalized as women made use of kinship networks across the borderlands to avoid inter-community competition while catering to a growing tourist trade on the Northern Great Plains.

The first two chapters of this project detailed the historical and spatial context that accounts for the Plains Metis presence in these borderlands and their history of implacement in four distinct localities. Chapter three demonstrates how settler-state policies, aimed at eroding Plains Metis transnational claims, were circumvented by individuals and families who remained implaced despite efforts to remove them from the borderland space. The hardening of ethnic categories, implementation of reserves/ations, and Canadian scrip policy provided a myriad of opportunities that allowed individuals to oscillate between new boundaries while simultaneously drawing on economic activities unique to each locality. A detailed analysis of the Turtle Mountain Metis community shows how individuals were able to manipulate racial and ethnic categories to take up residence on the Turtle Mountain Reservation while maintaining a Metis identity and economy. To the west, the Cypress Hills locality shows how Canadian policy aimed at Indigenous removal meant those north of the forty-ninth parallel had to draw on settler policies like scrip and homestead to remain in place, while those to the south of the border had to look to narrowing opportunities on the Fort Belknap Reservation in order to remain. While the Metis of this locality were unsuccessful in acquiring a distinct land base (reserves), the Dumont case study shows how individuals and families were able to

remain in their communities by drawing on a combination of settler-state policies and new economic opportunities unique to the natural environment of the locality.

Chapters four and five use a material culture analysis to illustrate people, places, and community in the borderlands, as well as the critical role that women played in maintaining family economies and communities. The analysis of photographs in chapter four serves to situate families and community in the Cypress Hills and Foot Hills localities, showing them as far from static and as making critical contributions to a rapidly modernizing northern Great Plains social space. Chapter five, in turn, illuminates the artwork of Metis and Indigenous women and how this women's work melded traditional indigenous methods with settler form, to produce artwork that was sold to settlers and museum collections across the borderlands. As economic demands shifted, this production grew to include an art cooperative in Montana that saw the women of the Rocky Boy Reservation adapt their artistic production to meet the demands of a growing automobile and tourist trade.

Despite the restrictions imposed by new categories of race and nationality, this thesis shows how the history of Metis implacement on the Canadian/American borderlands, their adaptations to new economic opportunities, and the role of Metis women allowed for the continuity of these borderland communities well into the 20th century. The use of cultural and spatial theory as well as a material culture analysis, shows that despite the "absence of appropriate frameworks for the legal recognition of mixed-race groups,"[3] Plains Metis were able to maintain identifiable communities in four distinct localities. Long used to living in multi-ethnic communities that were constantly

[3] Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line*, 230.

in flux, the borderland Metis also adapted to the influx of settler-society in order to maintain homes and communities.

This rapidly modernizing Great Plains and changing economy meant workers needed to be increasingly mobile. However, this did not mean that communities fractured and left the borderlands. Mobility had also been a part of Plains Metis lifeways, and mobility and kinship connections remained critical in community continuity as the Metis adapted to the modernizing Great Plains. Despite facing increasingly oppressive state policies, the Plains Metis pursued a number of tactics after 1885, of which ongoing residence in the borderlands factored prominently. This decision to remain provided for a unique set of opportunities that differed from those available to more distant communities like Red River or Lac Ste Ann.

The use of a material culture analysis allows for a unique consideration of photographic and artefact records, illuminating the critical and often silent everyday experience of these borderland Metis communities not reflected in traditional written sources. Replacing the trade in furs, craft and souvenir production became a critical way for families to remain in place while resisting settler-state strategies aimed at their removal. Drawing on emerging capitalist markets and local tourism, artisans were able adapt to a dramatically different economic reality, ensuring family and community continuity. The mediation of new economic realities is reflected in the analysis of photographs and souvenir artwork. Using an object-driven analysis, this project contextualizes this artistic production using archival documentation and historical literature to illustrate the agency of these objects, how they shape societies, and serving as a nexus for cross-cultural interaction and linking generations.

Remaining firmly implaced by drawing on the tactics illuminated in this study, individuals and families found themselves able to withstand the large-scale economic and environmental collapse that swept the Great Plains starting in the 1930s. However, this is not to suggest a utopian experience for these borderland communities between 1885 and 1930. As the memoirs of Mary Rose Delorme Smith, Louise Moine, and Frances Riviere highlight, racism and discrimination were prevalent across the borderlands and played a significant role in the economic and social security of these families and communities.[4] However, a history of implacement, knowledge of the natural space, successful navigation of settler-state policies, and rapid adaptation to a changing capitalist economy made it possible for many to maintain family and community in the borderlands during this pivotal post-1885 era.

[4] Doris J. MacKinnon, *The Identities of Marie Rose Delorme Smith: Portrait of a Métis Woman, 1861-1960* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2012); Louise Moine, *Remembering Will Have to Do: The Life and Times of Louise (Trottier) Moine* (Saskatoon: Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2013.); Frances Riviere, *Washing at the Creek* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 2008).

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APPENDIX

Image 4.1
Joseph Rolette, ca. 1860

Joseph Rolette, *Photographs*, por 15345 p1, MHSA

Image 4.2
Joseph Rolette, ca. 1900

Joe Rolette, *Painting*, AV1991.85.38, MHSA

Image 4.3
Patrick Henry's Family Portrait
Mary Henry (left) holding Theresa Henry, Beatrice Lafromboise holding Joe Lafromboise.
Front Row left to right: Geneviva Henry, Mary Henry, May Henry, Joe Henry.

"Patrick Henry's Family," *Photographs: Cree Indians – Families and Portraits*, 955-701, MHS.

Image 4.4
Jim Denny's Family Portrait
William Denny, Jim Denny, Maggie Denny, Florence Denny.

"Indian Family (Havre) Denny," *Photographs: Cree Indians – Families and Portraits*, 955-700, MHS.

Image 4.5
George Watson, Cree Indian Whitehead

"George Watson - Whitehead," *Photographs: Cree Men*, 955-690, MHS.

Image 4.6
Willie Dumont, daughter Florence, and dog Frido, 1920s

"Willie, Florence, and Frido" *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 1.

Image 4.7
Willie on the Roundup
Pictured: Bill Widdop, Vern McLean, Tom Ashley, Bud Sewell, W. Dumont, unknown, Cliff Sewell.

"Roping," *Prairie Postcards*, PC009852, PPP.
Photographed by: A. E. Brown, published by Boynton & Easton, Reston, MB, ca. 1912.

Image 4.8
Close-up of Willie on the Roundup, 1911.

"Cowboy with saddle horses on round-up, Milk River Area, Alberta, 1911," *Photograph Collection*, NA-777-12, GA.

Image 4.9
Alex Gladstone (left)

"Alex Gladstone and Dan Nault, cowboys, Pincher Creek, Alberta, ca. 1900," *Photograph Collection*, NA-102-5, GA.

Image 4.10
Dumont Men Haying, late 1920s

"Haying" *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 2.

Image 4.11
Mary Lebarge, ca. 1920

"Mary on Horseback" *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 3.

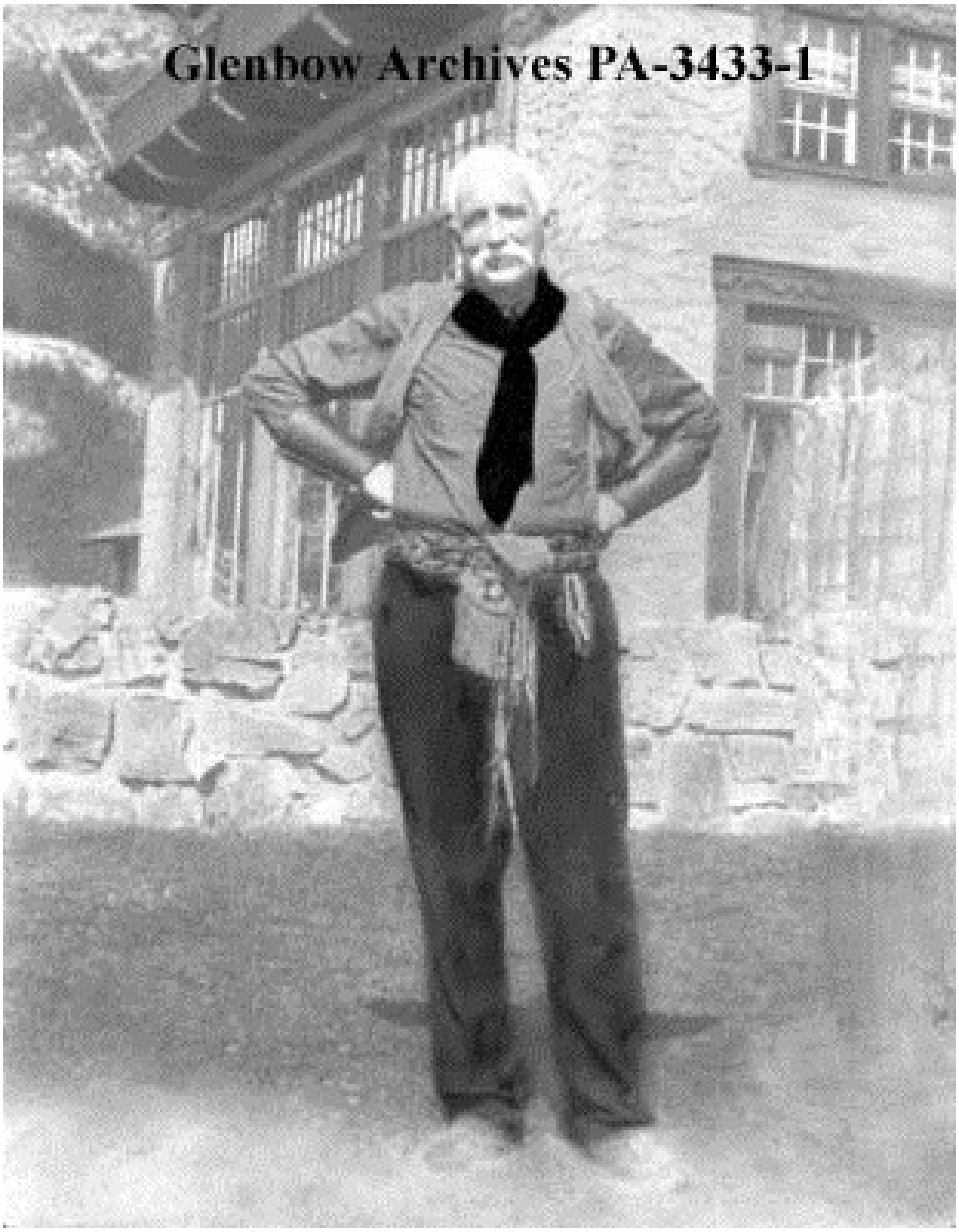

Image 4.12
Riviere at Waterton outside of Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton Lakes National Park, ca. 1930

""Frenchy" Riviere outside Prince of Wales Hotel, Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta," *Photograph Collection*, PA-3433-1, GA.

Image 4.13
Gladys and Melanie Berry Picking, mid-1920s

"Gladys and Grandma," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 4.

Image 4.14
Willard, Florence, and Davis with neighbour's car in Maple Creek, late 1920s

"Willard, Florence, and Davis," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 5.

Image 4.15
Willard Dumont Playing Guitar

"Willie," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 6.

Image 4.16
Remnants of Henri Dumont's home in the Cypress Hills Forest Reserve (now inter-provincial park), ca. 1970s

"Henri's place," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 7.

Image 4.17
Willie Dumont's Home at Fish Creek

"Willie's Place," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 8.

Image 4.18
Road down to Fort Walsh from site of Henri's cabin in Forest Reserve, ca. 1970s

"Road down to Fort Walsh," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 9.

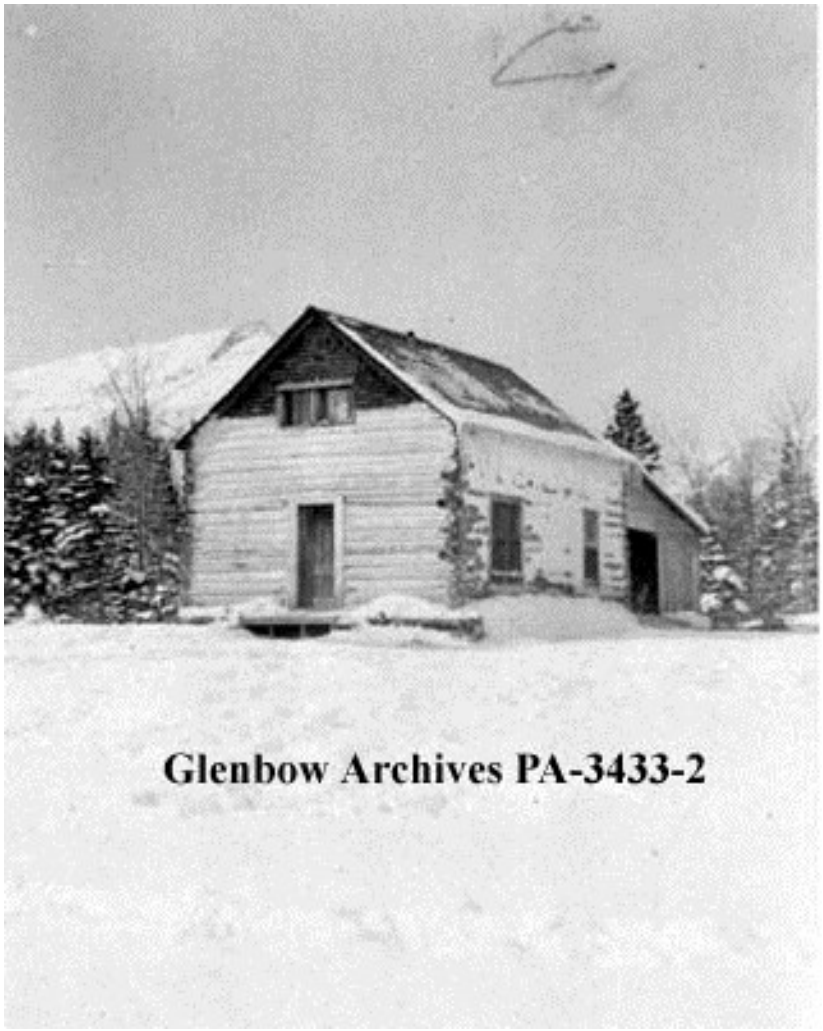

Image 4.19
Riviere Cabin at Pincher Creek, ca. 1930

""Frenchy" Riviere cabin west of Pincher Creek, Alberta [ca. 1930]," *Photograph Collection*, PA-3433-2, GA.

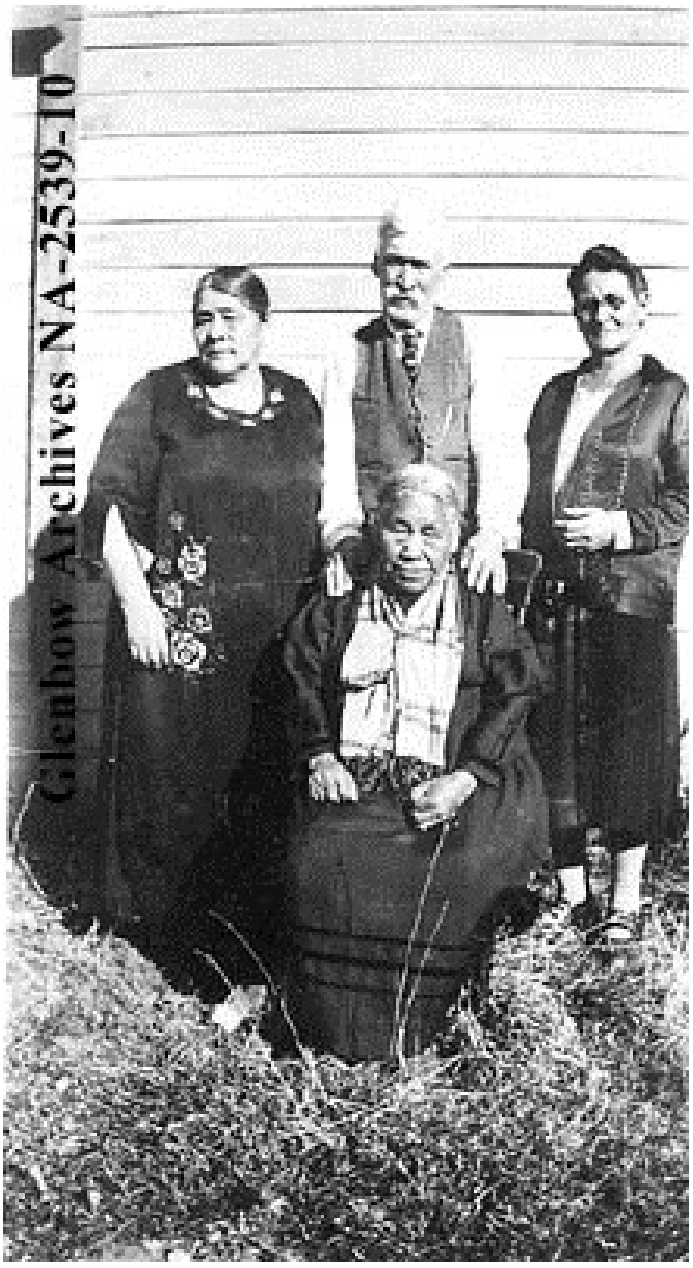

Image 4.20
Community at Pincher Creek

Standing L-R: Mrs. Scheer,
Ed Larkin (retired NWMP),
Mrs Mary Rose Smith.
Seated: Mrs. Kootenai Brown

"Group at Pincher Creek [ca. 1910s]," *Photograph Collection*, NA-2539-10, GA.

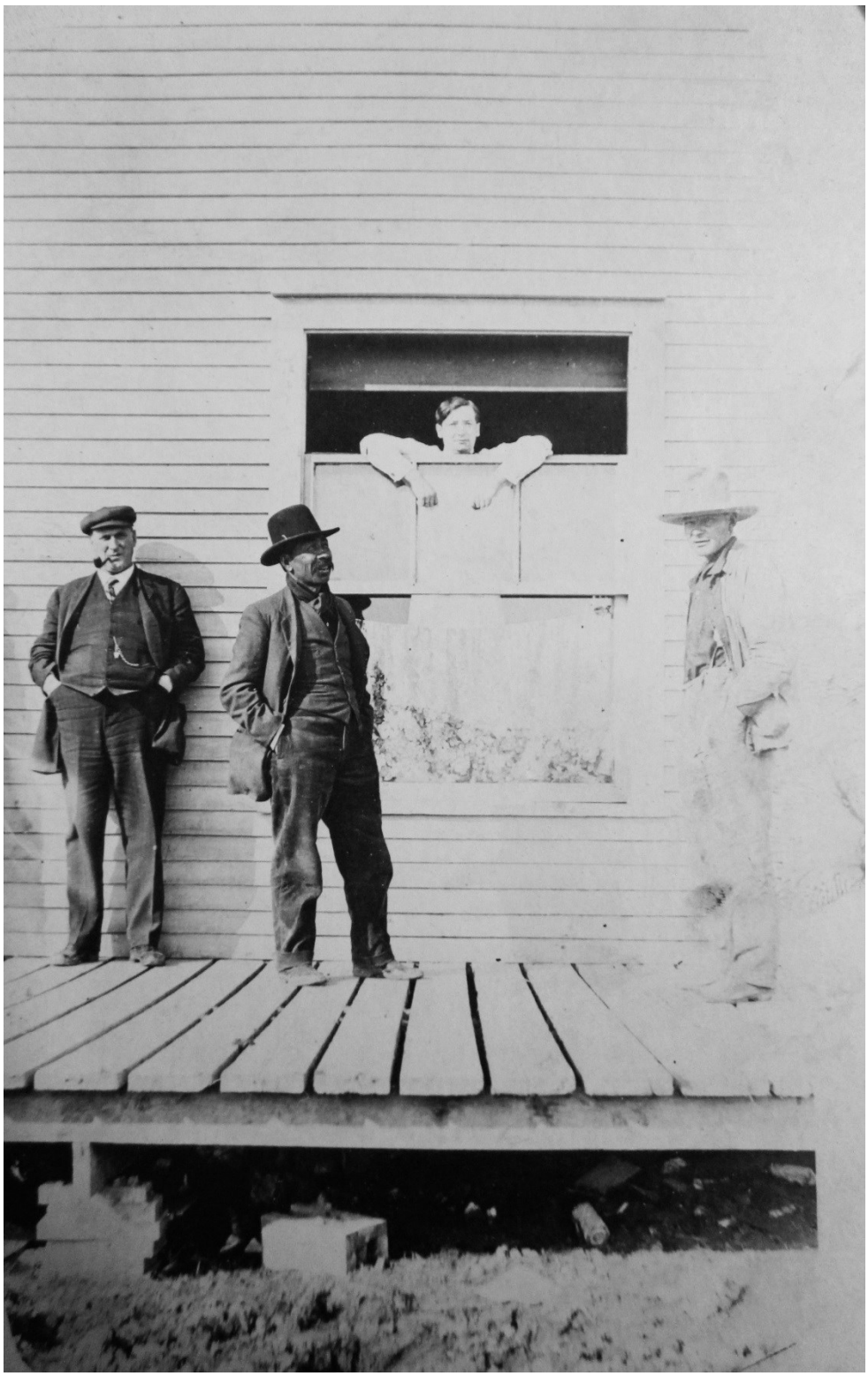

Image 4.21
Phil Lindmen, Rodger LeBarge, Barney Montour at Maple Creek Store
(store owner Ben Bornick in window), late 1920s

"At the Store," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 10.

Image 4.22
Left to Right: Harry Dumont, George Dumont, Willard Dumont, Gladys LeBarge, Lloyd Montour, L. Stier.
Seated: Marie Montour.

"Marie with kids," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 11.

Image 4.23
Outside of Grandpa Henri's, 1927.
Left to Right: Anthony Fayant, Marie Fayant, Gladys LeBarge, Melanie Dumont (Fayant), Henry Dumont, Jeremiah Adams, George Dumont

"At Henri's House," *Pettyjohn Family Collection*, image 12.

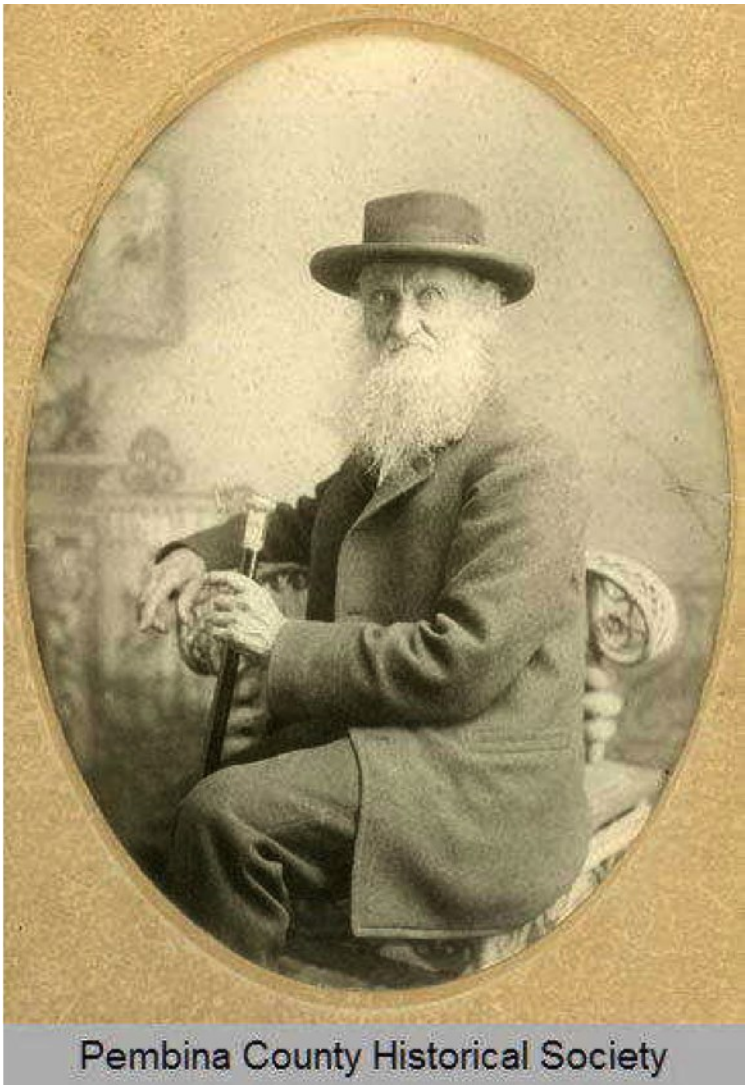

Image 5.1
Charles Turner Cavalier

Image 5.2
Birchbark Tablemat

"Mat, Table," *History* Collection, 09907, HCS 20J09, SHSND.

Image 5.3
Birchbark Tablemat

"Mat, Table," *History* Collection, 09907, Pemb-MG 05, SHSND.

Image 5.4
Cushion Cover

"Cover, Cushion," *History Collection*, 09911, HCS 21D08, SHSND.

Image 5.5
Close up of patch on seat cushion

Image 5.6
Book Jacket

"Jacket, Book," *History Collection*, 09912, HCS 21M09, SHSND.

Image 5.7
Cloth Fragment

"Cloth Fragment," *History Collection*, 09925, HCS 20G08, SHSND.

Image 5.8
Moosehide Whisk Holder and Match Holder

"Whisk Broom Holder," *Plains Collection*, 73.11-1, WBMHS

Image 5.9
Detail of Match Holder

Image 5.10
Detail of Whisk Holder

Image 5.11
Rocky Boy Reservation Winter Male Wooden Doll

"Rocky Boy Cree Male Wood Doll," *Artifacts 3D Objects*, 10000.1213, MHS.

Image 5.12
Rocky Boy Reservation Male Wooden Doll

"Wood Male Doll." *Artifacts 3D Objects*. 10000.1219. MHS

Image 5.13
Rocky Boy Reservation Female Wooden Doll

"Wood Female Doll," *Artifacts 3D Objects*, 10000.1221, MHS.

Image 6.1
Laundry Basket

"Turtle Mountain Laundry Basket," *Pollock Family Collection*, image 1.