Governing Metis Indigeneity: The Settler-Colonial Dispossession and Regulation of the Metis in
Mid-Twentieth Century Manitoba

by

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Abstract

Bringing together the fields of Critical Indigenous Studies, settler-colonial studies, and governmentality studies, this dissertation seeks to methodologically trace the dispossession of Metis from lands in Manitoba throughout the mid-twentieth century by placing these dispossessions into the multijurisdictional and socio-historical context. In the first half I engage dominant Canadian historiography in order to trace out a broader governing apparatus that possessed technologies of education, employment, immigration, and health aided in normalizing the dispossession of predominantly racialized populations by settler-colonial populations and their municipal apparatuses. The second half of the dissertation focusses on original archival research. I engage nineteenth century Metis historians to genealogize the formation of Manitoba's provincial apparatus which formed the basis for the establishment and proliferation of municipal apparatuses in Manitoba throughout the former half of the twentieth century. I trace the maneuvering between federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses in governing Metis in Manitoba through various agricultural programs meant to increase the overall health and security of the settler-colonial population, as well as through social welfare reports that sought to identify and recommend how to 'improve' Manitoba Metis. In the final chapter, using my own historic Metis community of Minnewaken as a case study I demonstrate how the Rural Municipality of Coldwell dispossessed Metis residents who went from owning 4000 acres of land in 1915, to 10 acres of land in 1970. I trace this land dispossession through an engagement with local histories and municipal tax-rolls, by-laws, and council minutes. Taxes and by-laws, I argue, were key technologies of municipal apparatuses that rationalized and realized the dispossession of Metis from Minnewaken. A key emphasis of this dissertation focusses on illustrating the ways in which

municipal governments, in particular, came to represent significant vectors of Metis land

dispossession during this era.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by David Parent. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

Dedication

To Lucy Chartrand and Great-Granny Catherine Monkman, look what kind of research your friendship spurred…

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Introduction: Relations of Indigeneity

Minnewaken was a Metis community located on the eastern shores of Lake Manitoba directly west of the contemporary town of Lundar. Minnewaken is where my family, the Monkmans, come from and where many Metis families such as the Chartrand, Forbister, Isbister, Lavallee, Morin, Sinclair, Cyr, Gaudry, McLeod, Spence, Ducharme, Allard, and Whitford families, come from. It is where our ancestors are buried and where we still go to gather for family reunions and remember the stories of family members who have long passed. My family has not lived in Minnewaken since the l950s. My mom, Kathy, was born in east Vancouver three years after my grandmother, Rosie Monkman, had moved from Manitoba to Vancouver in the early 1960s to start her new life with my Opa Ed and his family, who had relocated to British Columbia as economic migrants from Germany following WWII, after having spent time on the prairies picking sugar beets. My Opa's family never truly accepted my grandmother as a Metis woman. Instead my Opa would tell my grandmother not to let his parents know she was "an Indian." It wasn't until I was in my teens that I understood why it was that my grandmother would avoid talking about how she grew up in the bush in a one-room-two-floor make-shift shack. And it wouldn't be until I was in my later teens that she began to open up to me more about what that life was like growing up in Minnewaken.

As a teenager, knowing that my grandmother had been told not to talk about where she came from enraged me, but it also confused me and made me want to know why she left Manitoba, where most of our Monkman relatives still lived. When I asked my grandmother, she told me that "if you were a Monkman, you got the hell out of dodge." For her, her siblings, and her cousins, living in Minnewaken as Monkmans meant living a kind of life where how you lived was constantly being judged and ridiculed by white people who thought themselves better

than you. Being a Monkman meant being a Halfbreed, and being a Halfbreed in the Interlake of Manitoba during the mid-twentieth century was a rough life, lived on the margins of society, at the edge of towns, in houses lacking running water, electricity, or any of the other features of modern life enjoyed by white families. Living on the land as a Halfbreed was, in short, to live a life of "not." I knew that my grandmother's answer was true for her. For her, leaving Minnewaken meant leaving behind relations of oppression, whether those be classed, raced, or gendered. As a grandson, such an answer was sufficient; as a curious researcher, however, I knew that reasons why her and many others like her left their Metis communities in the 1950s and 1960s could be rendered more complex through an engagement with the theoretical insights and methodological possibilities of Indigenous Studies and sociology that illustrate the multifarious ways in which settler-colonialism has and continues to dispossess Indigenous peoples from our lands and from each other.

My master's thesis was concerned with capturing the everyday lived experiences of those who grew up in the Metis community of Minnewaken (Parent 2017). Having travelled to Minnewaken to visit with family members in order to further understand their relationships and memories to place and to each other, this was a project that was incredibly meaningful to me. However, after finishing that project I could not help but feel like it was incomplete. Many fundamental questions remained unanswered. Where did everyone go? Why did they leave? Did they leave willingly or were they pushed out? How my family remembered Minnewaken thus represented more than just memories, they were memories that themselves had been shaped and produced by particular conditions of possibility and out of historically contingent circumstances of settler-colonialism. As Mary Jo Maines, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett have argued in *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narrative in the Social Sciences,* "[p]ersonal narratives

have the potential to theorize and investigate a more complex and interesting social actor—constructed through social relations, embodied in an individual with a real history and psychology, and living and changing through time" (2008, 41). That is, the personal stories that I engaged with during my MA while a snapshot of a particular time and place—Minnewaken during the 1940s and 1950s—was formative for informing how I have sought to reconstruct and interpret the social structures and relations, mainly those of settler-colonialism and Indigeneity, that my family found themselves ensconced in during the mid-twentieth century.

Members of the Monkman family, and other Metis families in the area for that matter, did not simply wake up one day and decide that they were going to leave Minnewaken for greener pastures in the city; rather, larger sociological forces conditioned their movement. As children and young adults, my grandmother, aunts, and uncles were unlikely to have known the broader relations of power within which they were ensconced nor how such relations were wearing down on their relationships to Minnewaken as a Metis place and a community. While I walked away from my thesis understanding at least something about how they experienced life in Minnewaken, I was only then beginning to grapple with the larger social, political, and economic forces that had governed my family's life, but also the lives of other Metis living in Manitoba throughout the twentieth century.

This dissertation, *Governing Metis Indigeneity: The Settler-Colonial Dispossession and Regulation of the Metis in Manitoba, 1870-1970,* seeks to demonstrate how it was that a Metis community that had managed to possess approximately 4000 acres of land in 1915, had been whittled down to 10 acres by the 1970s, and, to explain how such dispossession occurred through the orchestration of multifarious and multivalent forms of settler-colonial power relations over a relatively long and constant period of time, from the signing of the *Manitoba Act* in 1870 to the

final municipal tax sales in the late 1960s. In taking up this position I am directly challenging a dominant narrative in Metis historiography that has mainly temporalized Metis land dispossession following the *Manitoba Act*, the *Dominion Lands Act*, the northwest scrip commission, and the Battle of Batoche (Hogue 2020; Vermette 2017; Andersen 2014a; Sprague 1992; Ens 1992; Flannagan 1991). The Metis land question tends to end in 1885 until it is brought back to the fore of Metis history with the creation of the Metis settlements in Alberta in 1938 (Dobbin 1987). Historians and historical geographers have gone to great lengths to elevate this narrative of late nineteenth century dispossession (Sprague 2008; Tough 1997; Chartrand 1991), to the point where such a narrative has produced positive Supreme Court of Canada decisions such as in *MMF v. Canada* (Vermette 2017; O'Toole 2016; Drake and Gaudry 2016). This narrative, however, has overlooked Metis in Manitoba who managed to acquiesce and maintain lands and thus endured the continued attempts of settler-colonial dispossession much further in to the twentieth century than often considered, only to become subject to other forms of settler-colonial dispossession during the mid-twentieth century beginning with depression era legislation that dovetailed into post-WWII (postwar) settler-colonial desires for national postwar reconstruction. During this era of postwar reconstruction, I argue, methods of land dispossession and population governance at the level of municipal governments were becoming increasingly normalized across Canada. As I demonstrate in the following chapters, Indigenous peoples and lands, and Metis and our lands specifically in Manitoba, were also to be reconstructed: who we are as an Indigenous people was to be reconstructed by the multi-jurisdictional governments of settler-colonial Canada.

By way of signposting, I will emphasize three things in the introduction: first, I seek to chart out a coherent understanding of Indigeneity as constituting the existence of a set of social

relations emanating from a people's pre-colonial (and then enduring) relationship to place. Theorizations of Indigeneity have become increasingly salient in the past decade as Indigenous Studies scholars seek to further build up Indigenous Studies as a discipline. As such, in the second section I discuss Indigenous Studies disciplinarity and how this dissertation seeks to extend the goals charted out by scholars in the field. In the third section I provide an overview of the following four chapters and allude to how they seek to expand our understandings of the multiple ways in which Indigeneity, and the Indigeneity of Metis specifically, was governed by settler-colonial governments during the mid-twentieth century, including how that governing led to the eventual dispossession of Metis from their land in Minnewaken. However, before I tend to these three goals, I first want to provide a caveat as to how this Indigenous Studies project has benefited from my own engagement with sociology, but also provide a rationale as to why it fails to engage more deeply with specific sociological fields.

Indigeneity as Sociality

Although less explicit in my use of sociology throughout this dissertation, sociological scholarship has been formative for me in thinking through Indigeneity as a form of sociality (Andersen 2014a, 209). In drawing off of Hokowhitu's (2009) theorization of Indigenous immediacy that seeks to locate Indigeneity within the context of everyday lived experiences, Andersen (2014, 208-209) argues that we should reorient research questions towards Indigenous socialites which emerge out of the various ways Metis have been intersocietally shaped by and with various institutions of Canadian society. Elsewhere, Andersen (2009) has also theorized such an approach as shifting from the studying of Indigenous difference, to the studying of Indigenous density. That is, the ways in which Indigeneity has, and continues to be, in part, produced through various settler-colonial governmental, cultural, and economic institutions. I

came to sociology disgruntled from the ontological gymnastics of anthropology where to write as an Indigenous subject meant often attempting to locate oneself as an 'other' in an otherwise sea of white settler-colonial normativity. That is not to say that sociology does not share a similar history of white normativity; however, unlike anthropology sociology has tended to make the societies within which it is located its object of analysis. For this very reason as an Indigenous scholar I find sociology's archives of society, especially in being archives of dominantly white settler-colonial societies, invaluable to studying. Moreover, as an increasingly disgruntled undergraduate student I happened to stumble upon Claude Denis's (1997) critical intervention upon the power of courts to marshal cultural difference in order to ensnare Indigeneity in his book *We Are Not You* when searching through the Douglas College library. That day I also came across Taiaiake Alfred's (2008) *Peace, Power, Righteousness* where I encountered a critique of the Canadian state that helped me begin to deconstruct how I had been socialized to believe in the value of Canadian 'multiculturalism' as an unquestioned 'good.' While I had taken anthropology classes where professors would proclaim the cultural differences of Indigeneity in order to convince students of the inherent human value of Indigenous peoples, reading Alfred and Denis made clear for me that having to prove cultural difference in order to gain the respect or dignity of a settler-colonial Canada, was a whole other plain upon which politics were being articulated; a politics that I had clearly been socialized into throughout my own public education. That is, 'culture,' or rather liberal multiculturalism, as an inherent good had been a value system that I was finally encountering. This was the beginning of the end for me as a student of anthropology.

Whereas anthropology provides one with tools to excavate 'culture' (ergo otherness/difference), sociology has provided me reprieve from such ontological disturbances.

With its focus on the social through its various orientations, from Simmel and Husserl's phenomenology (Weik 2016), to the critical theory contained in Benjamin's *Illuminations*, and finally to the post-structural analyses of Foucault and Bourdieu to whom I owe so many of my own insights, sociology has been important in my own intellectual development of understanding both settler-colonialism and Indigeneity as forms of sociality within which I am embedded, as opposed to 'culture' that I have. Furthermore, in becoming acquainted with Bourdieu, and then later Feminist philosophers such as Donna Haraway, I learned how knowledge, whether Indigenous or settler in formation, required a reflexive orientation so as to illuminate its own positionalities, partialities and politics.

The cultural vs social critique continues to haunt Indigenous Studies as a discipline as prominent scholars within the discipline still show the stripes of the disciplines of their training, mainly, anthropology/ethnohistory, sociology, and political science. One of the ways that this continues to be the case has been the continued emphasis by Indigenous Studies scholars on the importance of Indigenous 'culture' (read difference) as opposed to the multiple ways in which Indigeneity is further produced by social formations such as race, sex, gender, class, and disability (Moreton-Robinson 2016a; Andersen 2009). Instead, the 'culture' camp has been concerned with 'tradition' and authenticity whereas the 'social' camp has been much more focussed on questions of how Indigeneity continues to be produced alongside and in relationship to forces of modernity (Moreton-Robinson 2016a; Andersen 2009; Hokowhitu 2009).

The lack of varied engagement with sociology proper throughout this dissertation is explained by the fact that I owe much to the Indigenous studies scholars who have already done this pathbreaking in terms of theorizing Indigenous sociality (Moreton-Robinson 2016b; Andersen 2009). That is, many of the Indigenous Studies scholars that I draw on heavily have

their own intellectual genealogies in sociology; however, their insights have largely been used to extend Indigenous Studies and Indigeneity as a social formation more specifically rather than committing to the intervention and reforming of the sociological discipline (Moreton-Robinson 2016b). While I desire to engage sociology from the standpoint of an Indigenous scholar more directly in the future, I keep my engagements in this dissertation limited. There are two reasons for this: 1) sociologists have, for the most part, not dealt with the empirical historical facts with which I engage, mainly, Metis history specifically, and settler-colonialism of the Northwest more broadly. That said, in my use of a governmentality methodological framework in chapter 1, I seek to engage governmentality scholars, many of whom are sociological; and 2) the theoretical insights gathered from Critical Indigenous studies scholars, of which some are trained sociologists, have had the most relevant insights that help explain the phenomena I seek to illuminate in this project. Indigenous relationality and the governing of those relations by settler-colonial sovereignty and governmentality are the social phenomena that I seek to denaturalize and analyse now.

Relations of Indigeneity

In the context of this dissertation, I will position *Indigeneity* as a multi-relationally produced formation and therefore argue that separating between its theoretical and methodological differences is ultimately a counter-productive contradiction: understanding the why (theory) and how (methodology) of Indigeneity is as relationally dependent as Indigeneity itself. How we have come to understand Indigeneity is the result of the fusing of its theoretical understanding as a socially produced and contingent formation which has cohered through various methodological approaches (Kolopenuk 2020; TallBear 2018; Wildcat 2018; Shorter 2015; Moreton-Robinson 2016b; Hokowhitu 2015). Relationality, however, has continued to be

a core orientation amongst these methodological approaches (Moreton-Robinson 2016b; Wilson 2008). I have positioned Indigeneity as a relationally produced and historically contingent process in order to trace the ways in which Indigenous peoples, and Metis specifically, have become identified by settler-colonial governments. As such, I take Indigeneity as being in constant and continued relation to relations of settler-colonialism, connections that I more fully excavate in chapter one. First, however, I turn to how Indigenous studies scholars have theorized Indigeneity.

Theorizing Indigeneity is a vitally important practice of Indigenous Studies because historically there has been a tendency for scholars to defer to nation-state produced administrative categories such as Indian, Native American, Aboriginal, 'Metis,' amongst many other, as categories of analysis (Kolopenuk 2020; Hokowhitu 2015; 2013; 2010; Andersen 2014a; 2010). Both the conscious and unconscious use of these categories as a means for studying Indigeneity, unfortunately, has had the effect of reifying these categories as legitimate matrixes of power-knowledge productions (Moreton-Robinson 2016c, 8; Andersen 2014; 2010; Hokowhitu 2015; 2013). That is, these categories of analysis also have the effect of "producing Indigeneity" (Hokowhitu 2016; 2013) and then "re/iterating" it in such a way that veils the relations of powers through which they were produced and subsequently rendered governable (Kolopenuk 2020, 2).

While Māori Critical Indigenous Studies theorist Brendan Hokowhitu (2016) has called for the production of an 'illegible' Indigeneity in order to evade the capture of settler-colonial taxonomies, unfortunately, in nation-states like Canada, Indigeneity is always/already being defined, and indeed produced, in multifarious ways that could only proliferate within the vacuum that might be left in illegibility's wake. Theorizing Indigeneity, therefore, becomes extremely

important in reclaiming epistemological and ontological turf that has historically been ceded to exogenous disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, political science, history, and geography. Thus, Indigeneity, in the context of this dissertation, operates foremost as an analytical device for articulating a political stake: the pre-colonial relationships that Indigenous peoples have to each other and the places that they come from (Andersen 2014a, 16); relations that have endured even through the constant assaults on such relationships by settler-colonial societies (Kuanui 2016).

Although I agree with the spirit of Hokowhitu's (2016) challenge for a "post-Indigenous" illegible Indigeneity that evades settler-colonial taxonomies, I believe there exists another strategy of engagement for Indigenous Studies scholars: that of a *reflexive Indigeneity*. A reflexive Indigeneity, in thinking with and alongside French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, takes Hokowhitu's concerns of governability and legibility into account without becoming paralyzed by the possibility of being captured by the spotlight of settler-colonial institutions. In addition, a reflexive Indigenous subject would heed Hokowhitu's position to turn our critiques inward back upon Indigeneity so as to continually question its formation as being produced through a power-knowledge nexus. In addition, it would also take seriously Chris Andersen's (2009) call for a "dense" Indigenous Studies that welcomes the necessary interpellation of expertise gained in fields that will continue to produce social forms and therefore affect Indigeneity regardless of our participation in such productions. Such engagement provides Indigenous scholars the artillery to launch counterattacks against those who will continue to produce knowledge about us regardless of whether we agree to those productions or not, whether those productions come in the form of administrative categories or vital statistics (Walter and Andersen 2013). In gaining specialized knowledge of 'other' disciplines and then using that knowledge in service of Indigenous communities and of furthering Indigenous Studies scholarship, there exists the possibility to

contribute to the proliferation of Indigenous knowledges. Embracing a reflexive Indigeneity would mean not accepting constructions and structures of Indigeneity at face value, but to understand Indigeneity as a moving target, but a target no less that we can trace.

The theorization of Indigeneity has been addressed in two particular ways by Indigenous Studies scholars: Indigeneity as an identity and Indigenous relationality. Identity has been posited as a research problematic by several Indigenous studies scholars. Hokowhitu in modifying Simone de Beauvoir's statement "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" asks us to consider: "is one born Indigenous or does one become an Indigenous subject?" (2015, 447; 2009). The short answer, of course, is that for many Indigenous peoples both are true in that for many of us who we are is moored to where and who we come from, whereas, the second half of the question is also true in that 'markers' of state and societally produced Indigeneity come to mark us in varying ways from the use of statistics (Walter and Andersen 2013) to the membership and citizenship codes determined by Indigenous nations within the confines of settler-colonial legal administration (Doerfler 2015; Innes 2013; TallBear 2013). Fundamentally the differing approaches of identity and relationality produce alternative and at times competing research questions. Both seek to understand who is Indigenous; however, they go about achieving such identification through differing means. Whereas the question of 'identity' has mainly asked individuals who and how one is Indigenous, the questions that a relationality framework demands attempts to push beyond an identarian positioning (TallBear 2017; Shorter 2015). Rather the latter position asks: how does Indigeneity coalesce as an interrelated and inter-societal relation over time and space (Wildcat 2018; Saldaña-Portillo 2016)?

The tension of who is Indigenous or who can claim to be Indigenous has been theorized by several scholars from multiple genealogical trajectories (Hokowhitu et al 2010) including

through the Indigenous studies discourses of peoplehood and nationhood (Andersen forthcoming 2021; Hancock forthcoming 2021; Adese 2016; Andersen 2014; Jobin 2013; Corntassel 2003) as well as through international and national government policies (Lightfoot 2016; Maaka and Fleras 2005; Corntassel 2003). Those emerging from the genealogy of Indigenous peoplehood have resisted identarian Indigeneity through methodologically framing Indigeneity as emerging out of what has been termed the "peoplehood matrix" which coheres Indigeneity through the interrelations between a group's language, sacred history, place/territory, and ceremonial cycle (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 608; Holm, Pearson, and Chavis 2003, 13). As Andersen (2014, 16) notes, while he

> is sympathetic to this view… laundry lists are dangerous for many of the same reasons that they are beneficial. While they provide touchstones with which we can deliberate about the contours of our individual and collective selves, they nonetheless expose us to non-critical observers who attempt to make use of these touchstones to measure the entirety of our Indigeneity, as though the goal were desirable or even possible.

As such, Andersen (forthcoming 2021) elsewhere proposes a departure from the production of alternate taxonomies and towards conceptualizing peoplehood and nationhood concomitantly as ways that others recognize our Indigeneity (peoplehood) and how we recognize ourselves (nationhood). From this positionality, the argument follows, we may begin to analyze the ways in which Indigenous peoples conceive of themselves and of others in a way that at least partially decentres the nation-state as the foci of analysis even if it continues to be present (Hancock forthcoming 2021). That is, in echoing Cree scholar Rob Innes (2013), Andersen (forthcoming 2021) challenges Indigenous scholars to consider how Indigenous nations/peoples depend on a kind of inter/national relationality between Indigenous peoples/nations; a positionality that stands in direct contention with the way in which nation-states assert their validity through assertions of

a singular sovereignty that accrues its legitimacy through the defense of its borders and its monopoly on the acceptable use of violence to do so (see Asch 2014).

In building off of Hokowhitu's (2013) discussion of the production of Indigenous subjectivities by "invader" apparatuses, Cree scholar Jessica Kolopenuk (2020) notes that such productions iterate and reiterate themselves in contested forums, from within fields of national government policy such as the case with legislation such as the *Indian Act*, or through corporate private ventures such as the production of 'Native American DNA' by genomic companies seeking to 'sell' fractions of Indigenous identities (and by extension relationality) to clamouring citizens in search of their 'true' selves (TallBear 2013). In this way, as Andersen (Indigenous Foucault lectures 2015) has noted, Indigenous identity itself comes to be identified as a possessive object of desire for the settler subject; like our lands, our personhood has also become a form of capital for white possessiveness. An orientation towards Indigeneity as relationally constituted, therefore, has emerged to challenge the possessiveness logics and pitfalls of identity.

In the last decade, Indigenous relationality has emerged as a theoretical intervention and methodological framework and gained much traction in countering the possessiveness of identity as a colonizing force. Indigenous relationality differs in asking the question: who is Indigenous? By also asking: who are their/your relations? (Starblanket and Stark 2018; Wildcat 2018; Moreton-Robinson 2016; TallBear 2018; Delgado-Shorter 2014; Wilson 2008). In doing so, Indigenous relationality pivots from asking questions of individuals, and rather of how persons fit with/within collectives. This is the orientation from which the following chapters flow as I excavate the Metis history of Minnewaken and of Metis in Manitoba more generally.

Indigenous relationality, over the past decade, has emerged to form both the analytical and practical scaffolding upon which Critical Indigenous Studies as a scholarly discipline has

been established (Moreton-Robinson 2017, 69; Harris 2016; TallBear 2016, 196; Hunt and Holmes 2015; Shorter 2014, 497-498; Byrd 2011, xvii). As Kolopenuk (2020, 4) has put it, "Relations theorize relations." Jodi Byrd (2011, xvii) has theorized how Indigeneity has 'transited' through both colonial time and space while maintaining an "… active presence in a world of relational movements and countermovements. To be in transit is to exist relationally, multiply." In the context of producing Indigenous histories, our relations with whom we do research provide theorizations and research questions that orient our work, and as such, Kim TallBear (2016) challenges us to rethink the binaries of the researcher/researched and informant/observer categories in favour of an approach of "standing with," where we give due credit to our collaborators for the theoretical contributions they may make, even if made in their own vernaculars.

As Indigenous scholars, we cannot separate who we are from what we research and we are better for this relationship. Such a sentiment has been shared by Māori historian Aroha Harris (2016) who notes in her methodological essay on doing Māori history, how her grandmother was formative in passing down to her generational accounts of the past that then steered her professional research as a historian. Such an ethic is also reflected in Cree scholar Robert Alexander Innes's (2016) outlining of what he terms an "Elder Brother" methodology, recognizing that who we come from is often just as important as where we come from; whether or not someone can recognize you as a relative or as a stranger becomes not just a way to place people but also to place historical research. Brenda Macdougall's (2010) use of the Cree/Metis term wahkootowin to express the relational boundedness that Metis historical research can take, follows a similar relational process, by demonstrating the lengths to which Indigenous relationality is shaped differently in different region/locales and amongst different peoples. In

accounting for the contemporary inter-societal governance of education in his community of Maskwacîs, Nehiyaw political scientist Matthew Wildcat (2018, 21) demonstrates that wahkotowin continues to be instrumental as a "discursive force" in shaping political decision making in ways that consider relational responsibilities and co-operation. In this way, relationality, in addition to being of use in historical contexts, is reflective of Indigenous "immediacies" (Hokowhitu 2009). Personally I have found my own way to this research through my direct relationship with my grandmother, her siblings, cousins, and childhood friends, relations who have opened up to me and for me not just knowledge about Minnewaken and Manitoba's Interlake as a place, but what it meant to live in and be of that place (Parent 2017).

Indigenous relationality continues to be a politically salient endeavour. As Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2016b, 71) asserts: "This is a matter of ontology, our being—not a matter of identity—and how relationality informs an Indigenous social research paradigm." In his research concerning Indigenous sexualities and spiritualities, anthropologist and Indigenous Studies scholar David Delgado Shorter (2014) argues that we must make a shift from understanding Indigenous peoples as individuals and instead as "dividuals" whose relationship to the world is co-dependent upon relationships with people and place. In conversation with Shorter, Kim TallBear (2018) further elaborates on the core importance of Indigenous relationalities arguing for the importance to "resist hardening relations into objects, which might make us more attuned to relating justly in practice" (TallBear 2018, 159). As a dyadic force for theorizing the direction in which Indigenous relationality might be understood, TallBear and Shorter are writing for a de-objectified Indigeneity in favour of a relative one; an Indigeneity that is more in-line and reflective of how Indigenous peoples have come to understand themselves, as opposed to how we have been defined by others.

How we identify ourselves and who identifies us as Indigenous relatives, forms the ontological basis for the historical research we produce and in doing so also forms an alternative way for imagining Indigeneity within historical contexts and thereby resisting the collapsing of Indigeneity into purely its re/iterative forms produced by grids of modern intelligibility (e.g., race, gender, class) (Kolopenuk 2020; Moreton-Robinson 2016). That said, while Indigeneity may be explicitly produced in a way that resists these modern classification systems, this is only a challenge; an analogous form and not a configuring that exists outside of colonial subjectification: we exist both in and alongside colonialism. Relations of Indigeneity, as I return to throughout this dissertation, became the relations that settler-colonial governments sought to taxonomize and classify in order to govern both Indigenous lands and people. As such, uncovering how Indigeneity and settler-colonialism, themselves, have become relationally produced is the line of inquiry that I take in the following chapters. This challenge, specifically, is a main directive of the discipline of Indigenous Studies, which I turn to now.

The Discipline of Indigenous Studies

Indigenous Studies has emerged through the coalescing conversations produced by and between its various subfields of Native American Studies, American Indian Studies, Native Studies, Māori Studies, Pacific Studies, Sami Studies, among others. Over the last two decades Indigenous Studies has gained further prominence through the establishment and immense growth of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (O'Brien and Warrior 2016; Hokowhitu 2010). Of intellectual concern for many of these scholars has been their continued commitment to privileging relations of Indigeneity as important sites for intellectual production (Warrior 2016) as well as an institutional project (Andersen 2016).

Indigenous Studies, while being an intellectual project, has also proliferated in establishing Indigenous thought within settler-colonial institutions. Indigenous Studies scholars, however, are not reserved to merely the study of Indigenous difference, but also have become increasingly literate and professionalized in so-called 'western' approaches to knowledge production that seek to capture and produce Indigeneity in various racialized, gendered, and classed iterations (Moreton-Robinson 2016; Andersen 2009). As such, this has led Critical Indigenous Studies scholars such as Chris Andersen (2009) to encourage those in IS to move beyond simply the difference of Indigeneity, and to also mediate on its density; that is, the ways in which Indigenous peoples both experience, interpret, and, importantly, rigorously study colonial and white social formations. For Māori scholar Brendan Hokowhitu (2009), this means retooling the Indigenous body as a site for knowledge production and to consider the 'body-logic' and paces through which Indigeneity moves in its 'immediacy.' Andersen (2009) and Hokowhitu's (2009) challenge to consider both the density and immediacy of Indigeneity continue to be challenges rarely taken up by an IS discipline whose main orientation remains the contestation of 'cultural difference' (Moreton-Robinson 2016a). However, given that most scholars in Indigenous Studies units are not trained in the discipline, having instead received training in disciplines that could accommodate, but not necessarily centre issues of Indigeneity, it is no surprise the continued fixation on cultural difference as a main orientation for knowledge production. In the chapters that follow, it should become clear that knowledge about Indigenous difference, and Metis difference more specifically, alone would not have provided me with the necessary tools for excavating the abundant ways in which Metis were dispossessed in Manitoba during the postwar era. Rather, like other Indigenous Studies scholars, I embraced drawing on

multiple methods, from archival, to previous oral historical research, to mapping to reconstruct Metis relations and dispossessions of place.

Given, Indigenous Studies' relatively new coalescence as a discipline, and as increasingly more Indigenous Studies units begin to produce and train PhDs in the discipline, we must not lose sight of the fact that Indigenous Studies has been produced out of multi and interdisciplinary milieus. What this has meant is that IS scholars have come to possess a diversity of both methodological and theoretical toolsets gained from having been trained in older disciplines. Moreover, these scholars, while taking on the challenge and commitment of building Indigenous Studies, have also tended to do double duty by also contributing intellectually to their formative disciplines. Still, the multi-interdisciplinarity of Indigenous Studies continues to be a strength in that scholars trained in Indigenous Studies are exposed to a multiverse of theory and a methodological suite for producing Indigenous knowledges and knowledge about Indigeneity. What matters is how we have come to deploy these tools "to access, understand, and convey Native cultural perspective(s); conduct reach that benefits Native people and/or communities; and employ research methods and theories that will achieve these goals" (Innes 2010, 2). Having been exposed to this multiverse of methods encouraged me in this project to approach differing sites of knowledge production, from oral history, provincial archives, government reports, and local histories. Because of the scant evidence that exists about Metis in the twentieth century, my strategy has been to bring together what remained after forces of settler-colonialism dispossessed Metis in Minnewaken. In staying with Indigenous Studies inclinations towards relationality, the most important documents did in fact come from people who either lived in or had family who lived in Minnewaken. Without their stashing of pictures or letters, the archive that I would have had to work with would have been much shallower.

It is also important to note that Indigenous Studies scholars need not remain theoretically narrow to our own emergent field as other fields can and do provide important problematics and devices that we may borrow from. As will become clear in the following chapter, my goal has been to bring dominant theories of governmentality – particularly as undertaken in sociology – into conversation with Indigenous Studies scholars in order to better understand the contours of how Indigeneity is rendered governable, and then governed by settler-colonial governments. Like Indigeneity, issues of governmentality have also been taken up within numerous fields and from the positionality of differently disciplined scholars (Foucault 2007; 2003; Dean 2010; Lippert 2005; Loo 2019). As Foucault so importantly taught us in *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* all discourse is the result of discursive formations; formations deposited from a host of sources, from the written text, the spoken word, maps, graphs, and, in the case of this project, taxes and by-laws (1972). In drawing from a host of sources that focus on the governing of Indigeneity, my mission here is to demonstrate how the following scholars' contributions to understanding Indigeneity provide a host of insights for articulating governmentality within a settler-colonial context; and, more specifically, in identifying the dispositions that orchestrated the various settler-colonial apparatuses that established themselves in Canada; apparatuses that continue to significantly challenge how Indigenous peoples can relate to our lands and to each other.

Theorizing the governing of Indigeneity requires pulling from a variety of scholars engaging in Indigenous studies and settler colonial studies primarily, as well as all other relevant studies who concern themselves with or lay claim to the studying of Indigeneity—individuals who, at the same time, are in addition usually making contributions to the disciplines in which they were trained. In this way, Indigenous Studies is genealogically interdisciplinary and to

reduce it to one originating intellectual project would miss the fact that, like Indigeneity, Indigenous Studies has been made necessary under the differing spatial and temporal conditions and trajectories of settler-colonialism (Wolfe 2016; Hokowhitu 2010, 9-10), and, more specifically, from disciplinary milieus that have often failed to make space internally for discussions of Indigeneity and colonialism. Moreover, Indigenous Studies, apart from being an intellectual and institutional project (Warrior 2016, 93; O'Brien and Warrior 2016; Moreton-Robinson 2016; Andersen 2016), is also a political one sought out by Indigenous scholars who have historically experienced marginalization and hostility within disciplines and departments that are resistant to Indigenous scholars who attempt to make space for issues of Indigeneity, often without being in dialogue or consultation with Indigenous persons, communities, and scholars (Smith 2012). In this way Indigenous studies has also emerged as an intellectual field and intuitional space of resistance that challenges normative colonial narratives and discourse that justifies and rationalizes the ongoing and continued dispossession of Indigenous peoples, our lands, and our intellectual productions (Smith 2012; Gaudry 2011). As such, Indigenous Studies is a home for scholars who desire to resist colonialism, in all its re/iterations, while also considering Indigenous social formations historically and in the present (Warrior 2016, 93-98); and a place from which Indigenous and allied non-Indigenous scholars continue to mount intellectual productions concerned with reinforcing Indigenous sovereignties.

It is my hope that this project furthers at least some of the goals of those who have come before, and, importantly provides an account of the multifarious ways in which my family and community, as well as other Metis families and communities, came to lose our lands throughout the twentieth century. Furthermore, it is my goal that in developing the context and methodologies that follow, that as Metis people we can gather the still living memories of Metis

places that were lost to settler-colonial dispossession so that future generations continue to know who they are related to and how they are related to these places that came to shape us as a people.

Structure of Dissertation

Thus far I have situated how I see this project within the context of Indigenous Studies; however, my goal is to also take these insights gleaned from Indigenous Studies in order to challenge and extend how other literatures have considered, or, for that matter, ignored, Indigeneity as an analytical precept. Indigeneity, however, is only the starting point of this project. Given that Indigeneity and settler-colonialism exist as an ontological dyad I also heavily engage settler-colonial studies whose insights are vital in identifying the constantly evolving mechanisms of settler-colonialism. Still, both these fields, as I extend in chapter one, benefit greatly from being put into further discussion with each other, and, with studies in governmentality specifically. While scholars in both Indigenous Studies and settler-colonial studies have previously engaged governmentality studies, my goal in the first chapter is to bring these voices together in order to provide a comprehensive methodological framework for assessing how Indigenous dispossession took multivalent forms during the first half of the twentieth century, as is the case in chapter two; how Metis were subject to various forms of multijurisdictional power in chapter three; and then how these forms of power coalesced to express themselves in Minnewaken at the local level in chapter four. The settler-colonial dispossession of Metis relations of Indigeneity, and of the Metis of Minnewaken specifically, was a long drawn out process whose mechanics—indeed structure— evolved and changed between the late nineteenth and throughout the former half of the twentieth century.

While most Metis historiography has located our collective land dispossession in the late nineteenth century, this dissertation deviates from this narrative to demonstrate that the settler-colonization of Metis, and our lands in Manitoba specifically, unravelled much more complexly than can be explained by late nineteenth century accounts alone. That is, as I explain in chapter three, while late nineteenth century settler-colonialism may have created the conditions under which settler-colonial dispossession could continue, the methods by which it continued, transformed throughout the former half of the twentieth century. In fact, even a cursory analysis of the shallow archive of mid-twentieth century accounts of Metis communities demonstrate that settler-colonialism was neither uniform in application or in production. As such, this project seeks to extend and propel the work of late nineteenth century Metis historians forward while also acknowledging how the methods through which settler-colonial dispossession operates also shifted. While scholars such as Diane P. Payment (2009) have begun to address the continuance of Metis life after late nineteenth-century dispossession, most twentieth-century accounts that have emerged focus on Metis living in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta (Campbell 2019; Thistle 2016; Belcourt 2006; Ghostkeeper 1995). As such, and given my own familial connections to Minnewaken, I have ensured that this dissertation is decidedly more focused on Manitoba. If there is one thing that this study on Minnewaken demonstrates, it is how individual community land dispossessions in Manitoba, were, in fact, much more gradual than they were sudden as Metis communities located in Manitoba continued to endure as collectives of property owning subjects beyond the late nineteenth century. Moreover, like Metis located in the other prairie provinces, Metis communities in Manitoba did not cease being Metis following our late nineteenth century defeats and dispossessions; rather, how we were Metis changed and evolved alongside and with the growth of the Canadian nation-state, its provinces, and municipalities.

Just as these governments changed, indeed produced, Canadians, they also came to produce Metis.

One of the limiting conditions of Metis scholarship in its current iteration has been our orientation towards a political history steeped in a long-gone society and economy of the mid-nineteenth century (Andersen 2014b; Hogue 2020). As a people we have changed, and so must our economy of ideas that circulate, shape, and produce us. While we might aspire to reconstitute an idealized past, without understanding with more continuity how we have changed, we risk reaching back to ideals that may have never existed in the first place while at the same time mis-measuring the extent to which contemporary settler-colonial power relations continue to shape our continued immediacies. What happened to Minnewaken could be easily brushed aside as total economic and social assimilation; this is certainly an easy answer to a much more complex question of subjectification. The simple answer would be that my grandmother left Minnewaken because she wanted to; the more complex answer is much more nefarious just as settler-colonialism is always much more nefarious in making a mess of Indigenous lives than simply a move to assimilate.

There is a long tradition in Indigenous academia, including in Metis studies, of critiquing contemporary Metis governments as betrayals of nineteenth century ideations of Metis governance. What is lost in such accounts is the enormous changes that Metis witnessed throughout the twentieth century, and, particularly, how we came to be produced through and alongside Canadian liberal modernity. Lost are the limited conditions through which we became invested liberal subjects interested in providing parallel healthcare, education, housing, and employment services that have come to be hallmarks of liberal-democratic nations-states (see Saunders and Dubois 2019). Lost is how we came to see ourselves as both Metis and Canadians

without contradiction (Lavalee 1988, 4-5). Lost in this discussion is how we became governed; and then how we came to govern ourselves. This dissertation is only a starting point of what will become a much larger project of understanding how Metis "became" during the long twentieth century; how we became what in some Indigenous academic circles might view as contradictory: both invested in the nation-state as liberal subjects, but also invested in the Metis Nation and its own form of nascent liberalism that seeks to increasingly govern its own citizens. A form of *Indigenous liberalism* that stands in stark contradiction to the prevailing calls for decolonization and resurgence that form the current orthodoxy of Indigenous Studies (see Simpson 2017; Coulthard 2014; Alfred 2005). That is, in my tracing of Metis Indigeneity coming into collision with settler-colonial dispossession throughout this dissertation, I have been concerned with how, as Indigenous peoples, we have become increasingly invested in, as opposed to resistant to, prevailing settler-colonial governmentalities.

A Metis liberalism might seem contradictory when measured against a nineteenth century peoplehood steeped in the laws of the buffalo hunt and the eventual provisionality of the Red River Resistance (Saunders and Dubois 2019); but the seeds of liberalism were sewn with the *Manitoba Act* and further embodied through participation in homesteading and the exchanging of scrip for quarter-sections of land; of private property. Becoming private property owners, however, brought new obligations in the form of taxation and eventual by-laws and regulations set out by settler-colonial municipal governments. In this way, some Metis managed to evade settler-colonial land dispossession by investing in settler-colonial processes of settlement. This is how numerous Metis families in Minnewaken managed to continue to live with each other for the first half of the twentieth century. In a contradictory way, settler-colonialism produced the conditions through which Metis Indigeneity could still be maintained through the liberal

production of private property. Thus, how we became produced and reproduced ourselves as Indigenous liberal subjects becomes a much more salient question regardless of the ethical questions concerning the destructiveness of settler-colonialism and liberalism.

In many ways, this dissertation seeks to point towards historical junctures and disjunctures through which becoming liberal Metis subjects became an advantageous and then disadvantageous positionality. While becoming a liberal subject in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century may have ensured that Metis maintained some purchase of lands that were identified to be colonized by immigrating settlers, the differential ways in which liberal governance governs through racial, classist, and patriarchal modes of identification came to drastically effect Metis differentially in the mid-twentieth century. Such governance happened in both explicit and non-explicit iterations. Metis in Manitoba were becoming explicitly problematized as a population in need of 'improvement' through provincial programming. Non-explicitly, Metis were being left out of depression era relief programmes that were often constructed in such a way that overwhelmingly targeted the dominant white-settler population: those subjects whose taxes were paid and lands sewn. Metis were becoming differentially positioned within a changing liberal order; first through the depression era, and then throughout postwar reconstruction and the ensuing golden years of Canadian modernity and modernization in the 1950s and 60s.

Metis who had managed to ride out the first wave of settler-colonialism had finally found themselves swimming in a relentless and reinforced sea of technologically modernized Canadian settler-colonialism. The outcome of this settler-colonialism in Minnewaken, as well as in Ste Madeline, Rooster Town, Wake City, and countless others, was the attempted dispossession of Indigeneity: of each other and of the places that cradled these communities. Whether urban or

rural, each of these dispossessions share a core experience of becoming dispossessed specifically

by municipal governments and mechanisms such as by-laws and taxation that were within the

bounds of local government. As such, settler-colonial dispossession, during the mid-twentieth

century, takes a decidedly municipal form as expanding and contracting municipalities sought to

collect taxes on Metis lands where arrears had been accumulating for years, and at time decades.

Clearing Metis lands that had accumulated debts that could never have been repaid throughout

the Great Depression and continued to accumulate throughout the post-WWII era became the

raison d'état of local governments who sought to ensure the future vitality for themselves and

their populations. Over a half century in the making, patterns of municipal governance

eventually produced conditions under which the dispossession of Metis lands became normalized

as another ancillary cost of post-WWII Canadian desires of improvement and modernity. These

are settler-colonial processes which I have chosen to track in the following pages.

  In chapter one I outline a methodological framework for tracking settler-colonial

dispossession over time and space. To do so, I employ a governmentality framework that was

initially substantiated by the late French philosopher Michel Foucault in the late 1970s and then

later elaborated upon by the explosion of governmentality studies in the decades since. In this

chapter I argue that when combined with insights found in Indigenous Studies and settler-

colonial studies, governmentality becomes a powerful theoretical analytic and methodological

framework for tracking the multiple ways in which Indigeneity has become contoured by various

forms of settler-colonial power and strategies over space and time. In the latter half of this

chapter I provide an overview of the multiple ways in which Indigenous Studies and settler-

colonial studies scholars have considered the various ways in which Indigeneity has been

governed while arguing how the specific deployment of a governmentality methodological

framework can further extend these analyses to further articulate the contested contours of settler-colonial and Indigenous sovereignties.

In chapter two I articulate how the various governing strategies of settler-colonialism expressed themselves during the mid-twentieth century in Canada, demonstrating how such expressions were indicative of what Canadian historian Ian McKay (2000) has described as "liberal order governance." Applying the previous chapter's insights on governmentality and its theorization of governing Indigeneity specifically, this chapter seeks to outline the various governing rationalities, forms of power, and points of application through which settler-colonialism operated to differentially govern classed, racialized, and gendered subjects. One of the most salient and recurring points of application where liberal order governance appears is at the municipal level as mid-century local governments became emboldened by depression era, and then later postwar reconstruction era developmental policies. Making municipalities better for the dominant majority of (white) Canadians often resulted in the displacement and dispossession of racialized populations as municipal planners charted out plans to redevelop and improve cities across Canada. Using a governmentality framework helps to demonstrate how the liberal order expressed itself in a multitude of ways during the mid-twentieth century, and during the postwar era in particular. Through analyzing the work of historians of postwar Canada, this chapter demonstrates how the dispossession of land by municipal apparatuses became normalized within this order.

Chapter three shifts from analyzing broader mid-twentieth century federal-municipal governmental relationships, and towards a more empirically dense accounting of the development and then entrenchment of a liberal order in the Province of Manitoba and how its establishment came to govern Metis specifically. The multifariousness of government in Canada

poses a significant research problematic, especially during the twentieth century as three levels of government are established, each possessing their own raison d'état. As such, this chapter takes the province of Manitoba's contemporary territoriality as a conceptual placeholder for charting out the various and emergent forms of governing programs issued by differing and interlocking levels of government between 1870 and 1970 that either targets Metis specifically, or affected Metis tangentially but which produced governing effects and dispossession nonetheless.

Given that municipalities are established under the tutelage of provinces, this chapter seeks to genealogize the establishment of settler-colonial municipalities through settler-colonial programs of settlement in the context of the historical North-West that built the scaffolding upon which twentieth-century liberal governmentalities could proliferate. I track these proliferations through mid-twentieth century agrarian policies that were meant to save settler populations from the extreme economic hardships they encountered during the Great Depression. In tracking the governing of settler populations, I reveal how such governance produced conditions through which Metis would later become dispossessed by municipalities whose properties had been saved by federal-government interventions but where Metis often were not provided with the same advantages. The consequences of not being included due to taxes accumulated throughout the Depression would materialize in the dispossession of Metis homesteads which had been secured in the late nineteenth century. At the same time, I also trace how the provincial government began to problematize Metis as a population in need of "improvement" through the collaboration between provincially employed experts who documented 254 Metis communities living in Manitoba in 1959. Emboldened and strengthened by developmental policies that sought to save settler populations from the tragic conditions of the Great Depression and coupled with

social scientific reporting that recommended that Metis integration into the provincial body politic, Metis became governed by and through the orchestration of multiple levels of government. I finish this chapter with vignettes of three Manitoba Metis communities, Ste Madeleine (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987), Rooster Town (Peter, Stock, and Werner 2018; Burley 2013), and St Laurent (Lavallee 2003; St-Onge 1991), in order to illuminate the diffusion of provincial racial governmentality at the local level. In doing so, I set the stage for demonstrating how settler-colonial dispossession materialized in Minnewaken during the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter 4 shifts again in scale to hone specifically into the context of Minnewaken in order to understand how the different levels of settler-colonial government contributed to producing the conditions under which Metis in the area went from possessing approximately 4000 acres in 1915 to 10 acres by 1970. This chapter seeks to answer directly the question that I began this introductory chapter with: what happened to Minnewaken? However, before doing so, I first set out to describe what kind of place Minnewaken was prior to settler-colonization. Then drawing from the insights found in the previous chapters, I consider how Minnewaken came to be governed by providing cross-sectional maps that spatialize points in time in which dispossession occurred using the finite amount of historical and archival sources that I was able to locate in amateur historical texts and in the Manitoba provincial archives.

Urban geographers have long used cross-sectional maps to track the social and economic changes of neighbourhoods (Delmelle 2016, 37-38). Cross-sectional maps are maps that help to illuminate the state of a spatial arrangement of various kinds of data, from more vital population data such as age, sex, occupation, among others (Delmelle 2016, 40-41). However, in following Evelyn Peters, Matthew Stock, and Adrian Werner's (2018) historical geographic accounting of

the Metis community in *Rooster Town,* I use cross-sections here as a way of capturing the

spatiality of Indigenous dispossession by settler-colonial technologies over a relatively long

period of time. Given that one of the core features of settler-colonialism is its ability to rearrange

space—to wit territory—this project seeks to track those rearrangements. In a similar vein,

historical geographer Frank Tough encourages historians not to lose sight of geographic regional

specificities (1996, 13). Like Tough, I too am interested in studying an "…era at a regional and

local level," and "attempting to provide more precision than is offered by general histories, but,

at the same time, there is an effort to capture the effects of externally oriented structures" (1996,

13). Furthermore, Tough challenges us to consider that "[o]nly by carefully constructing local-

level activity can misleading generalization be avoided" (1996, 13). My choice to use temporal-

spatial cross-sectional maps here, as opposed to a linear approach that would produce annual

mappings of property ownership, is meant to help capture how, while dispossession did happen

gradually over a longer period of time, there does emerge specific stages of (dis)possession.

As such, what I provide the reader are cross-sections of settler-colonial dispossession.

Furthermore, in these cross-sectional accounts I demonstrate how such dispossessions were

rooted in multifarious forms of settler-colonial power. In the first cross-section I historicize the

initial settlement of the area by settlers. In the second cross-section I discuss how 50% less Metis

owned property following the depression. In the third cross-section I demonstrate how the

ramping up of post-WWII reconstruction and the desire to expand farms resulted in even more

land loss throughout the 1950s. Finally, in the fourth cross-section I demonstrate how by the

1970s only 10 acres in Minnewakan remained the property of a Metis person.

While I use these cross-sections to spatialize this dispossession, I locate the mundane

uses of taxation and by-laws by the municipal government through their annual tax-rolls, council

by-laws, and council minutes. In bringing these sources together, I seek to provide a more robust answer as to why my grandmother and other residents left Minnewaken. They did not simply wake up one morning and leave. Rather, through years of statecraft, whether at the federal, provincial, or municipal orders of liberal government, the conditions of possibility were being produced in such a way that they simply had no other choice but to leave. While they had weathered the initial settler-colonial events of the late 1800s, the Monkmans and other Metis families of Minnewaken would succumb to structured and structuring elimination: "settler-colonialism is a structure of many events" (Andersen personal communication). For Metis, that included events far beyond the late nineteenth century.

Finally, I write this dissertation as someone who believes that relationships to place are integral to how we relate to each other as Indigenous peoples. In some cases, some might view my positionality to be that of a land/territorial fundamentalist. However, to those possible critics I ask: where do your stories, your histories of Indigeneity come from? All Indigenous histories have genealogies to place(s) and as Coulthard (2010) and Moreton-Robinson (2015) have argued, Indigenous sovereign territoriality is a continuous reminder of the unfinished business of settler-colonial sovereignty. However, I decidedly depart from these more radical positions in arguing a more pessimist line of reasoning. That is, Indigenous sovereignty, while challenging settler-colonial sovereignty, is also always becoming produced through this relationship. As such, expressions of Indigenous sovereignty continue to change in form, but not essence, over time and space, alongside liberal regimes of property. This project seeks to trace what those changes were for Metis, and, importantly, how these changes changed Metis.

Ultimately, I was asked by descendants of Minnewaken to uncover how it was that our relatives lost their land. In doing so, I also uncovered how we might, as Indigenous Studies

scholars, push back against totalizing narratives of land dispossession by demonstrating how the differential governance of Metis under the regime of settler-colonialism managed to cobble together enough land to continue as a community. More importantly, this project has taught me how, if such mediations within a liberal order were possible in the past, modified strategies of land reclamation could be made possible today. How might Indigeneity once again (re)place settler-colonial territoriality? In order to engage such a question, we must first better understand how settler-colonialism dispossesses through its parallel modalities of sovereignty and governmentality, a question that I turn to now.

Chapter 1: Governing Indigeneity: Settler-Colonial Sovereignty, Security Apparatuses, and Racial Governmentality

Introduction:

This chapter seeks to demonstrate how Indigeneity becomes and is governed by what I will be referring to as settler-colonial security apparatuses through the concomitant and contemporaneous deployment of settler-colonial geopolitical sovereignty and its ensuing biopolitical management of Indigenous populations and individuals. In order to understand these intersecting plains of power, I begin this chapter with a discussion of Michel Foucault's governmentality framework as a methodology for tracking the multiple ways in which Indigeneity becomes governed by differing levels of settler-colonial apparatuses. Although governmentality scholars such as Nickolas Rose (2004, 34) have argued that territoriality is "[c]entral to modern governmental thought" for the "territorialization of national spaces," the *settler-colonial territoriality* of governmentality, as I will discuss further below, has often gone unaccounted for amongst studies of governmentality. This exclusion, I argue, has led to the uninterrogated role that settler-colonial territorial dispossession has played in creating the conditions under which settler-colonial biopower proliferates (Kuanui 2018; Moreton-Robinson 2015; 2006; Walter and Andersen 2013; Morgenson 2011; Harris 2004; Scott 1995).

While a governmentality framework seeks to understand how a government governs in order to provide security for its population and its territory (Foucault 2007; Dean 2010; Elden 2007; Rose 1999), in settler-colonial states (such as Canada), settler-colonialization is a pre-condition for the establishment of governmentality (Nichols 2020; Kuanui 2016; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Veracini 2011; 2010; Harris 2004). As such, I also engage with scholars of settler-colonial studies in order to bolster Foucault's governmentality analytic to then account for the settler-

colonial moorings of governmentality (Wolfe 2016; 2006; Morgenson 2011; Rifkin 2011). Indigeneity, as already discussed in the introduction, is a relational formation that is meant to describe a people's pre-colonial relationship to place as well as their continued and enduring struggles to maintain that relationship within the contested settler-colonial context (TallBear 2017; Kuanui 2016; Moreton-Robinson 2016). That is, Indigeneity is a political assertion against continued claims of settler-colonial sovereignty and governmentality (Moreton-Robinson 2016; 2015). In this chapter, using a governmentality methodological framework, I expand upon this rudimentary understanding of Indigeneity in order to demonstrate the various settler-colonizing (geopower) and racializing (biopower) ways in which Indigeneity, and the Indigeneity of Metis specifically came to be governed in the Canadian settler-colonial state during the mid-twentieth century by its various federal, provincial and municipal settler-colonial security apparatuses; formations elaborated on using the geo-political boundaries of Canada, Manitoba, and in the Rural Municipality of Coldwell. I make this analytical distinction between geo/bio and colonizing and racial in order to trace the differing applications of these rationalities. That is, I differentiate settler-colonial geopower as denoting the governing of territory whereas I take racializing biopower as the governing of people. While these two strategies of settler-colonial governmentality are of course co-constitutive as a discursive formation, I make this distinction here in order to trace how dispossession takes decidedly differing forms through its differing points of application.

In the first section of this chapter I discuss what governmentality is according to Foucault, how governmentality studies scholars have elaborated upon Foucault's original theorizations of it, and how some Indigenous studies and settler colonial studies scholars have extended his insights into settler-colonial contexts. In this section I provide an account of the

three forms of power that Foucault theorizes over the course of his lectures on governmentality: disciplinary, regulatory, and sovereign power. My goal in this section is to demonstrate how these three forms of power are interrelated, codependent, and operate together in order to maintain settler-colonial dispossession. Disciplinary and regulatory power (understood as forming different scales of biopower at the level of the individual and population respectively) have come to be understood as forming the basis for the governmental rationality for most scholars who take up Foucault's theorization of governmentality (Foucault 2009; Dean 2010; Gordon 1991; Foucault 1991; Burchel, Gordon, and Miller 1991; Rose-Redwood 2006). That is, in following Foucault, those in governmentality studies have mostly turned away from discussions of sovereign power, the power over death, in favour of a biopolitics that discusses how governments become concerned with providing health and care to their constitutive populations to 'make life.' Foucault refers to this kind of care as forming the conditions through which a security apparatus is formed (2009, 69).

Following my discussion on governmentality, I shift in the second section towards putting this framework into discussion with Indigenous Studies and settler colonial studies scholars in order to better capture the contemporaneous production of settler-colonial geopower and biopower that contours how Indigeneity has been rendered governable. In this section I demonstrate how the contested relationship between settler-colonial and Indigenous sovereignties represent the ontological turf upon which governmentality is established. That is, governmentality within settler-colonial contexts can never be divorced from its constant need to reinforce settler-colonial claims of sovereignty against previous and primordial claims of Indigeneity. In this section I retheorize governmentality within a settler-colonial context to understand apparatuses of security as being rooted in and extensions of settler-colonialism.

Security, I argue, is a logic of colonization and Indigenous studies and settler-colonial scholars have been diligent in accounting for its continued iterations (Kolopenuk 2020; Nichols 2020; Moreton-Robinson 2016; Kuanui 2016; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Rifkin 2011; Veracini 2010). Governmentality requires the continued maintenance and enforcement of settler-colonial sovereign power in order to maintain its existence.

Using these scholars, I complicate governmentality insights leveled by settler colonial studies and Indigenous Studies scholarship in order to demonstrate how governmentality requires assertions of sovereignty to enforce settlement on Indigenous land. That is, while governmentality is for the most part understood as a biopolitics that targets a population located within the nation-state, as settler colonial studies and Indigenous Studies scholars demonstrate, in settler-colonial contexts biopolitics is always already reinforced by the geopower of settler-colonial sovereignty over Indigenous lands; geopolitics and biopolitics are mutually dependent; governmental biopower is dependent upon sovereign geopower, and sovereign geopower depends on the health of the settler-colonial populations to continue to occupy Indigenous territories. Because of this, I argue that studies of governmentality alone, therefore, fall short of providing sufficient tools for understanding the governing of Indigeneity.

Indigeneity and Indigenous peoples are not merely subjected to forms of biopower, disciplinary and regulatory, but also the power of settler-colonial sovereignty (the right to make die; to eliminate) (Moreton-Robinson 2016; Morgenson 2011; Wolfe 2016, 2006). That said, the ability for settler-colonial apparatuses to pivot from using sovereign power to using biopower in order to govern Indigeneity, specifically through a discourse of race that recasts Indigeneity as a category of population as opposed to nationhood, has become indispensable in preserving settler-colonial sovereignty. As such, a governmentality framework, especially when its racially

inflected contours are accounted for, is indispensable for studying how power is organized within the territory of a government after settler-colonial sovereignty has taken root (Stoler 1995; Scott 1995). Finally, I finish this chapter discussing the multiscaler jurisdictional deployment of settler-colonial apparatuses, giving specific attention to municipalities as settler-colonial security apparatuses. Settler-colonial security apparatuses in the form of administrative units such as municipalities, as I demonstrate in the following chapter on mid-century Canada, were significant players in the differential governance of differently racialized populations across Canada, especially within municipal contexts.[1]

This chapter seeks to bridge an important and reoccurring gap between Indigenous Studies and settler colonial studies whereby the governing of Indigeneity is often schematically split as either a geo or biopolitical process; in actual fact, as I seek to demonstrate in this chapter and throughout this project, the governing of Indigeneity happens through both geopolitics and biopolitics simultaneously. In addition, this discussion of settler-colonial sovereignty and governmentality is also vital as the methodological basis for how I have approached the following chapters that deal with federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses and their role in

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[1] Settler-colonial security apparatuses, as I demonstrate in the following chapter on mid-century Canada, were significant players in the differential governance of differently racialized populations across Canada, especially within municipal contexts. In chapter three, settler-colonial security apparatuses also take federal and provincial forms in the specifically Manitoban context through federal-provincial programmes that were meant to fix outdated agricultural practices and policies that drove the prairie provinces into a great depression in the 1930s: the prairie required improvement. These agricultural policies implemented at the municipal level were differentially applied to white populations than they were to Metis and off-reserve Indians. In the case of Manitoba, however, the province became the central apparatus through which programmes of racialized governmentality that sought to improve the living conditions of, then considered, destitute Metis, occurred. As such, in chapter three I focus specifically on how federal, provincial, and municipal security apparatuses orchestrated themselves in such a way that used geopower to dispossess Metis communities of land specifically, and then implemented racialized biopolitical programmes of improvement to regulate Metis populations and discipline individuals in to conforming to settler-colonial social norms that I discuss in chapter two. As I demonstrate in chapter four, during the mid-twentieth century in Western Canada, these settler-colonial security apparatuses dispossessed Metis communities specifically from lands that they had established through scrip allocation or through homesteading using technologies in the form of municipal taxes and by-law enforcement. Chapter three demonstrates how diffuse the effects of municipal settler-colonial security apparatus were in Manitoba, while chapter four hones in to a specific case of this form of dispossession in Minnewaken, Manitoba where my own family, the Monkmans, as well as other Metis families, lived up until the 1950-60s when most families lost their lands through municipal taxation.

the continued dispossession of Metis land and governments' subsequent multijurisdictional governing of Metis people during the mid-twentieth century.

Thinking through the governing of Indigeneity through a series of multi-scaler set of settler-colonial security apparatuses becomes invaluable for highlighting the continuity and departures in governing strategies by different levels of government. Thus, in the chapters that follow I commit to using a governmentality framework for identifying how different levels of governments governed in general, while also considering how they governed Indigenous peoples (and Metis specifically) during the mid-twentieth century.

Foucault's Sovereignty and Governmentality: Security, Territory, Population

In this section I discuss governmentality as a methodological framework for tracking how governments govern (Dean 2010; Foucault 2009; Li 2007; Elden 2007). Foucault developed his governmentality framework using historical and geographically specific contexts (Foucault 2009; Dean 2010; Li 2007; Elden 2007). And while it is true that some may take issue with the accuracy of his historical research (Windschuttle1998; Poster 1982), such inaccuracies do not necessarily invalidate the usefulness of what Foucault was attempting to sketch out in his lectures and the little that did find itself into his official publications prior to his death. As scholars of Foucault and governmentality have noted, these lectures further supplement and provide insights that paint a clearer image of governmentality than previously could be gleaned from his official sketches in chapter 5 of *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, in the official interviews collected in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977,* edited by Colin Gordon (1980), and in the interviews collected in *Power* edited by James D. Faubion (2001). In order to understand the different ways in which Foucault understood the contours of power, we must first understand the mechanisms with which he used to measure and identify it.

The central mechanics of governmentality concern the population, its territory, and its security apparatus/government. A population is a technical instrument for identifying and grouping together a number of individuals based on a commonly shared problematic. This is not to say, however, that a population is itself considered a 'problem,' although this can be the case specifically for populations identified by race, sex, gender, dis/ability, or other categories of difference as measured against an agreed upon set of norms (Dean 2010; Foucault 2009; 1978; Gordon 1991). Populations that enjoy a dominant positioning within a society's norms become targeted by governments who may provide vital social programming in the form of healthcare, education, employment insurance, and other forms of social welfare: these are populations with problems as opposed to populations as problems. That is, not all populations are targeted and problematized equally, and, therefore, decisions on how to govern them differ drastically (Dean 2010; Foucault 2009; 1978; Li 2007). A population, according to Foucault, possess a spatial dimension which is integral to its governing (Foucault 2009; Elden 2007; Rose-Redwood 2006). Population (the people) and the territory (the place) are fused together by what Foucault referred to as the security apparatus (dispositif)/government that is responsible for providing services for its target population and ensuring its territoriality (Foucault 2009, 6; 1980; Elden 2007; Rose-Redwood 2006). Thus, when used together as a framework, the security apparatus, territory, and population produce a schematic for studying the interrelated relationship between a group of people, the place in which they reside, and how it is that a government ensures its continued vitality. A governmentality framework, however, is made an even more compelling framework for understanding the governing of Indigenous peoples by settler-colonial governments when we distinguish between governmentalized biopower and sovereign/eliminatory forms of power.

In Foucault's analyses of power there emerge three main forms: sovereign, disciplinary, and regulatory. Sovereign power, as Foucault explains in *History of Sexuality* is the right to take life; for scholars of settler colonialism such as Patrick Wolfe (2006) this becomes identified as a "logic of elimination"; for Indigenous Studies scholars such as Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2016), this becomes embodied as "patriarchal white sovereignty" as settler-colonial nation-states seek to acquire their "possession" of Indigenous lands by disregarding Indigenous sovereignties. As J. Kehaulani Kauanui (2018) notes in *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty,* sovereign power must be understood as emanating out of its European temporal-spatiality. That is, that the tactics and norms of sovereign power were a cultural import of settler-colonizers that have created limited and limiting conditions under which Indigenous peoples can assert self-determination, including through engaging in discourses of sovereignty. As such, according to Kauanui (2018), and as previously argued by Taiaiake Alfred (2008), sovereignty becomes paradoxical for Indigenous peoples' movements for self-determination as sovereignty becomes the discourse through which settler-colonial governments both deny, through such claims as doctrine of discovery (Gaudry 2016, 46), or recognize but limit insofar as Indigenous sovereignty does not threaten the integrity of settler-colonial sovereignty (Simpson 2014; Coulthard 2014). Thus, while I acknowledge that the use of sovereignty as an analytic of power for describing Indigenous political action continues to be troubled by Indigenous scholars who challenge its moorings in settler-colonial subjectivities and rationalities, this is not a challenge that I believe is helpful for describing the relations of power that emanate from the Indigenous-settler-colonial nexus.

Such a move to distance Indigeneity from sovereignty overlooks the immediacy and density of Indigeneity (Hokowhitu 2009; Andersen 2009); it is an attempt to (dis)locate Indigeneity outside of the reach of settler-colonial power, even though settler-colonialism and

Indigeneity form a co-constitutive dyad. To attempt to locate Indigeneity outside of the power of sovereignty is to believe that Indigenous nations will one day be rid of the settler-colonial societies that occupy our lands: such a belief, however, underestimates the extent to which Indigenous nations have become invested in and bounded to the broader project of settler-colonial modernity (Walter and Andersen 2013, 17-19). While perhaps a cynical view of the settler-colonial context, such a perspective forces us to re-engage in the strategies of power from which there was/or is no escape from to begin with. In this case, maintaining an analytic of sovereignty, as a form of power, becomes vital for properly diagnosing settler-colonial dispossession over time and space, and, as Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson (2014, 11-12) has convincingly argued, Indigenous sovereignties exist in "nested" forms, albeit marginalized by settler-colonial sovereignty. Therefore, in this case, in following Indigenous Studies scholars who have theorized their own intricacies of Indigenous sovereignty, as well as drawing from Foucault's own mediations on the concept, I take sovereignty as describing a form of power that is responsible for ensuring the geopolitical territory—through force if necessary— of a sovereign entity/government (Foucault 2009, 11-12; 1978, 92-94). I will be referring to this form of power throughout the dissertation interchangeably as settler-colonial sovereignty and sovereignty, recognizing that within settler-colonial nation-states all mention of sovereignty always carries with it an assertion of settler-colonial dispossession.

Regulatory and disciplinary power, referred to by Foucault as forming the continuum of biopower, differ in rationality from sovereign power in that they exist to control the conduct of subjects and populations (Dean 2010, 17-19; Gordon 1991, 2-3; Foucault 2003, 253-254; 1978); these forms of power possess a disposition of 'making life,' or, more precisely, of governing it. Disciplinary power, as Foucault discusses in *Discipline and Punish,* is deployed at the individual

level as subjectification; disciplinary power becomes applied at the level of individuals in order to correct and shape conduct to align with institutional and societal norms established in milieus of education, health, employment, and religion, for example: disciplinary power is most easily made recognizable within institutions such as hospitals, prisons, and schools where the everyday bodily conduct of individuals is (re)formed according to social norms (Dean 2010, 17; Caluya 2010 624-625; Foucault 2003; 1995). In extending Foucault, Mitchell Dean (2010, 17-19) explains that to govern is to "conduct conduct": "To conduct means to lead, to direct or to guide, and perhaps implies some sort of calculation as to how this is to be done." In this sense, an analysis of conduct takes into account "the form of self-direction appropriate to certain situations, e.g. at work and at home, in business dealings, in relation to clients or friends" (Dean 2010, 17), or, as in the case of this dissertation, in the context of municipal governance through land taxation and by-laws. Conduct, in this sense, captures at the micro level what Gordon (1991, 2-3), in extending Foucault's discussion on rationalities, explains as happening at the macro level when he discusses "governing rationalities": "A rationality of government will thus mean a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed), capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practices" (Gordon 1991, 3).

Disciplinary power, foremostly, is micro in form as it comes to live in and habituate subjects to particular norms of conduct. One of the most important ways in which disciplinary power is produced in the context of this dissertation is through geographic technologies that shape space, at the level of townships/municipalities through grid systems (Foucault 2009, 14; Elden 2007, 576; Harris 2004, 175; Blomley 2015, 600; Rose-Redwood 2006, 476-477), or on a

grander scale in pre-planned settlement strategies that were meant to increase the geographical growth of the settler-colonial nation-state (Bhandar 2018, 4-5; Harris 2004, 175; Scott 1995, 205). In this case, urban planning produced spatialized imaginaries through which the spatial behaviour of subjects is limited leading to the formation of norms such as the respecting of private ownership, neighbourliness, cleaning a sidewalk, or keeping a yard, for example (Blomley 2015; 2004; Foucault 2009; Elden 2007; Rose-Redwood 2006); disciplinary power and its technologies intervene at the level of the individual body to embody conduct.

Regulatory power, on the other hand, operates at a macro scale as governments shift from producing norms for individuals and towards producing norms for a target population; the population, for Foucault, became the main target of governmentality. At the basic level, a population could take the basic form of citizens claimed by a government and/or can also be targeted in more explicit ways such as the case with 'other' differentiated populations identified for their shared difference from a normative population through the identification of their sex (which Foucault elaborates at length upon in the fifth chapter of *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*), gender, race, class, and/or, in the case of Indigenous peoples, our Indigeneity: our attachment to each other and places prior to colonial dispossession. Governments, and by extension governmentality, exist for the purpose of governing populations. Suffice to say, disciplinary and regulatory power, as posited by Foucault, are both produced by their elemental conceptualization of a "norm" and share in producing forms of 'biopower': the power to rule life (2009; 2003, 253; 1978), instead of the sovereign power to take life: to kill.

If sovereign power is mainly used to maintain the territorial cohesion of a population and its government/security apparatus, then governmentality is a governing rationality set on ensuring the continuation of government: governmentality is an internal view of politics whereas

sovereignty is largely an external view. However, within a settler-colonial context, as I will continue to argue, sovereign power is consistently applied inward in cases where problem populations impede the improvement of populations that possess problems. While I use governmentality as a methodological framework that seeks to track the ways in which governments govern life through the political manipulation and management of social and economic life, internal to the territoriality of the emergent settler-colonial state, I also will continue to interrogate how such politics are made possible by settler-colonial sovereignty.

Foucault's understanding of territory is intimately tied to the logic of settling/settlement and with the establishment of what can be considered proto urbanity. Foucault's description of territory emerges in his lectures through his discussion of the growth of towns and the mechanisms required to maintain a 'settlement' (Foucault 2009, 12-13). Towns, especially in the northern European context, were not just haphazard spatial arrangements. Rather, as Foucault (2009, 14) argues, towns were intentionally planned using grid systems in order to render legible the territory of a government's population.[2] Key devices such as maps were integral to synthesizing knowledge about the material territory and its population into an abstracted specialized form of knowledge that could be used to inform governing. On the other hand, the conception of a territory also functioned as a mechanism through which the government collected both the authority and means through which it could secure its population through the collection of taxes and eventually the establishment of institutionalized security in the form of police. The scale of territory is a point that I will continue to return to throughout this dissertation as in the Canadian context where jurisdictions, and thus the structure of 'the town' as the

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[2] I elaborate further this point in my discussion in following chapters concerning the various federal and provincial acts that sought to securitize Indigenous lands as settler spaces, especially as expressed in its municipal form that was established through the Dominion Lands Survey in the late 1800s.

structure of the apparatus, has taken federal, provincial, and municipal form. Settler-colonial states like Canada produce multijurisdictional contexts meaning that there exist multiple governmental apparatuses and associated territories to map. As Rose (1999, 35-36) explains,

> [o]ne can trace analogous governmental histories of smaller-scale territorialization: region, cities, towns, zones, ghettos, edge cities, and so forth. And one can also think in terms about the space of enclosure that governmental thought has imagined and penetrated: schools, factories, hospitals, asylums, museums, now even shopping malls, airports and department stores. So, along this dimension of territorialization, we are concerned not merely with describing these various topoi and their delimitation and succession, but also with trying to identify the problematizations within which these particular topoi have emerged…

In other words, what becomes important to remember is that territory is a spatial device used to determine the geographic borders over which a population is imagined by its constitutive government. In the context of this dissertation, I am concerned with the territories of multiple apparatuses, from the national, to the provincial, and the municipal.

The need to provide care for a population became, for Foucault (2009; 2003; 1978), the impetus for the formation of governing security apparatuses and their associated dispositions that could then carry out the responsibilities that governments owed to their population: to maintain both the populations' health but also its territorial integrity. In his example of the town Foucault (2009) discusses the eventual establishment of police as becoming the subjects who are tasked with carrying out the goals of governmental security whether that be through the enforcement of laws and/or the use of (violent) force that may eliminate threats to the population. Within security apparatuses exist what Foucault described as "programs, rationalities, and technologies of government" (Lippert 2005, 4). The security apparatus, with its target as the population, and its material mooring in a geographic territory form an analytic for tracking the social, economic, and spatial effects of a government's governing.

When the mechanics of security, territory, and population are brought together, governmentality becomes "the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument" (Foucault 2009, 107-108). Furthermore, governmentality is a "type of power that we can call "government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (appareils) on the one hand, [and on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (saviors)" (Foucault 2009, 107-108). That is, governments/apparatuses are made possible through their technologies ability to identify and produce statistically significant information about populations in order to govern them. For example, a population must become knowable before it can become governed. At the same time, identifying and producing data about territories becomes vital for the adequate governing of a population (Elden 2007; Rose-Redwood 2006; Harris 2004).

The management of populations becomes possible through what Foucault and governmentality scholars have described as the implementation of governing rationalities, technologies, and programs (Gordon 1991; Elden 2007; Lippert 2005). In the edited collection that led to the explosion of governmentality scholarship amongst anglophone scholars, Colin Gordon (1991, 3) explains that "Foucault used the term 'rationality of government'" as a method for exploring government "as an activity or practice . . .as ways of knowing what that activity consisted in, and how it might be carried on." Rationality of government, as per Gordon's (1991, 3) reading of Foucault, is "a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed), capable of making

some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practice." The operationalization of governmental rationalities are made possible through their application via governmental technologies that take the form of social programmes.

Technologies and programmes are essential tools for realizing the goals of governing rationalities. Technologies produce programmes in order to shape the "conduct of conduct" (Dean 2010, 17; Foucault 2009, 200-202; Foucault 1978, 143-144). Technologies are devices that translate the governing rationalities, dispositions, and norms of a security apparatus into coherent social programmes that regulate the behaviour of the population or discipline the conduct of individuals. Technologies such as the census are used to gather statistical data about the population in order to then produce programs that solve problems that that population may possess (Dean 2010, 113; Curtis 2001). Technologies are largely diagnostic in that they help the apparatus know the population but also for the population to come to know itself through disciplinary subjectification. One of the central technologies specific to this dissertation that I discuss is taxation, as it becomes a localized instrument within municipal contexts to identify problem populations, populations with problems, and individuals who deviate from the norms of the responsible taxpayer or land owner: mainly a private property holder who pays their taxes in full and on time. Another technology that emerged in the mid-twentieth century, and in the postwar era in particular, was applied anthropology as anthropologists became the eyes and ears for knowing Indigenous populations such as the Metis in Manitoba. Technologies, thus, are instruments of and for governments.

Whereas technologies are largely diagnostic, programmes take the information obtained by technologies and create specialized programming to improve the conduct of populations and individuals. Programmes take the form of anything from federal food guides, state-sponsored

housing loans and mortgaging, or work/labour-training meant to maximize the contributions that individuals make towards governments through serving industries and growing economies (Dean 2010; Foucault 2009). In the context of this dissertation, I identify numerous programmes, from urban renewal to agricultural and settlement policy, amongst others. We will return to programs, rationalities, and technologies throughout the rest of the dissertation as they provide a conceptual language to capture common discourses and mechanisms found within governing apparatuses such as taxes and by-laws that form the empirical basis of chapter four where I discuss the dispossession of Metis land by the municipal apparatus at length. Security is a central governing rationality that has informed settler-colonial apparatuses.

While the birth of security apparatuses first occurred in Europe, expansive global settler-colonialism ensured their replication and reproduction around the world, from the United States (Biolsi 2018; Wolfe 2016), Australia, Brazil, Israel, Palestine, (Wolfe 2016), Indonesia (Li 2007a; 2007b), India (Scott 1995), and Zambia (Frederiksen 2014), among various others (Veracini 2010, 10; Pels 1997). This is not to say, however, that all security apparatuses are the same, but, rather, that some form of them did develop, albeit heterogeneously, over time and space, especially in settler-colonial contexts. As such, the tracking of the establishment of settler-colonial security apparatuses must be understood in their empirical terms and conditions. In following Tanya Li's (2007a, 5) challenge to governmentality studies that governmentality studies has mostly sought to extend self-referential theorizations internal to governmentality as opposed to demonstrating its multifarious expressions and applications within empirical contexts, I approach governmentality as a methodology for tracing the governing of governments by situating their tactics in empirical data. For this project, this means situating governmentality within the context of settler-colonial biopolitics and geopolitics in order to identify its specific

governing rationalities, technologies, and programmes and how those expressed themselves in Canada during the mid-twentieth century, including in racialized communities, and how those expressions led to the dispossession and governing of Metis specifically.

The important step of relinking sovereignty and governmentality is vital for better capturing settler-colonial power relations for the following reasons.[3] First, in a settler-colonial context we must reject Foucault's attempt to separate sovereign power and governmental biopower. Foucault originally developed his governmentality framework as a challenge to the framing of sovereignty as a totalizing entity, possessed by a singular ruler that dictated through violent force the power to make life and to take it (Foucault 2003; 1978). Foucault's challenge was to argue that, especially in the context of a modernizing Europe and the adoption of a Westphalian nation state-system in which the role of absolute power over life and death shifted from a sovereign king to a governing state that would then accrue its legitimacy not through the threat of violent force, but through assuring security and the practicing of care for its population (Foucault 2009; 2003; 1978).[4] In many instances throughout *Security, Territory, Population* Foucault reminds the audience that we must reject 'the state' as an all-powerful 'monster' whose intentions are to dominate its subjects; asking, instead, that we pivot from asking questions of 'who governs?' and towards 'how does one govern?' (Dean 2010; Foucault 2009; Gordon 1991).

For Foucauldian scholars and scholars of governmentality this has become the notable moment where Foucault urges us to "cut off the head of the king" as it is no longer the power of

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[3] While Laura Ann Stoler (1995) has rightfully critiqued and extended Foucault's light treatment of race and almost exclusive attention to how colonial relations have shaped modern power, my criticism is generated from a different standpoint as a Metis scholar who has largely gathered my insights on settler-colonial forms of power from the fields of Indigenous Studies and Settler Colonial studies that treat Indigeneity and settler-colonialism as relational formations that steeped in historically contingent and locally experienced iterations. In my view, the earlier terms of debate between scholars who interrogated colonialism as a cultural formation have overlooked the geopower of settler-colonialism. It is from this standpoint that I critique Foucault's governmentality framework.
[4] Foucault also outlines this same argument in chapter five of *History of Sexuality Vol. 1.*

sovereignty that governs society but a governmentality focused on creating the conditions under which the target population and its health becomes the primary concern of the security apparatus—the government (Foucault 2009; 2003; 1978). Of course, such a challenge was easy for Foucault to make as he stood as a white man in the lecture halls of College du France where there was a long history of regicide. For Indigenous peoples living in settler colonies this challenge simply does not make contextual sense: governmentality in the settler-colonial context *is* a form of (collective) sovereign power. The threat to Indigenous peoples is not the settler-colonial 'king' or 'ruler,' but the settler-colonial population that seeks to possess our lands. As such, it is neither desirable nor possible to separate the who and the how of governmentality within a settler-colonial context as settler-colonial populations are made possible by the history of settler-colonial apparatuses who have accumulated the ability to wield sovereign power to eliminate Indigenous sovereignties in order to maintain the security of the settler population's claim to territory. No matter how fast we may run, or how hard we may think, our monsters are always present; settler-colonialism is omnipresent. Who governs is intimately tied to the 'how' of governing within settler-colonial contexts. .

As many scholars of settler colonialism and Indigenous studies have noted, the contestation between Indigenous and settler sovereignties never ceases (Moreton-Robinson 2016; Kuanui 2016; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Rifkin 2011). Settler-sovereignty is the originating form of settler-colonial power that is established in order for biopower to take root. That is, in settler-colonial contexts sovereign power remains intact while regulatory and disciplinary biopowers come to be additional methods through which to govern Indigenous peoples and lands. Although sovereignty is often understood as the opposite of regulatory and disciplinary power, as settler-colonial apparatuses become further established, biopower and its norms begin to proliferate and

produce effects of sovereign power: elimination (Nichols 2020; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Morgenson 2011; Rifkin 2011; Veracini 2010). In this context two things happen: first, Indigenous peoples are incorporated as becoming possessions of the settler-colonial apparatus (Moreton-Robinson 2015; TallBear 2013); second, Indigenous peoples become reimagined and recast as (racial) populations to regulate and discipline (TallBear 2017; 2013; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Andersen 2014; 2008). Finally through this process, Indigenous sovereignties are subsumed under settler-colonial sovereignty, Indigenous territories become the property of the settler-colonial rulers (Nichols 2020; Bhandar 2018; Moreton-Robinson 2015; Coulthard 2014; Wolfe 2006).

A second recalibration of Foucault's governmentality framework acknowledges that governmentality was, foremost, tailored to a European context and certainly not a settler-colonial context (Monaghan 2013; Morgensen 2011; Pels 1997; Stoler 1995; Scott 1995). Just as Indigenous studies scholars have conceived of sovereignty as being grounded within European onto-epistemologies (Kuanui 2018; Alfred 2009), the same should be said of governmentality (Pels 1997; Stoler 1995). Furthermore, even if the structure of the town that he discusses becomes the machinery that produced the set of governmental orchestrations that eventually became reproduced in settler-colonial contexts in the form of townships or municipalities, this history is left unacknowledged by Foucault: that is, the history of governmentality as being partly produced through settler-colonial relations of power.[5] In his analysis, governmentality is truly produced in order to understand how Europe came to embrace its own (white) liberal governance (Foucault 2009). As such, if we reproach Foucault's governmentality as the governmentality of whiteness it becomes clearer that governmentality was always already a

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[5] Mbembe (2019) also charges Foucault with neglecting the ways in which colonialism helped produce and shape the conditions under which governmentality as the politics of life could be imagined. Furthermore, Mbembe (2019) argues that those politics of life further depended on the politics of death, or necropolitics, in Europe's colonies.

project of racialization and one that produced differential power relations contoured by the privileging of white subjectivities reinforced by the threat of patriarchal white sovereignty (Moreton-Robinson 2015). That is, whiteness has been *the (white) norm* through which regulatory and disciplinary power relations have been produced: all governmentality is *racial governmentality* that is reinforced by white patriarchal sovereignty (Moreton-Robinson 2015; Monaghan 2013; Morgensen 2011; Rifkin 2011).[6]

Moreover, when such empires eventually shifted from a mercantile to settler colonial form, by transplanting and then reproducing themselves on the lands of Indigenous peoples, they brought with them, also, the epistemes of governmentality that provided for them devices to establish their forms of government (Nichols 2020; Moreton-Robinson 2016; Wolfe 2016; 2006; Pels 1997; Scott 1995). In this sense, Foucault's governmentality framework, while not intentioned for the analyses of colonial relations, indeed has become vital for Indigenous studies scholars in understanding the orders and regimes through which colonial dispossession did not just occur, but how such dispossession is ongoing and "recursive" (Nichols 2020; Moreton-Robinson 2016), even if the contexts within which it finds its shape in its own particular and specific forms of expression.

Third, governmentality must be understood as a *logic of settlement.* This point becomes clearer through reading Foucault's lectures as he employs the example of how the settlement of townships in the northern European context created the conditions under which governments

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[6] Ironically, such insight should come from more recent Marxist oriented scholars who have embraced David Harvey's assertion that "all capitalism is 'racial capitalism'" (See Toews 2018 and Bhandar 2018). While I fundamentally agree with such an insight with regards to how primitive accumulation operates, and certainly adopt a similar position in my inclusion of scholars of settler colonialism, as Critical Indigenous Studies scholars have demonstrated, the issue of dispossession and colonialism operate beyond the logic of capital to fully capture Indigeneity in both its bio/geontological forms.

became necessary for the functioning of the settlement/town.[7] That is, the establishment of government, the targeting of a population, and the mapping of a territory, emanate from the desire to settle (Blomley 2015; Harris 2004). The apparatus of security and the apparatus of settlement, in the context of this dissertation and within settler-colonial contexts are synonymous in form and function. This fact will become further elaborated on below in my discussion on governing Indigeneity as settler-colonial strategies of settlement are further instrumentalized to dispossess Indigenous peoples of land.

It is important, however, to note that Foucault argues that mechanisms of governmentality exist foremost as a raison d'êtate: the reason of the state. Governmentality exists in order for a government to exist. However, while this may have held true in the European context, in settler-colonial contexts, governmentality's raison d'étate is further supplemented by a need to colonize and settle Indigenous territories, and, therefore, to materially and symbolically *deterritorialize* Indigenous peoples.

As such, what should become clear is that although Foucault's governmentality rests upon the expert coordinating between a government, its territory and population, governmentality, especially in settler-colonial contexts, also depended centrally on the de-territorialization (i.e. the dispossession) of Indigenous peoples from their lands (Nichols 2020; Coulthard 2014).[8] This process was then followed by the eventual reorganization of Indigenous peoples in to Indigenous populations that could be better managed within the space of expanding colonial regimes (Wolfe 2016; Veracini 2010; Andersen 2008) and property regimes in particular

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[7] At this point in the lectures, Foucault does not draw a distinction between these towns being urban or rural. Rather, at this point, the form of the town should be understood as nascent urbanism.

[8] For further discussion on the mechanics of these dispossessions through Marx's primitive accumulation thesis see Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin, White Masks*; For a discussion of how this thesis becomes 'recursive' see *Theft is Property* by Robert Nichols. Together Coulthard and Nichols go through great lengths to mathematically chart out what they see as theoretical logics of dispossession, however, neither greatly empiricise or demarcate the limits of their theorizations, a hurdle that I try to overcome in this dissertation.

(Bhandar 2018). Dispossession in this sense is twofold: Indigenous peoples are first dispossessed of land, and then also dispossessed of our pre-colonial systems of governance in exchange for colonial governmentalities. This point has been made clearly by Veracini (2010, 80-81) who has argued: "a *settler* colonial project is predominantly about territory. At the same time, the territorialisation of the settler community is ultimately premised on a parallel and necessary deterritorialization (i.e., the transfer) of Indigenous outsiders." Thus, while governmentality operates foremostly to produce settler-colonial populations, territories, and security apparatuses, in settler-colonies such as Canada, these mechanisms become inverted for Indigenous peoples: security becomes insecurity, territory becomes deterritorialized, and Indigenous nations become depopulated and recast as racial populations to be managed by settler-colonial apparatuses.

The forms of regulatory and disciplinary power posed by Foucault become the normative forms of power of governmentality as sovereign power becomes rearticulated through discourses of security. That is, whereas sovereign power was before the business of a ruling monarch, the responsibility to secure the population and territory—security—resulted in the development of government established police. Police are established in order to enforce norms that contribute to the proliferation of the population and are entrusted to use force, if necessary, to maintain such norms for government. However, Foucault's accounting for the police as taking on the responsibility of sovereignty in its securitized form only partially accounts for sovereignty's location within government and alongside biopower. In the settler-colonial Canadian North-West, colonial militia/police were deployed specifically for the purposes of securing Indigenous territories for the settlement of the growing settler population in instances such as the Reign of Terror or at the Battle of Batoche (Toews 2018, 44-46; Monaghan 2013; Friesen 1987, 181).

Land dispossession, however, is not necessarily a logic of governmentality as it does not conform to the goals of biopower: to make live. Rather, dispossession is a "logic of elimination" and of "patriarchal white sovereignty"; its raison d'etre is to reproduce the conditions under which a settler-colonial population and territory may proliferate to the point at which a government may distribute programmes of biopower which become naturalized and normalized. That is, the drive to establish governmentality leads to the effect of land dispossession. In this context, however, the logic of elimination is not necessarily always the biological elimination of Indigenous peoples, but rather the elimination of Indigenous sovereignty resulting in the subsequent folding in of Indigenous polities into settler-colonial racial governmentality (Wolfe 2016; 2006; Moreton-Robinson 2015; Morgensen 2011; Rifkin 2011). However, given the constant and continued growth of settler-colonial territory, any lands that may still remain as the property of Indigenous peoples, can quickly become possessed by settler-colonial governments by eliminating such property rights (Nichols 2020; Bhandar 2018; Stranger-Ross 2008; Harris 2004).

In this case, property ownership forms the norm through which Indigenous land becomes the target of settler-colonial sovereignty (Nichols 2020; Bhandar 2018; Biolsi 2018; Moreton-Robinson 2015; Coulthard 2014).[9] Indigenous land is stripped of Indigenous sovereignty and

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[9] While all of these authors discuss the 'how' of Indigenous land dispossession, each differ in specific ways. Moreton-Robinson's theorization of white possessiveness elucidates for us the intersecting rationalities of white-patriarchal-sovereignty that continues to challenge Indigenous sovereignty by transforming Indigenous land in to property to be possessed by predominately white settler men. Coulthard (2014) provides similar reasoning as Moreton-Robinson, however is much more Marxist in orientation, instead choosing to apply Marx's primitive accumulation thesis to the settler-colonial context. Nichols (2020) is concerned specifically with how dispossession is 'recursively' structured in that "'dispossession' may be coherently reconstructed to refer to a process in which new proprietary relations generated but under structural conditions that demand their simultaneous negation. In effect, the dispossessed come to 'have' something they cannot use, except by alienating it to another" (8). Like Nichols, Bhandar (2018) is concerned with how "regimes of property" emerge within settler-colonial contexts, and specifically in their racial formations in order to produce differential relationships between a dominant white settler-society, racialized populations, and Indigenous nations whose lands these regimes become the subject of. Biolsi (2018) further elaborates these dispossessions through his governmentality analysis of North Dakota, demonstrating

reimagined by colonial authorities as settler-colonial property that can then be transferred to individuals. In this way settler-colonial sovereignty is exerted in order to dispossess Indigenous people from land through the enforcement of property ownership as an established norm that possesses its own expectations of conduct; mainly that property owners have the responsibility to pay taxes (Bhandar 2018; Rutland 2018; Stranger-Ross 2008), an issue that becomes a central theme in the historical literature on mid-twentieth century Canada, and, with the case of homesteading at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, to improve their property (Carter 2016), something I return to in chapter three.

Property ownership is a hallmark of liberalism that (Bhandar 2018, 3-4; Hindess 2004, 23), while shifting in scale over time, maintains a consistent form and effect in that it has and continues to be a productive mechanism that dispossesses Indigenous peoples from land and a consistent process that can be traced in the settler-colonial western Canadian context, specifically, but also across Canada more generally. In the following chapter on mid-century Canada, I demonstrate how settler-colonial security apparatuses in municipal contexts, while dispossessing Indigenous people of land initially, also possess the role of differentially governing racialized populations, demonstrating further how governmentality is also racialized as racialized governmentality. Furthermore, as I will continue to demonstrate throughout the following chapters, in the settler-colonial context of Canada, in Manitoba, and in Minnewaken specifically, these federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses maintain the security of their territories and populations through their parallel deployment of both sovereign and governmental power.

In the mid-twentieth century, governing Indigeneity and governing race became synonymous as pre and post-colonial formations of Indigeneity are fused together with new

how early forms of spatial discipline through homesteading continue to spatialize/limit Lakota and settler lives differentially contemporarily.

racial governmental productions of it. While it is true that Indigeneity pre-settler-colonialism was already being racialized by colonizing forces to rationalize the settlement of 'savage' or uncivilized lands, racialization within the context of governmentality applies race at the level of the population as opposed to at the level of an 'external other' (Bhandar 2018, 4; Scott 1995, 196-197). That is, racialization became a feature of domestic rule as opposed to the *reason* of external settler-colonialism. While we may understand Indigeneity as an analytical tool for expressing people's pre-colonial relationship to place and each other, settler-colonial apparatuses have become formative in co-producing and complicating those relationships. Before moving on to discussing these empirical contexts of settler-colonial security apparatuses, therefore, I will first discuss how Indigenous studies and settler-colonial studies scholars have investigated how Indigeneity, in its various iterations and interpretations, has been governed.

Governing Indigeneity

As prefaced in the introduction, the study of Indigeneity—as a relationship shared between a people and the place that came to define them as a group prior to their subsequent dispossession from each other and the places that coproduced them prior to colonization—has been considered by a number of fields of scholarly inquiry in the social sciences and humanities, including anthropology, history, law, geography, sociology, and political science. It has been out of these older fields and an interdisciplinary context that Indigenous Studies and settler colonial studies have intellectually emerged. In the last couple decades, however, Indigenous Studies has grown beyond simply being an intellectual project of those concerned with the conditions of Indigeneity, having become institutionally established within universities, especially in North America, New Zealand, and Australia (Moreton-Robinson 2016; Andersen 2016). As Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2016) explains, it is out of these first world locations that scholars associated

with Critical Indigenous Studies, specifically, have emerged, having shared common experiences with empire and settler-colonialism. Specifically, these scholars have made it their goal to interrogate both how Indigeneity has been produced as a social modality (Kolopenuk 2020; Hokowhitu 2013; 2012; 2009; Andersen 2009), but also how Indigeneity has been further re/iterated by other modalities such as race, gender, sex, and class (Kolopenuk 2020; Stark and Starblanket 2018; TallBear 2017; Moreton-Robinson 2016; 2015; Andersen 2009).

While I have thus far engaged governmentality scholars, it is also my goal to bring them in to conversation with more recent Indigenous Studies and Settler Colonial Studies scholarship whose insights have been vital in understanding the governing of Indigeneity. In this section my goal is to seek to resolve the bio/geo-political epistemological schism in understanding the governing of Indigeneity that has emerged within these two fields whereby Indigeneity becomes reducible to either racialization (biopower) or settler-colonialism (geopower). The analytical schism between bio and geopolitical settler-colonial strategies has produced incredible insights regarding the governing of Indigeneity; however, given that Indigeneity is a geo-biontology (see Povinelli 2016; 2014), that is, that it coheres through its being of a place and of a people of that place, we must also approach this analytical schism with more reflexivity so as to illuminate the relationality of core facets of Indigeneity, and the settler-colonial forces that seek to displace it, as opposed to treating people and place as diametrically opposing poles. Indigeneity is not simply territory or simply a people, it is both and is bound together by their relationality.

Governmentality, as a form of power, has been taken up in Indigenous Studies scholarship to intervene in identifying how it is the bios of Indigeneity is governed through the ways in which state technologies have produced Indigeneity through racialized and sexist idioms. Although Foucault made clear the mechanisms of governmentality being security,

territory, and population, how those mechanisms take form in empirical contexts changes

drastically. Moreover, how populations become identified and then governed differs immensely

based on their social makeup, whether they are identified by a multitude of indicators such as

race, class, age, for example. Indigeneity is a social formation that has been understood, both

empirically and theoretically, through many different lenses or what Cree Indigenous studies

scholar Jessica Kolopenuk (2020, 2) has theorized as re/iterations:

> The concept of Indigeneity, in its various iterations (e.g., in Canada, legally defined
> Indianess or constitutionally-defined Aboriginality) relies on haecceities (i.e., the
> thingness of a thing) of racialized/ing-gendered/ing bio-symbols (e.g., blood quantum or
> genetic notions of "Native American DNA") that epistemologically and materially
> pervert and reorder Indigenous peoples' relations to place and each other. Modern
> knowledge production that has been formative of scientific fields has re/iterated
> Indigenous peoples, in no small measure, as not being reasoned enough to produce valid
> knowledge, to run real governments, or to own land (and our more recent inclusion into
> the category "human" has not transformed such relations).

In the context of governmentality within the Canadian settler-colonial context, security

apparatuses and the technologies used to deploy their programmes of government have been

extremely effective in producing iterations of Indigeneity for the purposes of making it a 'thing'

to be governed. Kolopenuk's (2020) theorization of iteration is extremely useful in the following

chapter that deals with governmentality and Indigeneity in the histories written about mid-

twentieth century Canada where limited and limiting iterations of Indigeneity are in abundance;

where Indigeneity mostly exists as a racial category rather than a national one. That is, mid-

century, and postwar historians specifically, have mostly tended towards either highly precise

institutional terminology such as Indian, Inuit, or Metis, or, have used overly simplified

references to a kind of homogenous Indigeneity, often replacing out-of-date words such as

Indian, Halfbreed, Aboriginal, etc., with the word "Indigenous," and, in turn further divorcing

iterations of Indigeneity from both their spatial-temporal specificity as well as reducing

Indigeneity in to a politically 'safe' referent for speaking about the Indigenous/settler-colonial relationship without necessarily substantively engaging with the "production of Indigeneity" as a nexus of knowledge-power (Hokowhitu 2013). As Kolopenuk's (2020) argument highlights, and which is especially important for thinking about the production of Indigenous history, the production of or about Indigenous epistemologies without the explicit recognition of their ontological specificity abstracts Indigeneity into a "thingness of a thing" in such a way that dispossesses Indigenous histories of their Indigeneity (Moreton-Robinson 2017).

And while Indigeneity has become re/iterated through technologies of race, gender, and class, among other durable social classificatory systems, as specific and formalized ways of understanding of Indigeneity have emerged, it too has become its own method of identification that is then used to re/produce (Indigenous) populations to socially regulate and bodies to discipline. These classifications, indeed, these iterations, help in constructing the grids of intelligibility through which Indigeneity comes to be known, both by Indigenous peoples themselves, but also by governments seeking to govern Indigenous populations and territories. First, however, it is important to understand how we might cohere Indigeneity not based on its co-iterative relationship to modernity's technologies, before moving on to how Indigeneity is then recast for governing purposes within modern contexts. Therefore, any understanding of the relationship between Indigeneity and governmentality first requires an understanding of Indigeneity and how it has been elaborated upon as a conceptual anchor point for Indigenous Studies scholars before discussing further how it is that Indigeneity is made governable. This, in my mind, is a methodological issue.

Relations of Indigeneity, as theorized in the introduction, become identified and then managed by governments through the establishment of apparatuses that materially

deterritorialize and displace Indigenous bodies and nations from space while at the same time reimagining those bodies and nations as coherent populations to govern (Wolfe 2016; Rifkin 2013; Veracini 2010; Andersen 2008). The significance of Indigenous population making cannot be understated as it has been an enduring mechanism not just in Canada but in other settler-colonial settings and interrogating the varied ways in which iterations of Indigeneity are captured as populations demonstrates how the population making process is vital for understanding the biopolitical machinery of colonialism (Biolsi 2018; Wolfe 2016; Rifkin 2013; 2011; Andersen 2008).

The production of Indigenous populations continues to be a durable biopolitical arrangement within the settler colonial governments as a mechanism for the settler securitization of colonial geopolitical regimes (Veraccini 2010, 80-81). In his monograph *Progress and Power on the Prairies,* anthropologist Thomas Bilosi (2018) applies Foucault's conceptualization of governmentality to the context of South Dakota to contrast how Indigenous lands became governable, first during the General Allotment Act of 1887 that produced cartographic representation of plots that were ready to be homesteaded by settlers, and second through the growing municipal apparatuses that began to orbit the Rosebud reservation established through the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1868 (xvi). Drawing from Foucault's description in *Security, Territory, Population* of the grid system developed in order for the apparatus to identify its territory, Biolsi (2018, 2) argues that this "spatiolegal framework of the public land grid," when then imported in to the settler colonial context of South Dakota, "disciplined settlement, Indians, and white, and …created not only the framework for private property and agrarian economic growth, but also the spatial imaginary that was part of making the nation thinkable, even if that

had not been of the goals of the Enlightenment thinkers who conceived of the public land system for settlement."

The grid system imposed during US allotment was similarly imposed by Canada in the Dominion Land Survey, a process I cover more in depth in chapter three. As settlers gained a foothold in the region, the municipal apparatuses and their citizens began chewing away at land belonging to the Rosebud reservation: "The land survey literally inscribed upon the earth—with surveyors' corner markers—a rectilinear grid of six-mile-square townships, each comprised of twenty-four square-mile sections (most allotments on Rosebud were composed of one or two quarter sections; a quarter section is 160 acres)" (Biolsi 2018, 10). More to the point, "marking and enforcing the grid constituted space as an "empty container," an imagined but also socially reliable (in the sense of people predictably respecting the boundaries) abstracted space on which new social and political projects would take place—specifically, the civilizing of Indians and the settlement of "public lands" on a twentieth-century frontier" (Biolsi 2018, 10).

Technologies of land dispossession were similarly deployed in the Canadian context. As the geographer Cole Harris has demonstrated through his accounting of settler-colonial dispossession in British Columbia in the late 1800s, "physical violence and the framework of the colonial state appear as necessary preconditions for successful settler colonialism. The impetus for such colonialism appears to be associated primarily with the interest of capital and settlers in land" (2004, 174). Following the initial act of violence, settler-colonial apparatuses then pivot towards the managing of dispossession through "disciplinary strategies associated with modern states and economies" that "have tended to simplify complex realities within narrow fields of legibility" (Harris 2004, 174). Harris (2004) identifies maps, numbers/numbering, and law as geographical technologies used to produce and implement programmes of settler-colonization

that dispossessed Indigenous peoples of land. As such, the "management of the dispossession of the colonized of their land rested with a set of disciplinary technologies of which maps, numbers, and law were perhaps the most important" (Harris 2004, 179): governmentality was and continues to be instrumental for settler-colonial apparatuses as they continue to maintain settler-colonial territoriality.

The deterritorialization of Indigenous peoples is significantly informed by heteropatriarchy. While Biolsi (2018) and Harris (2004) have articulated well the ways in which Indigenous territories became governable, Kim TallBear (2017, 145) has focused more specifically on how heterosexual monogamous social relations possessed by the settler population "propped up" the deterritorialization of Indigeneity. As Kim TallBear (2017, 145-145) has asserted settler-colonialism in the US context is integrally produced by its "Christian moral arguments coupled with state structural enforcements —the linking of marriage to property rights and notions of good citizenship." That is: "Growing the white population through biologically reproductive heterosexual marriage—in addition to encouraging immigration from some places and not others—was crucial to settler-colonial nation building (TallBear 2017, 146). Furthermore, as I will return to in chapter three, homesteading, as historian Sarah Carter (2008) has documented in the Canadian west, in fact, encouraged heterosexual monogamy as a regime for ensuring that settling men would settle down on their homesteads: marriage was seen as a social structure that would secure the longevity of settlement.

In Canada, scholars have been cognizant of and troubled the production of Indigenous population making over the past two decades (Andersen 2014a; 2008; Mawani 2010; Lawrence 2003). In "From Nation to Population: the racialization of 'Metis' in the Canadian census," Andersen (2008) outlines exactly how it is that the creation of a 'Metis' population within the

Canadian census contributes to the ongoing dispossession of the Metis Nation by degrading the nation into a population recognized for its racial-mixedness. In this case, the Indigeneity of Metis is re/iterated racially; based not on Indigenous relationality, but on racial relationality. As Andersen (2007, 362) argues, "[r]ace's symbolic capital is so elementally powerful that it effectively 'always/already' marginalizes alternative expressions and manifestations of indigenous collectivity, like that of the Métis Nation." More recent productions of Métis racialization have been produced within recent censuses in a rather "discursive" fashion where "'Métis' is neither a nation nor a culture but rather, is tantamount to a polite, characteristically Canadian administrative categorization for indigenous individuals for whom Indian and Northern Affairs Canada refuses to claim responsibility" (Andersen 2008, 362). The production of a Metis population, however, has not only occurred in more recent decades and in chapter three, my chapter on the governing of Metis in postwar Manitoba, I bring Andersen's analysis to bear upon this context where Metis were becoming known as a population at the provincial level, as demonstrated in Jean Legassé's 1959 government report, as well as municipally in terms of becoming included or excluded from the population governed by the Rural Municipality of Coldwell in chapter 4; trite positionings that led to the further incorporating of the Metis Nation in to the machinery of the settler-colonial provincial apparatus, and which led to the eventual dispossession of land from Metis living in the RM of Coldwell.

The governing of Indigeneity in Canada, however, has mainly been distilled through a lens of race and racialization. That is, Indigeneity has been in many cases identified by technological lenses possessed by security apparatuses, such as the census, as a way to classify Indigenous peoples as racial populations or communities as opposed to identified through their existence as their own distinct polities, or nations; a point that Chris Andersen (2014a) has

eloquently discussed in his monograph *'Metis.'* Some scholars who have applied Foucault's

mechanism of population to the Canadian context have done so in such a way where, although

challenging the racial domination imparted by governmental technologies, have also depended

on racialization in order to cohere Indigeneity within their respective research contexts. For

example, in Renisa Mawani's (2009) detailed book *Colonial Proximities,* concerned with

describing early colonial relations in British Colombia between 1871-1921, the author settles on

using state produced references found in archives that iterate Indigeneity through the language of

half-breeds, Indians, and racial castes used by the early colonial administration to identify

Indigenous persons. These re/iterations, as Mawani (2009) demonstrates, fused with the

technology of law in such a way that led to the differential governing of 'other' subjects within

the colonial regime (Mawani 2009, 20). Mawani (2009, 20) identifies her goal as,

> chart[ing] out the numerous distinctions that colonial administrators inserted and drew
> between aboriginal, European, Chinese, and mixed-race populations. These
> differences...produced a multiplicity of uneven and inconsistent knowledges of racial
> difference and informed a shifting hierarchy of races. This racial order was not merely
> aimed at distinguishing and dividing non-Europeans from Europeans, thus demonstrating
> the latter's superiority, but was also deeply rooted in colonial preoccupations with the
> putative racial similarities and distinctions between aboriginal peoples, mixed-race
> populations, and migrants from China. Colonial agents routinely differentiated between
> these racial populations as a way to determine whose presence could be tolerated in the
> settler regime; which populations could live without compromising the (European)
> masses, and which were too dangerous and thus expendable.

Although constrained by what was archivally accessible, Mawani's (2009) monograph charts out

in incredible detail how colonial governments both recorded and implemented their racial

taxonomies, and, how such knowledge became integral to the differential governance of distinct

(albeit constructed) populations within the early British Colombia colony. Furthermore,

Mawani's (2009) sound empirical accounting in *Colonial Proximities* demonstrates the

usefulness of Kolopenuk's (2020) theorizing of re/iterations of Indigeneity for the historical context, demonstrating how iterations are produced for the purpose of governing Indigeneity.

Settler-colonial heteropatriarchy has been deployed both as a classificatory device used to sort individuals, but also as a disciplinary set of norms to conduct the conduct of Indigenous subjects (TallBear 2017; Morgensen 2015; Rifkin 2011). As Indigenous studies scholars such as Brendan Hokowhitu (2015; 2012; 2009) have demonstrated, settler-colonial norms of gender and sexuality have been integral in disciplining Indigenous subjects into investing in settler-colonial patriarchal subjectivities through naturalizing ideas of male superiority and relations of patriarchal domination. As such, settler-colonial patriarchal norms form but one example through which Indigenous men have become invested in the production of thinly veiled forms of 'traditional' masculinities that reinforce and mimic settler-colonial heterosexual patriarchal norms in the name of 'decolonization' or 'liberation' (Hokowhitu 2012). Furthermore, Scott Morgenson (2015) genealogizes how heterosexual settler-colonial masculinities were relationally produced through their will to colonize Indigenous land, and, in turn, once established, came to discipline Indigenous bodies with settler-colonial disciplinary norms that naturalized patriarchal domination over women, children, and land through an axiomatic system of liberalism that placed the highest value on private property, individualism, and freedom. The settler-colonial man with his 'natural' right to embark on a journey of homesteading, was a significant subejectivity that helped in reshaping places like the Canadian West as the settler-colonial nation state sought expansion into Indigenous territories (Carter 2008; Monaghan 2013; Morgensen 2011). A settler-colonial patriarchal subjectivity, however, became a desirable standpoint to inhabit as it brought with it the privileges of private property and citizenship within the settler-colonial nation-state.

In Canada Indigeneity has been and continues to be governed by the *Indian* Act. In her book *'Real' Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* Mi'kmaq scholar Bonita Lawrence adopts Foucault's analysis from *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* in order to catalogue how Indigeneity has, over the better part of the last two centuries, been cast as a racial discourse animated by the language of "Indianess" generated by the *Indian Act*: "Colonial legislation governing Indianness is seen as a discourse, in something of the sense that Foucault used the term—as a way of seeing life that is produced and reproduced by various rules, systems, and procedures, creating an entire conceptual territory on which knowledge is formed and produced" (Lawrence 2004, 25). Moreover, the Indian Act provides a "discourse of classification and regulation, which has produced the subjects it purports to control, and which has therefore indelibly ordered how Native people think of things "Indian" (Lawrence 2004, 25). In line with Mawani (2009), Andersen (2008), Hokowhitu (2013) and Kolopenuk (2020), Lawrence (2004) provides perhaps the most dominant way in which Indigeneity is re/iterated in Canada, as Indianness, in order to become governed by the federal apparatus and its various institutions for conducting the conduct of 'Indian' life. Whereas Andersen (2008) demonstrates how the census, as a technology, has produced racial iterations of Indigeneity, Lawrence's (2004) focus is on how the Indian Act, for the last century and a half, has been a technology that has been concerned with regulating Indigeneity for the purposes of governing it.

Looking to international examples of the governing of Indigeneity, however, provides further clarity to the (dis)uniformities of settler-colonialism in producing Indigeneity as a racial iteration (Wolfe 2016) even if in national contexts such as Canada we attempt to resist the racialization of Indigeneity: we still remain bound to it. While discussions of Indigeneity have

mainly been made in a cultural register within Indigenous Studies (Moreton-Robinson 2016b, 11-112), race, unlike culture, does much more for investigating relations of domination. Indigeneity, as Andersen (2008) has already remarked is "always already" racialized, whereas culture has more often been deployed as a kind of depoliticized form of knowledge-production where Indigeneity must prove its worth through its ability to appear exceptional and different to dominant white legibility. As I will elaborate further in the following chapter, within the context of postwar Canada, as has been noted by sociologist Richard Day (2000), state institutions concerned with governing the other, in this case immigration, shifted from using discourses of race to discuss those wishing to immigrate towards a discourse of culture, in turn depoliticizing the issue of racial classification through liberal accommodation. I also return to this point in chapter three in my discussion of Jean Legassé's report as he makes the same rhetorical pivot from race to culture. Ironically, Legassé's report on Metis and Indian populations in Manitoba was imagined as a way for him to prove his worth at the provincial level so as to gain a position federally in the department of immigration. I make these points here as it is important to acknowledge that the pivot from race to culture is as empirically grounded in the postwar era as it is theoretically produced by scholars concerned with the production of Indigeneity.

The cultural difference of Indigeneity has often been used as the basis for the racial reclassification, or 're/iteration' of Indigeneity as a governable object. For example, theoretically Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2016) in her chapter "Race and Cultural Entrapment: Critical Indigenous Studies in the Twenty-First Century," of her edited collection *Critical Indigenous Studies* has noted that Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) scholars have often depended too much on analyses that centre cultural difference as grounds for challenging colonial power-knowledge nexuses. Moreover, Moreton-Robinson (2016) argues that centering

knowledge about the difference of Indigeneity has often become rearticulated by settler-colonial apparatuses to govern Indigeneity. Such a charge is further supported by Chris Andersen's (2009) earlier plea with the field of Indigenous Studies to shift from analyses of Indigenous difference, and towards Indigenous density. Density, Andersen (2009) argues, is an orientation that considers the various ways in which whiteness, including settler-colonialism, as produced through expanding modernities, has been produced similarly for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, but experienced differently based on the fact that Indigenous people tend to hold differing positionalities within different forces of categorization, whether those be racial, gendered, or economic in form. Indigenous cultural difference may exist, and it is important, however, these differences are just as subject to the power-knowledge relationship as are classificatory/classifying systems of modernity such as race, class, or sex/gender.

Therefore, Andersen (2009) pushes us to recognize that 'culture' or cultural difference is not enough; that we must also develop expertise in other areas, especially in analogous areas that have the power to shape our everyday experiences. Given the extent to which Indigenous peoples are produced and then cohered both empirically and theoretically through racial grids, racialization is not something as easily wished away as cultural determinists might hope. By this, I do not mean to assert that racial domination is an inevitability; however, to not at least recognize that it is partially how we are made sense of, and, how we make sense of ourselves, would be to misrecognize the symbolic power of governments, whether they be federal, provincial, or municipal, to make us legible as such (Andersen 2014). Indigeneity, within this context is proven to be a 'possessable' object of settler-colonial governance.

Settler-colonial governmentality is informed by what Aileen Moreton-Robinson has theorized as *white possessiveness*. The consistent and continued labour that it takes to

deterretorialize Indigenous polities and turn them into populations to regulate in order to possess

land for the settler territorialization of settler apparatuses rely on what Aileen Moreton-Robinson

(2016 xi-xii) identifies as the "possessive logics of patriarchal white sovereignty":

> I use the concept "possessive logics" to denote a mode of rationalization, rather than a set of positions that produce a more or less inevitable answer, that is underpinned by an excessive desire to invest in reproducing and reaffirming the nation-state's ownership, control, and domination. As such, white possessive logics are operationalized within discourses to circulate sets of meanings about ownership of the nation, as part of commonsense knowledge, decision making, and socially produced conventions.

To return to Foucault's notion of the apparatus, Moreton-Robinson's theorization of white

possessiveness should, in the context of this study, be understood as a sophisticated

understanding of how Critical Indigenous Studies scholars, like Moreton-Robinson, understand

the purpose and the disposition of settler colonial apparatuses: white possessiveness is and has

been a disposition that has guided the governance of Indigeneity by deterritorializing Indigenous

peoples physically from land, and then imagining their bodies as possessive populations to be

governed by settler colonial apparatuses. At the same time, and as I will demonstrate throughout

this dissertation, a white possessive disposition shared by and between multiscaler apparatuses of

settler colonial control operated for the purpose of ensuring that white settlers could possess,

territorialize, and establish themselves on Metis lands in Manitoba. In this way white

possessiveness is a form of settler securitization for the benefit of the settler population.

White possessiveness provides conceptual language that describes an embodied

disposition and is methodologically important in the context of the dispossession of Metis lands

in the RM of Coldwell as this dispossession occurred directly through the governmental

mechanisms deployed by the municipal apparatus and its council who are identified in archival

documents. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in chapter four in my analysis of the minutes, by-laws,

and tax rolls of the RM of Coldwell between the 1940s and 1950s, this white possessive

disposition informed not just the physical makeup of the municipal council, but also had racial

outcomes in that it was dominantly Metis who were being dispossessed. Thus, the white

possessive in this context is both dispositif (apparatus) and its dispositions. Moreover, the

rendering of a white possessive dispositif was formative for the differential governing of the

municipality's Metis population and their eventual deterritorialization through taxation that made

the Metis community of Minnewaken increasingly experience land insecurity. Land insecurity

that would move at such a rate that the governing apparatus eventually *depopulated* Metis from

the Minnewaken area.

     The effect of settler colonial governmentality and the materialization of the white

possession is dispossession. In dialogue with Indigenous Studies scholars, settler scholar Rob

Nichol's (2020, 5) has theorized dispossession as:

> At the most general and abstract level, in the intellectual and political field with which we are most concerned here, dispossession is typically used to denote the fact that in large sections of the globe, Indigenous peoples have not only been subjugated and oppressed by imperial elites; they have also been divested of their lands, that is, the territorial foundations of their societies, which have in turn become the territorial foundations for the creation of new, European-style, settler colonial societies. So dispossession is thought of as a broad macrohistorical process related to the specific territorial acquisition logic of settler colonization. As a result, within these parts of the world, Indigenous scholars such as Glen Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene) and Audra Simpson (Kahnawà: ke Mohawk) frequently define their peoples' experience of colonialism as simply a "form of structured dispossession."

Colonization, according to Nichols and the Indigenous scholars that he cites, should be

understood mainly through its effect: the dispossession of land, or, what I am referring to in this

dissertation as deterritorialization. Nichols (2020), in drawing from Coulthard's (2014)

importation of Marx's thesis on primitive accumulation to demonstrate how both the generation

of private property and the formation of a labouring class structure is predicated on the initial

violence of the original theft of Indigenous lands, retheorizes this insight through what he terms

"recursive dispossession," or "property generating theft." Nichols (2020, 9) seeks to explain the process through which colonial property regimes are produced and then operate through a kind of stadial logic of dispossession, from "transference, transformation, and retroactive attribution." For Nichols (2020) this means that land is transferred from being of Indigenous sovereignty to becoming the possession of settler sovereignty which is then 'transformed' into settler-colonial forms of intelligibility (e.g., private property) and then retroactively acknowledged as the former possession of Indigenous nations. In other words, both settler and Indigenous nations know that the colonized land is Indigenous land; however, the sovereignty of the settler-colonial apparatus requires the "recursive dispossession" of Indigenous territories in order to secure its population in order to maintain its purpose as an apparatus. The issue here, however, becomes that Nichols (2020), like Coulthard (2014), has tethered dispossession exclusively to the loss of territory, but has failed to include the dispossession of polity and/or life. While I acknowledge that land and place are inexorably tied to Indigenous life worlds, Indigeneity is also as constitutive of a people's relationship to each other as to the place that produced them. As I have already discussed through the work of Critical Indigenous Studies scholars, the governing of Indigeneity involves much more than the deterritorialization of Indigenous peoples, it also requires the subsequent social production of re/iterations of Indigeneity in order to keep Indigeneity at bay.

Settler-colonial apparatuses require the parallel deployment of biopower and geopower and Nichols' (2020) focus on geopower convincingly illuminates the stark distinction between reductive and expansive approaches to studying settler-colonialism: reductive approaches attempt to capture and retheorize the core essences of settler-colonialism whereas expansive approaches have tended to expand understandings of settler-colonialism's multifaceted and multiplying expressions and effects, especially through empirical rigour. That said, Nichols

(2020) should have at least acknowledged that while "recursive dispossession" may be central to settler-colonialism, settler-colonialism is more than a one trick pony, as Critical Indigenous Studies scholars have noted, it is highly productive, and relies heavily on this productivity in order to govern Indigeneity sufficiently to the point that it might maintain its possessive hold over Indigenous lands (Kolopenuk 2020; Hokowhitu 2013; Moreton-Robinson 2016; Mawani 2009; Andersen 2008).

As such, my methodological imperative in this project is to impart the insights of Critical Indigenous Studies scholarship into my reading of mid-twentieth century and postwar Canadian history while also deploying these insights in interpreting the empirical data that I have collected that concerns the governing of Metis, first in Manitoba, as is the case in chapter three, and later in chapter four in Minnewaken by the Rural Municipality of Coldwell as it acted as a settler-colonial apparatus that ensured the differential securitizing of its settler population from its Indigenous population by imparting by-laws and taxation in ways that privileged settler residents and dispossessed Metis residents.

To summarize: governmentality and its mechanisms of population, territory, and security, in the Canadian settler-colonial context need to be understood as providing the dispossessive inversions—as much as their productive perversions— of their purposes posed by Foucault. First, and has been already articulated above, the recasting of Indigenous peoples as populations dispossesses Indigenous peoples as sovereign political units in order to reproduce them as a governable population within the liberal governing framework of Canada. Second, by reconfiguring Indigenous peoples as populations, governments in Canada also strip, and therefore, dispossess them of their Indigenous territoriality thereby deterritorializing Indigeneity and replacing it with settler territoriality; in Canada settler-territoriality takes federal, provincial,

and municipal forms. Finally, when governmentality is working well for the settler population, it often means that their security is dependent on the *insecurity* of Indigenous people and their communities. While this last inversion is dependent on its situatedness within its own spatial context, in the chapters that follow I will focus mainly on how settler security apparatuses found in the form of municipalities dispossessed Metis, and other racialized populations, from land and thereby rendering the settler population as land secure while making Metis land, and other racialized populations, insecure. To be clear, as I demonstrate in the following chapter, settler municipal apparatuses used similar methods for governing other racialized populations across Canada as they did in Manitoba and in Minnewaken (Loo 2019; Parr 2009; Toews 2018). Deterritorialization and the turning of Indigenous nations in to populations are both significant processes that dispossess Indigenous people of their connections to place and to each other that results in the subjectification of an Indigenous citizen who divests in the places that make them Indigenous while simultaneously having them invest their sense of Indigeneity into the settler's territory, becoming part of the settler's population and supportive of settler colonial security apparatuses. In the chapter that follows I turn to postwar Canadian history in order to identify the iterations of Indigeneity that were being produced by government.

Conclusion:

While governmentality literature, and to some extent Indigenous Studies literature, outlines how we might understand the internal governing of Indigeneity as a biopolitical target, this is often done without also accounting for the ways in which biopower is dependent upon settler-colonial geopower. Given that Indigeneity is in essence a bio-geontology, analyses of how Indigeneity becomes governed requires we consider both governmental and sovereign forms of power. In the second section of this chapter I drew from Indigenous Studies and settler colonial

studies scholars in order to illuminate how various scholars have considered studying the governing of Indigeneity. Finally, by demonstrating how a governmentality framework, if put in to conversation with Indigenous Studies and settler colonial studies scholarship, provides a set of important methodological tools for reassembling and articulating power relations between federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses and Metis living in Manitoba during the mid-twentieth century. That is, drawing from three specific literatures, governmentality studies, settler colonial studies, and critical indigenous studies in order to delineate how Indigenous peoples' Indigeneity becomes identified, targeted, and then either physically eliminated through physically violent assertions of settler-colonial sovereignty, or, eliminated through incorporation into the settler-colonial citizenry only to be rearticulated as indigenous "iterations" often in the form of populations to be governed through settler-colonial governmentality; a governmentality informed by racializing, gendered, and classed relations.

In the next chapter I extend the theoretical scaffolding that I have developed here in order to understand how sovereign and governmental power were normalized and their technologies applied specifically at the municipal level within the context of postwar Canada and its continually emergent "liberal order" (McKay 2000). In the chapter that follows, it becomes clear that governmentality takes on a particularly racialized tenor that produced eliminatory effects which disproportionately displaced and dispossessed racialized populations in favour of 'urban renewal.' Moreover, the next chapter will demonstrate how Indigeneity specifically becomes re/iterated racially for the purpose of settler-colonial governmentality.

Chapter 2: Mid-Twentieth Century Canada's Racializing Liberal Order: Technologies and Municipal Apparatuses

Introduction:

In the previous chapter I provided a methodological framework that integrated Foucault's governmentality framework with theoretical insights developed by Critical Indigenous Studies scholars and other scholars who have engaged with Indigeneity as a produced and contested form of sociality. Indigeneity, as normatively theorized as politically staking the co-constitutive relationships between a pre-colonial people with the place that produced them as a people, became a set of relations to be governed by settler-colonial governments as they established themselves on Indigenous territories.[10] This chapter builds from the previous chapter by demonstrating how Indigeneity, but also racial 'others', came to be governed in the early part of the twentieth century in Canada in order to establish the prevailing governing rationalities and dispositions that normalized Metis land dispossession by municipal governments that started during the 1930s great depression and lasted until at least the early 1970s.

Canadian postwar historians have done well to document the ways in which federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses have governed populations in Canada, whether they be the dominant settler population or racialized populations (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; Jones-Imhotep and Adcock 2018; McKay 2000). Indigeneity, as a set of governable relations, can be found in postwar Canadian history most prominently in its re/iterative form as 'Indian.'[11] That is to say

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[10] I use pre-colonial as opposed to precontact here as Indigenous societies were not immediately subsumed by settler-colonialism, and, some Indigenous societies, including the Metis, formed following contact as global economies came to transform trade and migration in North America. See Anderen (2014a, 15-16) for further discussion on pre-post contact Indigeneity.

[11] For discussion on the history of the *Indian Act* and its more contemporary applications see Lawrence 2004 and Palmater 2011.

that the governing of Indigeneity, has mostly been traced as being generated from the federal

government's department of Indian Affairs.[12] Most notably, this governance has been

documented by those interested in the effects of the Indian Act as well as differential institutions

that were created to govern status Indian lives in the form of hospitals, work programs,

residential schools, and child and family services, among other areas of 'welfare' (McCallum

2017; 2014; Stevenson 2015; Logan 2015; Lux 2016; 2010). More to the point, the governing of

Indigeneity within the postwar context has mostly been identified in official "programs" meant

to improve status Indian subjects;[13] improvements that were rationalized by a broader "liberal

order framework" that assumed such improvements from a position of supposed benevolence

(McKay 2000; Loo 2019).

Liberal governing rationalities to improve 'others' through health, education, labour, and

cultural programmes within Canada spanned federal, provincial, and municipal jurisdictions.[14] In

this chapter, my goal is to focus specifically on the particular rationalities, technologies, and

programs delivered by municipalities in the postwar era. While themselves dependent upon the

federal government's own desires to improve their functionality, municipalities posed a

specifically localized iteration of governing apparatuses that, although core to delivering security

to residents, possessed their own distinct programs in the form of public health campaigns and

infrastructural improvements, and, technologies in the form of taxation and by-laws (Loo 2019;

Rutland 2018; Peters, Stock and Werner 2018; Parr 2010), that were distilled through

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[12] The department that deals with Indigenous Peoples, and Status-Indians specifically has been reorganized numerous times over the last century and a half having gone through numerous name changes, from Indian Affairs, to Aboriginal and Northern Affairs, to its current iteration as being split along service/Crown relation lines. For the sake of simplicity I use Indian affairs here as historically it has primarily sought to deal with those who possess Indian Status granted by the *Indian Act* (See Palmater 2011 and Lawrence 2004 for discussions on administrative history and contemporary realities of the *Indian Act*).

[14] For a discussion on 'improvement' as a governing disciplinary rationality see Tania Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the practice of Politics,* Durham: Duke Univeristy Press, 2007.

rationalities that were informed, on the one hand, by their specific locale, and on the other hand shaped by the permeance of liberal values of individualism, the ownership of private property, and freedom from governmental interference (Hindess 2004). This chapter is meant to bring to the surface how municipal apparatuses in Canada governed their residents during the postwar era as a way to situate chapters three and four that narrow in to the specific ways in which municipalities were propped up by federal-provincial assistance. I discuss Manitoba in particular during the mid-twentieth century in chapter three and then move on to demonstrate how such assistance normalized the dispossessive technologies of taxation and by-laws that in turn dispossessed Metis families living in the Rural Municipality of Coldwell in chapter four. That is, provincial-federal strategies of governmentality normalized municipal actors to value and privilege the tax-paying landowner over Metis residents who had lived in Minnewaken before the settler-colonial establishment of the Rural Municipality. As such, what happened in Minnewaken produced similar differential racialized effects found provincially, and in other regions nationally. In the subsequent chapter I pivot from the question of 'how did municipalities across Canada govern?' towards 'how did Manitoba govern, and how were Metis living in Manitoba, specifically, governed?' This chapter, however, seeks to tease out how postwar Canadian historians have documented the governing rationalities that normalized the elimination of racialized populations by municipalities so as to demonstrate that the dispossession experienced by Metis families in Minnewaken was part of a larger feature of mid-twentieth century Canadian racial governmentality designed to make more space for dominant (white) settler populations.

Governing in Canada has always been a highly regionalized activity and attempting to assert the existence of a uniform method for governing belies the complex relationships between

the federal government and the provinces; these relationships have only become more entrenched over time—the postwar era in Canada certainly built off of the provincialism of governments past (Ananaskis 2018; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1981]; McKay 2000, 621-622). Even more, municipalities—or as I will refer to them, municipal apparatuses—possessed their own dispositions and arrangements for how to care for their own local populations and territory. More recent scholars writing on the governance of and by municipalities during the postwar period in Canada have illuminated how technologies in the form of by-laws and taxation have been used to implement programmes meant to address the threats posed by problems identified in public health, sanitation, child welfare, education, housing safety, and the productive use of space within the territory of the municipality (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; Toews 2020; 2018; Parr 2009; Langford 2016). Municipal apparatuses during the postwar era possessed the ability to govern their residential populations with a level of specificity and immediacy that federal and provincial programmes generally struggled with, programs that were often met with resistance from residents of municipalities (Loo 2019; Parr 2009). As Tina Loo (2019) and Joy Parr (2009) outline in their respective monographs that each include case studies from across the country, municipalities often became central to mounting resistance to federal and provincial development plans, while on the other hand also serving as important advocates for the improvement of citizens' lives through the building of localized infrastructure. Settler-colonial settlement and endurance depend(ed/s) on the everyday governing and services that municipalities provide. Moreover, municipalities of the postwar era in Canada as documented by historians demonstrate that these apparatuses shared common governing rationalities that informed their practices, especially when that governing concerned what they would identify as racial populations (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018).

In the first part of this chapter I engage with Ian McKay's "liberal order framework" to capture instances of postwar governing dispositions shared across Canadian society before moving on to their manifestation in municipalities specifically. A point of clarity found within postwar history in Canada is the extent to which racialization was an extremely durable and useful method for governing, both in its productive form in securitizing the dominant white settler population and in its dispossessive form in the management of Black people, people of colour, and Indigenous people. As such, in this chapter I bring McKay's (2000) framework into conversation with insights gleaned from Critical Indigenous Studies scholars discussed in the previous chapter as a significant way in which Indigeneity is rendered governable. In doing so, I situate the governing of Indigenous and settler-colonial populations in to the mid-twentieth century context in order further explain how liberal order governance was taken up by multiple levels of government, including at the municipal level, which included places like Minnewaken, but are not exclusive to them. Importantly, this section, in following Andersen's (2009) appeal for a dense Indigenous Studies, is meant to chart out how settler-colonial technologies of education, employment, health, and immigration—to wit, what has become popularly known as the welfare state (Dean 2010, 28-30), form a settler-colonial apparatus that reinforced norms of white possessiveness. Furthermore, in analyzing the differential application of these shared technologies between settler-colonial and Indigenous populations, I argue, further clarity emerges in distinguishing how governmentality becomes both a racialized and racializing formation.[15]

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[15] Other approaches to tracking the governing of Indigeneity through racial governmentality in the postwar could take a more unifying approach that considers the 'welfare state' as a container for putting together the various technologies that I have charted out here. I have chosen a governmentality approach here that uses the language of technologies, rationalities, and programs as I find they bring more analytical clarity for illuminating how a settler-colonial population is normalized in to taking for granted the hallmarks of liberal governing rationalities, individualism, freedom, and private property that contributes to the instillation and continuation of white

In the next section I discuss examples of how municipal officials became empowered to dispossess, informed by a white possessive disposition that informed their use of the technology of population to racialize segments of their residents that, once targeted, became subjected to governing by local municipal apparatuses and their programmes, procedures, by-laws, and taxation. Racial governmentality sought to manage Black (Rutland 2018), people of colour (Loo 2019; 2010), and Indigenous residents who had also become racialized through many racialized iterations produced by all levels of Canadian government through racial discourses of "Indianness," "Metis," or "Native" (Kolopenuk 2020; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018; Andersen 2014; 2008; Mawani 2010; Lawrence 2004).

Finally, I finish this chapter by arguing that a white possessive governing rationality coalesced to inform the ways in which municipalities came to produce and then govern their racialized populations, which Indigenous peoples were folded into. In this way, municipalities became governors of Indigeneity through their own transformation of Indigeneity into a racial categorization through the deployment of the population as a technology of governance. What is more, although racial governmentality sought to correct the everyday conduct of racialized 'problem' populations to conform to white norms of socialization, when racialized populations failed to live up to such standards, municipal apparatuses shifted from deploying governmental power towards asserting sovereign power to eliminate problem populations through displacement and relocation policies (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018). Charting out this distinction between how racial governmentality and sovereignty is located in the localized form of municipalities in postwar Canada sets the stage for explaining how such governing,

(dis)possession of Indigenous peoples and lands. That is, I have tried, in following Foucault, to decentre 'the state' as an analytical shorthand so as to emphasize apparatuses that are the sum of coalescing technologies, rationalities, and programs that have as their goal the security, foremostly, of the settler-colonial population.

while sharing similarities in their white possessive and racialized dispositions, produced different effects in specific localities, a case I will demonstrate in the following two chapters.

The Liberal Order of Postwar Canada

Although first written in 2000, Ian McKay's (2000) seminal essay "The Liberal Order Framework" has only recently gained explicit traction amongst postwar historians of Canada (Loo 2019; Langford 2016). Historians over the past two decades have, however, tracked liberal programs, technologies, and rationalities, even if not unified or brought into direct dialogue to mount a broader discussion on postwar liberal racial governmentality. As such, I bring these mostly disparate tracings together here in order to illustrate how they contributed to the formation of a racial governmental apparatus during the mid-twentieth century. That is, even if governmentality has only recently been explicitly theorized and employed within postwar Canadian history, its mechanisms do continually reappear within the literature (McKay 2000, 619-620). In McKay's words, the mission that Canadian historians must take up is one of "reconnaissance" that reconsiders Canada's "implantation and expansion over a heterogeneous terrain of a certain politico-economic logic—to wit, liberalism. A strategy of 'reconnaissance' will study those at the core of this project who articulated its values, and those 'insiders' or 'outsiders' who resisted and, to some extent at least, reshaped it" (2000, 621). And, further to McKay's (2000) point, "to imagine 'Canada' simultaneously as an extensive projection of liberal rule across a large territory and an intensive process of subjectification, whereby liberal assumptions are internalized and normalized within the dominion's subjects" (623). McKay's thesis here is useful for not only tracking the liberal rationalities of municipal apparatuses, mainly as collections of technologies that ensures the prosperity, property, and freedom of individual liberal subjects and populations, but also for tracking how such rationalities

differentially governed racialized populations (and subjects), including, how such populations

and subjects—in the case of this dissertation the Metis—became invested in those very

rationalities that would normalize their own land dispossession amongst the broader Canadian

society. That is, in places like Rooster Town, Ste Madeleine, or Minnewaken, among others,

those who failed to pay their property taxes were thought undeserving of land ownership or

space within the territoriality of the municipality and their presence was to be eliminated for

more deserving (white) subjects.

While earlier scholars of Canadian postwar history have certainly tended to address the

ways in which the Canadian state has governed its population, and by extension sub-populations,

through measures that ensured the health and security of said populations (see Curtis 2001 for an

excellent discussion on the production of Canadian populations historically), such accounting has

often failed to highlight the broader power relations of domination that a governmentality

approach may illuminate with regards to the different ways in which racial/different populations

are governed. In essence, postwar Canadian history has done well to document the techniques,

programmes, and rationalizations of governmentality without necessarily stating it as such. Part

of the problem may be, as McKay (2000, 620) notes, that many historians "have proved to be

remarkably resistant even to referring to the work of differently situated scholars on topics very

close to their own." As such, my goal here will be to bring histories of postwar Canada into

conversation with the Indigenous studies, settler-colonial studies, and governmentality

scholarship discussed in the previous chapter as a way for reconceiving the ways in which

Indigeneity was governed in the postwar Canadian context. I achieve demonstrating how

historians of mid-twentieth century have identified key technologies, including education, health,

immigration, employment, and infrastructural improvements through taxation, which led to

differentially experienced effects—mainly dispossession—of racialized populations. These technologies were important in normalizing the dispossessive rationalities that informed the governing of municipal apparatuses. In bringing together a powerful empirical literature in postwar history with the theoretical insights posed in the previous chapter I will outline the multiple planes of power that contoured the governing of Indigeneity during the mid-twentieth century.

Post-war governing strategies spanned the gamut of social differentiation in Canada, with both productive and destructive effects. For example, while racialization reveals itself as perhaps the most durable for governing differing populations; patriarchal domination was also a closely related point of differentiation for regulating populations and disciplining individuals. And while these differing classification systems were co-productive in their many iterations, such as in the case of policies such as the Indian Act, it is important to also demonstrate the specific gendered contours of patriarchal domination. That is, I do not simply approach my analysis with a racial or gendered lens; rather I understand these points of governmental differentiation as being co-productive. That is, in returning to Moreton-Robinson's (2015) theorization of patriarchal white sovereignty, I view such intersecting social forms as constituting the norms—indeed liberal order— against which 'others' are measured—mainly, non-white, non-male subjects.

Considering gender and race as intertwined iterations of settler-colonial power is important for understanding governing norms during the mid-twentieth century in order to overcome either analyses that ignore relations of power produced through gendered and racial difference. Moreover, when scholars tend to focus solely on patriarchal domination, without accounting for racialization, they are often working – wittingly or not – to normalize whiteness as the dominant social location. Historian Christopher Dummit (2007, 2), for example, argues

that postwar Canada was made for men, as men experienced the full weight of "the success of

the technocratic structures and values of industrial modernity in establishing themselves as the

status quo in Canadian living," including how Canadians embraced "the desire to reaffirm gender

divisions after the flux of depression and war and in light of the relative lessening importance of

other patriarchal controls in the family and economy." Dummit (2007, 2) continues to assert that

"the manly modern ideal fitted nicely into an increasing modernized Canada in which patriarchal

privilege had been shorn of some of its more traditional supports." Moreover, with the co-

constitutive rise of modern technology and an investment in producing men who could harness

such technologies that would contribute to the advancement of postwar Canadian society, a new

the idealized form of masculinity was being renovated: "patriarchy was being updated" (Dummit

2007, 2). Missed by Dummit, however, is the fact that parallel to patriarchy, whiteness, too, was

being renovated. Still, Dummit's accounting of the postwar era illuminates how aside from being

a racial order, the liberal order was also a patriarchal order in the ways in which it privileged

(white) men as the 'given' category of subjectification in the postwar era (see McCallum 2014

and Parr 2003 for discussions of women's experiences of this subjectification).

　　As such, Dummit's (2007) assertion that postwar Canada was renovated for the male

subject describes similarly a Canadian corollary of what Moreton-Robinson (2016) has referred

to as the "patriarchal white sovereign" subject: he who believes that the world is owed to him

and that its fruits are his for the taking. Perhaps the most cunning example of this, Dummit

(2007) notes that returning armed forces veterans during the postwar era, who, after having put

their lives on the line for their country returned home with the expectation that the government

would and should care for them in all facets of life, from housing assistance (Ives 1998), to

retraining and education (Keshen 1998; Neary 1998), to rearranging workplaces where women

or non-veterans worked that could then be the work of veterans (see also, Neary and Granatstein 1998). As Innes (2004, 691-693) notes, unlike their white counterparts, the conditions that Indigenous veterans returned to back home were as poor as they were when they left. Furthermore, during the postwar era, racial discrimination prevented Indigenous veterans "from gaining access to new employment sectors" (Innes 2004, 692). The liberal order was a patriarchal-racial order whose technologies privileged white men as *the* example of individualism, responsibility, and rationality; as *the* subjectivity against which deviated subjects and populations were measured, disciplined, and regulated. In regulating the white male population, through its various policies the Canadian government was investing in veterans who would in turn reinvest their labour and capital back into the growing Canadian economy and society. Thus, retraining programmes in particular and education in general became an indispensable tool for the federal government in producing its ideal citizens.

Apart from providing training to predominantly male veterans, education was also being reformed so as to establish the prevalent white liberal norms of postwar Canadian society. That is, through the differential education of white and racialized populations, education was an important technology for maintaining settler-colonial dispossessive norms. Establishing a settler-colonial liberal order required education reform. As Mona Gleason (1999) notes, rationalities of psychology came to intervene in education systems so as to shape and improve the delivery of proper forms of conduct to (white) students. Students, but also teachers, became problematized as populations with problems that required the expert intervention of professionals, psychologists, who could aid in the modernization of future Canadian citizens (Gleason 1999; Owram 1997). As such, the improvement and securitization of the Canadian citizen through

education became a normalizing discourse as it promised to elevate the overall well-being of the dominant white Canadian population.

As George Buri (2016, 4) notes, however, intervening in the reorganization of school divisions and curriculum was also met by resistance from those who were the subject of governance:

> In the process of inventing the postwar world, Canadians reformed many of their most important institutions, including public education. The rhetoric of a war fought to preserve democracy from the threat of totalitarianism led to a belief among political leaders and education theorists that public education ought to take up the teaching of democracy as one of its primary tasks. However, behind the vague notion that education would shape the next generation into the sort of citizens capable of success in the reconstructed postwar world lay a great divide over the question of what such a world would look like in the first place. The 1950s in Canada were thus the era of some of the most publicized and heated debates surrounding public education since its creation in the mid-nineteenth century.

Owram (1996), Gleason (1999) and Buri (2016) note that by the time education became the responsibility of provinces, it was tasked with modernizing subjects so as to ensure both the vitality of the Canadian population but also communicate to that population/citizenry the relevancy of the government—the apparatus— upon which its legitimacy rested. Education likewise became re-spatialized as districts became redrawn and schools were rebuilt bigger in order to service the increasing demands of baby-boom era students (Buri 2016; Owram 1996). As such, education becomes a striking example for demonstrating how the future success of the nation was seen to be possessed within the teenager (Owram 1996, chapter 6). Harnessing the potential of youth was vital for the continued project of settler-colonial sovereignty, sovereignty that would become further secured through racial governmentality.

The future of white Canadian society required securing. As such, postwar historians have also brought significant attention to how the postwar era ushered in the establishment of the categories of youth and the teenager: the increase and prominence of the age group was

significantly rearranging the demands that that group could make of its government and institutions (see Hébert 2003; Gauvreau 2003; Baillargeon 2003).[16] At the same time, their eminence was seen as something to harness and shape; producing them as productive citizens of the nation was vital for securing a modern future for settler-colonial apparatuses, while also demonstrating to the broader Canadian population that governments and their institutions could show care, concern, and investment in younger parts of its citizenry. Youth were seen as the future leaders of Canadian modernity, and, therefore, needed to be treated as such (Hébert 2003; Gauvreau 2003; Baillargeon 2003; Owram 1996).

Youth were a population worth securing. Established in 1943, the Canadian Youth commission, Michael Gauvreau (2003, 212) notes, came about to provide information as to how youth were being integrated productively into dominant society with regards to work and a sense of citizenship. Furthermore, Gauvreau (2003, 212) argues, "'adolescents' were defined economically, psychologically, and politically immature 'dependents' whose lack of training and work opportunities rendered them as, at best, unfit for civic life in a democracy and as, at worst, volatile 'masses' to be preyed upon by unscrupulous demagogues or potential dictators." That is, securing Canada's future required the proper development and securing of youth. Moreover, given a "preoccupation with work, the public discourse surrounding youth in the immediate post-war era focused almost exclusively upon the socialization of young men" (Gauvreau 2003, 212). That is, the youth, like the veteran, was synonymous with man, and, to a large degree, whiteness. As Karine Hébert (2003) illuminates, universities became important sites where Canada's growing youth culture was being further developed, albeit with an ire of dissent for the dominant

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[16] See Owram 1996 for a discussion of the creation of the teenager during the baby-boomer generation and how that generation became a specific population with its own sets of demands of government services of education and employment.

political establishment. Not all youth, however, were seen as possessing the same kind of potential, which led to the differential governing of youth by educational institutions, often demarcated along racial lines, such as the case with residential schools (Logan 2015) and with employment training in sectors of education, health, and service oriented industries (McCallum 2014).

In the case of education and youth, under a postwar Canadian liberal order, the white population that possessed future potential was governed differently than its racialized counterparts. Postwar education policies effectively reproduced the white population in such a way that would ensure its ability to maintain the white possession, and therefore Indigenous dispossession, of land. Behind the veil of a postwar liberalism that was embracing a bi- and then multicultural ethos, operated its inverted corollary in residential schools for Indians where racially identified subjects would go to racially segregated educational institutions to be brought up to the 'standard' of the white population. Residential schools, on the other hand, never provided close to the same kind of education for Indigenous students as white students received in their institutions. Instead, residential schools provided education to streamline Indigenous students into the industrial economy: Indigenous students were not subjects to reform into future professionals, but rather disciplined into future expendable labour (Logan 2015, 445; White and Peters 2009, 18-19). Furthermore, residential schools were integral to the patriarchal-racial liberal order as "…the full utopianism of vanguard liberalism came to the fore, for within these Christian/liberal manufactories of individuals, pre-eminent laboratories of liberalism, First Nations children were 'forced to be free,' in the very particular liberal sense of 'free,' even at the cost of their lives" (McKay 2000, 637). Moreover, while residential schools provide a stark example of racial governmentality through programs of education, it must also be noted that

many Indigenous students also attended schools then run by local municipalities; education as a technology intervened upon Indigenous life beyond just residential schools, as its liberal order reformist visions sought to conduct the conduct of many Indigenous persons and populations beyond the reserve.

Who could attend which school was often determined through school districts identified to serve a particular spatial group within their area, and, foremostly, was responsible first to those subjects whose taxes contributed to its daily operations (Buri 2016, 166; Quirring 2004, 89). As I return to in the following chapter, municipal planning, as shaped by local taxation revenue, has often directed where, and more importantly, "where not," schools are built, serviced, and attended. While Gleason (1999), Buri (2016) and Owram (1996) are correct in their assertions that postwar education policy sought to transform the Canadian citizenry, their otherwise universalizing analyses mainly apply to the normative white population and must be read against and in conversation with how racial governmentality came to shape education access and delivery to racialized populations (and Indigenous populations specifically within this governing context). Moreover, the example of educational accessibility and delivery in the postwar era demonstrate another technology used by and available for municipal apparatuses across Canada.

According to McKay (2000, 629), another technology important to Canada's postwar liberal order was health; the health of the national population and health of individuals. The postwar era brought with it federal governments, across party lines, that were committed to delivering some kind of healthcare for citizens. Convincing some provincial governments of the benefits to universal healthcare in Canada, however, posed a hurdle that many prime ministers would encounter as some provinces like Ontario despised 'federal interference' (Ananaskis 2018,

45; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1989], 74-77). Given that the implementation rested upon the success of the federal granting of provincial equalization payments, certain provinces (poorer ones) were more inclined than rich provinces to accept federal help. This disparity in resources resulted in "Saskatchewan and British Columbia [introducing] hospital insurance before Ottawa; both were anxious to get federal funds for the schemes they had already set up" (Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1981, 222), which was in conflict with the fact neither Ontario nor Quebec wanted hospital insurance at all (Bryden 2003, 153).

Fulfilling the promises of nationalized healthcare was much more difficult in practice than on the campaign trail or in the media. At issue, still, was the extent to which provinces would tolerate the federal government and its taxation structure. The history on the implementation of healthcare in postwar Canada acts as a reminder to the limits of liberal order governance and the resistance that is mounted when the assumed rights and freedom of individuals or provinces to rationalize their own choices are possibly 'infringed' upon (Ananaskis 2018, 45; Bryden 2003, 133-134; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1989], 46-49). This instance of resistance to the implementation of healthcare programs during the postwar era serves as a reminder of the limits of liberal governmentality, and recalls Foucault's (2010, 28) assertion that integral to the liberal order is knowing how "not to govern too much."

When it came to those who might refuse medicalization, men stood alone. When it came to health, women were often subordinated by the patriarchal liberal order as "a growing number of doctors and other health professional engaged in a process of medicalizing womanhood" (Dummit 2007, 103). Through public health programmes concerned with "maternal and infant mortality, efforts to improve the health of women workers in industry, and the growth of a network of professional advice givers on the best methods of motherhood" (Dummit 2007, 103).

Mothers and motherhood were rendered governable targets that could be taught proper

conduct—by men!—through programs that sought to determine "about how to best fulfill and

define a woman's duty" (Dummit 2007, 103). While all Canadians were becoming subjects of

postwar medicalization, there also emerged a clear gendered hierarchy of subjects that distilled

the extent to which one might become problematized by the liberal order.

At the same time, while many women shared some similar experiences of medicalization

during the postwar, racialization further contoured gendered subjects in ways that destabilized

'woman' as a singular category to govern. That is, women were not simply just women, but they

were white women, Indian women, Black women, Chinese women, among others, and such

racial differentiation led to different experiences and engagements with health programming. As

Mary Jane McCallum (2017, 96-97) argues, medicalization was core to furthering the settler-

colonial project as the increasing professionalization of health personnel during the postwar era

led to the increased capacity for medical professionals to intervene and 'improve' Indigenous

populations. That is, "Indian" became a category to be medicalized, just as "woman," and that is

beside the fact that "Indian" women found themselves being medicalized through both

differential categories of governance. Still, as McCallum (2014) notes elsewhere, Indigenous

women were not just merely being operated on by medical intuitions, but were, in addition,

becoming part of them as nurses or in other service level positions in Indian and mainstream

hospitals. Health programmes, however, flourished outside of the hospital as well.

One of the integral ways that health was deployed as part of the liberal order's arsenal

during the postwar era was through establishing norms of what it meant to be a healthy

individual. In *Contours of the Nation: Making "Obesity" and Imagining "Canada," 1945-1970,*

historian Deborah McPail (2017) documents Canada's growing concern with obesity as a

problem that required programs of reform. Obesity, as McPhail (2017, 5) argues, "became intelligible to Canadians as an object of government policy, medical research, and media concern in the context of major social and economic upheavals in the two decades following the Second World War and operated psychically on a macro scale to create and recreate normative subject-positions." The normalization of healthy bodies as opposed to obese unhealthy bodies led to the production of "'abnormal' subjects (such as people of colour) and behaviours (such as women working for wages)" whose reform was necessary to structuring the postwar Canadian economy (McPhail 2017, 5). Producing programs to address obesity required the coordination of many fields of research as obesity increasingly became a problem that required expert knowledge in order to better govern it through public health programs and campaigns used to educate citizens on proper conducts of health; to be a healthy citizen was to be a moral citizen; a healthy citizen was a normal citizen.

During the postwar era, health was also governed racially in a way that resulted in differential services and measures being applied to white populations than to Indigenous and racial populations (McPhail 2017; McCallum 2014; Lux 2010). In her monograph *Indigenous Women, Work, and History:1940-1980,* Lenape scholar Mary Jane Logan McCallum (2014, 23-24) documents that Indigenous people, and women specifically, were not just identified as subjects meant to reform through programs of racial governmentality, but also sought after to participate in racial governmentality's delivery of services at Indian specific hospitals and in residential schools. Indigenous women working in both hospitals and in residential schools, while sometimes given the role of nurse, were more often positioned in lesser positions such as housekeeping or janitorial service roles. Still, Indigenous women were seen as both reformable and as reformers within the postwar patriarchal-racializing liberal order. Moreover, as Maureen

Lux (2010) has chronicled, the differential governance of Indigenous, specifically status Indian persons, went beyond the governing of individuals and happened at the level of the population through the establishment and continued operation of separate Indian hospitals. That is, when it came to racial governmentality of Indigenous peoples, interventions occurred at both the level of the individual and the population.

Employment was another technology through which programs that sought to secure wealth and prosperity through the better management of the population's labour were applied differentially for members of the white population than for racialized and Indigenous populations. Ensuring that there were enough jobs, or that there existed some kind of social safety net in the form of employment insurance, became the business of all prime ministers between 1945 to 1970 (Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1989], 20-22). For the dominant Canadian population, employment was perhaps the most central way in which federal interventions to secure employment were welcomed (Ananaskis 2018, 43; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1989], 23-25). For farmers on the prairies this meant ensuring that they would receive fair prices for grain on the global market; for autoworkers this meant ensuring that their jobs would similarly be protected in an increasingly globalized world that opened companies up to cheaper labour elsewhere (Ananaskis 2008, 153; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 2001 [1989], 61-63).

Similarly, for disabled veterans or those who had sustained long-term injuries from the war, the liberal order's approach to aid was often not enough to deal with the damages of war. As Dummit (2007, 45) indicates, "The state created its idealized notion of self-sufficiency based on the generalized liberal 'everyman'—who, in reality, did not exist." No matter how hard some veterans may have tried to work with broken bodies, disabling norms set by the patriarchal

liberal order attempted to rationalize that such bodily losses could be overcome through a belief in the manly individual. Employment could be acquired once again, and the issue with reform was the responsibility of the individual veteran, not the government; it was the responsibility of the veteran to become employable again. As Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein (1998) demonstrate in their anthology *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada,* veterans became subject to various forms of diagnostic technologies for assessing the kinds of welfare programmes they could access. Rationalities that measured the 'level' of disability based on universalizing metrics of health and ability (to labour) governed how and which veterans could access programmes (Neary and Granatstein 1998).

Still, although becoming the target of the liberal order's governance through the technology of employment, veterans managed to ensure for themselves a host of programs tailored specifically at ensuring their resettlement back into everyday Canadian life (Keshen 1998; Ives 1998; Struthers 1998). As Keshen (1998) discusses, veterans were keen on not re-experiencing the social, economic, and political insecurity that they experienced when coming home from WWI. Through their activism, Canadian veterans became a significant population that Canada was responsible for through the establishment of the Veterans Charter (Ives 1998). Veterans as a group shared political and social solidarity and could make demands of the Canadian government to accommodate them in the form of homebuyers grants and postwar resettlement grants that would allow them increased access to establishing homeownership (Dummit 2007, 34; Keshen 1998, 72), but this was also materialized through the creation of employment insurance and healthcare that veterans believed they were owed after serving their nation (Neary 1998, 9-10).

Unlike white populations, limiting employment opportunities for Indigenous populations

served an integral technology for reforming the conduct of Indigenous labour to render it useful

to the liberal order (Langford 2016, 369-370; McCallum 2014; Laliberte 2006). Indigenous

labour was identified as a problem where the solution would come through retraining in order to

produce productive citizens, especially with regard to domesticity. That is, Indigenous

populations were viewed as labour pools to service and serve white populations whether that be

through domestic housework (McCallum 2014), or, as inexpensive labourers on farms (Laliberte

2006) and miners for new mines (Langford 2016, 369-370). As a subset of the population, the

family and household became a locus to be reorganized and reengineered so as to conform to the

postwar ethos of progress. While for white families this meant the adoption of domestic goods

and new technologies that made domestic labour more efficient (Parr 1999), the reforming of

Indigenous families took a different form. McCallum (2013, 23) argues,

> Indigenous homes were imagined as the locus of backward and pathological Indigenous
> cultures, and as such were targets of sexual, moral, and social regulation that implicated
> white women as activists, workers, and employers. Likewise, schemes to reproduce
> model European homes from Indigenous inhabitants sought to reconfigure the social
> relations of Indigenous families, like residential school policy did. The notion that
> European-style homes and domestic skills in Indigenous settings were valuable tools for
> cultural assimilation continued to dominate perspectives on Indigenous women's labour
> through the twentieth century.

Employment policies sought to regulate populations at the level of the family in order to bring

Indigenous populations, and Indigenous women especially, into the fold of postwar Canada's

burgeoning economy. As McCallum (2014, 23-34) asserts, "It is important to look at labour in

this era because it is so obviously related to troubled Indigenous economies resulting from the

colonization of homelands and coercive federal Indian policies." McCallum (2014), unlike most

other postwar historians, recognizes that colonialism did not end in the late 1800s, but rather has

continued to be an ongoing project maintained through liberal order governance and its use of a technology of employment.

As Day (2007) and Bohaker and Iacovetta (2009) have demonstrated, immigration served as an additional technology of governmentality and of racial governmentality specifically as race was ostensibly replaced with culture as a language and administrative lens through which racial organization took form. Attempting to transcend the morally obtuse use of race in countries like the United States and South Africa, while constantly needing to contend with the horrors created through fully realized racial organization during the Holocaust, Canada and its institutions sought to find new and different language to socially distinguish and organize their citizens, from the reform of immigration policy and what and who qualified as being worthy of citizenship (Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009; Day 2000), to the continued use of the Indian Act to organize Indigenous populations (Lawrence 2004). In most matters of "difference," Canadians and their politicians attempted to skirt the question of race by rearticulating their ideas through a discourse, albeit superficial, of culture: as noted by Day (2000, 181), there existed a "…post-war trend of simply renaming racial distinctions as cultural, national, or ethnic, and continuing its work" (see also Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009, 557-558).

Biculturalism in particular would become the measuring stick against which difference could be assessed: how well could either immigrant or Indian assimilate to either French or English Canada? Although not explicit, such a question was really about how difference could be brought into harmony with either regime of whiteness in a way that made such subjects and individuals better citizens of the nation (Day 2000, 177-179). Therefore, although expressed through a discourse of "culture," immigration policies became another technology of racial governance. The liberal order's racial governmentality is most exposed as a scheme that

produces hierarchized and differential citizenship and purchase into the Canadian liberal order

had a price: a presumption of cultural and political assimilation.

Racialization was an essential way for the liberal order's governing technologies of

education, health, employment, and immigration to make legible populations that required

reforming through modernizing logics of 'improvement' and 'development' (see Loo 2019;

Rutland 2018; Peter, Stock and Werner 2018; McPhail 2017; Akbari 1999 for various examples

of the durability of the 'modernization' of racialized subjects). During the postwar era,

technologies of education, health, employment, and immigration became the common

technologies that produced shared governing rationalities that shaped the dominant Canadian

population; technologies and rationalities shared between federal, provincial, and municipal

jurisdictions. These governing rationalities and technologies, however, were "always already"

(Andersen 2007) inflected by racial differentiation as governmentality is "always already" racial

governmentality.

Race saturated all levels of postwar governmentality in Canada, especially in cases where

racialized populations were seen as needing improvement, where improvement meant being

brought up to the standard of the ruling white population; where such improvement could be

achieved through social programming distilled through technologies of education, health,

employment, immigration, and infrastructural development. Aa Tania Li (2007a) has eloquently

documented in the Indonesian context, 'improvement' has functioned as a core governing

rationality of governmentality in other colonial contexts. At this point, I now shift to demonstrate

how such technologies were being deployed by municipal apparatuses in highly localized

contexts (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; McPhail 2017; Lux 2016; Buri 2016). Thus far, I have

sketched out how these technologies were present at a federal level; however, by switching to the

municipal level, we are provided with immediate illustrations of the impacts of these technologies, and the governing rationalities that inform them (mainly that of white possessiveness), had on sculpting the social-spatial landscapes, including, how such conditions of those landscapes formed the conditions of possibility of Indigenous and racialized peoples' during the postwar era.

Returning to insights drawn in the previous chapter on settler-colonial security apparatuses, McKay's (2000, 618-619) liberal order framework stands as a historically situated accounting of the kinds of technologies that apparatuses possessed during the Canadian postwar era. Moreover, in thinking with McKay (2000) as well as the other postwar scholars who have drawn out the multiple ways in which governmental power was produced (Loo 2019; Jones-Imhotep and Adcock 2018; McCallum 2017; 2014; Langford 2016), Moreton-Robinson's (2016) insights in to the possessive logics of whiteness becomes even more insightful insofar as governmental postwar biopower had the effect of compounding Indigenous dispossession by better equipping Canadian populations (though an increase in their wealth and health) to possess Indigenous territories. In this way, liberal order governance also further reproduced the conditions that normalized earlier dispossessions of Indigenous lands and peoples. That is, as Nichols's (2020) theorization of "recursive dispossession" demonstrates, settler-colonial expansion requires continually justifying the theft of land for an expanding Canadian population which requires more territory to grow. In a similar register, as Patrick Wolfe (2006) notes, settler-colonialism is a structure not an event, and, similarly, the liberal order was a structure, not (just) an event; the face of postwar settler-colonial dispossession changed as new strategies of governance emerged, but its purpose to territorialize its population stayed constant. One of the ways that settler-colonialism remained constant with a modern facelift, however, was through the

municipal apparatuses' deployment of sovereign and governmental forms of power to further

dispossess racialized and Indigenous populations.

Postwar Municipal Apparatuses and their Governmentalities: The Patriarchal-Racializing Liberal Order in Local Municipal Contexts

Isin notes that regional differences notwithstanding, between 1841 and 1867 when

Canada was still considered a province under the colonial control of Britain, "the Canadian

legislature was really a confederation of municipalities (particularly of cities and towns),

although it was not defined as such" (1995, 80). The first instance of formalizing municipalities

came with the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1849, which consisted of "the City

of Toronto, and Towns of Kingston, Brockville, Hamilton, Cornwall, Niagara, London and

Bytown (Ottawa), and six from county" which belonged to the Legislative Assembly for Upper

Canada, and the "six representatives from Quebec City, Montreal, Trois-Riviéres and

Sherbrooke" representing the Lower Canada Assembly" (Isin 1995, 80). While the passing of the

Municipal Corporation Act formalized municipalities under a provincial system – itself a formal

system under the colonial rule of Britain – British settler-colonial attempts at territorialisation

had been in place for centuries prior in the form of forts, trading posts, and townships. The

passing of the Act was the first iteration of a technology and then program that was replicated

across the North-West of Canada as the British (settler) colonial grid system became a

technology capable of reproducing similar systems of settlement in the form of municipal

apparatuses, a point that I return to by way of historical examples in the following chapter when I

discuss the Dominion Lands Survey, the Dominion Lands Act, and the general opening up the

historic Northwest for homesteading (see Gaudry 2016; Carter 2016; 2008; Tough 1996).

Pinning down universal origins of municipalities, as Isin (1995) notes, has been an inconclusive project, and, as such, I do not plan on delving into or dwelling on their origins before their eventual establishment as extensions of settler-colonial apparatuses in the North American context. Rather, what is important to note is that their establishment in Canada has been, like colonial settlement, uneven and regionally "patchworked" in form. What is more, municipalities produced novel forms of racial governmentality. That is to say that municipalities were given responsibility to conduct the conduct of everyday life at both the level of the population and at the level of the individual. For instance, Mawani (2010) demonstrates in *Colonial Proximities* that in the context of the growth of the colony on Vancouver Island and on the mainland in present day Vancouver, local government was required to develop differentially in order to manage the inter-racial contact zone of the colony. This differential development led to the production of by-laws encoded with racial overtures whose goals were biopolitical in nature as immigrants from China, India, and the pacific, as well as Indigenous peoples, as well as the children of those intermarriages, became targeted as problem populations to reform through the then disciplining of individual conduct with white norms of conduct through the differential application of alcohol prohibition, miscegenation, and anti-prostitution laws. Mawani's (2010) illustration racial governmentality in the municipal context is translatable to places like Rooster Town (Peters, Warner, and Stock 2018) and Minnewaken where the growth of the settler-colonial municipal apparatus came to intervene on Metis life more immediately. In Rooster Town this occurred through the implementation of public health orders to evict 'unsafe' or 'unsanitary' Metis homes, whereas in Minnewaken such expressions of settler-colonialism were applied in less obvious ways such as in the ledger of tax-rolls or in the minutes of the municipal council.

In Mawani's (2010) early germination of municipal power, however, biopower was particularly applied at the individual level as individual bodily behaviours were targeted for reform as opposed to how, as we will see in the mid-century context, biopower became applied more generally at the level of the population as solutions become encompassed in programmes of differential population relocation as opposed to programmes of individual reform (Loo 2019, 4-5). This character of municipal biopolitics further speaks to Foucault's own assertion in *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* that "The disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed" (1978, 139).

The differential emergence and governance of populations by municipalities is as important to their governance as their concerns for their of territoriality of property (Blomley 2015). In his monograph *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*, geographer Nicholas Blomey (2004) argues that "the making of a settler city, like Vancouver (or New York, or Melbourne) was predicated on significant remaking of property" (106). That property, argues legal scholar Brenna Bhandar (2018), gave way to the production of "racial regimes of property" as "property law was a crucial mechanism for the colonial accumulation of capital, and by the late nineteenth century, had unfolded in conjunction with racial schemas that steadfastly held colonized subjects within their grip" (2). As such, as Bhandar (2018) asserts, "as a juridical formation, racial regimes of ownership have retained their disciplinary power in organizing territory and producing racial subjects through a hierarchy of value constituted across the domains, culture, science, economy, and philosophy" (2), which have informed approaches to municipal governance. In the grand scheme of settler-colonial Canadian expansion then, municipalities became "nested apparatuses" of settler-colonialism that produced their own

distinctive colonial effects. As such, this has led historian Jordan Stranger-Ross (2008, 544) to define "municipal colonialism" as a way to "describe settler territorial claims that were predicated on the supposed requirements of urban vitality and development as the dense concentration of settler population and economic activity set a peculiar stage for dispossession."

As I demonstrate in this section and then more specifically in the following chapter in Manitoba, settler-colonial municipal apparatuses during the postwar era continued to be significant administrative sites of Indigenous land dispossession as well as the dispossession of racialized communities as municipal officials applied their own governing programs through the passing of by-laws and collection of property taxes (Loo 2019; Toews 2018; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018; Blomley 2015; Stranger-Ross 2008). Municipal governance possessed the power and potential to shape the lives of residents in significant and immediate ways, as municipalities determined where roads, sewer lines, schools, and hospitals/clinics were built (Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018, 71; Toews 2018, 105; Carter 2009; Sancton 2009).

Municipalities in provinces like Manitoba were also responsible for brokering with private and provincial companies as to where electrical power and telephone lines would be built (Carter 2009, 253). Local exchange economies were also under the tutelage of the municipalities as businesses of all sorts, from grocers, to the emerging need of mechanics to fix and repair emerging new technologies, required licences to operate while also paying taxes to the municipality (Sancton 2009, 6). Taxes generated from local economies could, at the time, help in providing services for the population that municipalities were responsible for ensuring its security and well-being through services such as the police and fire marshalling (Sancton 2009, 6). In this sense, municipal apparatuses were security apparatuses, in the Foucauldian sense, as their main purpose was maintaining the overall health of its population (residents), including,

their territory as represented in privately held property. Security, however, was strategized within biopolitical strategies of race. Private property, as Bhandar (2018) and Blomley (2015, 2004) have demonstrated, is an essential technology for municipal governance meant to continue proliferation and expansion of settlements and townships (Elden 2007, 564-565; Foucault 2009, 29-30). In this way, municipalities already possessed significant technologies, governing rationalities, and programmes for governing the everyday lives of residents in the postwar era.

Moreover, providing residents with adequate education and healthcare services became increasingly challenging for rural municipalities as postwar urbanization led to the migration of swaths of rural residents to cities, depopulating municipal apparatuses of their tax bases (see Loo 2019 and Parr 2009 for numerous case studies on the planned relocation of rural populations to urban centres in Canada). One of the effects of this depopulation was that municipalities possessed fewer resources to deliver essential services, meaning that doctors, teachers, and other trained professionals would often be relocated into town centres, and residents located outside of the immediate township would be forced to travel into town to access healthcare services beyond the basic necessities that a basic doctor's office might offer. In some extreme cases, as documented extensively in multiple cases by Tina Loo (2019), the failure and untenability of municipalities led to their relocations. In other cases, especially in instances where the general make-up of the population was racialized, residents were seemingly displaced (Rutland 2018, 3; Blomley 2004, 113-114).

Municipalities were both the object of governmentality and the practitioners of it. For example, in the 1960s, Newfoundlanders came to experience the full weight of centralization as the "joint federal-provincial Fisheries Household Resettlement Program…moved more than twenty thousand people in the ten years it was in operation, all in the name of improving their

lives" (Loo 2019, 56). As fisheries in Newfoundland experienced decline, settlements that were the home to thousands of people who worked in fisheries became financially untenable for the province to service. Furthermore, as Loo (2019, 58) writes regarding the growth of a liberal order, "Modernization may have been premised on centralizing the population, but the project of improvement didn't end there. Instead, as in the North [the arctic], developing Newfoundland also entailed transforming Newfoundlanders, building their collective capacity to govern themselves democratically." Strikingly, the Newfoundland relocation case demonstrates how federal and provincial governments identified Newfoundlanders, a mostly white population, as partners in, and not simply as subjects of, reform. In this way, the population was identified as possessing problems that the federal government could fix through relocation: relocating was a project of positive biopower in that Newfoundlanders could be taken care of better through relocation.

Moreover, as Loo explains, institutions like "Memorial's Institute of Social and Economic Research" were enlisted by the federal government in order to contribute to "the project of improvement in postwar Canada" as "faculty, staff, and students" with "expertise from economics, anthropology, sociology, and community development informed resettlement and the subsequent development of the province" (2019, 59). As such, new conduct and programs of resettlement were produced by experts who ensured that "resettlement and community development in Newfoundland were forms of disciplinary power. They entailed the imposition of the spatial and economic forms of modernity and the creation of an engaged citizen, a particular kind of political subject" (Loo 2019, 90). While Loo (2019) notes that resettlement produced biopower at the individual level to discipline subjects into participatory forms of conduct, at play here is also governmental bio power at the level of the population as the

disciplining of individualized spatial behaviour was believed to improve the lives of the targeted population.

One of the important insights that we can draw from Loo's (2019) comparative study of state relocation efforts is how it is that relocation was differentially applied through race. The remaking of Newfoundland over the 1960s and 1970s required the relocation of numerous municipalities; however, as I will discuss below, unlike racialized populations the white populations being relocated were seen as rational enough to negotiate where and how they might be relocated. In this way, these populations possessed the ability to negotiate their relocation, even if such relocation was made possible through governmental rationalities of improved living standards that would have coerced, albeit delicately, individuals into investing in relocation. This form of kinder and gentler disciplining of space and people stands in stark contention with the notion of displacement where residents are removed by force alone (Rutland 2018; Loo 2018; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018). Moreover, the case of the relocation of Newfoundland municipalities highlights how ultimately federal and provincial security apparatuses sought to ensure the continued prosperity and health of these dominantly white populations. In this way, the coordination between technologies of education (through university research and public education), health (through the creation of health services in new municipalities while divesting from old unviable locales), and employment (through the wholesale reconfiguring of Newfoundland's economy) came to create enticing new and assumed better opportunities that Newfoundlanders could invest in to.

Like Newfoundland and the arctic, areas of rural eastern Quebec became targets for "state-sponsored relocation" as "part of a larger plan to address poverty through 'development'" (Loo 2019, 92). As Loo (2019, 92) notes, residents in eastern Quebec were much more involved

in "creating the development plan for their region" becoming the "purported beneficiaries of planning." In this way, modernization that included the Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé, and Îles-de-la-Madeleine sought to include these regions as partners within liberal order governance as collaborators. During the 1960s people living in these communities "…made a bare-to-modest living from small farms, combining mixed agriculture with logging, or they worked in the inshore fishery" and in "the early 1960s, the region was the poorest in the province" as its "residents earned just half the provincial average, 28 percent which came from government transfers. Seasonal unemployment was high—some 35 percent—and levels of education low" (Loo 2019, 94). However, apart from being poor, these communities were mostly seen as wasted "potential," but as potential nonetheless (2019, 94). In this way, the regions of eastern Quebec were, like those municipalities in Newfoundland, viewed as municipalities in distress to be reformed through the gift of liberal centralization and modernization, expressed through the centralization of services from rural diffusion to urban concentration; their white populations were identified as 'savable' and worthy of social reform.

However, residents possessed alternative visions to those posed by the federal government of how to spatially rearrange their municipalities, leading to numerous protests that spurred further democratic involvement of residents; the threat of change without local political direction became a useful strategy for conducting the democratic conduct of local residents whose participation as citizens came to reshape federal plans for improvement. In eastern Quebec "insofar as participatory development empowered and democratized, it did so inadvertently. When people . . . were denied, they heeded the lessons they were taught. The alternative development they envisaged and forced the government to implement was one that had their needs at the centre" (Loo 2019, 120). Canadian citizens in Quebec were seen, thus, as

populations with problems to solve, rural poverty, unemployment, and access to services, as opposed to as problems to be solved; theirs was an issue of untapped potential that could, under the right circumstances and with the participation of residents, could be rectified. In this case, what eastern Quebecers required were programs that would eventually enhance their own municipal apparatuses that could take on the responsibilities of a federal bureaucratic apparatus out of step with local needs. In this case, the scale of government mattered to local citizens.

The emplacement and displacement of new local governing apparatuses was a federal prerogative in the larger scheme of postwar reconstruction (Loo 2019, 128; Parr 2009, 92-93; Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1989 [1981], 46-51). The emplacement of Gagetown, a NATO training base of in south-central New Brunswick in 1952 is an example of the scale with which the postwar liberal order was willing to establish populations and their territories (Parr 2009, 25). As Joy Parr (2009, 28) writes, "Defence spending was crucial to the regional economic development plans that the Canadian federal government promised after the Second World War. By the end of the 1950s, a quarter of all Canadian armed forces were based in the Maritimes, and military spending was nearly $200 million annually," an economic influx that fed the local economies in the twentieth century. That is, the liberal order relied partly on military expenditures to populate and territorialize certain local apparatuses, especially ones that would be of service to the nation-state.

While Gagetown represents an instance of the emplacement of localized governing apparatuses in order to territorialize a military population, the Arrow Lakes and the building of the Columbia dam demonstrate how postwar dreams of economic development also displaced communities in the interior of British Columbia. As Parr (2009, xix) describes, "those whose accidental plight placed them in the path of development schemes have often found themselves

dismissed as 'people in the way' of important projects and their interests discounted as impediments to growth or obstacles preventing the satisfaction of larger, pressing societal needs." Economic development, in this case, demonstrates the extent to which white settler populations may stave off, or possess decision-making power in matters of relocation and how governments have treated them, as opposed to the way racialized or Indigenous populations have been treated, helps in illustrating the differential (privileged) governing of white populations. That is to say, that in tracking the migration of white populations against the migration of racialized and Indigenous populations, we are presented with how racial governmentality values populations differentially. With "the closing of the High Arrow Dam at Castlegar on the Columbia River in British Columbia" in 1968, the Arrow lakes, once "narrow mountain bodies of flowing water with nine-metre seasonal variation in levels" were transformed "into a storage reservoir for the Bonneville Power Authority" (Parr 2009, 6). Such transformations and sacrifices, however, were ultimately deemed necessary to increase the fitness of the broader population that needed the energy produced by the Arrow Lake Dam.

Parr describes residents who "had lived by combining work in the formal and informal economies, logging, ranching, fruit growing, market gardening, dairy, poultry, and sheep-raising (2009, 6). They lived well but were scorned by resource planners of the 1960s as "stump farmers" insufficiently attuned to the "highest and best use" of their home places." The dam, considered a necessary project that would allow the Canadian government to sell power en masse to American markets south of the Kootenays region of British Columbia, posed a higher return than the local economy that existed prior to damming. As such, national economic interests intervened, and in doing so, radically transformed how the local population might fend for itself. That is, the limits for the displacement of white populations is mainly demarcated by economy

and national interest, which is a fundamentally different disposition than the racial

governmentalities that I elaborate on below.

The Arrow Lakes was not alone in its experience of displacement due to Canadian state

mega projects. The village of Iroquois also became "dislocated" as "the St. Lawrence Seaway

and hydro-electric projects" of 1958 steamed ahead (Parr 2009, 6). As Parr (2009, 6) describes,

> Some wooden houses were moved back the short distance to the new village. Before the
> inundation, Iroquois' mature hardwood trees were cut down. In the interests of
> unimpeded navigation, the masonry structures of the village were burned and then
> reduced to rubble. Those who had lived in brick and stone eighteenth- and nineteenth-
> century dwellings moved into 1950s bungalows. The three-storey commercial buildings
> were succeeded by a small plaza, the Victorian churches replaced by 1950s contemporary
> brick structures . . . The much valued fishery ended. This settlement of walking mill
> workers was remade as a suburb/village, a treeless built environment designed for the car
> and commuter.

In the case of the displacement of the village of Iroquois, the municipality was relocated 'down

the road' so to speak, instead of displaced completely. That is, the community was valued

enough by larger apparatuses that their security would be maintained in a modified territory.

While Parr (2009) laments that the costs of relocation included the colourful sense of place that

residents enjoyed, at least those residents were not completely displaced or dispossessed, as we

will see was the case with Black communities, people of colour, and Indigenous peoples. This

fact is what distinguishes how the liberal order governed white populations; this is what

distinguishes it as a racial governmentality.

Africville, as Ted Rutland (2018) has accounted for in *Displacing Blackness: Planning,*

Power, and Race in Twentieth-Century Halifax, became a target for the racial liberal order's

problematization during the postwar era. Municipalities like Halifax used property tax structures

and by-laws enforcement in order to remake their urban space in the image of and in line with

the ideals of modernity's whiteness. In terms of local economy and employment, the

municipality of Halifax was invested in protecting local business from the growth of the integrating national economy (Rutland 2018, 37). Furthermore, in order to obtain social licence for the displacement of Africville, the municipality was required to rationalize such an action. Rutland (2018, 26), therefore argues that:

> For many middle-class reformers, the gravest problems of the time were to be found in the city's various low-income slum districts. Observing, surveying, and publicizing the world of the Halifax slums, the reformers drew public attention to a dramatic amalgam of biomedical, moral, and spatial pathologies: a collection of individuals who, the reformers argued, were abnormally unhealthy and prone to disease, whose behaviors were a moral "disgrace," and whose degraded and overcrowded living conditions not only paralleled the slum resident's pathological health and morality, but also produced the latter.

Furthermore, Loo (2019; 2010) has argued that with regards to Africville, Black residents, while attempting to counter-plan and organize against the dispossession through improvement, often became further entangled in contributing to their own dispossession as working with municipal planning authorities also meant providing surveillance and knowledge about the population to be governed.

The extension of racial liberal orders technologies and programs became increasingly effective in displacing Black residents from Africville. However, when compared to the lengths to which other federal, provincial, and municipal governments have gone to produce conditions for the proliferation of white populations, from the relocations in Newfoundland, to the increasing of municipal resources in eastern rural Quebec, to the saving of municipalities through agricultural policies that I discuss in the following chapter, the Black community was not valued as one worth preserving and in fact, their further integration became the goal of the municipality that sought to improve conditions deemed unfit for habitation. Africville is a stark example of how (racially) differential the liberal order of mid-century Canada was. Municipal planning, according to Rutland (2018) became the discourse through which the postwar racialized liberal

order's technologies could implement their programs of improvement. Within the postwar context, the conduct of white populations may be problematized, but racialized populations and subjects become problems that the apparatus must manage so as to maintain the safety of the dominant white population. That is, white populations may *have* problems, but Black and other racialized populations became *the problem.*

As already noted, racial governmentality was a feature of Vancouver local governance at the turn of the nineteenth century; that racial governmentality persisted throughout the twentieth century. Racial governmentality was expressed in the Strathcona neighbourhood on Vancouver's East Side, a place that had long been the home to "a working-class" and "culturally diverse and racialized population that included Chinese" people; a neighbourhood that was considered "one of the city's "pariah spaces"" (Loo 2019, 157). Furthermore, Mawani's (2010) accounting of racial governmentality at the turn of the nineteenth century demonstrates that racial governmentality was certainly not a new feature unique to the postwar era in Vancouver. Rather, the postwar redevelopment of neighbourhoods during the postwar era demonstrate the deep roots of racial governmentality while also elucidating how social technologies in the postwar altered and expanded the method of governmentality. Whereas Chinese and other racialized communities in Vancouver were marked, as Mawani (2010) notes, for their failure to adhere to norms of (white) British civilization, Loo's (2019) postwar accounting demonstrates how Vancouver's governing apparatus shifted from governing individual conduct and reforming bodily behaviours, such as prohibition, prostitution, and miscegenation laws, as accounted for by Mawani (2010), and towards regulating the majority Chinese population targeted through the discourse of 'neighbourhood.'

Thus, racial governmentality shifted over time from a bodily to a spatial application. As Loo's (2019, 157-158) research demonstrates, Strathcona "…was also targeted for clearance and redevelopment, thanks to . . .[a] 1957 plan written by . . . [a] British-trained planner and funded by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) through the National Housing Act." The residents of Strathcona were targeted as a (differential) population of property owners and through the coordination of federal programming (in the form of the CMHC) and municipal planning to improve neighbourhoods to conform to white norms of urban modernity, a racial regime of, albeit still settler-colonial, property regime was established. In the 1960s, the property owners association and local residents organized themselves against such redevelopment that would lead to fracturing social relations in the community, especially amongst Chinese residents (Loo 2019, 167). Chinese residents in the Strathcona neighbourhood, especially those who had lived there for generations, had established links to the historic Chinatown, were too low-income or unable to use public transportation, and lacked English language skills, feared losing those connections if they were forced to move due to municipal redevelopment (Loo 2019, 167). While the municipality tried to ensure residents that "displaced residents would be accommodated in public housing, the Area "A" Property Owners Association worried about racism or, as it put it, "the possibility of social friction arising in part from living in apartment-type dwellings with other people" (Loo 2019, 167). The proposed spatial restructuring of the Strathcona neighbourhood further elucidates how the municipal apparatus in the Vancouver context, sought to spatially rearrange territory, albeit racially, for the then targeted Chinese population. However, through the Property Owners Association, residents "insisted" that the city support "'a programme of civic improvement,'" where, "through a less radical process" residents would

instead "rehabilitate" the homes that they already lived in as opposed to being outright displaced outside of their neighbourhood (territory) (Loo 2019, 167).

In this case, urban renewal and redevelopment, inspired by a governing rationality to make life better for local residents, became the programme through which racial governmentality would be delivered. However, given the density of Chinese residents in the Strathcona neighbourhood, the municipal planning office as well as federal officials realized that rezoning would be met with consistent resistance. Instead, the municipality and CMHC pivoted towards involving citizens by encouraging improvement on already lived in homes in order to avoid the issues that relocation and dislocation would create. Having found an opening to negotiate how they would be governed, neighbourhood and Chinese organizations quickly became active in the planning of urban renewal and development in order to shape its goals and outcomes. What becomes clear in this example is how the racial liberal order was also amenable to the incorporation of racialized citizens whose ambitions could be redesigned so as to ensure the overall desire and development of the territory. In this way, Chinese Canadians were acting as good Canadians and being made more like the dominant white settler population that security apparatuses were most invested in caring for.

Vancouver's settler-colonial municipal apparatus would move beyond simply the deployment of racialized biopower as city planners in the mid-twentieth century sought to eliminate the Kitsilano and Musqueam reserves. Jordan Stranger-Ross (2008, 542) writes that "In the 1930s and 1940s, Vancouver bureaucrats saw Indian reserves as particular challenges for urban development." Donald Edgar McTaggart, the chief lawyer for the City of Vancouver sought to strategize with officials in Victoria about how to possess both reserves. As Stranger-Ross (2008, 542) notes, the local newspaper, *Daily Province* stated publicly that "The city is

suffering, as it has suffered these forty years or more, from a useless, undeveloped, untaxable piece of waste land impinging on the populous area" and later that "An Indian Reserve in the middle of a big city is an anachronism . . . a city is no place for the primitive wards of the government" and as Stranger-Ross (2008, 542) asserts: in this context "Aboriginal people, have no place in modern urban life." Moreover, in the context of Vancouver, both reserves were considered a threat by municipal officials who feared "the possibility that Indian reserves within the city would provide space for non-Aboriginal people to violate the regulatory and jurisdictional purview of the municipal government" (Stranger-Ross 2008, 550).

As such, the Indian reserves were problematized as spaces that posed a threat to the municipal security apparatus as Chinese farmers who became tenants on the Musqueam Reserve "continued to avoid full payment of municipal taxes during the 1950s" (Stranger-Ross 2008, 578). On the other hand, the Squamish Band would eventually lose land to the federal government in 1946 as "it was sold in six parcels to private and public purchasers. The largest parcel, comprising almost forty-two acres, was sold to the Department of National Defence in 1947" (Stranger-Ross 2008, 577). As Stranger-Ross (2008, 578) notes further, "Almost two decades later, this portion of the former reserve was leased to the city for ninety-nine years at an annual rent of one dollar and converted into Vanier Park." Stranger-Ross's (2008) illumination of municipal colonialism is vital in understanding how municipal apparatuses sought to physically possess the lands of Indigenous peoples through localized technologies such as taxation and by-laws that sought to govern Indigeneity in order to secure the city further for the settler population. I take up this thread further in the following chapter on governing Metis in Manitoba through the work of Owen Toews (2020; 2018) and Evelyn Peters et al (2018) who

speak to the specificity of racial governmentalities in the context of Winnipeg and the Metis communities that came to be governed by the city and local businesses.

Finally, in my survey of postwar Canadian history, governing Indigeneity in a rural context is significantly underdeveloped; however, the case of settlement of Inuit into permanent settlements is consistently discussed. In her accounting of how Inuit came to be governed by the Canadian state, Tina Loo (2019, 30) explains, "With no standardized spellings of Inuit names and in the absence of surnames, authorities found it difficult to keep accurate trade accounts and police records." In order to identify Inuit, to make them legible, and therefore governable "in 1941, the E-number (E for "Eskimo") identification system was meant to distinguish Inuit by issuing each a unique number worn on a tag around the neck. It became especially important for the delivery of family allowances" (Loo 2019, 30). This project was meant to standardize Inuit into an administrative regime. The rationality that would inform this programme, however, stemmed from fears produced by accounts of Inuit starvation in the north by authors Richard Harrington and Farley Mowat that were gaining traction amongst a Canadian public and growing welfare state that could not fathom that any person was experiencing starvation in a state as rich as Canada in 1950 (Loo 2019, 30-32). Furthermore, as historian Joan Sangster (2008) has documented, travel writing became an activity through which Canadians who visited the north participated in constructing it; an activity that produced colonial imaginaries about Inuit. Southern accounts of northern life, whose mythical accuracy should have been further scrutinized, unfortunately produced rationalities for further federal intervention in the north.

The first intervention came through identification, whereas the second intervention would come in the form of a relocation programme that would 'settle' Inuit into what would become permanent municipal-like structures. Inuit, who at the time were still free to live a traditional

lifestyle that followed a seasonal round, were problematized as starving and therefore requiring the aid of the federal government. At first this came in the form of fly-in food to Inuit; however, after that program was deemed ineffective the government then sought to relocate Inuit to more "productive" hunting grounds identified by government. However, the management of Inuit hunting practiced by Canada posed to be an even more catastrophic failure: as "thirty-three Inuit died around Henick and Garry Lakes as a result of starvation in the Keewatin over the winter of 1957-58, the government was forced to change its "state of nature" policy" (Loo 2019, 32). As Loo (2019, 33) explains: "Instead of dispersing people on the land, it was used to centralize the population, turning "Arctic migrants" into "Arctic villagers." As Loo (2019) explains further, following the settlement of Inuit hunters came the establishment of resource extractive industries. That is, as Northern Affairs relocated Inuit off of and out of their hunting territories, they also ensured open space for economic development. The production of an Inuit population was key to governing both Inuit and their territory, and, led to the deterritorialization of Inuit that had the added effect of clearing space for further settler-colonial Canadian expansion.

Once settled, programs to discipline Inuit in to settled subjects began "by schooling Inuit in the processes of formal democracy and self-government, as well as the workings of the market, teaching them about" finances and the importance of voting (Loo 2019, 53). Northern Affairs sought to have Inuit become the governors of their own cooperatives; however, as Loo (2019, 53) argues "using cooperatives to develop northern communities was a political project. It involved nothing less than creating a civic political culture from the ground up, helping Inuit to govern their own lives and convincing them 'that their world does not being and end with Government action or its lack.'" With regards to co-ops being used as instruments of governmentality, Loo (2019, 54) describes them as an "'intermediate technology' of

development, a way to build on the perceived communalism of Inuit culture and introduce Inuit to the market. They were vehicles for capital accumulation and redistribution; they were meant to discipline the Inuit to Western forms of democracy and to teach them how to subvert power." Co-ops, however, had the added effect of providing "the foundation for a pan Inuit Solidarity that had no historic precedent" (Loo 2019, 55).

The case of Inuit relocation, still, stands as a well-studied example of how Indigeneity came to be governed by the postwar liberal order and its various technologies. Inuit were identified, and then taught westernized education, employment, and health norms. In contrast, white populations that were relocated at the whim of the postwar liberal order did not face the number of deaths due to failed experiments in social policy that Inuit did. Moreover, even though Inuit today may benefit from learning how to operate politically through co-ops and territorially through the government of Nunavut, this does not remove the fact that Canada's initial foray in to the northern governance was informed by a disposition of white possession, or perhaps the Canadian alternative, "manly modernness." In the literature on the postwar era, however, racial governmentality is almost exclusively found in cities—save for Loo's (2019) example of Inuit relocation— and has not been elaborated upon in rural contexts.

For Indigenous peoples in Canada, our subjugation by colonialism drastically changed in form and art in the era following World War II as the growth of the Canadian welfare state sought to move beyond its prior geopolitical domination, and instead, towards a biopolitical orientation that sought to incorporate Indigenous peoples into its citizenry; to make them part of their provinces and municipalities; to extend the governing of Indigenous peoples from the responsibility of the federal government, to a shared responsibility shouldered by the provinces

and the municipalities that would provide everyday services, or, in many cases, alienate those services from Indigenous communities.

Governing Indigeneity in the Postwar Period

With regard to most of the postwar historians whose work I have used to sketch out the liberal order's governing technologies, it must be noted that racial difference here is mainly predicated on the belief that racial governance derives from missteps and pitfalls of the democratic liberal order and not as derivative of the continued and ongoing 'structure' of settler colonialism that is informed by a disposition of white possessiveness. That is, most postwar history fails to sufficiently acknowledge that the conditions for racial governmentality are predicated on the continued maintenance of settler-colonial sovereignty. That is, postwar historians tend to locate land dispossession, and therefore white possessiveness, as an 'event' that happened in 'the past,' at the time of treaty signing in the late 1800s at best, and ambiguously as a 'something that happened back then' at worst. In this line of reasoning, settler-colonialism was/is a stage that Canadians have moved on from, even if Indigenous peoples have not (McCallum 2017, 98). And in this way, Mckay's liberal order framework remains insufficient for adequately understanding completely the governing of Indigeneity and how it continued throughout the postwar era.

While the liberal order framework may capture the ways in which *racialized* Indigenous individuals and populations were governed throughout the postwar era, it subsequently fails in accounting for how the continued deterritorialization of Indigeneity was not only another effect of this postwar racial governmentality, but also a way in which sovereign power was retained and expressed through municipal apparatuses as they increasingly eliminated Indigenous and other racialized populations from municipal territories. Dispossession, as prefaced by Critical

Indigenous Studies and settler colonial scholars in chapter one, operates to govern both land and people; the nation-state cannot be taken for granted as possessing the only claim to territorial sovereignty, and, in fact, in failing to recognize Indigeneity's ontological claim, postwar historians continue to misrecognize how technologies of the postwar era are partly constituted by and dependent on settler-colonialism's enduring white possessive grasp of Indigenous territories, not just in the nineteenth century, but emanating forward to the present day. There is no 'colonial' time period; colonialism, like Indigeneity, is always present and in a state of renewal.

Postwar historians, however, have provided a rich archive documenting the tried and true technologies of the postwar liberal order, and have convincingly accounted for how those technologies refract between federal, provincial, and municipal levels of jurisdiction. As Stranger-Ross (2008, 548) has observed however, "city governments have not typically been considered key actors in colonial land politics." I take up this challenge in chapter four when, like Stranger-Ross (2008), I take the municipal apparatus as my object of analysis for illuminating how its governing rationalities, mechanisms, and technologies formed a coordinated effort in deterritorializing and depopulating Metis from their homes in Minnewaken that culminated in their eventual dispossession of it.

Postwar historians in Canada have yet to seriously theorize Indigeneity beyond its racial re/iterations (Loo 2019; McCallum 2014; Lux 2010; McKay 2000). That is, even though historians such as Loo, McCallum, Lux, and McKay do well to acknowledge colonial relationships and find re/iterations of Indigeneity within the archive, they all fall short of reflexively interrogating how such re/iterations are in themselves racial administrative productions. In taking administrative categories for granted, historians of postwar Canada risk reproducing these very same categories as natural categories of Indigeneity, as opposed to

socially produced targets with their own genealogies, which have often emerged for the purposes of federal, provincial, and municipal governmentalities.

A fact of the twentieth century is that both the governing rationalities and the apparatuses employed to govern Indigenous peoples differed significantly by region, racial appearance, gender, sexuality, class, whether one was a status, non-status, or enfranchised Indian, or Metis, or Inuit. And, to be clear, all of these re/iterations were and continue to be integral to the successful governing of Indigenous peoples by settler governments in Canada, to echo Kolopenuk's (2020) discussion of iteration in the previous chapter. Therefore, to make a blanket claim about the governance of Indigenous communities in the twentieth century is to reproduce the same level of simplicity that governments have used to govern Indigenous peoples through the twentieth century (Andersen 2014a, 6). That is, in thinking with Andersen's (2014a, 28-35) discussion on the ways in which Metis peoplehood has been historically misused as a 'safe signifier' to refer to people of mixed Indigenous ancestry in exchange for other terminology that might offend the liberal psyche of polite Canadians, the term "Indigenous" cannot simply be what historians, or any other serious researcher, uses as a 'politically correct' alternative for what is otherwise a range of specific experiences. Indigeneity, in other words, is not just a 'word replacement'—it exists as a contested signifier that continues to remind settlers of the prior and enduring relationships that Indigenous peoples hold with the places that came to shape us as peoples; Indigeneity, as Kuanani (2016) has argued, is "enduring."

During the postwar era the administrative differences between status and non-status Indians, Metis, and Inuit became more pronounced, especially as the settler-Canadian state became more regionally distinct and contoured by dominion-provincial, dominion-territorial, and provincial-municipal relations of power. The hardening of the differences that distinguished

Metis from other Indigenous peoples such as Inuit and Indians shaped the differences in how Indigeneity was governed. This result, however, must be understood as the culmination of many competing and collaborating forces, such as regionalism, race, and administrative challenges. Therefore, in the following chapter I narrow my focus specifically towards how Metis living in Manitoba were governed through the alignment of primarily federal-provincial programming that helped in rationalizing and naturalizing the processes of land dispossession experienced at the local level that I cover in chapter four. Moreover, in drawing from the national sketching I have undertaken in this chapter, in the following chapter I demonstrate how the province of Manitoba specifically, as an apparatus, established itself as the primary level of government concerned with first producing and then governing the Metis population. That is, in order to understand the governing of Metis in Manitoba, we are required to understand the multiscalar levels of jurisdiction through which Metis came to be governed.

Chapter 3: Governed in Plain Sight: (Re)Securing the White Settler Population and

Differentially Governing the Metis in Manitoba, 1870-1960

Introduction:

A prominent narrative of the Metis in Canadian history, and even amongst academics in

the field of Metis studies, is that following the Battle of Batoche and until our political re-

emergence in the 1960s, Metis were 'hiding' in plain sight. That is, Metis were 'hiding' who we

were as an Indigenous people from mainstream Canada as a way to survive its omnipresent

racism and forms of domination. Such a narrative, unfortunately, overlooks the fact that the

governing of Metis from 1885 onward never lapsed; rather, it simply changed in form. Most

recently in 2020, this narrative is being reproduced through an exhibition commissioned by

Library and Archives Canada and done in partnership with the Metis National Council and the

Manitoba Metis Federation. Furthermore, as this chapter demonstrates, it does not require much

scratching at the surface of governmental programming to reveal that Metis in Manitoba,

specifically, continued to be governed by the growing multi-jurisdictional apparatuses of the

Canadian state from 1870 onward. As covered in the previous chapter, the growth of these

apparatuses and their technologies of education, health, labour, and immigration were being used

at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels in ways that significantly led to the growth of

municipal governments: school divisions were being rearranged and expanded to accommodate

for the growth of suburbs being populated by increased immigration and a growing settler-

colonial population required increased health services and the insurance of employment to be

secured. Metis, even if they were not being specifically targeted through these various

technologies, were, at the very least being translated through them as they 'passed,' in some

cases, as ordinary 'Canadians.' Not all Metis, however, possessed such privilege.

The 'hidden in plain sight' narrative has truly taken on a life of its own as it has become a persistent feedback loop passed between historians, cultural institutions such as museums, and contemporary Metis communities as we attempt to make sense of Metis social, political, and economic sociality in our contemporary immediacies. Part of the blame rests at the feet of historians. As historian Michel Hogue (2020) and Indigenous Studies scholar Chris Andersen (2014b) have both elaborated, the failure of historians of Metis history to look beyond the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and to consider specific community histories beyond the well-worn late nineteenth century nationalist narratives that we have come to associate as the Metis Nations 'official' history, continues to contribute to the reproduction of the hidden-in-plain-sight narrative of Metis people going 'underground' following their defeat at Batoche. While nineteenth century Metis histories are of course valuable for what they have taught us about Metis society at the time, and Metis political resistance in particular, their insights should be considered historically bound. As Andersen (2014b, 630) notes, "Métis history like that at Batoche—tethered to events of 1885—pays little attention to the evolving and constitutive power of Canadian state forms as they impacted and shaped Métis communities in the twentieth century and the agentic contexts within which such power was played out in local contexts." Furthermore, Andersen (2014b, 630) cautions Metis historians that without a "history in between" of the nineteenth century and present-day Metis society, we are left with "explaining twenty-first-century Métis social relations by reference to nineteenth-century events and their immediate aftermath, as though the twentieth century—which bore witness to some of the most profound ruptures in social relations ever experiences—never happened." That is, that the absence of history, in of itself, produces historical effects in limiting how Metis histories are conceived in our everyday. The other part of the blame for Metis investment in the 'hidden in

plain sight narrative' rests with Metis ourselves as we continue to over invest in idealized

nineteenth century narratives of Metis history—the glory days— despite the fact that for many of

our families, hiding was never an option and many of our families continue to hold oral histories

that could otherwise more complexly story our relationships to place and each other throughout

the twentieth century. Thus, in what follows, I do not intend for my analyses to be interpreted as

being at odds with nineteenth century Metis histories, but rather, importantly, as an extension of

Metis histories as a "history in between." One of the key ways that I produce a "history in

between" is through demonstrating how mid-twentieth century agricultural policies were made in

response to and built off of the settlement scheme of the Dominion Lands Policy.

Dealing with how the whole of the Metis Nation was governed following the Battle of

Batoche would be an impossible task to attempt here. Instead, in engaging with Metis

historiography and primary documents in the form of government reports, what I provide is an

account of how Metis who remained in Manitoba following the passing of the *Manitoba Act*

could not have hidden even if they had wanted to. In fact, the exact opposite of hiding occurred.

Rather, in tracing the multifarious growth of the provincial apparatus, in conjunction with its

various municipal apparatuses, I demonstrate that Metis had nowhere to hide as expanding

governmental apparatuses—from agricultural programs at the federal level, to anthropological

studies at the provincial level, or the technologies of property taxes and by-laws at the municipal

level— came to capture, re/iterate, and then govern them.[17] Whether through forms of local

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[17] While it could come off that my insistence that Metis 'had nowhere to hide' is totalizing, the description of 'hiding' is simply to analytically insufficient for explaining twentieth century socialities embedded within the settler-colonial political terrain which contoured all parts of Metis life in some way or another. Accessing healthcare, gaining employment, being a property owner (or a squatter), or accessing education meant 'being seen' to some extent, and, in many cases seen 'racially.' Whether or not Metis experienced governmentality from a differentially racialized standpoint, however, does illustrate the extent to which some Metis families possessed the necessary racial (white), classed, and gendered privileges to evade differential governmentality. Regardless, even with such privileges, such Metis subjects would have still been subject to the regulating and disciplining norms of settler-colonial governmentality.

taxation, or education and labour training programs of improvement at the provincial level, Metis were increasingly being seen by these apparatuses as both populations to be governed and as impediments to the overall improvement of the general settler Manitoban population and territory. Moreover, for more already 'Canadianized' Metis (Lavallee 2003), being governed in plain sight also meant becoming translated through and invested in the mid-twentieth century technologies of education, employment, health, and immigration covered in the previous chapter.

In the previous chapter I surveyed how technologies of settler-colonial racial governmentality circulating federally during the postwar era normalized the differential application of governmental power between white and racialized populations which produced sovereign—that is eliminatory—effects for Indigenous, Black, and other people of colour populations in local municipal contexts. This chapter shifts from discussing the various governing rationalities, technologies, and programs that emerged out of the mid-twentieth century Canadian liberal order more broadly, and towards how Metis and our lands in Manitoba were governed specifically from the signing of the *Manitoba Act* in 1870 and throughout the former part of the twentieth century. Such a line of inquiry first requires the genealogizing of settler-colonial strategies that targeted the Metis Nation first as an external threat and impediment that challenged the sovereignty of the emerging settler-colonial apparatus in Canada; a threat that needed to be neutralized. The domestication of Metis sovereignty by Canadian sovereignty was the first step in establishing a regime of settler-colonial racial governmentality in what would become Manitoba. As such, in following the lead of and picking up where nineteenth century Metis historians have left off, I argue in this chapter that the *Manitoba Act* became the initial iteration of a settler-colonial program that would contribute to the establishment of a provincial apparatus which functioned as a foothold for the then further

reproduction of municipal apparatuses through the Dominion Lands Survey and Act in 1872 that

produced the necessary conditions for settler-homesteading to ensue. These initial settler-

colonial programs became the foundation upon which mid-twentieth century settler-colonial

racial governmentalities operated; I focus on these programs in the latter part of this chapter.

In the first section of this chapter I discuss the *Manitoba Act*, and how it formed the

foundation upon which Metis and the Northwest became continually governed from 1870 and

throughout the twentieth century, arguing that its establishment led to Canada's emergent

federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses. While I agree with scholars such as historian

D.N. Sprague (1992; 1988; 1980) and more recently Metis legal scholar D'Arcy Vermette (2017)

and Metis lawyer Jean Teillet (2019) who have all asserted the role of the Wolseley expedition in

producing the necessarily violent conditions that terrorized Metis in Red River in to fleeing the

region, my goal here is to bring in to conversation my theorizing done in the chapter one on

settler-colonial governmentality and sovereignty with Metis historiography and primary

documents produced by the Government of Manitoba in order in order to demonstrate how the

provincial apparatus continued to reproduce itself following its establishment. In doing so, I

demonstrate how the endurance of settler-colonial sovereignty depended on more than simply

this initial event of violent dispossession, but also required the continued maintenance and

proliferation of provincial and municipal apparatuses.

While the establishment of Canadian sovereignty was a precondition for the formation of

a governing apparatus, this chapter seeks to move beyond this formation stage and capture the

transformation and expression of apparatuses during the former half of the twentieth century. In

tracking the various agricultural programs that Metis were governed at the provincial level, I

seek to extend the history of Metis land dispossession in Manitoba beyond the events of the reign

of terror and in to the twentieth century. In doing so, I also provide further analysis of how Metis who stayed in the Red River region continued to endure and then become governed by the provincial and municipal apparatuses that established themselves in the wake of the expedition. Again, in echoing back to Patrick Wolfe's summation in chapter one, "settler-colonialism is a structure, not an event," and my goal here is to move beyond the initial establishment and towards the proliferation of settler-colonial governmental apparatuses in Manitoba that came to bear upon the Metis who remained. That is, while scholars of Metis history have done well to capture the initial formation of a settler-colonial apparatus in the late nineteenth century, itself tethered to governing technologies from that era, this chapter seeks to demonstrate the transformation and reproduction of settler-colonial apparatuses in the form of municipalities throughout the former half of the twentieth century. As such, while we understand in great detail the formation of the provincial apparatus, this chapter and the chapter that follows, demonstrate how the provincial apparatus transformed during the mid-twentieth century when responding to Depression and postwar era economic and social pressures while also demonstrating how moves to governing Metis played out in local municipal contexts.

As governmental programs, the *Manitoba Act* (1870), the Dominion Lands Survey (1872), and the issuing of Metis scrip (which did not begin until 1876), created the conditions for the settler-colonization of Manitoba. While the *Manitoba Act* was an attempt by Metis negotiators to secure lands for Metis and their children, its application through liberal values of individual private property rights, had the opposite effect of its intended purpose (Flanagan 1992, 228-229; Sprague 1988, 99-100). That is, the *Manitoba Act* provided the Dominion of Canada with the necessary legal legitimacy and governing rationalities to establish its settler-colonial apparatuses, contributing to the depopulating and deteritorializing of Metis from our territorial

base in Manitoba (Sprague 2008, ix; Mailhot and Sprague 1985). Furthermore, as Metis scholar Darren O'Toole (forthcoming) argues, "any such "rights in land" were in land as an atomized commodity and, as such, precisely what allowed the aggregate effect of the gradual dispossession of a collective land base by creating conditions favourable to the dispersal of individual members one lot at a time." The surveying of Metis land through the Dominion Land Survey "translated" shared Metis, Cree, Anishnaabe, and Assiniboine spaces and territories into a cartographic grid system that formed the basis for how settlers were to homestead. This initial deterritorialization of Metis from our lands formed the basis for how municipalities, and rural municipalities in particular, would be spatially organized later in the former part of the twentieth century. The implementation of settler-colonial technologies such as the grid system, still intact today, established a standardized conception of a municipality's territoriality (Blomley 2015; Harris 2020; 2004).

Following my discussion of the original dispossession of Metis and other Indigenous peoples' territories in Manitoba through the federal apparatus's application of sovereign power in 1870 with the Wolseley expedition in order to establish its governmental form of power, I shift in the following sections to explore how that dispossession continued to be maintained through the multiscaler establishment of federal, provincial, and municipal governments whose collaborations sought to secure their settler-colonial populations and territories. In the second section of this chapter I focus on a suite of agricultural policies during the depression era that elucidates the differential application of governmental programs between Metis and settler populations. While Metis land was certainly included in federal-provincial programs during the mid-twentieth century, the characteristics of those programs, I argue, were mainly to re-secure a suffering depression era settler population (Friesen 1987, 391-394). In doing so, the re-securing

of the settler population also had the effect of strengthening settler-colonial municipal apparatuses, whose capacity to govern increased during the mid-twentieth century as federal programs sought to protect agricultural economies and ensure that there was enough social security to maintain immigrant populations, often at the expense of Metis populations (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987; Freisen 1987). I use these agricultural policies as an example of the differential application of governmental power to re-secure the settler population on the prairies while also tracking how these policies differentially affected Metis. Agricultural policies formed a significant program that dispossessed Metis of lands during the depression era. However, apparatuses of settler-colonial power were interested in more than simply the governing of Metis land. By the 1950s the provincial government also developed a concern with statistically producing and then governing a Metis population through the disciplining of individual conduct through programs of education, labour, and (im)migration in order to 'improve' the overall 'health'—as proposed by normative standards—of Metis.

In the third section of this chapter I demonstrate how, during the postwar era specifically, the province of Manitoba became increasingly interested in the wellbeing and welfare of Metis communities, commissioning anthropologist Jean Legassé to undertake a study of the People of Indian and Metis Ancestry (Langford 2016; Parent 2017; Legassé 1961; 1959). The study identified who Metis were, where Metis lived, and how Metis lived. As I have argued elsewhere (Parent 2017), Legassé's study sought to assess the living conditions of Metis with an eye to improve their living conditions. In the context of this chapter, however, I want to return to Legassé's study as a demonstration of state identification and then production of a governable Metis population within the context of postwar Manitoba, specifically for the provincial apparatus. In this way, Metis came to be known specifically—and differently when compared to

other populations—by a provincial apparatus that re-iterated Metis through lenses tinted by racialized governmental biopower and then re/iterated through ongoing technologies of agriculture, education, immigration, and employment. These re/iterations by the provincial apparatus normalized the Metis population as one of needing improvement, which, in turn, further normalized the ensuing land dispossessions that Metis would experience at the municipal level: Metis who failed to pay their property taxes required improvement through jobs, education, and relocation, not through tax relief or other measures that would have allowed them to maintain ownership over their lands. As noted in the previous chapter, employment, (im)migration, and education formed key technologies of the liberal order apparatus of mid-twentieth century Canada where the "will to improve" the population to echo Li (2007), was a guiding rationality of apparatuses. Property taxes, as we will return to in the following chapter, were a pernicious municipal technology in that they identified for the municipality property that required re-securing from the waste of Metis ownership. That is, Metis people were viewed as a population to improve for their labour potential, and not necessarily for their potential to continue to be owners of land and possessors of their territories.

In the fourth section of this chapter I turn to discussing how governmental and sovereign forms of power operated in tandem to govern Metis in Manitoba during the former half of the twentieth century by providing vignettes of the limited accounts that exist of Manitoba Metis community experiences. In these vignettes I outline the application of governmental power as it was applied at the local level in Ste Madeleine, Rooster Town, Weak City, and St Laurent through the insertion of Metis voices. In tandem with the making of a Metis population at the provincial level through the Legassé report, the governing of Metis in these municipal contexts further illuminates how the report provided rationale for the resecuritization projects of settler

populations at the municipal level (fortified by federal support and informed by new postwar governing rationalities to improve the lands within a municipality to make them more productive and efficient overall for the whole nation). While the previous section focusses on the application of power at the provincial level, this section seeks to illuminate the application of settler-colonial governmentality and sovereignty at the local level and what this application meant for local Metis living in Ste Madeleine, St Laurent, and Rooster Town. The application of governmental power at the provincial level, I argue, became a backdrop for partially contextualizing the successive local experiences in Ste Madeleine, Rooster Town, Weak City, and St Laurent, representative of a broader liberal governing rationality. Moreover, in sketching out the diffusion of settler-colonial sovereignty and racial governmentality across multiple Metis communities, I provide for the reader context to explain how the land dispossessions that I trace in the following chapter on Minnewaken, were (and in some cases like St Laurent, were not) occurring in other Metis locales during the mid-twentieth century. Read together, sections three and four of this chapter capture how the provincial apparatus and municipal apparatuses differentially governed Metis at the local level; treated Metis differently than their settler residents; and ultimately further deterritorialized Metis property owners by making them increasingly more land insecure (Toews 2020; 2018; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2018; Langford 2016).

Given Canada's uneven regional settler-colonization and governmental development, regional specificity is required for understanding the establishment, growth, change, and tendencies that eventually expressed themselves as settler-colonial sovereignty and racial governmentality in 1870 and through mid-twentieth century. Hence, this chapter uses the province of Manitoba as a spatial container in order to understand specifically the ways in which

sovereign and governmental powers were applied to govern Metis lives.[18] That is, the signing of

the *Manitoba Act* in 1870 that established the province of Manitoba as part of the Dominion of

Canada paved the way for the establishment of municipal apparatuses. While the *Manitoba Act*

was the first step in establishing settler-colonial apparatuses, it was quickly followed up by the

Dominion Lands Survey that imparted a grid system over the whole Northwest that resulted in a

homesteading program of settlement, which then further produced the foundation upon which

scrip commissions took place. Scrip, a legal device that provided Metis and Halfbreeds with

coupons worth between 160 and 240 dollars (meant to represent the cost of either 160 or 240

acre sections of land) were used as a strategy for extinguishing the Indian title of Metis and

Halfbreeds who were included in the Manitoba Act and/or who were also not included as

members of the Anishnaabe and Cree bands who negotiated the numbered treaties.

This initial suite of legislation and the homesteading program of settlement, however,

proved to effect Metis differentially in that many Metis lost land, while others would retain it by

trading in their scrip coupons for sections of fee simple land (private property) (Flannagan 1992;

Sprague 1988). In the context of Minnewaken, and in the broader Interlake Metis world in places

like St Laurent,[19] many Metis seemed to have maintained possession of their lands throughout

the turn of the twentieth century until the latter part of the mid-twentieth century.[20] The former

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[18] Conceptually drawing off of scholars of place (Cresswell 2015, 54-58; McDowell 1999; Harvey 1989, 25), I use 'the province' as a conceptual boundary in order to limit the governing apparatuses that I trace in this project. Given the vastness of the Metis homeland, which includes the three prairie provinces, and given that each province possesses its own specific histories of development, this provincial approach has provided me with a more manageable 'footprint' to deal with, as opposed to also delving into the unique histories of Metis communities in other provinces which themselves have been produced by the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and their governing apparatuses.

[19] The Interlake of Manitoba refers to an area nestled between Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, located north of the City of Winnipeg.

[20] Diane Payment*, The Free People - Li Gens Libres: A History of the Métis Community of Batoche, Saskatchewan,* University of Calgary Press, 2009. See for discussion of Metis land in Saskatchewan following the Battle of Batoche in 1885.

instance of Metis land loss through scrip commissions, however, continues to be the dominant narrative in Metis historiography; that is, there exists the dominant notion that Metis lost all of their land at the turn of the century as opposed to a narrative of gradual loss over time to expanding townships and municipalities. However, as histories of places in Manitoba such as Saint Laurent, Oak Point (St-Onge 2004; 1990; Lavallee 1988), Rooster Town (Toews 2020; 2018 Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018), Ste Madeleine (Sammons 2013; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987), and as I will demonstrate was the case with Minnewaken in the final chapter, dispossession also happened much later than has previously been asserted and specifically through the use of municipal technologies such as property taxes and by-laws. As such, in the final section of this chapter I return to these accounts, using them as vignettes for describing how municipalities in Manitoba were governing Metis people and lands, as Indigeneity became classified through municipal regulatory management, mainly, the enforcement of property taxes and municipal by-laws. From 1935 when the Metis community of Ste Madeleine was dispossessed of their lands and then through the post-WW2 era, both the dispossession of Metis land and the governing of Metis people was being shaped by a racialized liberal order—a governing rationality of white possessiveness—that, through its mission of securing the prairie's suffering white population, did so at the expense of Manitoba Metis communities.

Early (Dis)Possession of Metis Lands since 1870: The Manitoba Act, Dominion Lands Act, and Scrip Commission

Canadian settler claims to possess Manitoba can be traced back to 1870 when the North-West territory was transferred from the 'ownership' of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Government of Canada; a move that Metis political theorist Adam Gaudry (2016, 46) has identified as following "the problematic logic of the Doctrine of Discovery." As Gaudry (2016,

62-63) explains, "The transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's claim to the North-West to the Dominion of Canada in 1869 was justified by three pieces of legislation: two imperial statutes, the Rupert's Land Act (1868) and the British North America Act (1867); and one Canadian bill, the Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land (1869)."

However, Metis would mount resistance to the Dominion's claim over lands through the establishment of a provisional government between 1869-1870. Led by Louis Riel, the provisional government negotiated the *Manitoba Act* that produced the terms under which the District of Assiniboia would enter into Canadian confederation as the province of Manitoba (O'Toole 2016, 73-74; Tough 1996, 115-117). Sections 31 and 32 of the *Manitoba Act* sought to reserve "1.4 million acres of land that [was] granted to the children of Métis and Half-Breed heads of families" as a means to protect Metis from land dispossession. Furthermore, adds historical geographer Frank Tough (1996, 115), "Section 32 of the Manitoba Act was also important to the Metis because it protected the full range of land tenures and privileges that had developed at Red River prior to the transfer of Rupertsland. The supposition was that the Metis occupancy of the province would have been protected by these sections." The implementation of the Manitoba Act "established a precedent by which Metis adults received 160 acres or dollars and their children received $240 of money scrip from scrip commissions. Later scrip commissions would issue 240 acres or dollars of scrip to both adults and children. Land scrip had the status of real property . . . Beyond issuing scrip coupons, there was no explicit recognition of Metis Aboriginal rights" (Tough 1996, 117). In this case, scrip effectively became an instrument for quickly rationalizing and eliminating Metis Aboriginal title in order to clear said lands for homesteaders (Sprague 1988, 123-124).

Immediately following the Manitoba Act, the Dominion Lands Survey (DLS), followed by the Dominion Lands Act, established a cartographic grid over the whole North-West, save for the "postage stamp" province of Manitoba (Carter 2016, xx; Freisen 1987, 181-184), to establish a settlement plan for homesteaders. Minnewaken was located just outside of the postage stamp, just north of Oak Point and therefore the lands there were subject to the DLS.[21] Following the survey in 1872, the DLS became a master program of sorts for the establishment of further governing apparatuses in Western Canada in that it established a scheme for the immigration and settlement of settlers who would be granted 160 acres, commonly referred to as a quarter section (Friesen 1987, 183-184). Settlers were required to pay ten dollars as well as cultivate and live on the land in order to retain it (Carter 2016, xx). As noted prairie historian Sarah Carter (Carter 2016, xx) explains, the DLS

> that began in 1871 affirmed Canadian sovereignty over these lands and facilitated non-Indigenous settlement. The land was surveyed into townships of thirty-six square sections. Each section was one mile square and consisted of 640 acres. Sections were further subdivided into four quarter sections of 160 acres each. Township lines run east and west and were numbered north from the international boundary. The lines that run north and south are range lines. The First or Principle Meridian in Manitoba was located just west of Winnipeg, and additional meridians were added as the survey advanced west.

Similarly, historian Gerald Friesen notes that the DLS established "the regulations by which the land could be occupied" (1987, 183). The survey, modeled after "the Homestead Act of 1862 in the United States, whereby a settler could obtain a 160-acre farm for a nominal fee of ten dollars" (183). With the growing popularity of the Homestead Act in the United States, the Canadian response was to mimic the policy in order to ensure that 'its west' would, too, be settled. Furthermore, homesteading would further finance other technologies of settlement as

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[21] See Map in Appendix 2.

revenue collected from settling Dominion Lands were intended "to pay for railway construction as well as to attract settlers" (Freisen 1987, 183).

The settling of homestead land was further constrained as certain sections of lands were assigned to the Hudson's Bay Company and to school lands. As part of the Rupertsland transfer the Hudson's Bay Company reserved the right to "up to 50,000 acres around its posts and one-twentieth of the Fertile Belt (usually section 8 and three-quarters of section 26, or about 6.6 million acres) as part of the compensation for relinquishing its exclusive right to trade" (Friesen 1987, 184). I raise this point here by way of prefacing the following chapter, as section 26, nominally HBC lands, also became the section in Minnewaken possessed by the heirs of James Monkman and the section of land alluded to in the introduction as stated on the by-law enforcement for taxes owed. Revenue generated from settlers homesteading lands reserved for schools were then reserved for the future establishment, building, and running of those schools (184).

The DLS became a master program for reproducing settler-colonial territorialisation in that it imagined the spatial arrangement of townships, which would later become municipalities, before their physical settlement. Carter (2016, xxi) explains further that

> The odd-numbered sections in each township were railway land grants. The Canadian Pacific Railway was granted 25,000,000 acres. The Hudson's Bay Company was awarded one- and three-quarter sections in each township. Two sections in each township were set aside to support educational facilities and were called school sections. Railway, Hudson's Bay Company, and school lands were available for purchase, and the idea was that as the homesteaders improved their quarter sections they would seek to expand through purchase.

Through the DLS and then the DLA, the Dominion Lands Branch, as an already cogent apparatus for settler-colonization, was now effective socially and materially reproducing itself in smaller more localized iterations in local contexts: townships, and later municipalities, came to

be their own apparatuses with their own specific technologies in the form of taxation schemes and by-laws, based on their origins in the offices of the Dominion Lands Branch.

The Dominion Lands Brand did more than determine how lands were to be settled (a geospatial question); it also determined *who* could settle those lands, a biopolitical imperative. In determining who could be a homesteader Carter (2016, xxi) notes three points of differentiation for who could be a homesteader. First, those who were legal Indians under the Indian Act were barred from homesteading; and second and third, "[b]efore 1874, any single woman or any male over the age of twenty-one could homestead [and] [t]his was changed in 1874 to eighteen years of age." While "[i]n 1876 entry could be made by any person who was a sole head of a family or any male over the age of eighteen. Single women were no longer permitted to homestead. A woman could homestead only if she was a sole head of household with a minor child or children. This was interpreted to mean widow (Carter 2016, xxi).[22] The DLS, thus, was a program that established norms of conduct as well as establishing a biopolitical racial order for determining who qualified as a homesteader, reflective of a patriarchal-racializing liberal order. Although first inflected by patriarchal sexism that disqualified women from homesteading, whiteness came to be a more formative and structuring form of capital that allowed subjects purchase into the homesteading market.

When it came to the selling of Metis scrip in Manitoba Flanagan and Ens (1994, 86-87) have identified four variables that correlated with the price that property owners could demand

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[22] As we will return to in the following chapter on Minnewaken, Metis living in this locale, not defined as legal Indians, chose to take part in the homesteading process or obtained lands that were planned out by this scheme. Although many of the Metis and Halfbreed families lived in Minnewaken prior to the Dominion Lands Survey, the DLS would provide them with a mechanism to secure their lands in close proximity to each other to maintain the Minnewaken community.

between 1880 to 1882, the time when the majority of Metis scrip and land patents were

transacted:

1) Ethnicity (whites were more successful than English half-breeds, who in turn received higher prices than French Metis);
2) Location (proximity to Winnipeg, other town sites, or rail lines);
3) Timing (selling during the boom);
4) Family acumen

Writing together, Ens and Flanagan bring together their complimentary theses for how Metis

lands ended up in the hands of settlers. Flanagan is reiterating his 1992 thesis in *Metis Lands in*

Manitoba, where he argues that the lands promised in the terms of sections 31 and 32 of the

Manitoba Act had indeed been distributed, and that it was in fact free and agentic Metis who

were attempting to cash in on the land market that would have allowed for better returns on their

scrip than the simple 1 dollar to 1-acre formula. Ens (1992), on the other hand, argues for an

adaption thesis whereby Metis find little value in scrip given their investment in the buffalo

economy that saw them out on the prairie and outside of the District of Assiniboia for a period of

the year. That is, their lifestyle, according to Ens (1992), was not compatible with homesteading

or its requisites to improve the land, pay property taxes, and keep the land as ones' main

residence.

However, unintendedly and unironically, Flanagan and Ens' (1994) empirical rendering

of the land market data and the variables they illuminate point toward insights that I discussed in

chapter one regarding Brenna Bhandar's (2018) theorization of "racial regimes of property" and

Aileen Moreton-Robinson's (2016) theorization of *white possessiveness.* That is, in attempting to

overturn the dispossession thesis of Sprague (1992; 1988), who argues that with the delays of

issuing of Metis scrip until 1876, coupled with the terrorization of the Wolseley expedition and

the reluctance of liberal Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie to honour the *Manitoba Act* or

grant amnesty to political leaders such as Louis Riel, Flannagan and Ens (1994) present an actually more convincing thesis. The co-evolution of race and property produced a racial regime of property that privileged proximity to whiteness which in turn structured Metis land dispossession through white possessive accumulation. That is, whiteness here is not simply a racial signifier, a classification system of biopower, but also a disciplinary geospatial system and form of capital that structured the market: whiteness was capital that individuals could possess and wield in order to demand higher returns for their property. As Cherryl Harris (1993) has so perfectly argued: whiteness is property![23]

Moreover, this specific racial regime of property complicates Rob Nichols' (2020) theorization of recursive dispossession, that is, how Indigenous lands are transferred, transformed, and then retroactively recognized. Rather, in the case of scrip in Manitoba, Indigenous lands were transferred, transformed, and then transferred back to Halfbreeds and Metis differentially leading not so simply to the *dispossession* of land, but also the structured and structuring *investment* into a liberal private property system by Metis and Halfbreeds whose differing positions within previous economies allowed them to 'play the game' differently. I discuss this racial regime of property here by way of prefacing the following chapter as it was partially their identification as Halfbreeds, and, importantly, as farmers and fishermen, that may have produced the conditions of possibility whereby the families in Minnewaken were advantaged by the Dominion Lands Act. For example, as individuals who had already lived and maintained a fishing and farming economy in the Interlake, the Monkmans as well as other Metis and Halfbreed families would have been incredibly advantaged as scrip provided them with the ability to maintain markets and properties that they had developed prior to the signing of the

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[23] See also George Lipset's (2006) *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics*, for a discussion on whiteness as a form of property.

Manitoba Act. Through the Dominion Lands Policy, homesteading, and the ways in which whiteness emerged as a form of capital, a racial regime of property emerged that favoured some families and individuals and their lifestyles, mainly those committed to fishing and/or small-scale farming, as opposed to those still invested in the fur trade. That is, the whiteness of property produced differential possibilities for how Metis and Halfbreeds would navigate the droves of white settlers who descended upon Manitoba.

Between the Manitoba Act, the Dominion Lands Survey, and the issuing of scrip, the Canadian government and its Dominion Lands Branch produced ways to identify Metis people and lands as targets of an emerging patriarchal-racializing liberal order that sought to capture the historic North-West as its own; to expand its territory so that its dominant settler population could immigrate and proliferate into what we now understand as Western Canada (Eyford 2016, 10-11; Friesen 1987, 185-186). The DLS, although effective for the first half century, would begin to be undone as it failed to account for the environmental factors of planned settlement (Morton 1992 [1969], 37-39). The DLS led homesteaders onto lands that eventually became economically unviable as much of the western Canadian prairie landscape began environmentally resisting the agricultural practices that had been sown as the once fertile prairie turned into a dustbowl (Friesen 1987, 388).

Although the seeds of settler-colonial apparatuses had been sown through the *Manitoba Act, Dominion Lands Act,* homesteading policies, and the scrip commission, some Metis communities managed to tether themselves to quarter-sections dispersed throughout the Prairie West (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987; Legassé 1959) or on road allowances yet to be developed (Baron 1997; Belcourt 2006; Campbell 2019). This initial wave of settlement remained relatively stable throughout the early half of the twentieth century at which time prairie populations, both settler

and Indigenous, witnessed environmental upheavals that threatened this initial land tenure regime: "That four of every ten prospective landowners did not secure their homestead quarter-section would seem to be an indictment of policy and a measure of environmental unsuitability" (Friesen 1987, 310). Eventually, this initial settler-colonial strategy of government needed to be rethought. Starting with the Great Depression in 1935 – caused in part by soil degradation on the prairies – the federal government sought to save the rural population through *re*-settlement and agricultural improvement schemes differentially applied to settler-colonial and Metis populations. For settler-colonial populations these twentieth century policies, which I detail next, promised salvation; for Metis populations they meant further displacement and elimination.

Federal-Provincial Programmes for Resecuring the White Settler Population: PFRA, ARDA, and FRED

On the Canadian prairies, the Great Depression was, in part, the result of the failure of farming due to the mass soil degradation that followed homesteading on land sections not suitable for long term farming (Philips 1990, 18). As a result much of the prairie west came to suffer immensely during the Great Depression as homesteaded farms—farms that had required the deterritorialization of Indigenous peoples—had turned into fields of dust and farmers lost their ability to provide for themselves (Marchildon 2009; Caryle 1994, 71; MacPherson and Thompson 1992 [1989], 479-481; Friesen 1987, 389-392). In 1935 the Canadian government, facing a rural exodus of some "250,000 people [who] moved out of the prairies between 1931 and 1941" (Friesen 1987, 388), was forced to intervene in order to *re-secure* its population, which set the tenor for how the prairie territory and populations came to be governed through a host of intergovernmental federal-provincial collaborations. As I discuss below, federal-provincial programmes starting with the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act (PFRA) in 1935

(Phillips 1990, 18-22; Friesen 1987, 391-393), that dovetailed into the Agriculture and Rural

Development Act (ARDA) (Lapping and Fuller 1985), and which eventually splintered into the

Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) fund in the late 1960s, itself becoming more

regionalized to the Interlake of Manitoba specifically, profoundly reshaped the physical make up

of municipalities from the interwar and through the post-WWII eras. The PFRA, ARDA, and

FRED demonstrate programmes that regulated norms through which settler citizens would see

the value of themselves over the value of 'others' such as the Metis. Moreover, in comparing the

ways in which the PFRA, ARDA, and FRED sought to 'improve' the white settler population

against how the Jean Legassé and the Province of Manitoba sought to 'improve' the Metis

population (covered in the following sections), race emerges a key point of differentiation that

produced two integrated, albeit differentiated, expressions of governmentality.

This suite of federal-provincial programmes illuminates how expansive the liberal order

was at the federal and provincial levels that rationalized for the broader Manitoban population,

and to those most involved in municipal governance specifically, the proper conduct and

rationalities required for the adequate orchestration of postwar technologies of education, health,

immigration, and employment that could render municipal territories more secure. While

postwar Canadian historians have identified and elaborated on in other Canadian locales how

governmentalities were often differentially applied along racial lines (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018),

this same kind of racial governmentality was being expressed in in Manitoba; demonstrating a

shared homology between municipal apparatuses, their governing rationalities, and their use of

technologies to ultimately provide social and economic security to the settler prairie population

through ensuring their territorial integrity. The functioning of Manitoba's provincial and

municipal apparatuses demonstrate how Metis specifically came to be governed through a

racialized liberal order that resulted in the continued dispossession of their land, both in the cities and in rural municipalities.

Governmentality requires that the subject population become known by those seeking to govern them (Loo 2019, 30; Mawani 2010, 16-22). During the postwar years, Metis in Manitoba became legible (and thus "known" to government) in various ways through programs such as the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, ARDA, and later, FRED (Toews 2018; Parent 2017; Langford 2016; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987). Moreover, while these programmes led to the further geopolitical subjugation of the Metis, primarily during the Depression era, the governing rationalities encoded in this suite of legislation share an affinity both intuitionally and in substance. Such rationalities were further reiterated in Jean Legassé's 1959 three volume report titled *A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba,* which was undertaken by the provincial social and economic research office located in the Department of Agriculture and Immigration (Langford 2016; Legassé 1959). Legassé's (1959) report, as we will discuss in the following section, not only produced racialized understandings of who the Metis were, along with people of Indian ancestry more generally, but drew from a tradition within the Department of Agriculture and Immigration of making Metis legible and by extension more identifiable and knowable to the provincial apparatus, as was demonstrated in the Department's participation in the PFRA.

The fact that agriculture and immigration came to be housed in the same department is representative of the co-dependent relationship they shared, demonstrating, as I explained in the previous chapter, the extent to which immigration served as a key technology of the patriarchal-racializing liberal order (Bohaker and Iacovetta 2009; Day 2000). The importance of immigration as a technology of settler-colonial sovereignty to settle Indigenous lands, and then

establish governmental arrangements to govern the established (immigrant) settler population, was thus not a new feature of federal and provincial settler-colonial security apparatuses in the mid-twentieth century. That is, immigration continued to be a productive technology of settler-colonization whose genealogy can be connected back to the Dominion Lands Act and initial homesteading. As with homesteading in the late 1800s and early 1900s, immigration and agriculture remained fused.

On the one hand, agriculture was meant to regulate the use of land by ensuring its proper management so as to ensure vitality, while on the other hand, immigration was used as a social technology to regulate the internal prairie populations that were seeking refuge from rural poverty by moving to growing prairie metropolises such as Winnipeg (Friesen 1987, 419): rural populations were being spatially reorganized. As Friesen (1987, 419) explains, "Winnipeg as one of Canada's metropolises, benefited most from the dramatic drift from farm to city, especially in the 1950s, and almost doubled in size from 300,000 to 600,000 in these forty years." Urban centres could promise new residents increased wage labour opportunities, healthcare services, and educational opportunities at a scale that rural municipalities could simply not offer. Although urban migration was occurring at a rapid pace, rural Manitoban communities were also being renovated through new agricultural practices being shaped by techno-scientific technologies. These changes contributed to the structuring of postwar Manitoba's social (Moreton 1992, 37-38), economic, and political orders, including, the further entrenchment of municipal and provincial apparatuses. Together, these had the effect of further dispossessing Metis communities from the places that they had possessed prior to WWII (Toews 2020; Peters, Stock, and Werner 2016; Langford 2016; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987; Legassé 1959), a point that we will return to with more clarity in section four of this chapter.

In order to better understand how Metis became governmentalized and then governed during the mid-twentieth century in Manitoba, it is useful to consider multiple policies, reports, histories, and positions. In this section of this chapter, I will centre the rural policies, reports, and experiences to which little attention has otherwise been paid in the governing of rurally located Metis in Manitoba. As such, this section begins by providing a chronological account of the mainly economic and agricultural policies that sought to govern rural areas; policies that had the added effect of also governing Metis communities. That is, rural policies such as the Royal Commission on dominion-provincial relations, PFRA, ARDA, and FRED, in attempting to inject social and economic technological modernity into rural areas, were, by extension, increasingly including Metis communities who had continued to live in rural areas, either on lands obtained by scrip, homesteading, or as squatters on Crown land or lands reserved for future roads, commonly understood as road allowances.

In some cases, such as the case with communities like St Laurent where Metis comprised the population majority and therefore occupied positions on the local municipal council, Metis were afforded the opportunity to shape and contribute to municipal governance (Lavallee 2003; St-Onge 1990). Therefore, it would also be a mistake to say that all Metis in Manitoba experienced the dispossession of their lands through municipal governance. That is to say that municipalities were important and vital vectors for distributing provincial and federal policies and programs, especially in terms of navigating PRFA programs. Indeed, regional diversity even within the province of Manitoba must be accounted for: municipalities, like colonialism more generally, are productive apparatuses whose effects, while perhaps prefiguring, are not predetermining. That is to say, the dispossession of Metis by municipal apparatuses was not (always) explicitly intentional even if dispossession and displacement became a consequence of

the municipal governing structures: colonial effects, in this sense, do not necessarily require intent, or, even, derive linearly from intent. As such, the remaking of rural and urban spaces was also a process of remaking, or, in many cases, destroying, Metis communities who previously inhabited these places. Therefore, an understanding of how Manitoba governed municipal spaces during the postwar era is also imperative for understanding how Metis were governed and how we became the casualties of postwar Canadian governmentalities.

Postwar governance of Manitoba was, in part, shaped by the recent struggles that most Manitobans had experienced during the Great Depression. In 1935 in the midst of the collapse of the agricultural economy, especially on the Canadian prairies, the Conservative prime minister R.B. Bennet established the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act (PFRA), which sought to fix the immense struggles that farmers were facing.[24] Farmers on the prairies were abandoning their farms as the drought had made rural life an untenable reality. In the Prairie provinces, and in Manitoba in particular (whose economy so heavily depended on the export of grain), federal aid to the province was a necessary concession that the province was willing to make in an era when the bid to demonstrate provincial autonomy weighed heavy on the minds of provincial actors. In order to help facilitate economic growth, in 1937 and throughout the years of WWII, the Canadian government conducted a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (RCDPR), which sought to document the economic struggles of the settler population in hopes of figuring out how to reverse the grueling depression that Canadians experienced during the 1930s (Bothwell, Drummond, and English 1989 , 47-49; Philips 1990, 18-22; Gonick 1990, 27; Wiseman 2014, 24). The RCDPR and the PFRA are unique in that they spanned the interwar, wartime, and postwar eras and both, along with the standing committee on postwar

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[24] Department of Agriculture, Report on Activities under the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act for the Year Ending March 31 1945, Canada.

reconstruction, would have lasting impacts for how the provinces dealt with rural and social development in Manitoba.

In this section I draw empirically from two PFRA annual reports – one from 1945 and the other from 1950 – as well as an infographic publication published by the federal Department of Agriculture in 1961, in order to elucidate how two cross-sections of the PFRA's governing aspirations formed a governing discursive formation that normalized the differential governmentality of settler-colonial and Metis populations on the prairies.[25]

The PFRA sought to modernize agriculture through professionalization. As Gerald Friesen (1987, 389-390) notes: "The problem of soil erosion was tackled by a new phenomenon of prairie life—the agricultural scientist." Research at the three prairie universities in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba became places where government-funded scientists "would ensure that farmers, like doctors and teachers, would have the best available information and practice when they undertook their assignments" (Friesen 1987, 390). The successes and impacts of the PFRA were tracked annually by Canada's Department of Agriculture in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of experimental farms and stations, land reclamation projects, re-grassing, tree planting, soil research, soil surveys, agriculture improvement associations, wheat stem sawfly control, water development, and land utilization through the community pastures program.[26]

The PFRA was exceptional in that agriculture generally is meant to be under provincial jurisdiction;[27] however, given the dire circumstances that farmers were in, federal-provincial collaboration was necessary. As Friesen (1987, 392) explains, both Manitoba and Saskatchewan

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[25] During my archival research at the Manitoba archives I was met with restricted access to PFRA reports that fell underneath the Freedom of Information Protection Act (FIPA). Fortunately, the University of Manitoba library possessed two PFRA reports, one from 1945 and 1950 as well as an infographic publication that help chart out the governmentality of the PFRA. I plan access? other reports at a later date.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid, 13.

saw some of the worst cases of soil drifting such that jurisdiction was transferred to the federal

government who "then fenced, seeded with grass, and turned over to local 'community pasture'

associations that determined grazing rights." The community pastures program was meant as a

measure to "stop soil erosion and save livestock, but they also provided work, relief money, and

even adequate machinery for communities that lacked all three" (Friesen 1987, 392). The PFRA

was not simply recovering the prairie, it was also saving the farming populations whose farms

could no longer economically sustain them.

Thus, the PFRA had goals that were both geopolitical (territorially securitization) and

biopolitical (increasing the health of the populations). A PFRA 1961 infographic publication

begins with a quote stating the purposes and establishment of the PFRA from then Minster of

Agriculture, Robert Weir:

> Throughout the whole program it is our purpose to assist the farmers, and to demonstrate
> whether or not the people in these areas can continue to live there with only very little
> moisture that they are not receiving. Our first aim is to do everything possible to make
> these people self-sustaining. Secondly, we must decide which areas are best suited for
> grain growing, which are best suited for ranching, and the best way to handle those areas
> which are intermediate.[28]

Although the Natural Resources Transfer Agreements had ceded the control over resources from

the Dominion of Canada to the three prairie provinces in 1930 (Friesen 1987, 440), the failure of

crops cultivated the perfect conditions for the federal government to plant its own seed of rural

governmentality in the form of the PFRA. According Minister Weir, farmers of the prairies

required care and it would be federal programming that would ensure their continued prosperity.

One of the PFRA's sites of problematization focused on access to water as the regional

diversity of the prairie provinces meant that farmers possessed differential access to water.[29]

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[28] Canada Department of Agriculture, "Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act: What it means to the Prairie Provinces,"
Pub. No. 1138, October 1961
[29] Ibid, 3.

Although useful for designing the settlement of lands, the grid system of the *Dominion Lands Act* that was to be populated by homesteaders failed to properly consider farmers whose sections and quarter sections were alienated from water in the process. Reflecting on the mismatch of settler colonial immigration to place, the infographic explains that

> [a]s a result of climatic conditions, it was inevitable that new settlers moving to the prairies should make some mistakes and experience difficulties in becoming established, particularly at the outset when there were no precedents to follow in developing suitable methods in farming. With rapid settlement which took place shortly after the turn of the present century, many farmers homesteaded on land that should never have been farmed. During the first few years, with favorable moisture conditions, all went well. But with a return to drier weather, drought and attendant soil drifting problems arose, crops withered and the farming population dwindled or became dependent on the local, provincial and federal governments for support.[30]

By 1960 the Department of Agriculture recognized the consequences of earlier colonial settlement strategies and was therefore determined to provide settlers with another chance to prosper in rural areas.

The PFRA provided numerous programs in order to re-secure the prairie for the settler population. For example, the PFRA established 52 experimental farms, each consisting of 640 acres. Experimental farms were spaces where farmers could learn "practical" farming techniques for the "reclamation" of their soil.[31] At the same time, the PFRA created "nearly 600 regrassing projects" and "four large tree planting experiments and . . . thousands of smaller tree planting projects" as both systems were sought to solve issues of soil drift.[32] The sheer growth in agricultural development during the 25 year period between 1935 and 1960 that the infographic chronicles of the PFRA cannot be understated as "nearly 100,000 acres of land were used in experimental or demonstrational work" under the program.[33] To efficiently govern agricultural

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[30] Ibid, 3.
[31] Ibid, 3.
[32] Ibid, 8.
[33] Ibid, 8.

rehabilitation, however, the PFRA established agencies and farms that could develop knowledge through "soil surveys, soil research, forage crop breeding, sawfly control investigation, and farm implement studies."[34] The PFRA brought with it not just the development of a modern agriculture, but, in fact, required the modernization of citizens. Adoption of new farming practices, however, were differentially adopted by farmers in Manitoba, at only 20-25% stated compliance, compared to 50% in Saskatchewan, and even more in Alberta.[35]

The PFRA possessed three main directives that, on the one hand, sought to repair the economic instability of the prairies, and, on the other hand, sought to care for those farmers who suffered under previous governments' policies:

1) The permanent withdrawal of submarginal prairie land from cultivation;

2) The development of such areas for grazing purposes; and

3) The resettlement on suitable farmland of farmers removed from submarginal areas.[36] Canada, through the Department of Agriculture, was taking responsibility for protecting their citizens—farmers—from the woes of economic risk created by prior environmental oversights. By this time, the Department of Agriculture had learned that not all prairie soil was made equally, and that settlement strategies of the late 19th and early 20th century had set citizens up for failure. The department, however, could intervene by optimizing both the farmers, through training and education, and optimizing the lands that could be farmed; a goal realized through the community pastures program. Ironically, the department was showing pastoral care to farmers, while at the same time retraining those same farmers to practice pastoral care to the lands that would ensure the farming population with vitality.

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[34] Ibid, 9.
[35] Ibid 9.
[36] Ibid, 11.

The community pastures program was meant as a way to provide farmers with optimized lands for their livestock to graze, while allocating other lands for growing crops. Farms that were lost during the depression due to debt accumulation were reverted back to Crown land, and, therefore, governed by the Department of Agriculture. Recognizing that while not ideal for crops, much of this land could be ideal for grazing, the Department of Agriculture turned such lands into community pastures. In doing so, they ensured that farmers could diversify, and therefore become part of a mixed farming economy (Massie 2010, 176-177). In diversifying what farmers could produce in crops and livestock, the Department of Agriculture, through its community pastures program, was ceding lands, but also seeding and sewing the vitality of rural populations on the prairies.[37]

In 1961, the Department of Agriculture celebrated the apparent success of the PRFA's community pastures program by announcing in Ottawa on May 10:

> The gates of 68 community pastures in Manitoba and Saskatchewan swung open on May 1 for the grazing season and 130,000 cattle began moving in on hoof and truck. There are two million acres of grass enclosed by fences and supervised by the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration. Except for two nearer pastures in the Riding Mountain area of Manitoba, all are booked to capacity by approximately 7,000 livestock owners.[38]

The success of the community pastures program demonstrates the effectiveness of rural governance leading up to and then continuing throughout the postwar era. Farmers had embraced measures taken by government and had invested in the pastoral process. The community pastures program was biopower in its finest agricultural iteration as the targeted farming population invested in the solutions that the federal security apparatus provided to them, and, to the extent that individuals came to conform their bodily conduct to the norms set out by the community

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[37] Ibid, 11-12.
[38] Ibid, 12.

pastures program. Settler-colonial governmentality was ensuring that its target population was

secure and that individuals became governable subjects in the process.

In addition to the development of community pastures, the PFRA also sought to create

and implement strategies for the governance of water in order to better mitigate drought. The

PFRA implemented strategies at both the larger communal and smaller individual scales:

> The large projects include storage and irrigation works on the large rivers and streams
> and are intended to service community needs and provide for rehabilitation on a
> community scale. Individual projects consist of dugouts, stock watering dams and
> irrigation works. These are developed for the purpose of providing water on individual
> farms from the smaller streams and local runoff.[39]

The proper management of prairie land would not be successful unless the management of

drought, and by extension, the water issue, was addressed. Governments were willing to not only

care for farmers, but also their livestock, lands, and water. The governance of rural space on the

prairies thus intensified during the era.

Finally, the 1961 PFRA infographic demonstrates that between 1935 and 1961, the

federal government spent a total of $182,203,317 on the PFRA in the provinces of Manitoba,

Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Moreover, funding for the program significantly increased between

1949 and 1961, which is reflective of the sheer growth of Canada's welfare state during the

postwar era.[40]

In 1960 a second federal-provincial strategy for increasing economic growth through

farming was established as Canada implemented the Agriculture and Rehabilitation

Development Act.[41] However, in an annual report on ARDA by the Department of Forestry of

Canada for the 1965-1966 year, suggests that the department wanted to pivot from framing

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[39] Ibid, 15.
[40] Ibid, 70-71.
[41] Department of Forestry of Canada-Ottawa, Agricultural and Rural Development Act: Annual Report 1965-1966,
1965-1966, 1.

ARDA as "rehabilitation" to "rural" by changing the R in ARDA to mean rural development, not

just rehabilitation:

> Today, the popular name "ARDA" is still used, but its modern referent is the
> "Agricultural and Rural Development Act". Rather than emphasizing improvements in
> agriculture, the ARDA program now places stress, first, on facing the social and
> economic needs of the people of rural areas, and, second, on developing various
> resources to meet these requirements.[42]

As such, the change in ARDA both distinguished it from the PFRA as well as the discourse of

rehabilitation. Shifting from rehabilitation to rural development also communicated to

government officials outside of the Department of Agriculture and citizens that Canada was

ready to move beyond reconstruction and rehabilitation and take control of rural development by

harnessing the technological leaps of the postwar era and step fully in to its own modernity. As

Canadian historians Edward Jones-Imhotep and Tina Adcock (2018) explain in the introduction

to their anthology *Made Modern: Science and Technology in Canadian History,* projects of

science and technology throughout Canadian history have often "offered settler-colonial

Canadians the ability to comprehend and thus claim a sprawling territory through techniques of

inventory and description. Technology offered them the ability to 'collapse' space and time,

helping to knit a disparate and far-flung citizenry together" (25). Modernity as a discourse has

normalized a particular form of societal structure that naturalizes "the rise of the centralized

nation-state, of the public sphere, of industrial capitalism, of global commerce, of large-scale

bureaucracy, . . . [and] mass urbanization" as markers of reaching the apex of civilization (Jones-

Imhotep and Adcock 2018, 5; see also Scott 1998 and Harvey 1989). The shift from

rehabilitation to rural development, however, was also representative of the growth and reach of

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[42] Ibid, 1.

Canadian rural policy as ARDA sought to be much more expansive than the PFRA to include

more than just the rehabilitation of farms, but also of communities and how they were governed.

Canada and the prairie provinces understood by now that rural areas required more than

just the rehabilitation of farms, but also, the reorganization of rural municipalities. That is, rural

municipalities were to play a role in increasing farming outputs by encouraging the growth of

farm sizes to increase farm efficiencies. ARDA was a promise to address the poverty that had

come to distinguish rural communities from their prosperous urban counterparts.[43] As such,

ARDA required the co-ordination of many sectors of government in order to be successful at

solving the issue of rural poverty:

> The ARDA program is also integrated with other attempts at fighting poverty or raising
> productivity in rural Canada. This involves liaison with such federal government
> organizations, or departments, as the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council,
> which is set up to coordinate Canada's "War on Poverty"; Central Mortgage and Housing
> Corporation; the Department of National Health and Welfare; the Atlantic Development
> Board; the Department of Agriculture; the Department of Fisheries; the Indian Affairs
> Branch, and others. The Fiscal year 1965-1966 also witnessed the appointment of
> regional directors by the federal government to facilitate coordination and liaison with the
> provinces in fighting rural poverty. Comprehensive development programs for problem
> rural areas in New Brunswick, Quebec and the Interlake region of Manitoba were also
> being completed during the year.[44]

Governing rural poverty, thus, required more than just the solutions to farming that the

Department of Agriculture's PFRA sought to address. Rather, ARDA captured the fact that

social development was integral to rural development; that subjectification through the proper

disciplinary and regulatory forms of powers, whether through providing better access to housing,

better education for health and welfare, better fishing and farming practices, and better services

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[43] James N. McCrorie, ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning, Prepared for the Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1970.

[44] Department of Forestry of Canada-Ottawa, Agricultural and Rural Development Act: Annual Report 1965-1966, 1965-1966, 2-3.

to citizens living in rural areas, war was to be waged upon these impoverished populations so as to accomplish the goals of rural prosperity. How differentially racialized, gendered, or colonized persons figured within the multi-jurisdictional goals of ARDA, however, is hardly considered within government reports, other than the mentioning of the Indian Affairs branch. However, given the lack of governmental recognition that Metis possessed politically, their inclusion would have fallen under the majority population and not the branch dealt with by Indian Affairs which was responsible for status Indians. This is another way in which the cleaving of Indigeneity in to its administrative re/iterations contours settler-colonial sovereignty and racial governmentality. In following sections of this chapter, however, I will demonstrate how, in fact, "The People of Indian Ancestry," including Metis, came to be "known" within the context of rural development in Manitoba.

Citizens and organizations invested in steering rural development have taken it upon themselves to study the lasting impacts and effectiveness of ARDA. Looking back over the previous decade of policy in 1970, the Canadian Council on Rural Development commissioned James N. McCrorie to conduct a study that culminated in the report *ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning*. Canadians wanted to know for themselves the effectiveness of ARDA. The report states that there were four provisions of the act: First, that the Minster of Agriculture was to coordinate between the Federal and provincial governments; second, that the federal government was authorized to make payments to the provinces implementing a 50-50 cost-sharing arrangement between the federal and provincial governments; third, that the Minister of Agriculture could "undertake research programs in connection with alternative land, use, soil and water conservation and the development of income and employment opportunities in rural agricultural areas"; and fourth, a "provision was made for the establishment of advisory

committees and the appointment of members to same in respect of the other three main

provisions of the Bill."[45] As such, the origins of ARDA were to forge federal-provincial relations

and the Minister of Agriculture would be the person responsible for doing so. That is, ARDA

was a key programme that linked federal and provincial apparatuses in a way that co-ordinated

the further re-securitization of the settler-colonial population and territory on the prairies.

According to the report, the crafters of ARDA legislation understood the extent to which

technology was significantly changing the agricultural industry and the social and economic

impacts that it would have on rural communities, and farmers especially. As such, the Minister of

Agriculture relayed that ". . .the objective of the national agricultural program is to give

agriculture a reasonably fair share of the national income. We believe that this parity of income

should not be attained by charity but by providing opportunities for the farmers to help

themselves."[46] The way in which the department ensured that farmers could help themselves,

was by providing resources for those farmers on good land while also attempting to relocate

farmers who had settled land not fit for farming. Creating opportunities for farmers to share in

prosperity was at the heart of ARDA speaks to the extent to which federal and provincial security

apparatuses were ensuring the continued vitality of the settler-colonial farming population.

ARDA was not adopted by Manitoba until 1962 (Todd and Brierley 1982, 526). In

addition, ARDA legislation in Manitoba was initially concerned with supporting projects that

would increase the "productivity of the land, increase farm income, and raise the standards of

living and opportunities of people in rural areas" (Todd and Brierley 1982, 526). In 1965,

however, new project categories of "rural development, staff and training services, public

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[45] James N. McCrorie, ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning, Prepared for the Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1970, 6.
[46] Ibid, 7.

information services, rural development areas and special rural development areas" were added (Todd and Brierley 1982, 526). As Todd and Brierley (1982, 526) note, this last shift in 1965 was specifically tailored to projects in the Interlake region which then dovetailed into the federal-Manitoba signing of the FRED agreement. With their goal to improve rural areas, the federal and provincial apparatuses also began localizing their development programs. FRED represents the localization of such programs by these apparatuses.

Properly combatting rural poverty required the swift influx of capital in order to advance rural regions that had long struggled with economic growth and prosperity (Loo 2019, 10-11). In order to address this poverty in 1967, another federal-provincial funding strategy, FRED, was established to inject money into regions that were seen as impossible to fix without federal and provincial assistance (Loo 2019, 10; Todd and Brierley 1982, 526-27).[47] Of all the provinces at the time, only Manitoba and Nova Scotia utilized the program. In Manitoba, the Interlake region was considered in dire need of federal-provincial investment in order to raise it out of poverty. The Interlake was first identified by ARDA as possessing "obvious geographic boundaries and natural and human resources whose full potential had not been developed" (Todd and Brierley 1982, 527). Moreover, the Interlake was seen as suffering from numerous social and economic issues such as "…out-migration, high unemployment and underemployment, low educational attainments and high drop-out rates, high dependency ratios, low level of public infrastructure, poor housing conditions, low incomes and low standard of living" (Todd and Brierley 1982, 527). In their assessment of rural policy (and FRED in particular), Todd and Brierly (1982, 527) argue that taken together, "these characteristics provided a laboratory-type situation in which to test planning policy."

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[47] Ibid, 12.

The FRED agreement promised five initial strategies for the development of the Interlake region (Todd and Brierley 1982, 527 – italics added):

1. Improved educational facilities;
2. Establishment of vocational training facilities;
3. Provision of information to the *Interlakers* of alternative opportunities available to them;
4. Development of the economic potential of the renewable resource sector including agriculture and fishing, and industrial development;
5. Development of the infrastructure of the region's roads, parks and housing, thereby providing additional employment opportunities and raising the standard of living.

FRED's five promises demonstrate how policy makers created a governable population of individuals by making them known by a more manageable term, "Interlakers." The report does not go on to define who an "Interlaker" is, however, on that the region constituted a formed group. Historically, the Interlake was populated, notably, by Icelandic settlers (Eyford 2016), as well as other Euro-Canadian settlers, Metis, and is home to numerous First Nations. FRED, like ARDA before it, took a similar approach in distinguishing itself from the PFRA in that it ostensibly shifted its object of reform from lands, in exchange for the role that human subjects could play in better managing land. As such, FRED sought to discipline and regulate an Interlake population through education/vocational training in areas of agricultural, fishing, and industrialization of the region through hydro, road, and telecommunications projects.

Given the Interlake's poor soil, however, agricultural development in the region was a major struggle that FRED sought to fix. Between 1967-1977, a total of $85 million was invested in the region: $27.3 million toward adult education and training, $26.7 million to improve the infrastructure of schools as well as their social programming, and $29.4 million toward governing "land, water, and transportation resources" (Todd and Breirley 1982, 527). Still, the original drafters of FRED believed that agricultural redevelopment could succeed in the region

and therefore dedicated an additional $15 million for the following projects (Todd and Breirley

1982, 527):

1. Acquisition of land with low agricultural capability for the purpose of transforming it into more productive use;
2. Land clearing of bush land to provide more grazing and forage for beef cattle production;
3. Land drainage of areas subject to periodic flooding so as to increase the acreage under crops and improved pasture;
4. Resource and farm management programmes through enhanced extension-education services;
5. Veterinary and farm water services to accommodate growth in livestock production and establish a secure farm infrastructure.

Ironically, while the drafters of FRED and ARDA were attempting to move beyond the goals of

the PFRA, they share more similarities than differences. In other words, the PFRA, ARDA, and

FRED differed not so much in form as in scale. Each act made specific commitments to the

"rehabilitation" of agriculture in order to increase its overall productivity; each sought to

redevelop unsuitable farmland, including bush, into grazing lands. With the PFRA this was

achieved through the community pastures program, and with ARDA this was achieved through

the considerable influx of financial support to farmers in order for their relocation to fertile

lands—capital made possible by postwar prosperity.

With FRED not only was unproductive land its problem to fix, but so were unproductive

and underperforming "Interlakers"—a number of which were also Metis. In order to be deemed a

successful program for the federal and provincial governments, FRED needed to promise more

than just more care for the Interlake population, and it delivered by assuring that both federal and

provincial levels of government provided care for livestock, access to water, and soil--care that

could lead to the vitality of Interlakers. That is, governments were invested in intervening in

multiple facets of Interlake life beyond the individual.

However, FRED did communicate to Interlakers that they could be "developed" and in doing so, could enter into postwar modernization. Finally, while the federal and provincial governments understood that the Interlake was an unpredictable region, by the late 1960s federal and provincial governments were becoming emboldened by their assumed successes as found in the PFRA and ARDA. Benefiting from the layers of prior successes in rural modernizing legislation in the PFRA and ARDA, FRED was the topsoil upon which postwar governing of the Interlake region would intensify.

Desires to germinate modernity, however, extended beyond the realm of agriculture. The province of Manitoba and departments within it sought to cultivate the capacity of populations that could increase the overall economic vitality of the province. One of the ways that the province sought to increase its vitality was by reforming populations within its jurisdiction, and, in particular, 'The People of Indian Ancestry.' As such, while I have focussed in this section on how the dominant settler population was governed in Manitoba, I now shift towards how Metis, specifically, were governed during the same time period. I have provided this extensive overview of programmes that were meant to securitize the settler-colonial population in order to demonstrate how agricultural programming was also a mechanism through which mid-twentieth century technologies of improvement, education, employment, health, and (im)migration schemes, were being deployed to re-secure a suffering white settler-colonial population. By providing this deeper analysis here, I have laid a foundation for the comparative analysis that I undertake in the following two sections to illuminate how Metis in Manitoba were differentially governed by these programs, and at times, by programs reserved for them alone. My goal is to demonstrate the stark differences and contours between the racial governmentality of Metis against the unmarked governmentality of white settler populations that we have just

reviewed. That is to say, when white settler property owners found themselves in situations of dire need during the Great Depression, their vulnerability was something that federal and provincial governments sought to secure, in part, to maintain the territoriality of the prairie settler population. The concern for Metis property, as we will see in the following two sections, was not imbued with the same sense of security. Rather, what culminated was the further insecurity of Metis from the properties that they had managed to secure at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, as I illuminate in the following section, the governing of Metis by the provincial government, in particular, coalesced around disciplining the conduct of individuals into becoming better citizens within the dominant body politic of the province.

Identifying and Governing Metis in Manitoba from 1935 to 1970

I preface this debate here by way of signalling a point of departure from the standard historical discourse that I (and others) have engaged in up to this point. That is, rather than temporally placing Metis dispossession squarely in the late nineteenth century, my goal is to illuminate how dispossession continued and transformed throughout the twentieth century. In doing so, I reinforce Wolfe's (2006) important reminder that settler colonialism is a structure, not an event. That is, in filling this historical lacuna of settler-colonial dispossession of Metis during the former part of the twentieth century, I attempt to pick up the threads left by nineteenth century Metis historians to produce a "history in between" (Andersen 2014, 630). That is, without doing this "history in between," as a field, we in Metis Studies risk naturalizing Metis dispossession as an event of the nineteenth century even though such dispossession continued at a slow, steady, and quotidian pace. That is, settler-colonialism did not end with the dispossession of land in Manitoba in the 1870s or with the defeat of Metis in 1885 in Batoche

(Andersen 2014b). My goal is to demonstrate how settler-colonialism continued in Manitoba in the following decades.

Moreover, I want to emphasize in this section that Metis and our Indigeneity, to evoke Kaulani Kuanui's (2016) response to Wolfe (2006), has continued to endure even as settler-colonialism has sought to eliminate our relationships to land and each other. As such, while those writing about Metis dispossession (Teillet 2019; Vermette 2017; Gaudry 2016; Sprague 1988) have taught us much about the beginnings of our dispossession, they have been less concerned with demonstrating how we endured post-resistance and before the political resurgence of Metis politics in the 1960s. For example, of Teillet's (2019) thirty-three chapters of *The North-West is our Mother*, only three chapters engage with early to mid-twentieth Metis history. Without this "history in between" our view of how settler-colonialism continued as a long drawn out process is incomplete. Therefore, I depart from the discussions of nineteenth-century Metis dispossession in order to demonstrate how we were governed throughout the mid-twentieth century. That is, Metis continued being Metis, in part, through being differentially produced by different provincial and municipal apparatuses, including the agricultural programs that I discussed in the previous section.

The Natural Resources Transfer Agreements between the prairie provinces and Canada in 1930 signal perhaps the first instance since the formative legislation of the *Manitoba Act, Dominion Lands Act* and scrip commission, where governmental power shifted from federal to provincial governments (Tough 1996, 141).[48] This shift came to produce governmental effects

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[48] Metis communities in Alberta became subject to the *Metis Population Betterment Act* following the *Ewing Commission* that investigated the dire living conditions of Metis in the province. See Murry Dobbin's *The One-and-a-Half-Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris: Metis Patriots of the 20th Century,* New Star Books, 1981.

for Metis communities in Manitoba who had managed to establish homesteads either through the trading in of scrip or through homesteading.

While numerous scholars have investigated the fraudulent dealings and therefore theft of Metis lands through the scrip commission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Ens 1992; Sprague 1992; Tough 1996; Tough and McGregor 2011), other than the forced dispossession as a result of back taxes owed in the Ste Madeleine Metis community in western Manitoba (Sammons 2013; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987) or the displacing of urban Metis communities in Winnipeg (Toews 2020; 2018; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2016; Burley 2013), we have yet to see a robust study that systematically documents how many and which Metis families were able to endure the assault of mass settler-colonial immigration into Manitoba through adapting to a homesteading way of life. The late Lawrence Barkwell did produce numerous reports through the Manitoba Metis Federation's Louis Riel Institute, including a report that catalogued historic Metis settlements and geographical place-names in Manitoba (2018), in which he includes numerous instances of Metis homesteading; however, homesteading as a path that many Metis chose has yet to be seriously investigated. Instead we have mostly been written about as victims of settler-colonial dispossession that began in 1870 and ended with our defeat at the Battle of Batoche in 1885.[49]

By the time Manitoba gained possession over natural resources in the 1930s, Metis who had endured the first wave of settler-colonial dispossession through homesteading had become enmeshed in the everyday life of the province. Urban Metis communities were, for example, scattered around what has now become Winnipeg (Toews 2020; Peters, Werner and Stock 2016;

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[49] See Chris Andersen, "More than the Sum of our Rebellions: Métis Histories beyond Batoche," *Ethnohistory,* 61:4, 2014, for further discussion of how grand narratives of Metis resistances in the late 1800s have come to dominate historical research about Metis history and society.

Burley 2013) and rural Metis communities were incorporated into rural municipalities in places like St Laurent (St-Onge 2002; Lavallee 2003), Ste Eustache (St-Onge 2000), and Ste Madeline (Sammons 2013; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987), among others, maintaining their connections to their lands and communities until the second wave of settler-colonial upheaval reiterated itself starting in the 1930s, continuing through the mid-twentieth century. In short, the growth of the province up until the 1930s appears not to have threatened the endurance of Metis settlements established following the first waves of homesteading. However, Depression era policy, and then postwar era reconstruction, would change everything. While settler-colonial apparatuses had historically primarily targeted Metis land, Metis populations also came to become problematized as "points of the application of power" and as such, as targets of governmental power.

      With the rise of provincial power came the rise of institutions invested in governing Metis. As historians Gerhard Ens and Joe Sawchuck (2016, 325) note, "attitudes towards the Métis—and attitudes among the Métis about themselves—began to undergo a fundamental change across Canada in the latter half of the twentieth century." These attitudes would become distilled and then refracted through the emergent "field of applied anthropology and other applied social sciences' with "the introduction of government-sponsored research reports and policy reviews" which "led to an invasion of newly trained sociologists, economists, and anthropologists into the northern parts of the prairie provinces" (Ens and Sawchuk 2016, 325). In Manitoba, the anthropologist who undertook such a study was Jean Legassé (Langford 2016). Although Metis were not explicitly named or included within the PFRA, ARDA, or FRED, these programs nonetheless produced effects that further marginalized Metis communities, and I will return to these effects below. First, we must understand how Metis in Manitoba became known through forms of governmental power.

Metis became explicitly known social scientifically through Legassé's provincially funded research (1961, 1959). *The People of Indian Ancestry: a social and economic study* was, for all intents and purposes, a handbook for the governing of Indigenous people living off of reserve in Manitoba insofar as it sought to employ the postwar racializing liberal order's technologies of employment, education, immigration, and health, to govern Metis and non-status Indians. The study was significant in both its scope and aspirations in that it was the first study of its kind in Manitoban history: while legislation in the late nineteenth century sought to know Metis lands for the purposes of territorial governing, Legassé's report sought to articulate a Metis population to be governed. By the mid-twentieth century, as far as the province was concerned, the territorial question had been answered: Metis had lost their land through the fumbling of their scrip allocation which led to their own subjugation within Canadian society. Ironically, it was not Manitoba that originally requested an investigation into Metis living conditions.

The initial request for the study was introduced to parliament by a member of the Liberal-Conservative party, Mr. Roger Teillet (Metis himself) (Langford 2016, 350). As the Member of the Manitoba Legislature for St. Boniface on March 23, 1956 Teillet requested that:

> "Whereas attention has been drawn to the Fact that certain citizens of Manitoba, notably Metis and Indians, are living in difficult circumstances, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this house request the government to consider the advisability of having the Department of Agriculture make a study of this matter, and that the government take such steps as may appear advisable to remedy the situation"[50]

The request was passed by government on November 7, 1956:

> 1) That effective November 16, 1965, Jean H. Lagasse be appointed to undertake a study of the Metis population of Manitoba and such of the Indian population as is not resident on a reserve; and

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[50] The Department of Agriculture and Immigration, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba: a social and economic study volume 1,* 1959, p. 1.

2)That the said Jean H. Lagasse report to the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration on all matters related to his study, including social integration and economic advancement.[51]

As explained by historian Will Langford (2016, 350), Jean Legassé was a "French-Canadian social worker" born in Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan and moved to Manitoba in 1947 where he attended "the Roman Catholic priesthood at St Boniface seminary between 1947 and 1950 but chose the social work profession instead." Legassé would go on to obtain a master's in "social work from Columbia University in 1956 and began a doctoral degree at the University of Grenoble in 1970, with a focus on administration of international aid" (Langford 2016, 350). Prior to his coordination of the study, Jean Legassé's first foray into social-scientific planning came during his employment with the Citizenship Branch, "the arm of the federal government concerned with the ways in which immigrants adapted to Canadian society" (Langford 2016, 351).

Building a postwar Manitoban society was a modernizing project, and this included its approaches to immigration. Manitoba, and the prairies more generally, had already been the subject of immigration as a technology of settler-colonial settlement homesteading, and as such, postwar immigration differed as its goals shifted. By the postwar era, the prairies had long been settled; what the region required was economic development. As economist Cy Gonick (1994, 28-29) argues, during Liberal-Conservative Duff Roblin's reign (1958-1967), the premier

> saw the state as catalyst and promoter of economic growth. As he told the legislature in 1963, Manitoba was an underdeveloped region whose modernization could not be left to 'the natural play of economic forces…While Manitoba is primarily a free enterprise and private initiative economy, the growing importance of provincial government activity in terms of economic growth must be accepted and understood.

In order to modernize, the province sought immigration as part of the solution. Modernization, therefore, came in the form of immigration, especially of willing labourers and business

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[51] Ibid, 1.

investments, as well as investments in education and healthcare: all were top priorities for a burgeoning provincial government.

As I argued in the previous chapter, immigration was a key technology of the post war racializing liberal order and the fact that Legassé began his career in immigration speaks to the broader economy of ideas and conclusions that he drew in the 1959 report. Quoting Legassé in 1967, Langford (2016, 347) elucidates exactly how Legassé viewed and valued his work: "I think programs of Community Development are more than a mere technology of programme planning. [They] must become part of a philosophy and a way of life for those involved in the planning process" (Legassé 1967 as quoted in Langford 2016). It was from this disposition that Legassé produced his report.

The structure of the report represents a textbook case of racial governmentality. First, it begins by demarcating three populations of study: "Indian," "Metis," and "White" (the white population, however, was not a target to be governed as much as they were consulted for their attitudes towards the "Indian" and "Metis" populations; they were not a new object of governance). The Indian population was further taxonomized and elaborated upon in a section on the Saulteaux, Crees, Sioux, and Chipewayans. The study identified 254 Metis communities/settlements in Manitoba with "the largest concentrations" living in "Portage la Prairie, St. Eustache, St. Lazare, San Clara, St. Laurent, St. Ambroise, the Local Government District of Alonsa, Duck Bay, Camperville, The Pas, Norway House, Churchill, Grand Marais, Richer, Selkirk and Greater Winnipeg."[52] Moreover, the study recorded a total of 23,579 Metis or Half-Breed individuals.[53] Manitoba possessed a significant population of Metis and Legassé's report did the labour of identifying them.

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[52] Ibid, 58.
[53] Ibid, 58.

The "Metis" population was further distilled as belonging to one of five groups, based mainly on living conditions: 1) Metis Living on the Fringe of Indian Reserves; 2) Metis Living on the Fringe of White Settlements; 3) The Metis in Predominantly Metis Communities; 4) The Metis in Predominantly White Communities; and 5) The Metis in Communities Not Accessible by Roads Along the Northern C.N.R Lines.[54] Aside from articulating populations, Legassé was also imposing a spatial classification system – a territorialisation – of the Metis population that the provincial apparatus could then use to direct its technologies. Minnewaken, or what Legassé termed "Lundar and area" was put in to the fourth group "Metis in Predominantly White Communities." The fifth group, according to Legassé, suffered from "racial and cultural handicaps" that prevented them from their full integration in to Canadian society.[55] However, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, one of the reasons why it may have appeared that this community of Metis were more integrated into the white community can, in part, be attributed to the thousands of acres that Metis families were dispossessed of through the municipal apparatus. That is, by the late 1950s when Legassé completed his study, the majority of Metis living in Minnewaken had lost title to their lands that local white settlers had purchased.

Once a population was identified, the report authors studied the key areas that would then be used to guide Legassé's recommendations to the Office of Agriculture and Immigration, each possessing their own chapter: employment, agriculture, community development, education, welfare, liquor consumption, and racial and cultural handicaps. As such, Legassé's report made 29 recommendations that mainly coalesced around how to rehabilitate/improve the Metis and

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[54] Ibid, viii.

[55] For Legassé the solution could come in the form of integration, to which he meant "the economic integration" where "[a] person is considered integrated when he is no longer dependent on welfare assistance to maintain an acceptable standard of living."[55] In Legassé's eyes, some Metis were "so fluent in the ways of the White culture that they" were " not recognized as Metis when they move away."[55] That is, Metis racial and cultural features—Metis difference—were being cast as handicaps to White assimilation. Ibid, 75.

Indian populations into productive contributors to the Manitoban economy; the goal, like the goals of immigration, were to integrate the populations through a host of programs that would "educate" and "employ" Metis and Indians out of their supposed states of destitution. Legassé's report views Indigenous peoples as populations to be managed, and as "always already" existing as differential citizens that deserve to be 'included.'

When compared to the previous section that focussed on agricultural programmes geared towards resecuring the white settler population living on the prairies, Legassé's report is brought further into focus as a source of racial governmentality. That is, when white populations were seen as destitute and in need of the correction of conduct, governing rationalities sought to maintain the integrity of their communities, and even bolstered their growth, through the building of community pastures or the training of farmers in areas of modern technologies that might improve their ability to continue their lifestyles. That is, through the PFRA, ARDA, and FRED, settler citizens were being disciplined into believing that their way of life was worth preserving, and even, improving. When holding up how the white settler population was 'improved' by the PFRA, ARDA, and FRED against the ways in which the Legassé report sought to 'improve' the Metis population, we are provided with a stark example of the *difference* of racial governmentality in how governments ensure the vitality of white settler populations, while attempting to regulate Metis and racialized populations into the dominant population.

Moreover, by contrasting the PFRA, ARDA, and FRED against Legassé's report, we are presented with how white settler populations were being normalized to *see* and *govern* Metis at local levels. That is, the dominant and normative ways in which white settlers at the local level, those same subjects who held spots as officials on municipal councils, were learning that their ways of living, that their population, was worth more than their Metis neighbours. Such

normalization is further instantiated by the fact that Legassé and his collaborators often consulted with local white people in order to identify and then produce knowledge about Metis in local contexts. That is, it was not just professional anthropologists and university researchers who were responsible for being the go-between vectors of knowledge between population and apparatus, but also individual citizens who participated in the production of racial governmentality.

As theorized in chapter one and then elaborated on in the mid-century Canadian context, racial governmentality emerged as a form of governmentality that both targeted and operated differentially for racialized populations steeped in settler-colonial norms of conduct. As a form of power, governmentality also possesses differing governing rationalities based at the scale of different levels of apparatuses. In this case, Legassé's study demonstrates how settler-colonial racial governmentality was also the preoccupation of the province of Manitoba as the aspirations of the provincial apparatus speak to the possibilities of how to differentially govern (by race) Metis people. Although, even as previous programs to govern Metis lands shifted from the nineteenth century towards governing the Metis population in the mid-twentieth century, the province of Manitoba played a significant role in regulating how the dominant white population would *see,* and, therefore, contribute to the governance of Metis at the local level. That is, the provincial apparatus aided in normalizing the governing and eventual mid-twentieth century dispossession of Metis land by municipal apparatuses.

Governing Metis at the Municipal Level

Thus far I have sketched out the development of settler-colonial governmental programs and moves to improve Manitoba's white population and territory, contouring how a parallel racial governmentality emerged to govern Metis differently than white settlers. That is, I have

sketched out the growth of a settler-colonial apparatus at the provincial level; however, now I want to turn to what it was like for Metis who experienced these settler-colonial governing rationalities as they were being applied through their technologies and programs of improvement at the local level.

The dispossession of the historic Metis community of Ste. Madeleine was made possible through its identification by the PFRA as land that would "become part of the community pasture" (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, xxi). As Zeilig and Zeilig (1987, viii) describe "[Metis] homes were burned, their dogs were shot in full view of everyone and they were turned off the land without compensation—scattered to the far reaches of northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan." Ste. Madeleine was initially established in 1880 when 250 Metis homesteaded in the area having taken advantage of the DLS (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, viii). The dispossession of Ste Madeleine's lands was rationalized by the fact that most families had accumulated years of tax debt making them ineligible for compensation (Zeilig an Zeilig 1987, xii). As such, most were considered to be squatters and therefore possessed no land rights as well as disqualified them from the benefits of the PFRA. Ste. Madeleine represents a striking example of how the PFRA program rationalized the land insecurity of Metis for the security and well-being of the white farming population that would greatly benefit from the creation of the community pasture on Metis land.

For Metis people, their experiences of and the effects of the PFRA stuck with them through their whole lives as they mourned the forceful effects of settler-colonial sovereignty to eliminate their relations of Indigeneity. Furthermore, taxes, and whether or not they could pay them, emerged as a key theme that old people would talk about. As Joe Venne recounted "When the dry years hit in the 30s, I couldn't make enough money to pay the tax. I barely made enough for a living…In 1929. That was the last time we paid tax" (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 23-24). Joe

Venne would continue to live on his land, however, until 1938 when the municipality,

empowered by the Federal government through the PFRA, told him he had to leave: "Well then,

in 1938, we were asked by the municipality to move out as they were going to build a

community pasture." Joe Venne went on to explain that

> Well, they told us that they were going to build a pasture and there'd be a lot of cattle in
> the pasture, and if we moved, that they were going to pay us for our land, and pay us… to
> move. They were going to pay us for moving to where ever we wanted to move. But the
> people who had land and had paid up their tax, had a chance to choose a piece of land
> anywhere, on the outside of the community pasture. And that happened, that some took
> land on the outside…we were given $150…by the municipality of Ellice. (Zeilig and
> Zeilig 1987, 24-25)

Municipal officials were those responsible for administering and enforcing the dispossession of

Metis in Ste Madeleine.

One of the things that the oral history of Ste Madeleine does is that it demonstrates how

settler-colonial sovereignty and racial governmentality came about as the result of real people;

oral history personalizes these processes, including, naming who exactly was responsible for

carrying out the terms of the PFRA. Louis Pelletier recounts how members of the Metis

community felt a sense of helplessness as the PFRA sought to eliminate them from place:

> Yes, well, there was nothing much I could do about it, whatever I thought. I just had to go
> their way, I guess, whatever they wanted. There was a fellow there, went to Lazare. He had
> a piece of land, too. Not big, I guess. But he went over there with his money to pay his tax
> and somebody refused him. Wouldn't take his money. Told him, "It's no use for you to pay
> the taxes. You don't own the place anymore. Turned it into pasture now… It was Vermett.
> He went to pay his tax. And this Selby said, "no, you can't pay your taxes. It's all once
> piece now. It's all a big pasture. What good is it, you alone on that small, little piece of
> land? There's no use for you to pay for that land. It's not yours anymore. It's all going to
> be pasture. You might as well save your money. So, he came home. He didn't pay his tax.
> He lost his land and everything. (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 117).

Municipal taxes, as I return to the following section, were key technologies in Metis land

dispossession in Ste Madeleine, and it becomes clear that many Metis understood how the

municipal apparatus was operating to eliminate them from their land. As another community

member, Harry Pelletier, recounted, Metis were being dispossessed of land and then moved into municipality of St. Lazare where they had no choice but to take on physically demanding work to survive: "They made slaves out of the Metis. In St. Lazare, they made them cut brush and build bridges. My brother, Louis, was working on that. They had to go in the water to build those bridges, in the winter. And they pretty near froze to death, breaking ice and getting them to build those cement forms for the bridge. That's cruelty. That's not helping the people at all. (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 145). Furthermore, Harry Pelletier described how the municipal government cared, in this instance, more about cattle than about Metis; cattle were worth more than Metis.

How Metis were seen by the white settler population was also recounted as settler oral historical accounts speak to the ways in which Metis experienced white supremacist racism by the local settler population. In an exchange with Zeilig (1987, 186-187), Lazare Fouillard described, "we thought the Metis people were a little lower than we were…Well, I guess everybody thought so. But we sure don't think that now! But you know, it was a habit, that if a person were an Indian or a Metis, he wasn't as good as we were." When asked how settlers would refer to Metis, Fouillard admitted "Well…black s.o.b., you know. In French, maudit peau noir, which meant black skin. But you know, that was a matter of ignorance. We didn't beat them up or anything. But I think there was a bit of discrimination there, you know. If somebody married a Metis, well, they married into the lower class, eh" (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 187). Such racist subjectivities would have normalized dispossession, and, in fact did. In recounting the dispossession of Ste Madeleine Metis Fouillard rationalized the burning down of Meits houses: "They burned their houses. But then, you know why they burned the houses. That was the dirtiest part of the '30s when they did that. Everybody wanted jobs. They wanted the PFRA to bring jobs in" (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 191). The impulse to eliminate Metis Indigeneity, while

being directed by the federal-provincial-municipal apparatuses, was ultimately carried out by the white settler-population who was invested in dispossession Metis for the health of the settler population and territory. When asked if he thought people saw Ste Madeleine Metis as "second class citizens" Fouillard explained that there was an "element" of that, where people would say things like "Let's get them bloody Breeds out of there and have some work. Let's give them a few bucks and chase them out of there" (Zeilig and Zeilig 1987, 191-192). From the accounts taken of the Ste Madeleine dispossession, it is clear that the white settler-population was, like its multijurisdictional apparatuses, invested in resecuring its territory at the expense of Metis lives, and, that race was core to rationalizing how the security of the white population resulted in the insecurity, a settler-colonial demonstration of sovereignty, to eliminate Metis relations of Indigeneity.

Unlike Ste Madeleine, Metis in St. Laurent survived mid-twentieth century settler-colonial sovereignty and government, but they did not do so without difficulty as dispossession and racial governmentality were normalized features of the municipal apparatus. As ethnohistorian Nicole St-Onge (2003, 1990) and the late Metis priest Guy Lavallee (1987) have documented, upon their early incorporation into the rural municipality structure, the St Laurent Metis were also gifted with the fortune of a bustling fishing co-op that maintained the local economy, at least until 1930, when international markets broke down. Moreover, during this early period, Metis were also more involved in local municipal governance, allowing them to maintain themselves socially and spatially throughout the twentieth century and up to the present.

However, as both St-Onge (1990) and Lavallee (1988) explain, starting in the Great Depression and lasting until the mid 1970s, Metis in St Laurent were experiencing political,

economic, and social challenges in the form of economic impoverishment and political

disenfranchisement. As St-Onge (1990, 82) describes, the Metis in St Laurent were also fractured

along class lines as more impoverished Metis came to live in what she describes as a "fringe

settlement," Fort Rouge. Fort Rouge, St-Onge (1990, 82) describes, was where Metis families

who could no longer adhere to the technologies of municipal life—fulfilling the requirements of

private property through the payment of taxes—gathered. Moreover, the families living in Fort

Rouge tended to be families who had in the late nineteenth century had followed a more

'traditional' lifestyle of hunting, trapping, and fishing. St-Onge (1990, 82) describes

> What really distinguished Fort Rouge people from other villagers was the chronic serious poverty that often resulted in hunger. These Métis did not own land, did not have the money to build up a dairy farm, could not (because of their subsistence activities) plant large gardens and were, interestingly enough, even more sensitive to the vagaries of an international economy than their more established neighbours…In winter many ice fished, but on a small scale. They fished with the help of dogs and sleighs on the edge of the lake, and rarely put out more than twenty or twenty-five nets. What was left after family (and dog) needs were met was sold to the fish companies. However, since prices were usually quite low, returns tended to depend on quantities harvested.

Missed by St-Onge's (1990, 82) political economic analysis, however, is how Metis in Fort

Rouge came to be politically marginalized by the municipal apparatus in the first place. Without

having a stake in local politics, Metis would have had even fewer opportunities to resist

economic marginalization. Furthermore, the Fort Rouge community of St Laurent provides

striking resemblance to Minnewaken and the local everyday living conditions of the Monkman

family during the postwar era (Parent 2017). Moreover, Minnewaken and Fort Rouge, as I will

return to in the following chapter, demonstrate how political marginalization and land

dispossession feed in to each other in a way that dispossesses Metis while increasingly securing

land for local settlers.

Political marginalization of Metis, in part, was a contributing factor to the descriptions of Fort Rouge. Lavallee's (1988, 151) ethnography notes that in 1881 the first municipal council included a majority of Metis. However, by 1929 the municipality, like other municipalities during this time, had fallen into debt and "declared financial bankruptcy." This political dissolution meant that St Laurent was governed by one person, an administrator appointed by the provincial government, between 1929 and 1975. As one Metis older person commented:

> The old generation before me fought to get things going and they were successful. But then, my generation sort of let go and things got bad here for awhile. For many years, we did not have our own elected reeve and council, and the government-appointed administrator made all the decisions for us. Now, the younger generation is picking things up again and that is a very good sign.

For Metis living in St Laurent through the Great Depression and postwar era, being governed by a municipal apparatus that was appointed by the provincial apparatus meant not having less decision making power with regards to local development and the control of municipal taxes and by-laws, key technologies through which municipalities govern people's everyday, including the everyday immediacies of the Metis.

St Laurent presents a rich case for further researching external conditions and local techniques used by Metis to maintain land tenure despite the dispossessive disposition of federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses during the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, Lavallee's (1988) ethnography demonstrates how St Laurent eventually bounced back from their political and economic struggles of the mid-century, eventually re-establishing Metis participation in the municipality, partially connected to the influx of ARDA funding for local development. However, for many twentieth century Metis communities, such recovery never happened. Still, with regards to being "governed in plain sight" specifically by municipalities, St Laurent presents again another case where 'hiding' is simply too simplistic of an analytical category to

explain the power of settler-colonial municipal apparatuses to secure and respatialize its territory and population. As the case of Fort Rouge in St Laurent demonstrates, even within a predominantly Metis community, racial governmentality emerged to differentially govern as private property came to distinguish, fracture, and threaten some Metis relations of Indigeneity: their relationships to land and each other.

More recently, historical urban geographers have turned their attention towards the racial governing and dispossession of Metis by the city of Winnipeg (Toews 2020; 2018; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018; Burely 2013). Rooster Town, as it came to be known, was a Metis settlement that existed just south of Winnipeg between 1900 and 1961 when it was eventually disbanded by the municipality through public health and safety campaigns that decried the sanitary conditions and structural safety of Metis dwellings. As Peters et al (2018) demonstrate, the Winnipeg Free Press played an integral role in communicating to the public the deplorable conditions that Metis were living in often reaffirming the same kinds of descriptions written by Jean Legassé that I discussed in the previous section. Moreover, suburbs that were enclosing upon Rooster Town often brought with them calls from citizens who viewed the community as an eyesore. Given the fact that many families in Rooster Town had, over the years, accumulated arrears on their properties, their dispossession by the municipality would come swiftly as houses were torn down and property repossessed by the municipality. In this case, like Ste Madeleine, and as I will show in the following chapter, taxes became a technology through which municipal apparatuses could dispossess Metis land for the purposes of then putting that land back in to circulation, to be then improved upon by Winnipeg's booming white population. Furthermore, as we have now seen with the agricultural legislation and the Legassé report, Metis dispossession

was increasingly being normalized while the white settler prairie population was experiencing incredible social and economic growth.

Rooster Town was but one Metis suburb that was dispossessed by urban growth in Winnipeg during the mid-twentieth century. Historical geographer Owen Toews (2020, 96) recently chronicled that "Self-built Métis and non-status First Nations settlements beyond Canadian legal title existed all along Winnipeg's edges until the middle of the twentieth century: Turkey Town, Rooster Town, Tin Town, Dog Patch, Weak City, Stovepipe, Camp Hideaway; communities near present-day Garbage Hill, Assiniboia Downs racetrack, Grace Hospital, Red River Floodway, Ample Grove Rugby Park, Parc Joseph Royal; and others." Weak City, in particular a community that existed on lands reserved for the expansion of roads (commonly referred to as a road allowance), was dispossessed as Winnipeg expanded its method of transport, the perimeter highway (Toews 2020, 99). Just following the dispossession of Weak City, a community golf course was built across the road from the settlement thus illuminating the difference in how a Metis community was deterritorialized while a portion of the settler population was free to recreate similar space for leisurely purposes (Toews, 2020, 101). As both Toews (2020) and Peters et al demonstrate, Winnipeg's municipal apparatus was the embodiment of a white possessive governing rationality to capture Metis space in order to turn it in to white space for Winnipeg's expanding population and territory. Moreover, they demonstrate how integral the municipal apparatus was for governing Metis within and on the fringes of the city.

While Legassé's study demonstrates how strategies for governing Metis drastically shifted in the postwar era towards correcting the conduct of populations, more recent scholars have studied municipalities in Manitoba to demonstrate how municipalities were at the forefront

of dispossessing Metis of their land. Whereas Metis in 1870 were being dealt with as a polity who possessed title to their lands that need to be legally transferred, Metis in mid-twentieth century Manitoba became a problem for their inability to integrate and be productive citizens. And, in cases like Ste Madeleine and Rooster Town, resisting to 'improve' was often the threshold for racial governmentality shifting towards actions of eliminatory sovereign power. However, these temporal differences are not so clean cut. As I demonstrate in the next chapter, and as Toews (2020; 2018) and Peters et al (2018) have illustrated above, Metis who managed to hold on to land during the former half of the twentieth century, possessed an additional issue: they were living on lands desired by white-settlers who formed the councils of municipalities. That is, whereas much scholarship has been dedicated to documenting Metis land loss after the signing of the Manitoba Act, not nearly enough documentation has been made of land retention during the former part of the twentieth-century and the subsequent loss of it during the postwar boom. How we do history and what we seek to value as history effects how we may (mis)recognize our present. Without a more fulsome "history in between," this gap in the literature can have the effect of doing two things:

1) it inaccurately pegs present day Metis land dispossession as mainly the result of late nineteenth century economic and social processes, that has thus far limited our analyses of dispossession as deriving from federal and provincial levels of government, even though municipalities, during the twentieth century played a large role, and, despite the fact that Metis in Manitoba did not lose all of their land in the late nineteenth century (many maintained land, either through homesteading or the attainment of scrip well in to the mid-twentieth century when new strategies of settler colonial racial governmentality established themselves); and

2) While it captures Metis resistance to settler-colonialism in the late nineteenth century, it has yet to account for the endurance of either Metis Indigeneity or settler colonialism as continually evolving and changing forms of sociality into and throughout the twentieth century as multiscaler apparatuses developed governing rationalities, technologies, and programmes—governmentality—that in turn reshaped relations of Metis Indigeneity. Without accounting for these transformations, we risk misrecognizing how Metis have come to inhabit the social lives that we do today.

The governing of Metis in Manitoba during the mid-twentieth century happened at both provincial and municipal levels, and both were augmented by federal programs such as the PFRA, ARDA, and FRED, that sought to re-secure the prairie population from the woes of the Great Depression. That is, Federal programs produced conditions under which municipalities, and rural municipalities in particular, would become better resource-equipped to govern their populations, including their Metis populations: the strengthening and securitization of settler populations was leading to the further marginalization of Metis communities cum populations. As should be clear in my accounting in this chapter, the common discourse that Metis were "hiding in plain sight" could not be further from the truth. Metis were not hidden and in fact, as Legassé's study as well as the growing literature on mid-twentieth century Metis experiences with municipalities illustrate, Metis were being actively sought out to become knowable, and therefore governable, by both provincial and municipal apparatuses. At the provincial scale, the impulse was to improve the overall improvement of the Metis population, to harness its labour potential. At the municipal scale, the governing impulse was much more sovereign in nature and directed towards Metis lands rather than people as settler-colonial municipal apparatuses used their technologies of taxation and by-laws to acquiesce Metis owned lands. In the following

chapter, I demonstrate more intimately how Metis in the historic Metis community that my family comes from became dispossessed of our lands through the municipal apparatus's deployment of taxation and by-laws.

Chapter 4: Governing Minnewaken: Taxation and By-Laws as Settler-Colonial Technologies of Dispossession

Introduction:

In the previous chapters I have tended to the contours of settler-colonial sovereign and biopower produced by federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses across Canada in places like Vancouver, Halifax, Francois, the Gaspé region of Quebec, Winnipeg, or in the Arctic, amongst others (Toews 2020; Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; Parr 2009; Stranger-Ross 2008), as they came to form what McKay (2000) has termed a "liberal order." During the mid-twentieth century those apparatuses, I argued, orchestrated technologies of education, employment, immigration, and health to sculpt Canadian society in ways that normalized and rationalized the differential governing of Indigenous populations by white settler populations. Thus far, I have focused on outlining trends found at the confluence between federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses, choosing to focus on Manitoba specifically in chapter 3 in order to contextualize the land dispossession that I trace in this chapter. The governing rationalities that emanated from federal, provincial, and municipal apparatuses share commonalities in that they reflect what Moreton-Robinson (2016) has theorized as "white possessiveness": that is, these apparatuses served the purpose of maintaining themselves and their settler populations through their continued (dis)possession of Indigenous territories/lands.

This chapter shifts, however, from a broader analysis of the mid-twentieth century's racializing liberal order at the national and provincial contexts, toward a localized example that tracks the specific land dispossession that Metis in Minnewaken, Manitoba experienced during the former part of the twentieth century. I shift to this local focus in order to answer the question that was posed to me by descendants of Minnewaken in my introduction: what happened to

Minnewaken? Moreover, by now returning to this local context, having outlined theoretically how settler-colonial governments both governed Indigenous and racialized populations differentially (TallBear 2016; Walter and Andersen 2013; Rifkin 2011; Mawani 2010; Andersen 2008), and at times to the point of 'elimination' (Wolfe 2006), this case study of Minnewaken demonstrates how these processes played out at the local level to make sense of how the relations of Metis Indigeneity were governed through municipal technologies (Elden 2007; Harris 2004).

The dispossession of Metis families from their fee simple lands in Minnewaken was orchestrated by technologies unique to the functioning of municipal apparatuses (Stanger-Ross 2008): municipal land taxes and by-laws that were recorded in detail in the Rural Municipality's council minutes that led to municipal tax programs seeking to ensure the security and well-being of (white) residents, but which led to the further deterritorialization of Metis in the area. During the mid-twentieth century the municipal apparatus became the confluence of sovereign power and biopower insofar as tax debt accumulation by Metis landowners resulted in the further proliferation of settler landowners having access to purchase repossessed (eliminated) sections of lands for the cost of taxes owed, or, in some cases, with the understanding that the new owner would pay taxes in the following year. The rural municipal government became the point of application of sovereign power through which the local settler population dispossessed Metis living in Minnewaken.

In analyzing historical maps, municipal tax rolls, and by-laws, what becomes clear is that while Metis living in the area owned approximately 4000 acres in 1915, most had lost those lands by 1970, at which time only one Metis landowner still possessed 10 acres. By the time the Great Depression of the 1930s was in full swing and Metis landowners accumulated increasing

municipal tax debt, they became increasingly land *in*secure as the municipal apparatus continued to tax Metis properties that would eventually become subject to tax sales. As I demonstrate in my analysis of the council's by-laws and the minutes (kept between 1915 and 1969) the municipal council never included a Metis resident or a woman; the council was exclusively white and male.[56] What is more, council members tended to also be the purchasers of properties that were repossessed by the municipality. The social make-up of the municipal council when compared against land purchasers also speaks to the way in which settler municipal politicians aided in settler territorial acquisition, as families who dominated local politics tended to be the same families purchasing Metis lands in the postwar era.

This chapter begins by discussing how and why I came to do this research, followed by a section on the methods and methodology that I used in the construction of this chapter. It then moves through four cross-sections of history: first, the settlement of the Metis community of Minnewaken prior to 1870; second, the creation and establishment of the rural municipality (1883-1911); third, the depressing of Minnewaken during the depression years (1930-1940), and then the dispossession of Minnewaken in the postwar years (1940-1970). I use these four cross sections as they coincide with major points of disjuncture in the history of Minnewaken but also of the development and then challenging of the establishments and endurance of the municipality. Furthermore, these cross sections demonstrate the settler-colonial effects produced by the municipal apparatus over a longer period of time. After accounting for these four historical cross-sections I then discuss how these cross sections, as temporal-spatialities, illuminate the ways in which Metis Indigeneity became governed in Minnewaken, and how such governing led to the dispossession of Metis from our lands.

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[56] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 16-17. As I note below, Thomas Monkman did serve as reeve for two to three months, from November 1913 to January 1914.

Remapping Minnewaken

In January 2019 I was contacted by Diane Malcolm, a member of the Chartrand and Lucier families who had lived in the rural Metis and Halfbreed community of Minnewaken. Diane and I had never met before, but through our mutual family friend Patricia Roberts, Diane heard that I had written my MA thesis about the community, focusing mainly on the everyday lived experiences of my family, the Monkmans (Parent 2017). After reading my thesis, Diane reached out to me to ask if I would be interested in doing more research with Minnewaken descendants. As Indigenous Studies scholars Kim TallBear (2016), Adam Gaudry (2011), and Rob Innes (2010) have all argued, as Indigenous Studies scholars working with Indigenous communities, we should make it our goal to orient our research for and with Indigenous communities.[57] Moreover, such an orientation embraces the fact that community engaged research often leads us down paths of knowledge production not previously trodden. Informed by such an orientation I continued talking with Diane and started planning a trip back to Minnewaken to visit with and meet more community members who could then help direct the new research that I would do with the community.

When I visited the Interlake with my grandmother and other Monkman cousins in February of 2019, one of the things that repeatedly came up during our visits was: what happened to Minnewaken? Why did people move away and how did we lose our lands? During our visit we poured over hundreds of pictures that were either passed to Diane from her mother Lucy Lucier (a friend of my great-grandmother Katherine Monkman), or others that she had collected over the years from living in the area. Included in Diane's collection of pictures,

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[57] Before Diane reached out to me, I was committed to doing a research project on Metis migration to Vancouver during the postwar period. However, Diane's call for me to do more research, for me, felt immediate. I plan to return to the previous project in the future.

however, was a letter notifying the residents of the Minnewaken townsite, as well as the known descendants of James Monkman of a by-law enforcement to repossess lands that had been acquired through homesteading. Although it was unclear if the section in question was obtained through the trading in of scrip acquired during the scrip commission or as a result of homesteading, what has always been clear in our own family stories is that where we call Minnewaken has been the home of generations of Monkmans and other Metis families in the area.[58] What this document did communicate clearly though was that the Monkmans, as well as other Metis and Halfbreeds in the area had possessed title to their land up until at least 1950.

This by-law enforcement letter immediately proved three things to me that complicate the dominant narratives that are often told about Metis history: 1) my family, the Monkmans, had in fact obtained lands following the *Manitoba Act* and the *Dominion Lands Survey*: they were not left landless—in fact, quite the opposite; 2) they maintained those lands until the date posted on the by-law enforcement letter; and 3) they had lost their lands not necessarily through physical force, but through the mundane, banal, and quotidian process of tax debt accumulation. Settler-colonial dispossession of Metis land in Minnewaken was much more complicated than I had originally understood.

The by-law enforcement letter likewise complicates the dominant narratives of the Red River Resistance: namely, that the negotiating of the *Manitoba Act* whose promises were never honoured*,* coupled with the ensuing Reign of Terror led by Colonel Wolseley, made living in the Red River region increasingly untenable for many Metis in the late nineteenth century. Much has been made of the external forces that pushed many Metis families to move west; however, this narrative has often overlooked how Metis who stayed in Manitoba endured the waves of settler-

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[58] For a discussion of scrip and the scrip commission see the first section of chapter 3.

colonizers in the following decades (Teillet 2019; Vermette 2017; Gaudry 2016; Sprague 1992; Ens 1992). For some of the Monkmans, as with other families living in Minnewaken, external pressures to move off of their lands did not arrive until 1950 when The Municipal Act Letter stated as follows:

> Notice is hereby given that proceedings have been taken under "The Municipal Act" in respect of a certain parcel of land sold for arrears of taxes, namely:
>
> Parcel 1: South West Quarter of Section 25 in the nineteenth Township and Sixth Range West of the Principal Meridian in Manitoba excepting thereout that portion taken for a Public Road as shown on a plan filed in the Winnipeg Titles Office, Portage la Prairie Division, as Number Five Hundred and Forty-nine (549).
>
> Parcel 2: All that portion of the South East quarter of Section Twenty-six in said Township and Range along to the East of Lake Manitoba, as shown upon a map or plan of survey of said Township approved and confirmed at Ottawa on 7th May 1874, by J.S. Dennis, Surveyor-General of Dominion Lands.
>
> In which you appear to be interested; and further, take notice that unless the amount necessary to redeem the land from tax sale and costs be paid, or proceedings be taken by you to stop the issue of a certificate of title to the tax tale applicant, within three months from the date of mailing of this notice, a certificate of title of the land will issue to the tax purchaser. Particulars regarding redemption may be obtained at the office of the District Registrar
>
> Dated September 20 1950, Signed Deputy District Registrar, Land Titles District of Winnipeg
> To Edward Monkman, Josephte Monkman nee Richard, Charley Monkman, Johnnie Monkman, Thomas Monkman, Mary Monkman daughter of Edward Monkman, Marguerite Richard, Elisabeth Monkman, Francis Monkman, Bella Monkman, Andrew Monkman, Albert Monkman, Mary Monkman daughter of Francis Monkman, Jane McLeod wife of Pierre McLeod, George Monkman, Ann Monkman, Margaret Chartrand wife of Michel Chartrand, Alexander Monkman, Charles Monkman, Philip Monkman and James Monkman, all of Minnewaken, Manitoba.
>
> Henry Monkman, Prince Albert, Sask., William Monkman (Junior) and Catherine Henderson wife of Jack Henderson, both of Regina, Sask., William Monkman (Senior) Lundville, Man., Louise and Edward Monkman, both of Lundar, Man., Josephine Monkman, Overton, Man., Archibald Monkman, Flin Flon, Man., Roderick Monkman, 54 Smith Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba. (See Appendix 1).

This document provides a wellspring of information, both about the Monkmans and about the government. First, included in the by-law enforcement letter were lands set aside for James Monkman and his descendants, and, more specifically, the two quarter sections described are officially known as Monkman Point on local and provincial maps. The place described is thus not just some random chunk of land, but rather a place that residents of the municipality as well as Manitobans venturing into the Interlake came to associate with the Monkman family; a place that shaped our family and a place that was shaped by our family. Second, the document included a comprehensive list of any and all descendants of James Monkman who may have had rights to the described land. This included my own great-great-grandmother Ann Monkman, who, by 1950 had long passed, and, her mother Marguerite Richard, who had passed over half a century before the date of this letter. In other words, the list of names stated included numerous relatives who had long passed; members who could not possibly be able to respond to such a letter. Thus, while the letter is useful in that it provides a more complete picture of all those relatives who had attachments to Monkman Point, it also temporally and spatially distorts those relations. For example, as I will demonstrate in the maps below, many of the people and family names that became associated as being from Minnewaken were, by the latter half of the 1940s, located and living closer to the centre of Minnewaken, within walking distance to the church and cemetery on section 12-20-6, three miles north of Monkman Point.

Answering the question of land dispossession posed by community members is made more complicated by the fact that a majority of those addressed in the letter had been deceased for a decade or more: how could dead Monkmans pay taxes? The Monkman family, as I know from my own family stories, was still very much present in the region in 1950. As such, the

research question became: what did that presence look like in the postwar period when the letter was written?

With community directed questions in mind and the precious by-law enforcement letter that Lucy Lucier passed on, I returned to Winnipeg where I searched the archives for information about Minnewaken, especially for postwar traces when the majority of families were either dispossessed of their lands or dispersed for other reasons. What I encountered was a rich data set in the form of tax rolls from 1915 to the present that, when paired with other data gleaned from the local histories of the surrounding townships that make up the rural municipality of Coldwell, helped answer my community's research query. Moreover, as I began reading through the tax-rolls, it became obvious that the differential governing that various other Metis communities in Manitoba had experienced during the mid-twentieth century (covered in chapter 3), were also being experienced by Metis in Minnewaken at the same time. Metis families were either being displaced by technologies and techniques unique to municipal governing apparatuses, and/or, such technologies and techniques encouraged the mass movement of Metis families into the centralizing municipality townsites, or to larger, expanding urban centres like Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, and even Vancouver.

During my Minnewaken visit, Patricia Roberts, my grandmother's childhood best friend, had also given me access to maps (some dating back to the early 1900s) and a voters list from 1946 that an old friend of hers had held on to over the years. The voters list included living locations and living statuses of constituents from the RM of Coldwell. Looking over the maps, it became apparent, when focusing on the property owned by Metis and Halfbreeds in Minnewaken, that community derived meanings and relations of and to place that had made Minnewaken a Halfbreed place, had, in the postwar period, been re-placed by (mainly) Icelandic

immigrant families. If you were to visit Minnewaken today, apart from a ten-acre strip of land still owned by a member of the Chartrand family, the only Metis you would find there are in the graveyard. What was once a Metis and Halfbreed community that established itself through the checkerboarding of quarter mile sections comprising as much as 4000 acres in 1915, had, by the 1970s, become the property of mainly Icelandic farmers. The families of Minnewaken still exist today; however, their connection to Minnewaken as a place and community was radically altered during their mid-twentieth century dispossession and dispersal.

Methods and Methodology for Tracking Metis Land Dispossession

The materials that I used to track Metis land dispossession in Minnewaken came from maps produced in the local history book *Wagons to Wings* (WTW), itself produced by a local group of longstanding residents from Lundar, Manitoba. These maps and local history were then supplemented by tax rolls, by-laws, and minutes deposited to the Manitoba Provincial archives by the Rural Municipality of Coldwell. I was also graciously provided with records by both Metis and settler people who grew up in the municipality. Patricia Roberts, my grandmother's best friend, took an interest in my research and gave me access to local history documents she has collected over the years, including a voter registration booklet from 1945, as well as municipal maps. Both of these documents have been instrumental in reconstructing this history of Metis land dispossession. Using these primary sources of municipal data, I have reconstructed a spatial history of Minnewaken, from its dense collection of Metis properties in 1915, to the eventual deterritorialization of Metis from their properties throughout the mid-twentieth century when the last piece of land that still belonged to a Metis family who descended from Minnewaken amounted to 10 acres in 1970. In this way, I think of this work alongside Indigenous Studies scholar Mishauna Goeman (2013, 3) who conceptualizes "(re)mapping as a

powerful discursive discourse with material groundings . . .[to] address the unsettling of imperial and colonial geographies." The (re)mappings that I provide below, while produced within the "various intersections constructed by the colonial geographies [that] enframe the boundaries of the state and manage its population" (Goeman 2013, 3), do seek to reterritorialize Metis historical presence in Minnewaken. Furthermore, in tracking Metis land (dis)possession between 1870 until 1970 in Minnewaken, I am able to further complicate settler-colonial technologies of elimination as banal processes that span decades: settler-colonial dispossession in Minnewaken was not a sudden occurance, but a long drawn out process that required the coordination of a growing municipal apparatus (Loo 2019; Mawani 2010; Stranger-Ross 2008).

Reconstructing a temporal-spatial history of Minnewaken went through phases. First, it involved identifying a baseline of Metis settlement and land owned in the area. Other than being mentioned in local history books or accounted for by Lawrence Barkwell in unpublished research done for the Manitoba Metis Federation (data for the most part derives from an analysis of Legassé's 1959 report), Minnewaken has been an undocumented Metis and Halfbreed community. Therefore, I have found it necessary, in addition to tracing its dispossession, to also trace out its establishment as a Metis and Halfbreed settlement. The local history text *Wagons to Wings* provided a baseline of this settlement, however, I also drew on the neighbouring Rural Municipality of St Laurent's local history book published in 2010 in order to fill in gaps missed by the much older *Wagons to Wings* (1982). Even though Minnewaken is located squarely within the current RM of Coldwell's boundaries, the history of the Oak Point settlement, with its historic social, economic, and, importantly, kinship relations to the historic St Laurent Metis community, figures prominently in both local history texts. Oak Point, which we will return to below, was where many of the Metis and Halfbreed families lived prior to 1870.

Importantly, *Wagons to Wings* contains a homesteading map from 1915 that I was able to use as a baseline for the settlement of Metis, Halfbreeds, Icelanders, and other settlers who settled in and around the Minnewaken area. The map identifies the landowners of each section, quarter section, and divided sections, as well as the planned location for schools, as well as former Hudsons Bay Company sections that were reserved in the *Dominion Lands Act,* discussed previously in chapter three. The Metis names that I identified on the map include Monkman, Chartrand, Forbister, Isbister, Lavallee, Morin, Sinclair, Cyr, Gaudry, McLeod, Spence, Ducharme, Allard, and Whitford. In addition, I cross-referenced these names with the Metis National Council's *Metis Archival Project* database (constructed by Dr. Frank Tough and his team) where the families appeared in census and scrip documents. Given the logic of the *Dominion Lands Survey*, each of these landowners also possessed standardized co-ordinates for where they lived.

Using the names and coordinates associated with these sections of lands as a baseline, I moved into the second phase of spatial reconstruction by using municipal tax-rolls, by-laws, and minutes that were the main archival traces of the municipality located in the Provincial Manitoba Archives. The tax-rolls for the municipality begin in 1915 and go to 1970; the bylaws span from 1913 to 1967; and the council minutes span between 1941 and 1979. While the tax-rolls and minutes are complete, numerous bylaws were missing from the record. Coupled with insights I gleaned from the previous oral historical work in my MA thesis, I have produced a spatial history of Minnewaken's relationship to the municipal apparatus, focusing empirically on how these relations were shaped by settler-colonial dispossession through the municipal technology of taxation.

When cross-referenced with historical municipal maps, the tax roll data, by-laws, and minutes demonstrate how the RM and Minnewaken changed over time. By tracing the accumulation of tax debt and the changing of living location of Metis and Halfbreed families, I was able to produce 4 cross-sectional maps that visually illuminate how Minnewaken has transformed from being a place densely populated by Metis families, to property mostly owned by a few settler landowners whose farm sizes grew substantially in the latter part of the mid-twentieth century. In this case, place has been an important anchor around which data circulates. In order to produce these maps I have used Metis and Halfbreed property coordinates recorded in 1915 and recounted in a map provided in Lundar's local history text, *Wagons to Wings*, as a baseline against which relations of ownership, family location, and debt are temporally tracked and then spatially projected on to cross-section maps to demonstrate spatial change of the place over time. In the following four sections I discuss the cross-sectional maps in order to demonstrate the effects of municipal technologies and programs in dispossessing Metis from Minnewaken.

My deployment of these various sources is informed by the Critical Indigenous governmentality methodological framework developed in chapter one. I approached the local history maps, tax rolls, and by-laws as specific settler-colonial technologies whose work it was to translate and render governable Metis people and place to the local settler-colonial municipal apparatus (Mawani 2010; Andersen 2008; Stranger-Ross 2008; Harris 2004). As time wore on, the effects of such governing intensified, moving beyond governmentality, and towards the structured and structuring elimination of Metis from their relations of Indigeneity (Wolfe 2006)—from their co-constituted relationships to each other and to Minnewaken. I will now demonstrate what settler-colonial dispossession emerged as in practice.

Minnewaken Prior to the Municipal Apparatus

Mercantile colonialism—that is, colonial relations based on the exchange of resources and commerce between Indigenous peoples and the colonial Hudson's Bay Company—had already been shaping the Interlake region since the early 1800s.[59] During the 1800s Oak Point was a place where Metis people settled as numerous individuals who were recorded on the 1870 census had been noted to have lived in Oak Point since as early as 1810.[60] The Oak Point Hudson's Bay trading post was integral to the prairie economy as "it became a centre for raising cattle. At that time these animals were not raised for beef production but to have a source of oxen for the well-known Red River carts, which freighted wares to Edmonton and St. Paul, Minnesota."[61] In addition, Oak Point was an important trading post where Halfbreed families, such as the Monkmans, operated through and settled river lots around.[62] My direct ancestor James Monkman Jr., for example, was a major player in the salt production and trade in the region. The Monkmans were prominent enough in the region that the area right above Oak Point on the eastern shore of Lake Manitoba is named Monkman Point and consists of sections 24, 25, and 26 that was reserved for descendants of James Monkman and settled following the *Dominion Lands Act*. Historian Gerald Freisen (1987) has noted (and as I prefaced in the previous chapter), apart from restrictions on homesteading on lands reserved for the Canadian Pacific Railway and school lands, the Hudson's Bay Company was also granted lands as part of the federal land policy: "The HBC was granted "50,000 acres around its posts and one-twentieth of the Fertile

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[59] Rural Municipality of St Laurent, *The Land Between Two Lakes: History of R.M. of St. Laurent & District, 1882-2007,* St. Laurent & District Book Committee, Friesens Corporation, 2010, 169-174.
[60] Rural Municipality of St Laurent, *The Land Between Two Lakes: History of R.M. of St. Laurent & District, 1882-2007,* St. Laurent & District Book Committee, Friesens Corporation, 2010, 169-174
[61] Rural Municipality of St Laurent, *The Land Between Two Lakes: History of R.M. of St. Laurent & District, 1882-2007,* St. Laurent & District Book Committee, Friesens Corporation, 2010, 169.
[62] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980.

Belt (usually section 8 and three-quarters of section 26, or about 6.6 million acres) as part of the compensation for relinquishing its exclusive right to trade)" (183-184). Thus, as we will cover further below, the fact that members of the Monkman family significantly populated homesteads in the area following the *Dominion Lands Act* is no surprise, as they already possessed strong economic and social ties in the area prior to 1870.

South of Oak Point was the predominantly French Metis settlement of St Laurent where Metis families had established river lots and thrived off of the local fishing economy since the 1850s (St-Onge 2004; 1994; Lavallee 2000). Historical geographer Frank Tough (2000, 6-12) has noted that the fishing economy in the Red River Region, including the Interlake, was perfectly positioned between Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg to become a dominant source of food that fed the Red River Settlement from its beginnings in the early 1800s through and beyond 1870. Thus, the connections between Oak Point, St Laurent, and the Red River settlement was significant in that Metis were moving between these nodes and within the broader Red River region for the purposes of trade, commerce, and the massive importation of fish to feed the settlement. That is, St Laurent and Oak Point were very much part of the larger Red River region.

Although historically distinguished between French Metis and English Halfbreed family groups, historical alliances between members of the St Laurent and Oak Point settlements are woven into dominant Metis history. Jean Teillet (2019) notes in her Metis epic *The Northwest is our Mother* that the Monkmans of Oak Point had a complicated relationship with other Metis. They were allied with other Metis in 1845 protesting the HBC charter that was putting more restrictions on local exports. Twenty-three Métis and Freemen, including James and his brother Joseph Monkman, signed a petition that demanded their right to control trade in their homeland:

"Having…a strong belief that we, as natives of this country…have the right to hunt furs in the Hudson's Bay Company's territories wherever we think proper and again sell those furs to the highest bidder, likewise having a doubt that natives of this country can be prevented from trading and trafficking with one another . . ." (as cited in Teillet 2019, 142). James Monkman was also part of the jury that rendered a guilty verdict during the Sayer trial that sought to charge Metis for breaking the trading rules of the HBC charter (Teillet 2019, 155). However, as Teillet (2020, 155) notes:

> The jury found Sayer guilty but, taking note of the officially induced error, recommended mercy. With hundreds of armed and angry Métis outside the court building, Prosecutor Ballenden seized upon the mercy recommendation and claimed that he would seek no punishment. He merely wanted the court to confirm the legality of the Company's monopoly. Ballenden also offered to drop the charges against Goulet, McGillis and Laronde. The icing on the cake was that he even offered to give back the furs Sayer had just been found guilty of trading illegally.

Although found guilty of the offence, the verdict essentially demonstrated the HBC's lack of power to enforce its charter. James Monkman, and his descendants, however, continued to have complicated relations with other Metis as the Metis political struggle ramped up during the mid-nineteenth century, climaxing with the Red River Resistance in 1869-70.

During the resistance, the fort at Oak Point became a hostile place as the Monkman family was displaced by other Metis from the south taking over the fort in order to steal the HBC cattle.[63] As a result, the Monkman family moved up the local colonization road and relocated to what would become the Minnewaken settlement. This event, included in the Lundar local history book *Wagon's to Wings,* was encapsulated in "a letter written by Ewen MacDonald of Manitobah House (Kinisota) to Robert Campbell, of Fort Pelly, Sask."[64] In the letter,

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[63] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 200-202.
[64] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 200-202.

MacDonald explained that he himself was being chased out of Oak Point by French Metis who were allied with Riel and that many of the Oak Point residents were fleeing the area.[65] Swan Creek, another place name for Minnewaken, was understood to be a safe place to relocate to as most of the things worth any value that could be raided were located at the fort. Swan Creek had by this time become an area where company men ranched cattle; however, during the seizure of the fort some Metis arrived at Swan Creek to take some cattle.[66] The letter continues,[67]

> The Indians and settlers here, with the exception of two or three, will not render us any assistance, indeed they would rather like us to be robbed, as they fully expect a share of the spoil. Jack and McLeod may come from Swan Creek to help us if all the cattle are taken, 30 of the best are gone already, and I suspect the rest will soon go. The Monkmans are also thinking of coming but they can't very well leave their places and the few cattle they possess as they would lose the whole if they came to our assistance and left them behind.

As the 1870 letter notes and given the settlement in the Minnewaken area by Monkmans following 1870, the Monkmans had indeed left Oak Point. Amongst those Monkmans was my great-great-great grandmother Annie Monkman, the daughter of James Monkman, Jr. Annie, her siblings, and their descendent would make up one of the core families in Minnewaken.

The Monkmans and other prominent families of Minnewaken were recounted for Lundar's sixtieth year celebration. Recorded in his speech to the town of Lundar, past Reeve Paul Reykdal recounts who he remembered living at the "French settlement" (Minnewaken):

> To the west of us was what we called the French Settlement. There were the Langlois, who first had the Mary Hill Post Office; the Carrieres; the Allards; the Delarondes; the Cutus; the Lamaroux; several Monkmans; Tom, George, Jim, Philip, Alex, William, and Charley; the Forbisters: Ben, Sam, and John; the McLeods: Angus, Abraham, Pierre, and Jim; the Braults; who first had the Minnewaken Post Office; Legimodieres; Michael Richaue; Gabriel Dumont. Andres and David Spence. In that district also was Kim Martin, Ambrose Brunt, who had a little store at Swan Creek, and the Fishers.[68]

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[65] Ibid
[66] Ibid
[67] Ibid
[68] *Lundar Diamond Jubilee: 1887 to 1947,* Lundar, Manitoba, 1948, 17.

Reykdal's account, although from lived memory (when compared to the map in *Wagons to Wings*) demonstrates that while some of these families were included on the map, some were not and that an incongruence exists between sources. However, while this could be considered problematic that the sources do not conform, what I think can be gleaned from this disjuncture is that Metis and Halfbreeds living in this region were still living mobile lives, moving between places like Oak Point and St. Laurent, but also between these two places and economies in the north, as chronicled by Tough (1996, 5, 305-306) as well as to the south as explained by St-Onge's (2004, 67) study of St. Laurent between 1850-1914. While Metis settlement increased, mobility continued; however, such mobility adapted to the changing economies from the buffalo hunts prior to the mid 1800s and towards a mixed labour economy in the turn towards the 20th century (Tough 1996 299-306; See Lavallee 2000 for a robust ethnographic account of St Laurent's mid-twentieth century fishing and trapping economy).

Movement into the Oak Point and St Laurent region following the Red River Resistance by Metis families continued. As St-Onge (2004, 67) explains,

> Aside from families whose members had moved into Saint-Laurent prior to 1870 or during the decade immediately following Manitoba's creation, other Métis families were congregating at Saint-Laurent in the 1880s and early 1890s. Many bought land from the older residents or took up homesteading in nearby areas…Some families came from the northern part of the lake and from Lake Winnipegosis. For example, Charles and Caroline Monkman, who were listed in 1881 as farming on the shores of Lake Winnipegosis, were in the Saint-Laurent area in 1891. There was also the family of John and Mary Campbell, who arrived from Manitoba House in the early 1880s. Both Charles Monkman and John Campbell were listed as farmers in 1891. However, the immigrants from the north were always a minority of the new arrivals to the area.

St-Onge's description of migration reveals the region as a hub for Metis families to move to; Metis families would leave their mark on the region in the following decades as their names became recorded and associated with sections of lands in the broader township scheme of the *Dominion Lands Survey* covered in the previous chapter.

What is clear is that the initial "making of Minewaken" was the confluence of numerous events at multiple levels (outlined in chapter three) but deserves recounting and applying to the Minnewaken context specifically. First, the initial surveying of Metis lands by the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of homesteading marks an initial point from which Canada shifted its governing disposition of the Northwest, from one of mercantile-capitalism and colonialism, to one of settler-colonialism (Tough 1996, 5-6).[69] Prompted by this initial surveying, the Metis led by Louis Riel mounted a political resistance that resulted in the formation of a provisional government and the drafting and passing of the *Manitoba Act.* The *Manitoba Act* would ensure that Metis and Halfbreeds, as well as their children, would have their land and language rights protected as settlers came to settle Manitoba. In 1872, the *Dominion Lands Act* was established and the Northwest was opened up to settlement by homesteaders from Ontario, but also, included Metis already living in the Red River region. Part of the fulfillment of the *Manitoba Act* came by way of issuing Halfbreed and Metis scrip to eligible persons worth 160 and 240 dollars/acres respectively. While scrip initiated purchase into homesteading for Metis, the rules of settlement spelled dispossession insofar as the agrarian lifestyle instituted by the DLA was incongruent with the lifestyles and economy of many Metis families who were still heavily invested in the buffalo hunt which necessitated a more migratory lifestyle (Ens 1992; Sprague 1992). As Nicole St-Onge (2004) and Guy Lavallee (2000) recount in their respective studies of St Laurent and which holds true if we look at the settlement patterns of Minnewaken, Metis in the western Interlake were living a much more sedentary lifestyle that revolved around a mixed economy of hunting, fishing, trapping, and seasonal gardening.

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[69] Settler colonialism, as theorized in chapter one, differs from mercantile colonialism in that mercantile colonialism is carried out primarily through economic relationships, but lacks the territorial acquisitiveness of settler colonialism. See Tough (1996, 5) for extensive discussion on the changing economic relationships in northern Manitoba between1870-1930.

Figure 1: 1915 Homestead Map of Minnewaken settlement area.
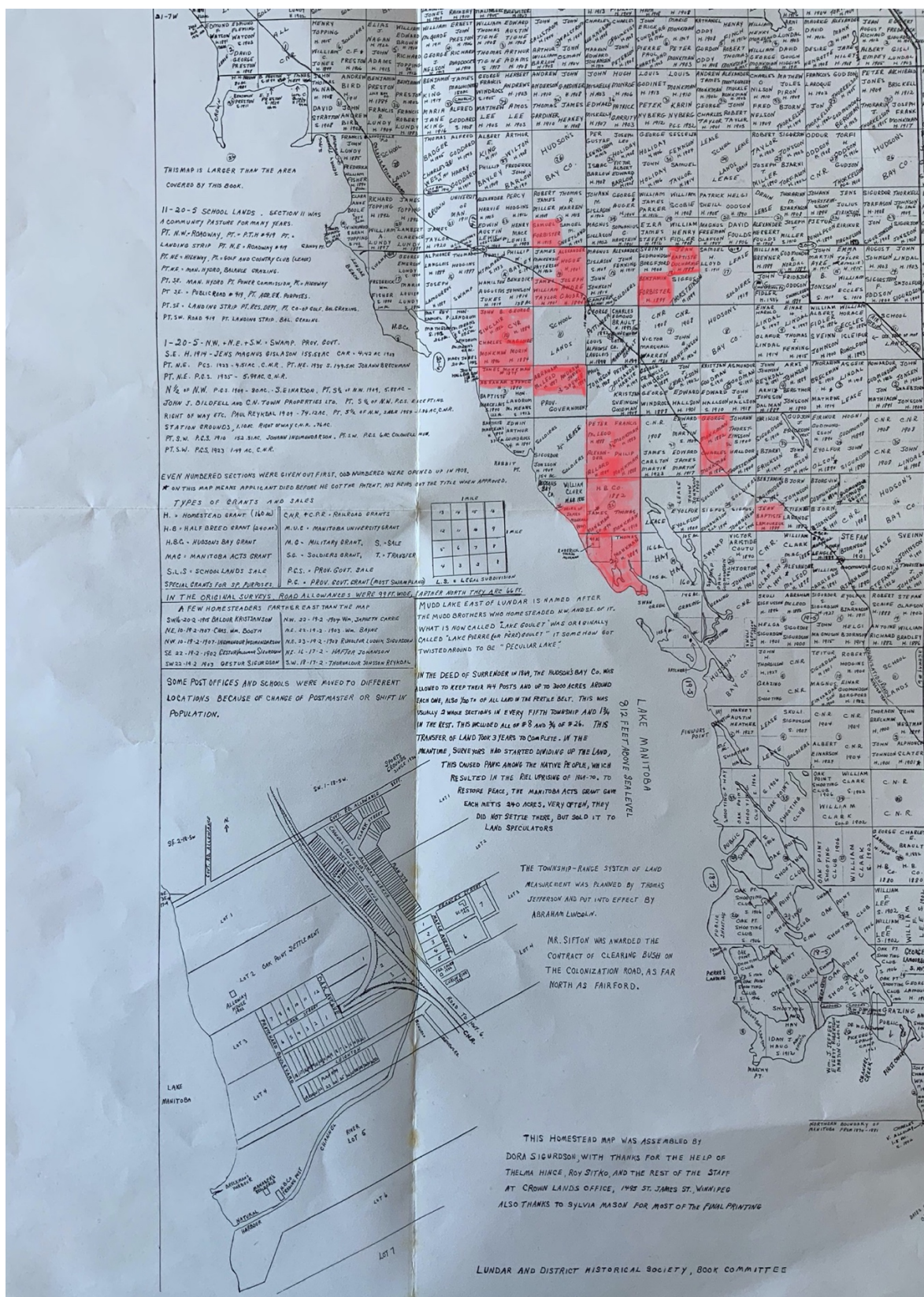
The map above, taken from the local history of the Lundar region, is a homestead map based on the original homesteaders who had settled sections in Minnewaken, with an overwhelming number being Metis and even more specifically being Monkmans. It seems, from the map, that although the Monkmans had been pushed out of Oak Point in 1870, they had re-established themselves in Minnewaken alongside other Metis families such as Chartrands, Richards, McLeods, Forbisters, Ducharms, Allards, among others.

The resistance was over and Metis in the region were back to living together, or so the map and the numerous family histories in the local histories of Lundar and St Laurent would make it seem. Furthermore, as the map demonstrates, unlike other Metis in Manitoba and in the Red River Settlement specifically, Metis in the Minnewaken region were not losing their land by being swamped by settlers. Rather, and more importantly, they had managed to secure approximately 4000 acres of private property. Ironically, the *Manitoba Act,* with its sections 31 and 32 that had sought to protect Metis land rights, was also helping in producing liberal conditions of possibility—the owning of private property—that Metis in Minnewaken were becoming invested in. The *Manitoba Act* was the bait on the hook of settler-colonialism: in the case of Minnewaken, many Metis, including my own ancestors, bit. In becoming homesteaders, and by extension private landowners, Metis were becoming liberal subjects; subjects whose investment in homesteading would eventually cost them the lands that they had secured through this process as the municipal apparatus and its associated technology of taxation loomed on the horizon.

Establishing the Municipal Apparatus

The establishment of a municipal government that would eventually govern Minnewaken was not immediate. First, the establishment of a functioning provincial apparatus was required.

As the second lieutenant-governor of the province, Alexander Morris was responsible for helping with implementing technologies that were vital for the growth of municipalities through the establishment of a census, an elected legislature with representatives from the various regions, and the recruitment of a police force (Goldsborough 2008, 5). In essence, Morris was responsible for creating the apparatus that would help provide security for Manitoba's newly formed population of 12,000 and captured territory (Goldsborough 2008, 5; Sprague 1998, 59). Moreover, given that in the beginning the province lacked sufficient resources for governing municipalities, including a not yet large enough population from which to generate revenue from, the "administration of justice and land sales, the building of roads and bridges, and other local services" remained in the hands of the province (Goldsborough 2008, 5; Sprague 1998 59).

In 1873 with the introduction of the Municipal Act the province would 'permit communities to organize on a township or parish basis, so long as it was approved by two-thirds of the eligible voters in the area" (Goldsborough 2008, 5). In addition, only "male land-owners (or a male member in the household of a landowner) over the age of 21 years old, and British subjects who could prove their municipal taxes had been paid at least ten days before election day" were permitted to vote (5). As laid out in Chapter 24, The Municipal Act in 1873 Manitoba gave municipalities and their officials the following governing powers (as cited in Goldborough 2008, 5):

> …the raising of municipal revenue by taxes upon person and property, and the mode of collecting the same; the expenditure of the municipal revenue; roads and bridges; the prevention of cruelty to animals; the regulation of slaughter houses; the prevention or removal of abuses prejudicial to agriculture, and not specially provided against by law; the relief of the poor; the conditions of streams, water-courses, drains and ferries; drainage works; the regulation of fences, dykes and ditches; the prevention and removal of nuisances; the prevention of fires; the prevention of the public health; the maintenance of public officers; the providing and regulation of pounds and the prevention of animals running at large; the construction of a municipal hall and other buildings; the encouragement of planting of trees on prairie land and public highways; the taking of a

census of the residents in the municipality; the regulation of statute labour which persons within the municipality; the regulation of municipal elections; the enforcing of by-laws of the municipality by fine and imprisonment; the sale of land in satisfaction of unpaid municipal rates and taxes; the regulation of the meetings of the council and general conduct of business; the duties of the clerk, treasurer, assessor, collector and other officers of the municipality and their fulfillment; public morals including the observance of the Sabbath; the establishment and regulation of markets; the imposing penalties for light weight or short count or short measurement in anything marketed; and maintaining or assisting in maintaining in due proportions the registry offices in the country according to the provisions of the law in that behalf.

Furthermore, as Goldborough (2008, 5) notes, in 1875 the Act was amended "to allow municipal councils to levy and collect school taxes at the request of school trustees." While the national land policy in the *Dominion Lands Act* and homesteading had created the conditions of possibility and geospatial grid for settlement, it would be the provincial government that would demarcate the points of application through which municipal governmentality would be expressed (Sprague 1988, 104).

As the statute recounted at length above demonstrates, a provincial apparatus was concerned with ensuring that its municipal apparatuses would ensure the security over their lives: this statue was about securing settler life in places like Oak Point, Saint Laurent, and Minnewaken. Homesteaders were shifting from simply being individual settler subjects whose responsibility it was to break and turn land; now they were to make communities. The Municipal Act turned the once loose settlement plans of townships into populations, at the level of the municipality. The province now had multiple populations, municipalities, and those municipalities possessed their own populations. The striations of settler-colonial governmentality were solidifying, though gradually, around Metis who had remained in Manitoba and who had managed to take part in homesteading.

The first attempt to bring Minnewaken under the tutelage of a municipality occurred in 1886 when the Municipality of Posen was created.[70] In 1887 Icelanders immigrated into an area east of Minnewaken and established the Swan Lake settlement, current day Lundar.[71] In 1892 the population was a mere 238 people, 54 of which were settler property owners.[72] In addition, most participated in relatively local economy of "mixed farming, sheep raising and planted oats and barley for domestic purposes."[73] And although most homesteads were inhabited by 1890, a population that could produce enough revenue to support a municipality simply did not exist.[74] The first experiment in creating a municipality in 1886 failed. As the Icelandic settler Paul Reykdal describes in his speech during the Lundar Diamond Jubilee: "The settlement was very sparse, the need for improvement was great, but the ability to pay taxes was nonexistent so in 1893 the Municipality ceased to function, and this became unorganized territory."[75]

Then on March 24, 1911, the Municipality of Coldwell came into being, with its first full year as an operational government in 1913.[76] Without a functioning municipal government, homesteaders were experiencing issues with drainage from Lake Manitoba that flooded lands, and the lack of roads impeded their ability to improve their lands. In addition, animal herds were running amuck and residents were in dire need of municipal pound keepers.[77] While the municipality was finally gaining some steam in terms of providing services for residents, the first world war interrupted their efforts as the area experienced "manpower shortage."[78] Following the

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[70] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 12.
[71] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 12; *The Lundar Diamond Jubilee: 1887-1947,* Lundar, Manitoba, 1948, 14-15.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid, 13.
[75] *The Lundar Diamond Jubilee: 1887-1947,* Lundar, Manitoba, 1948, 18.
[76] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 13.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.

war, however, "[m]uch roadwork was carried on and the corduroying of the sloughs, which consisted of laying popular rails, side by side, crossways to the road and covering them with a thin layer of dirt" progressed.[79] Roads were one facet of building up municipalities and they were increasingly more important as arteries for future settlement "as municipal officials worked hard to provide scores of arriving settlers with schools for their children, health care, clean drinking water, and communication with the outside world . . . The job fell squarely on municipalities" (Goldborough 2008, 12).

The coordination between municipalities became integral to their growth and their ability to care for their populations leading to the formation and establishment of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities (UMM) (Goldborough 2008, 12). Reeves, mayors, and other municipal officials were becoming angered by proposed businesses as well as provincial and federal legislation that failed to consult them on how development might affect growth in their jurisdiction, and, importantly, the well-being and best interests of their residents (12). In 1921 the RM of Coldwell, under the leadership of Reeve Paul Reykdal, became a member of the UMM.[80]

The RM of Coldwell accomplished what its predecessor, the RM of Posen, had failed to do: secure itself a voice beyond the provincial government and alongside other municipalities in order to lobby to have local concerns heard and addressed. The concerns of the UMM and the RM of Coldwell paired well as the UMM was concerned with what was to be done with areas of land that had been produced through the drainage of swamp lands. Swamps that had once been unviable for settlement were now potentially agriculturally viable and also because of their previous saturation considered "highly productive" (Goldborough 2008, 15; see Stunden-Bower 2011 for environmental history of drainage in Manitoba). However, given their previous

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

designation as swamp lands during initial homesteading, such lands had become exempt from taxation. This kind of jurisdictional oversight, experienced by numerous municipalities, meant less revenue for providing governance for populations and territories. The UMM had clear goals: "control of utilities (supporting municipal ownership of waterworks, electric lights, gas and telephones), taxation (sale of school land to raise taxes), wildlife (the protection of muskrats, destruction of wolves), education (advocating compulsory education to deal with truants), and amendments to the Municipal Act" (Stunden-Bower 2011, 31-32; Goldborough 2008, 15). By joining the UMM, the RM of Coldwell was becoming further allied with other municipal apparatuses that sought to produce conditions under which settlement could flourish.

The early years of the RM of Coldwell seem, from what can be gleaned from local history as well as from annual tax rolls, to be a time where Metis in Minnewaken were still relatively unaffected, and indeed even benefited, from the growth of the municipality. The initial map of Minnewaken under the tutelage of the RM in 1915 below gestures towards Metis who are living side by side with immigrated Icelanders and older settlers. At this point in time the RM of Coldwell appears to be benign and perhaps even conducive to ensuring that Metis and their lands in the area were being protected by the municipal apparatus. After all, during this time between November 1913 and January 1914 Thomas Monkman temporarily served as reeve, even if other Metis would never hold a significant position on the municipal council again. What was the worst that could have happened?

As noted, at this moment in 1915, Metis and Halfbreed families in the Minnewaken area still owned a considerable amount of land (approximately 4000 acres). However, as time passed and the governmental power of the municipal apparatus increased, its governing had symbolically sovereign effects on Metis families. Its governmental power, at first perhaps

considered benign, was enclosing upon Metis property owners, demanding their taxes be paid, or

their lands be forfeited. Metis attachments to Minnewaken prior to the establishment of the

municipality had no value to municipal officials; their Indigeneity had no value to municipal

officials. Rather, through their participation in homesteading and their investment in private

property, their history of existing as a community prior to the influx of settlers held no currency;

the only currency of value came in the form of the ability to pay property taxes to the municipal

apparatus. As I will demonstrate in the following two sections, the RM of Coldwell's

governance, and certainly not the prior existence of an Indigenous community with its own

sovereignty, was the only form of government that mattered throughout the mid-twentieth

century; its history was the only history that mattered; its settler-colonial attachment to place was

privileged over the Indigeneity of Metis living in Minnewaken. While the *Dominion Lands Act*

had positively created conditions under which the Indigeneity—that is the co-constitutive

relations between a people and place— of Metis from Minnewaken could continue to survive

within that settler-colonial moment, at least briefly at the turn of the twentieth century, the

municipal apparatus had finally established itself as the RM. During the mid-twentieth century,

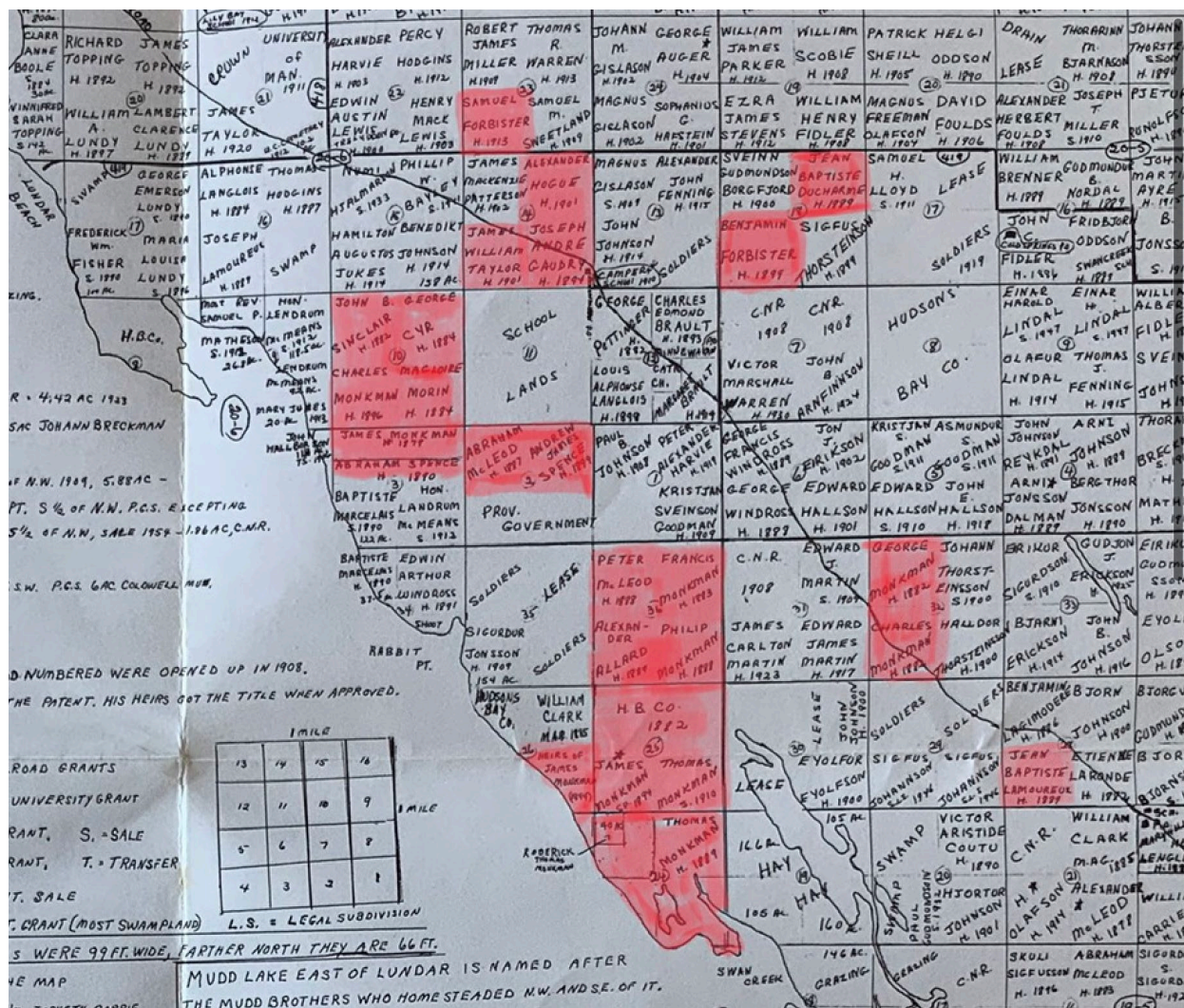that municipal apparatus brought about waves of Indigenous elimination.

Figure 2: Minnewaken Metis Settlement, 1915. Metis Families are shaded in red.
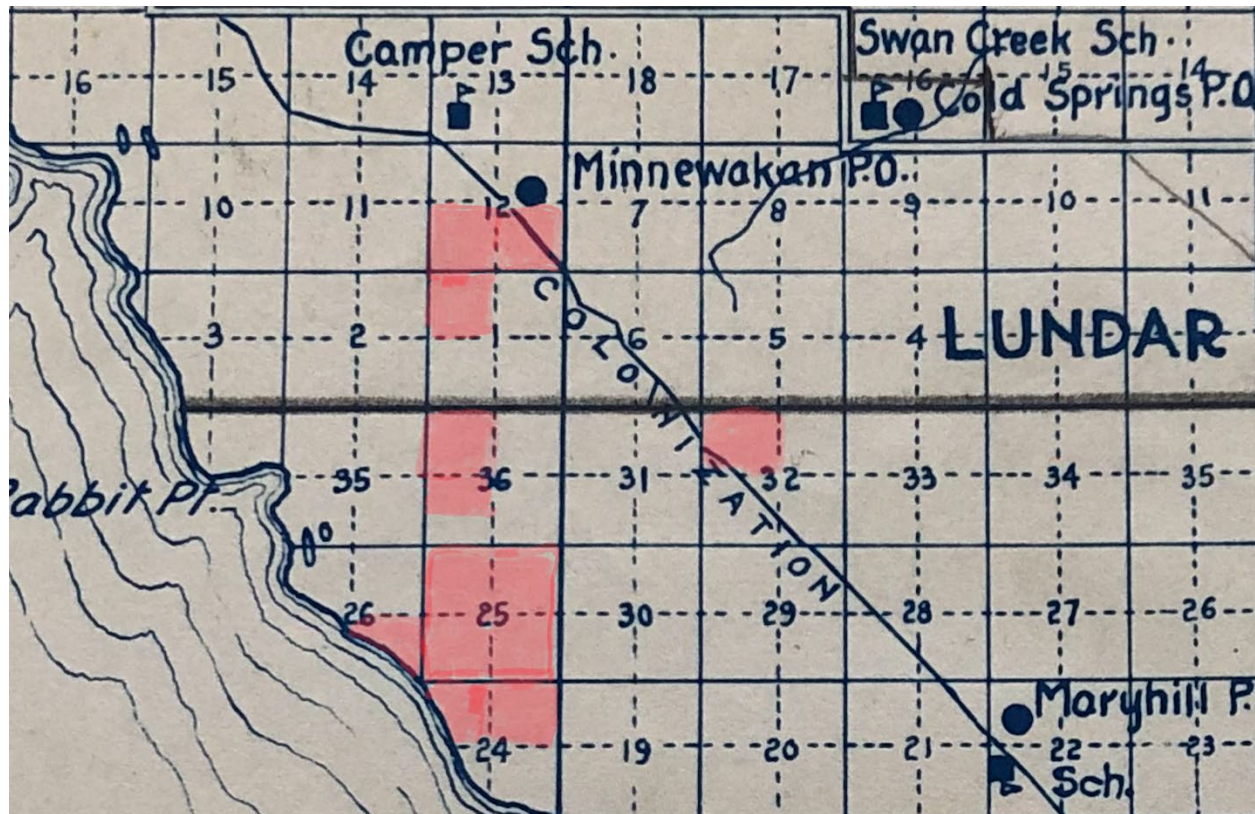
Depressing Minnewaken in the 1930s

Figure 3: Historical Map of Minnewaken from Wagons to Wings. Shaded sections based on residence determined in 1946 List of Electors.

Juxtaposing these two maps from 1915 and 1946 provide us with spatial understanding of how the Great Depression significantly changed the spatial make-up of Minnewaken as Metis families went from owning approximately 4000 acres to closer to 2000 acres in the span of 30 years, with the major land losses being triggered during the depression. *Wagons to Wings* certainly notes part of this shift; however, its authors are not explicit in identifying who exactly lost their land: "In 1930 large amounts of land reverted to the municipality through tax sale and abandonment, which was sold to bona fide residents for $25 per quarter."[81]

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[81] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 1980, 14.

The shaded quarter sections on the map demonstrate the difference between 4000 to 2000

acres owned by Metis and then lost through tax sales. In 1915 the primary landowners were

Samual Forbister of 23-20-6 SW, James William Taylor of 21-20-6 SW, Joseph Andre Gaudry

of 14-20-6 SE, Jean Baptiste Ducharme of 18-20-6 NE, Benjamin Forbister of 18-20-6 SW, John

B. Sinclair of 10-20-6 NW, George Cyr of 10-20-6 NE, Charles Monkman of 10-20-6 SW,

Magloire Morin 10-20-6 SE, James Monkman 3-20-6 N of N ½, Abraham Spence 3-20-6 S of N

½, Abraham McLeod 2-20-6 NW, Andrew James Spence 2-20-6 NE, Peter Mcleod of 36-19-6

NW, Francis Monkman of 36-19-6 NE, Alexander Allard 36-19-6 SE, Philip Monkman of 36-

19-6 SE, George Monkman of 32-19-5 NW, Charles Monkman of 32-19-5 SW, the heirs of

James Monkman 26-19-6 S ½, 25-19-6, Thomas Monkman 25-19-6 SE, 24-19-6 NE and S ½,

Jean Baptiste Lameroux and Catherine Lameroux (nee Chartrand) 28-19-6,[82] and Roderick

Monkman 24-19-6.

The 1946 map was reconstructed by shading in sections owned by Metis as noted in the

1946 *List of Electors* that I acquired from a family friend, Pat Roberts (nee Hallson). Unlike the

homestead map in *Wagons to Wings,* the list of electors contains further information beyond

simply the owners of properties, but also named all voting aged residents living on each quarter

section of land, including, more women. What should be clear in the 1915 map is that Metis

women's relationships to property and land is completely ignored. The *List of Electors* document

helps in providing a clearer picture of who was living on these sections of land and which lands

from 1915 were still possessed by Metis families. I will now explain the spatial-temporal shifts

on the map from top to bottom and left to right (north to south and west to east) in order to trace

out how much land was lost and who lost their lands between 1915 and 1946. That is, in tracing

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[82] When cross referenced with the *Metis Archival Database* Lameroux is noted as French, but married to Catherine Lameroux (nee Chartrand), so I include them here.

these land losses, we are presented with the devastation that technologies such as property taxes wrought on the Metis community. Samuel Forbister's land on of 23-20-6 had changed hands several times by 1915, in 1930 it was owned by Sam Sweetland, and by 1935 the same piece of land had become the property of the provincial government.[83] James William Taylor of 14-20-6 SW continued to own his land as well as acquired section 21-20-6 SE. Other members of the Taylor family that called these sections home included Maud (wife), Ruby (spinster), J.M. Taylor (farmer), Agnes (wife), Robert, Jack, and Tom (all farmers).[84] Joseph Andre Gaudry of 14-20-6 SE while having homesteaded this section had already lost it the municipality who had sold it to Sigurdar Johnson by 1915.[85] By 1935 Jean Baptiste Ducharme's section 18-20-6 NE had been sold to D.J Lindal.[86] Benjamin Forbister of 18-20-6 SW who had homesteaded this section in 1899 had also left by 1915 as there are no tax entries between 1915-1946 for this section.[87] All of the Metis residents who had quarter sections on 10-20-6 John B. Sinclair, George Cyr, Charles Monkman, and Magloire Morin had all moved by 1946; those sections now belonged to Jon Taylor and Charles Connolly.[88] It appears from the 1946 *Electors List* that Charles had relocated to section 12-20-6 with other Monkman family members.[89] The lands owned by James Monkman and Abraham Spence on 3-20-6 N of N ½ on the 1915 map were now being held in trust for Conservative party Senator Lendrum McMeans of Winnipeg.[90]

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[83] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1930 and 1935.
[84] *List of Electors 1946,* 14-15.
[85] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1915.
[86] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1946.
[87] *Wagons to Wings* homestead map.
[88] RM Colwell Tax Rolls 1946;
[89] *List of Electors 1946,* 16.
[90] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1930, 1935, 1946.

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Abraham McLeod's section 2-20-6 NW was now owned by a conglomerate of the Johnson

family who also had acquired the land of Andrew James Spence 2-20-6 NE.[91]

Some Metis living in the southern part of Minnewaken fared better than others. Peter

Mcleod's North West section on 36-19-6 had passed down to C. McLeod (Spinster) and Alex

McLeod (farmer) where he lived with his wife and relative Norman.[92] Unlike the McLeods, by

1946 Francis Monkman of 36-19-6 NE, Alexander Allard of 36-19-6 SE, and Philip Monkman

of 36-19-6 SE had all lost their homesteads to the municipality who sold them to John Lindal,

Philip Bayley, and Fred Thorkelson in 1928.[93] By 1946 George Monkman and Charles

Monkman of 32-19-5 NW and NE had died and their wives became the owners of their sections

where they lived as a widows along with John Monkman (farmer) and his wife.[94] Lands that had

been put aside for the heirs of James Monkman 26-19-6 S ½ and 25-19-6 did end up in the hands

Monkmans. In 1946 26-19-6 S ½ belonged to Edward Monkman (farmer) and his wife Janita and

25-19 6 SE belonged to James Monkman and his wife.[95] Thomas Monkman's sections 25-19-6

SE, 24-19-6 NE and S ½ had passed to Edward Monkman and Roderick Monkman 24-19-6.[96] Of

the 26 Metis landowners recorded on the 1915 homestead map in *Wagons to Wings,* there

remained 13.

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[91] RM Coldwell tax Rolls 1946.
[92] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1946; *List of Electors 1946,* 8.
[93] RM Coldwell Tax Rolls 1946, 1935, 1928.
[94] *List of Electors 1946,* 8.
[95] *List of Electors 1946,* 8.
[96] *List of Electors 1946,* 8. RM Colwell Tax-rolls 1946. Comparing these documents, it is unclear is Roderick Monkman is also RJ Monkman. As well, while there is an RJ Monkman on the tax-roll, the *List of Electors* names an R.T. Monkman. In looking at previous tax-rolls it would appear that RJ is in fact correct; however, it is unclear if this is a Roderick Junior or Roderick with a middle name. This would require further genealogical research and community engagement to determine the exact names and relationships between these people.

Many lost their lands by not fulfilling the terms of homesteading or through not being able

to make a living homesteading.[97] Moreover, if homesteaders had managed to make it through the

initial years of breaking and developing lands to farm, they also needed to survive the Great

Depression years where making a living and paying property taxes became increasingly difficult.

Wagons to Wings notes that

> [d]uring the depression the next few years granting of relief became a major issue. The
> provincial government assisted by paying for relief work done on the roads, such as, work
> to be done by the unemployed as day work. Cattle were accepted in payment of taxes.
> Things went from bad to worse, with relief cut off April 30 1936 and payments for road
> work reduced to 20c an hour and 40c for man and team of horses.[98]

Furthermore, when looking over the tax-rolls during the 1930s it becomes clear that the

municipality was searching for ways to forgive taxes by way of accepting work done to roads.[99]

Moreover, Metis who were employed by the municipality also fared better in terms of

maintaining the possession of their property.[100] Still, for many, such relief simply was not

enough, and for many Metis, while they had maintained ownership over their homesteads

through the depression years, the tax debt continued to accumulate—debts that made them

vulnerable to a municipality was better able to attract buyers following World War II.

Even if the *List of Electors 1946* suggests a grim picture of Metis dispossession, it brings

to the surface many additional important insights: first, settler-colonial dispossession for Metis in

the Minnewaken area did not happen immediately as land loss occurred as a long, drawn out

process; and second, Metis were not solely being dispossessed, they were also moving within the

Minnewaken region. For example, section 12-20-6 owned by George Pottinger, Charles Edmond

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[97] The primary evidence for exactly who lost land through incomplete homesteading would require further research
and is beyond the scope of this project. I hope to continue this research in the future.
[98] Lundar Historical Society, *Wagons to Wings: History of Lundar and Districts,* Lundar Manitoba, 14.
[99] RM Coldwell Tax-rolls 1930-1940.
[100] RM Coldwell Minutes, 1941-1945.

Brault, Louis Alphonse Langlois, Margareet Brault, and the Catholic church in 1915, had switched ownership. Alex Monkman, the brother of my great-grandmother Kathryn Monkman, now owned part of the South West section of 12-20-6 and lived there with his siblings Dan (labourer). Katie (my spinster great-grandmother), Charles Monkman (farmer), J. Monkman (farmer), and his wife (listed as Mrs. J. Monkman) are listed as living on this section.[101] This section of land in particular was the section of land that my grandmother Rosie Monkman and her siblings grew up on and that operated as the centrifugal pole around which Minnewaken's social life occurred throughout the mid-twentieth century. Section 12 was close to the church, the school, and the post-office. Importantly, it was close to the shores of Lake Manitoba where men would go fishing year-round to provide for their families and where my great-grandmother Katie Monkman would go trapping and snaring rabbits and muskrats. Moreover, Section 12 is where the Minnewaken graveyard was and where most of the Monkman and other Metis families had been buried for the last century. By 1946 these institutions and communities still remained in Minnewaken and had mostly weathered the economic strife of the depression. If not the depression, then how and when did these families lose their land? Dispossession in the post-WWII era dramatically increased; moreover, so does our ability to track that dispossession in the form of recorded by-laws and minutes that can further inform names and sections tracked on the tax-rolls.

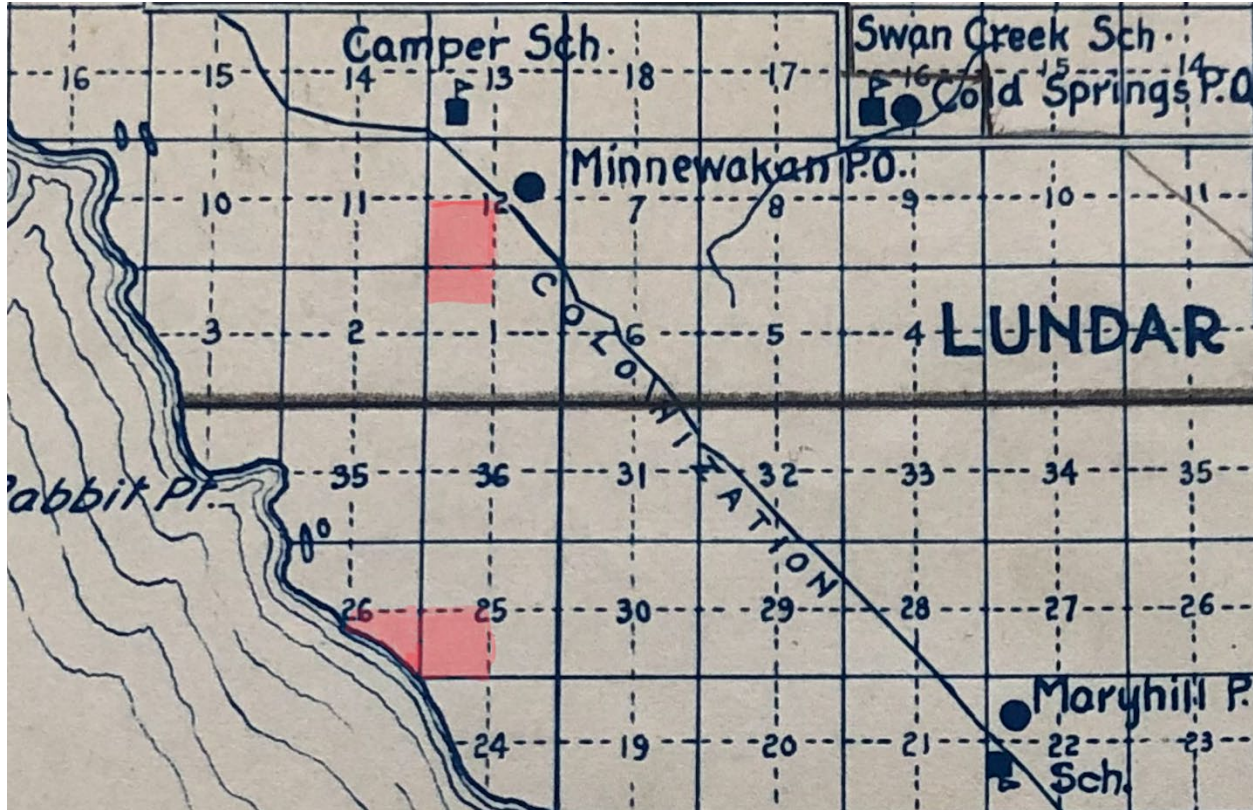
[101] *List of Electors 1946,* 16.

Figure 4: Minnewaken Map. Red shaded sections are owned by Metis in 1960. Reconstruction done by comparing 1945 List of Electors to Municipal Tax Rolls.

Between 1946 and 1960, Metis in Minnewaken lost another 1500 acres of land, and by

1970 only one 10 acre of parcel of section 12-20-6 was still in the hands of a Metis person. In the

previous section the only traces of evidence of land loss that we had to draw from were *The List*

of Electors 1946, tax-rolls, the municipal history book *Wagons to Wings,* as well as the

municipal history book produced for the diamond jubilee. As such, the loss of Metis land was

primarily understood in terms of the accumulation of tax debts throughout the depression era.

The map above represents lands that were still owned by Metis in 1960. What should be clear is

that during the postwar era, from 1944 to 1960, the loss of Metis land in Minnewaken

intensified.

As already noted, section 12-20-6 came to be a section where numerous Metis families lived. In my Master's research I interviewed my family the Monkmans who spoke of other Metis families who also lived there such as McLeod's, Forbisters, Chartrands, and Lavallees (Parent 2017). In addition, Lucy Lucier, the person who kept the municipal notice to the Monkman family lived on the same section. While many of these families' ancestors had owned land in the Minnewaken region, by 1960 this was no longer the case.

The South East section of 12-20-6 was now owned by J.R Hallson, a part of the South East section was also owned by the Roman Catholic church where there Minnewaken graveyard is to this day.[102] Although the 1960 tax-roll states Alexander Monkman still owned a partial section of the south west section, a by-law (442) passed on August 13 1946 notes the transfer and sale of PT. SW of 12-20-6 to John Bkorn Arnfinson who had originally purchased this partial section on April 12 1944 from the RM for $100.[103] What is important to note is that Arnfinson was buying this section of land not from Alexander Monkman, but from the municipality who had repossessed it due to unpaid tax arears totaling $183.84 and $9.36 for two of the partial sections that he owned.[104] Moreover, when compared to other tax-sales, the price of this sale is well below other sections of land. As such, what is clear is that the RM had dispossessed Alexander Monkman of his land, only to sell it for not much more than what he owed in arrears.

The only section in the Minnewaken area that had been homesteaded completely by Metis (Peter McLeod, Alexander Allard, Francis Monkman, and Philip Monkman) 36-19-6 was also lost to arears during the postwar era. In January 1944 the N ½ of 36-19-6, owned by C. McLeod and Alex McLeod, had accumulated $113.61 of arears that were paid by the

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[102] RM Coldwell Tax-rolls, 1960.
[103] RM Municipal By-Laws.
[104] RM Coldwell Tax-rolls, 1946; RM Coldwell By-law 358.

municipality.[105] This debt to the municipality led to the tax sale of the McLeod lands as noted in by-law 377 on December 13 1944 for $80.00 cash by Fred Thorkelson. The only requisite for purchasing the lands was that "the purchaser" was "to pay taxes for three years before transfer of title or deed" was to be issued. Thus, the section that had once belonged to Francis Monkman and Peter McLeod had also gone through the process of debt accumulation, transference into property of the RM, and then sold to the RM for less than the taxes that were owed by the Metis residents. However, the McLeods, while dispossessed of property ownership, were not yet required to move. Instead, as noted in the RM council minutes for July 1950, Councillors J.H. Thorgilsson and D.J. Lindal introduced a motion that the northwest section of 36-19-6 "be rented to Alexander McLeod for the sum of $25 per year, subject to sale."[106] Alexander McLeod would not be the only Metis person who would have their land repossessed by the RM only to have the new owner have them rent or work on the dispossessed property.

Etchin Chartrand, who was not an original resident of Minnewaken but was living in the area by the postwar era, owned a partial section of the northwest section of 1-20-6, the section directly south of section 12-20-6 SW. However, as by-law 877 notes, Etchin was forgiven $292.46 by the municipality in 1964.[107] When comparing the 1963 and 1964 tax-rolls it is clear that Stefan Johnson owned all of section 1-20-6; however, by 1965 there would be a new owner, Frank Buscholl who also purchased the SW and NW sections of 1-20-6.[108] While the Johnsons had been a family that came with the first Icelandic settlers, in 1965, Buscholl was new to Minnewaken. In this case of land transference, the land moves from being owned by a Metis man, to an old Icelandic settler, but then bought up by a newcomer who possessed enough capital

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[105] RM Coldwell Tax-rolls, 1944; RM Coldwell By-law 358; *List of Electors 1946,* 8.
[106] RM Coldwell Council Meeting Minutes, July 1950.
[107] RM Coldwell By-Law 877; RM Coldwell Tax-roll, 1963.
[108] RM Coldwell Tax-Rolls, 1963-1964.

to purchase three 160-acre sections in a single year. A purchase such as this illuminates how the municipality's spatiality was transforming. The municipality was facilitating, through its technology of taxation, a way to encourage the growth of larger farms, while also encouraging migration into the townsite by older rurally located residents such as Etchin Chartrand so as to ensure that rural sections of property could be made more productive for settlers wishing to expand their farms.

This trend is further illuminated in the map below where fewer and fewer names begin to occupy larger spaces. One of the families that would partake in amassing swaths of historical Metis land in Minnewaken were the Byrons. Harold Byron purchased the North half of the south west quarter of section 36-19-6 for $80 on August 10 1954.[109] Leading up to more purchases Kari Byron served as reeve of the RM for the last three decades from 1930 to 1965.[110] On April 14 1964 Haraldur John Byron purchased NW 36-19-6W from the municipality for $300 to be paid in three installments of $100, the same section that had been previously purchased by Fred Thorgillson.[111] The Byrons were not finished with accumulating land yet, however. Their next purchase was right next to Monkman Point. On June 9, 1864 H.J. Byron purchased the NW section of 25-19-6 for $100. In total, H.J. and M.C. Byron had amassed 800 acres in the Minnewaken area by the time the 1978 map below was produced.

While we have thus far looked to using the tax-rolls, by-laws, and minutes to illuminate which Metis were losing land, I now want to return to the Municipal Act by-law enforcement letter that I began this chapter with as, when coupled with these other forms of data, it illustrates just how long and drawn out settler-colonial dispossession can be. This municipal by-law, in

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[109] RM Coldwell By-Law, 696.
[110] *Wagons to Wings,* 16.
[111] RM Coldwell By-Law, 880.

particular, demonstrates how both the longstanding Indigeneity of the Monkman family, albeit through the language of private property, was being recognized by the municipality if only to legitimize the dispossession necessary for further settlement for white settler residents.

The dispossession of land at Monkman Point was more complicated than a simple succumbing to municipal tax sales to other residents in one year. Rather, tax debt accumulated over a long period of time. Edward Monkman had been in and out of debt from the 1940s onward having owed $334.79 in 1946, but only having enough money to pay $16.74 of it.[112] In addition, unlike other land purchases, sections 26-19-6 S, 25-19-6, and 24-19-6 were purchased by both Lundar residents and repossessed by the Crown. Section 24-19-6 had been owned by Roderick and Thomas Monkman in the early 1900s; however that land became Crown land by the 1970s.[113] The south west section of 26-19-6 and the south half of 25-19-6, lands that had passed to the ownership of Edward Monkman during the postwar era, were lost first to "her majesty the Queen," as noted in the 1965 tax-roll, and then eventually sold to A.F and H.P Sigfusson, descendants of the Icelandic settlers who had helped settle Lundar in the late 1800s.[114]

This last group of lands owned by Edward Monkman were the exact lands noted on the Municipal Act by-law enforcement letter noted in the introduction. While Edward had been living on these lands, as acknowledged in the local history *Wagons to Wings* map, and then further reiterated in the enforcement letter, Monkman Point was clearly the inheritance of numerous Monkman family members, not just Edward. However, given that Edward was treated

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[112] RM Coldwell Tax-rolls, 1946.
[113] *Wagons to Wings,* 222.
[114] *Wagons to Wings,* 222; RM Coldwell Tax-rolls,

as the single owner of the section, the question must be asked: why were the other Monkman family members also considered owners on the enforcement letter?

In my mind, this instance speaks directly to the heart of questions of governing Indigeneity, the subjectification of Metis liberal subjects, and the contradictoriness of settler-colonial governance. At the municipal level, according to the logic of the tax rolls, properties were owned by single owners; however, when it came to collect the taxes accumulated on the Monkman Point lands, more than one property owner was being addressed. That is, while the private—and racial—regime of property required the investment of individuals to own property, the municipal and provincial apparatus, in this case, had no issue in looking to a broader community of individuals for collecting taxes. In other words, ownership—and by extension taxes— it would seem, extended beyond the liberal individual and towards recognizing a more collective *Indigenous* ownership of property, even if such recognition was meant as a way of deterritorializing such Indigeneity in the process. This is the point in time at which Metis in Minnewaken finally experienced Nichol's (2020) theorization of "recursive dispossession": their land is transferred to the municipal apparatus where it is then transformed into property to be sold to white settlers, but then recursively acknowledged as Monkman Point up to this day on provincial and municipal maps. That is, dispossession was a much more drawn out process in Minnewaken, and it happened much later for Metis in this part of our homeland than in other parts.

Metis landowners did not necessarily lose their lands in Minnewaken because they were Metis, but, rather, because they failed to become good tax-paying liberal subjects. They failed at adhering to the norms produced by the municipality and amongst Canadian society more generally. Moreover, it needs to be understood that the system that had promised them lands in

1870 was not a system offering them lands as an Indigenous Nation/People—that is, collectively held lands—but rather as liberal subjects: the game of homesteading, and then living as a resident of a municipality, was not meant to preserve the relations of Indigeneity that had initially formed Minnewaken in the late 1870s but instead, had the effect of producing a racial regime of property that could be dispossessed later in time when such lands were becoming desired by growing municipalities and their residents.

The *Dominion Lands Act*, as discussed in earlier chapters, had produced conditions where individual property ownership by individual men and their freedom was possible. That freedom, however, was intended for individual settler subjects, not Metis collectives who would eventually succumb to the demands—taxations—of settler municipal populations. By 1950, the strings attached to Metis homesteading had been revealed, and they expressed themselves on the enforcement letter addressed to the Monkman families in the region: "…take notice that unless the amount necessary to redeem the land from tax sale and costs be paid, or proceedings be taken by you to stop the issue of a certificate of title to the tax sale applicant, within three months from the date of mailing of this notice, a certificate of title of the land will issue to the tax purchaser." The terms were set: pay your taxes or the municipality will repossess them and sell those lands to people who will.

The terms arrived to section 12-20-6 even though it was Edward Monkman who was the primary landowner identified on the tax-tolls for Monkman Point. However, in naming as many individuals as the enforcement letter does, it points to a contradiction within settler-colonial liberal ideas of individual private property ownership by, at least partially, recognizing the collectively lived on lands that sutured together relations of Indigeneity, relations of people and place; relations between the Monkmans, Minnewaken, and Monkman Point. That is, in

recognizing numerous property owners, the enforcement letter, I argue, represents an alternative

relationship to these sections beyond those noted on the municipal tax-rolls which are only able

to record individual owners. In this way, ironically, the enforcement letter, read in the

contemporary context, illuminates the relationality between groups of families and the places

that came to be associated with them. Furthermore, it demonstrates how they were specifically

addressed and given 'fair' notice for their eventual dispossession of lands. Although not

deposited in the Manitoba Archives, it is likely that many Metis families received similar letters

throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and indeed, as the map below demonstrates,

only ten acres of Metis land was left in the possession of a Metis person by 1970 so it is very

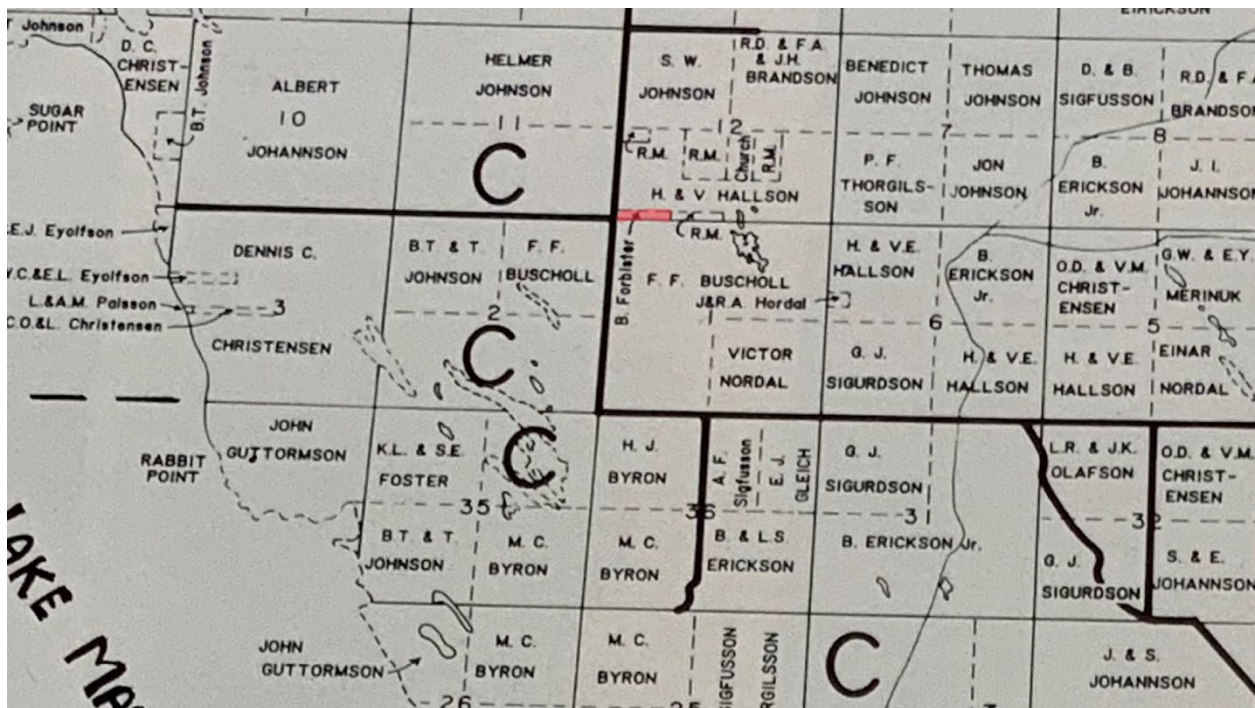likely that enforcement letters of dispossession were commonplace.

Figure 5: Municipal Map included in Wagons to Wings. Metis lands shaded in using municipal tax rolls, 1970.

For the RM of Coldwell, taxation was an invaluable technology for converting

unproductive Metis lands into *secured* municipal lands to be reallocated to members of the settler

population that could "improve" the Minnewaken territory that had been left to waste. The RM needed to eliminate the (Indigenous) relations to Minnewaken who had lived in the region for the last century and a half to provide positive opportunities for settlers seeking to expand their farms. It is in this way where sovereign and governmental forms of power came to be expressed at the municipal level through a technology of taxation. That is, by eliminating Metis relations to Minnewaken, the municipal apparatus was further producing conditions for members of its settler population to grow.

These applications of sovereign and governmental power were not new in Minnewaken. After all, the *Dominion Lands Act* and subsequent homesteading sought to achieve similar goals in securing and settling Indigenous territories with settler populations. However, unlike in 1872 when Metis possessed the opportunity to homestead lands that they were already living on prior to the survey, the establishment and rise of municipal government in Minnewaken produced conditions and norms of taxation that Metis families and their lifestyles could no longer adapt to. As such, while investing in the liberal scheme of development and opportunity promised in the *Dominion Lands Act* may have paid dividends in the late 1800s, that investment brought with it seeds of dispossession that would eventually uproot those same families by the mid-twentieth century as Metis could no longer keep up with the growth and development of the RM of Coldwell's governmental development. Thus, like Metis in Rooster Town, Weak City, or Ste Madeline in Manitoba (Toews 2020; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018; Burley 2013; Zeilig and Zeilig 1987), or in other differential (racialized) communities trying to survive municipal growth in places like Strathcona and Africville across Canada (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018), Metis in Minnewaken also succumbed to the eliminatory sovereign power of settler-colonial municipal sovereignty.

Conclusion

One of the extreme limitations of the data used in this remapping is that it is overwhelmingly male and individualistic in that the individualism of private property erases the presence of, especially 'others,' e.g. women and children. As Goeman (2013, 2) argues, "[c]olonization resulted in a sorting of space based on ideological premises of hierarchies and binaries, and Indigenous women did not fare well in these systems of inequity. Settler colonialism continues to depend on imposing a 'planetary consciousness' and naturalizing geographic concepts and sets of social relationships" that continue to erase women's presence and relationships to land. The only way I was able to place Metis women on sections of land was through the 1946 *List of Electors* and previous oral history research (Parent 2017). As such, it should be obvious that the RM of Coldwell documents do not simply illuminate a male world, they also help in reproducing Minnewaken as a male place even if it was not. This is made even more heartbreaking in that it has been primarily Metis women who have most closely helped me in uncovering Metis land loss; Metis men may have been holders of land, but the Metis women in Minnewaken continue to be the keepers of our stories and histories. It is because of Lucy Lucier and Diane Malcolm that this project could have even happened as it was them who preserved the necessary documents, amongst hundreds of pictures of lives lived in Minnewaken throughout the mid-twentieth century.

I began this chapter by discussing the Municipal Act by-law enforcement letter. By sheer luck, Lucy had chosen to keep this letter since the families at 12-20-6 had received it in 1950. In a way, Lucy was preserving a document that then provided me with direction for understanding how it was that our families were dispossessed of our land. However, her keepsake illuminates further questions that may never be able to be answered in the research, such as how much more

might we know if others like Lucy had kept their enforcement letters? The challenge in writing this chapter was immense as there are thousands of banal municipal documents that could help us understand the history of the RM of Coldwell; however, most of those documents do little to describe how dispossession was played out, other than the fact that tax arrears accumulated and subsequent by-laws were enforced to repossess and then resell the lands to new settlers, often for less than what prior owners owed in taxes. Still, what this chapter has accomplished is to demonstrate how the growth of municipal apparatuses have been invaluable to the settler-colonial project as conduits for securing their territories and populations.

Conclusion: From Governing Metis to Metis Governmentality in Manitoba

This dissertation has employed a governmentality framework informed by Critical Indigenous studies and settler colonial theorists to track the multifarious ways in which twentieth century multi-scalar settler-colonial apparatuses normalized the dispossession of Metis in Manitoba, and the Metis living in Minnewaken specifically. I tracked the first level of this normalization in Chapter Two among municipal officials across Canada, as municipal governments sought to improve the living conditions of residents (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018; Parr 2009). 'Other' individuals and populations whose lifestyles did not fit within the visions of how to improve municipal life increasingly became problematized as impediments to local improvements (Toews 2020; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018; Stranger-Ross 2008). That is, race, as Foucault (2003) projected in his *Society Must Be Defended* lectures, produces a rationality within governmentality through which eliminatory sovereign power is normalized. As Moreton-Robinson (2015) has so eloquently argued, within the settler colonial context, this takes the form of white patriarchal sovereignty. In the case of postwar Canada, striations of racial, gendered, and class difference caused fissures that produced racial social topographies within municipalities as a method to eliminate 'different' populations through technologies of taxation and by-laws. Then, following such elimination, settler-colonialism's productive technologies became further deployed to naturalize the territorialization of white populations through immigration, education, labour programs, and health. That is, these technologies had the effect of maintaining more desirable, read white, populations that re-placed deterritorialized racialized populations.

Shifting from a broad national focus to a narrowing provincial focus in chapter three, I traced out the regional development of Manitoba's provincial and municipal apparatuses

beginning with the *Manitoba Act* in 1870 that established the provincial apparatus. Following this discussion, I tracked the differential governance between white and Metis populations through the depression years through the application of agricultural programing. Through the racialization of Metis as a problem population, as opposed to the white populations that were privileged by various agricultural security programs and programs of tax forgiveness at the level of the municipality, Metis came to be differentially governed. This governing had the effect of dispossessing Metis of their relations to place and to each other—to wit, their Indigeneity. What is more, is that I then demonstrated how the provincial government became invested in improving the Metis population through programs of education, labour, and health, so as to bring it up to the standards of the dominant white population. Such programs, however, were not applied in the ways in which they were argued for by government employed anthropologists.

Instead, Metis in Manitoba, from Rooster Town, to Weak City, to Minnewaken, became dispossessed through taxation and by-laws (Toews 2020; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018; Burley 2013). That is, their experiences of dispossession by municipalities find an important synchronicity with those of other 'different' populations in places like Africville, Strathcona, or Hogan's Alley (Loo 2019; Rutland 2018). In Manitoba, like the federal apparatus nationally, the provincial apparatus harboured no issues with the possessive rationalities of municipalities towards Metis land. Metis land, since 1870 after all, had been "transferred" and then "transformed" into a racial regime of property that conformed to values of liberal values of freedom, individualism, and private property (Nichols 2020; Bhandar 2018; Hindess 2004). That is, by the 1950s when municipal governments in Manitoba began dispossessing Metis of their lands, such dispossessions were not considered dispossessions, as Metis over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, had been normalized not as Indigenous owners of property, but

as liberal property owners, full stop. The difference of their Indigeneity mattered not for settler-colonial municipal apparatuses seeking to ensure that taxes were paid, and land was being made productive. Metis, as either liberal property-owning individuals, or, in the case of places like Rooster Town or Weak City, as squatters to be moved, had also become normalized during the mid-twentieth century. Dispossession *was* improvement as improvement dispossessed (Li 2007).

The normalization of Metis removal at the provincial level is how residents of Lundar and descendants of Minnewaken today can ask: What happened to Minnewaken? That is, the history of dispossession of Metis from their private property in Minnewaken continues to be normalized by the multi-scalar apparatuses present today. Their Indigenous relationship to Minnewaken as a place had little value to a (racial) regime of property that sought to maximize the lives of the dominant white settler population (Bhandar 2018).

Our relationship to Minnewaken today continues to be fractured by this continued regime; however, this dispossession was not by any means totalizing. Rather, the historic Metis families of Minnewaken still visit with each other and physically with our ancestors who continue to rest in our community graveyard. Amongst the Monkman, Forbister, and Chartrand headstones emerges another Indigenous form of place-making. In drawing from Metis scholar Paul Gareau and Mi'kmaq scholar Jeanine Leblanc's (Forthcoming 2021) tracing of Metis pilgrimage sites across our homeland, from St Laurent and Batoche in Saskatchewan, to Lac Ste Anne in Alberta, to Ste Madeleine in Manitoba, as sites of return where we reconstitute our kinship relations and those relations to place—to wit, our Indigeneity—the Minnewaken graveyard has itself become a pilgrimage site that descendants visit to remember where our ancestors are from and how we are related to each other. As Metis scholar Cindy Gaudet (2018) reminds us, visiting *is* core to Metis values and knowledge production. That is, in visiting with

our dead, we also come to visit each other to reconstitute and renew our relationships with each other and with Minnewaken.

Minnewaken, in this sense, is another capillary of a broader circulatory system that spans the Metis homeland of the historic Northwest even if such primordial mappings have been overlain with settler-colonial geographies produced by disciplinary spatial technologies such as the *Dominion Land Survey* grid system, or municipal roads and railways. This dissertation has demonstrated how Indigeneity endures the eliminatory attempts of settler-colonialism; however, it also must navigate the at times contradictory fact that we as Metis have become invested in the very apparatuses, programs, technologies, and rationalities that once attempted to dispossess us.

While this dissertation has focussed exclusively on how the Metis Nation-cum-population became governed by settler-colonial governmentality in Manitoba, I acknowledge that it has forgone exploring the ways in which Metis resisted this governing during the former half of the twentieth century. Part of this forgoing can be chalked up to the lack of records deposited in archives that recorded Metis agency, while another issue stems from the limited oral histories and personal accounts that exist from this time period, an issue that only continues as more and more Metis old people pass without their stories having been recorded or passed down. That is not to say that resistance was not present; rather, I have decidedly chosen to depart from narratives of *Indigenous resistance* and towards trying to better understand how Metis became invested in the very apparatuses, technologies, programs, and rationalities of power that came to dispossess us from our lands—mainly at the municipal level. Moreover, in coming to understand these investments, I believe it leads us towards asking future research questions such as: what might it look like when a Metis apparatus emerges to reterritorialize the Metis Nation for the purposes of resecuring its population within our own homelands? While Indigenous Studies

scholars have been quick to dismiss liberal governing rationalities for their ability to reproduce harmful recognition politics (Simpson 2017; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014), what have been the actual outcomes of Metis investments in using those rationalities for our own purposes? Furthermore, in the context of this dissertation, what can we learn from our historic experience of being targeted as differential subjects and populations of settler-colonial governmentality in ways that help us mitigate reproducing those same systems that enact violence of differential exclusion upon our own Metis population?

Situating Twentieth Century Metis Experiences of Municipal Apparatuses in Manitoba within Metis Studies

Empirically, this dissertation has sought to fill—albeit modestly— a massive gap within Metis history. Of the scant amount of postwar Metis literature that exists, most focuses on Metis in the provinces of Saskatchewan (Stevenson 2020; Thistle 2019; 2015; Campbell 2011; 1973; Quiring 2004; Barron 1998; Dorion 1997; Adams 1975), often spoken of through the referent of "the road allowance people," followed by Alberta, which has focussed mainly on the political organizing of Jim Brady, the founding of the Metis settlements, and the since political fissuring between Metis governments in the province (Belcourt 2006; Dumont 1996; Campbell 2005; Daniels 1979; Strasbourg 1998; Dobbin 1981). Save for accountings of the Ste Madeleine Metis community (Sammons 2013; Zeilig and Zeilig's 1987), itself mostly temporally placed prior to the postwar; St Laurent (St-Onge 1990; Lavallee 2000; 1988); Ste Eustache (St-Onge 1999-2000); Rooster Town, a collection of Metis suburbs (Toews 2020; Peters, Werner, and Stock 2018; Burely 2013); and my own previous graduate work with family in Minnewakin (Parent 2017), Metis in, of, and from Manitoba during the mid-twentieth century have been mostly

neglected by Metis scholars and scholars of Metis history who, although briefly, consider Metis history and sociality during this era (Andersen 2014b).

In addition, this has resulted in the unequal accounting of regional differences that are, and were, core to Metis people's relationships to place. In fact, what has emerged from the literature has been an overwhelming narrative of late nineteenth century itinerancy, mostly by Metis located west of the province of Manitoba, leading to Manitoba Metis communities being misidentified by mobilities that they neither took part in or were a part of—the largest example being the almost wholesale association between Metis migration and settlement from Manitoba and in to Saskatchewan following the *Manitoba Act* (see Mailhot and Sprague 1985 for a discussion of this narrative and Teillet's 2019 for a reproduction of the thesis). Moreover, given that historians of Metis and Metis historians have overwhelmingly used the Battle of Batoche and the hanging of Riel as anchor points for doing Metis history after 1885, coupled with the meteoric rise and influence of memoirs such as Campbell's (1973) *Halfbreed*, the academic recognition of Howard Adam's anti-colonial interventions (See Voth 2018; Adese 2016), or the valorization of the development of the Metis Left and the creation of the Metis Settlements in Alberta through the activism of James Brady (see Dobbin 1981 and Swain 2018 for discussions of these histories), it has often been the case that we have replaced the great men of history with the other great people. That is, we have relied too heavily on individual narratives to speak of community experiences. This has surely been the case for places like Saskatchewan and Alberta. Twentieth century histories of Metis in Manitoba, comparatively, have instead taken a much more community-based orientation. Still, the power for individual stories to define collective experiences has also meant that narratives of Metis in Saskatchewan and Alberta have garnered more attention than those in Manitoba. A goal of this dissertation has been part of what will be a

bigger project of remapping Manitoba Metis communities that endured throughout the twentieth century, and, for many, into the present.

The fact that communities like St. Laurent or Ste Eustache, which have attracted academic interest, and the dozens of communities that were recorded first by Jean Legassé, and later elaborated on in research reports produced and combined by the Manitoba Metis Federation's historian Lawrence Barkwell, persisted as if the actions at Batoche may have never happened, demonstrates the need for historians of Metis history and society to reproach Metis histories that account for the temporal-spatial specificities of Metis relationalities to places and regions. This is made even more ironic by the fact that the nationalist narrative of the Metis Nation is rooted in the Red River region, and yet, the continuance of those political actions within the Red River are poorly articulated beyond 1870 until they are subsequently picked back up again with the establishment of the Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF) in the late 1960s (Saunders and Dubois 2019; Weinstein 2007). One of the pitfalls of this dissertation has been that I have focussed mainly on the ways in which Metis became governed during the mid-twentieth century, and not how Metis governed themselves. However, given the general living conditions that Metis found themselves in prior to the political emergence of the MMF in the 1960s, what other possibilities were there for Metis looking to govern themselves? Moreover, as I sought to demonstrate in chapter three, social scientists and government officials ensured that Metis could not 'hide in plain sight,' even if they may have been politically.

I have also attempted to fill a gap left by our own historians. While we have seen Metis historians venture deep into the archival trenches of parishes, diocese, Hudson's Bay Company records, and early census records to reconstruct Metis kinscapes and socialities in the late nineteenth century (Macdougall and St-Onge 2013; Macdougall, Podruchny, and St-Onge 2012;

Macdougall 2010; 2006), we must become just as willing to become better acquainted with other technologies, cum apparatuses, that came to know and identify us throughout the twentieth century. That is, as I have tried to outline in this dissertation, the terrain of knowledge-power fundamentally shifted for Metis in Manitoba with the growth of provincial and municipal apparatuses. First with the settlement following the *Dominion Lands Act,* and then second with the coalescing of municipalities based on the former's spatial arrangement. In Manitoba, municipalities came to significantly shape the lives of Metis as Metis became invested subjects of those very municipalities through their maintenance of their quarter sections, or involvement in municipal programs of road building, pest control, fire-fighting, policing, and in some cases, such as was the case in St Laurent, becoming municipal officials themselves. One of the opportunities that settled Metis life during the twentieth century provides us is the ability to refocus our efforts towards local histories of specific Metis communities and their dense histories of those places.

Although many scholars of Metis history have taken issue with Metis histories suffering from what they have termed a "Red River Myopia" (see Macdougall 2006; Miller 1988; Peterson and Brown 2001 [1981]), such critique is problematic and misguided for the purposes of twentieth century Metis history for numerous reasons. First, this charge needs to be understood as itself being temporally bound to nineteenth century Metis history. Again, the irony cannot be over-stated that while scholars of nineteenth century Metis history and society may decry a Red River regional myopia, they themselves have merely shifted their myopic planes, exchanging a regional for temporal myopia of the nineteenth century. In addition, shifting the gaze from one region, Red River, to another, Saskatchewan, Alberta, or even places outside of the bounds of the Metis homeland such as parts of north-western Ontario, has not actually challenged the issues

that scholars who critiqued Red River centric approaches sought to correct. Instead, what has happened is that scholars of Metis history and society continue to spin out in a nineteenth century rut. Therefore, we should be challenging ourselves towards considering how returning to a myopic approach to Metis history and society might aid us in narrowing in on the specific textures of regions, their places, and their change over time. Such an approach would use place as a theoretical imperative, one that has certainly demonstrated itself as core to Indigenous Studies disciplinarity, and, continues to compliment Metis nationhood and peoplehood in our current immediacies. One of my goals in this dissertation has been to use Minnewaken as a place that helps to anchor a Metis history that highlights both Indigenous endurance and dispossession. We are not just Metis people who danced across the prairies; we are also embedded within their very geographies.

Given the differential ways in which the western Canadian provinces developed during the former half of the twentieth century, in ways that eventually shaped how Metis who lived in those provinces began seeing and defining themselves in association to such provinces and the province's own distinctions from each other, reveals the importance of tending to the specificity of Metis-provincial relations during the twentieth century. More specifically, such an approach demonstrates that one cannot do Metis history in the twentieth century without contending with the histories of the provinces that had, by this time, begun to incorporate Metis into their modernizing machinery; machinery that Metis were becoming invested in.

In other words, attempting to write a total national history of the Metis Nation after the establishment of the provinces is a lost cause and commits various vital errors and unsurmountable challenges, starting with the assumption that Metis cultural, political, and economic institutions were able to overcome the provincial boundaries without becoming

subjected and therefore shaped by them. This is certainly demonstrated in cases such as Alberta's Ewing Commission that resulted in the passing of the Metis Population Betterment Act that in turn resulted in the establishment of the eight Metis Settlements in that province. While the role of provinces in shaping Metis social, economic, and political relations to each other has been considered (Langford 2016; Quiring 2004; Barron 1998; Dobbin 1981), the role of municipalities has been otherwise overlooked by scholars of Metis history and society.

The distinctiveness of the provinces adds another level of complexity when doing Metis history that simply did not exist during the nineteenth century between Metis and the Dominion of Canada. Colonial domination fundamentally became more complex as the dominion grew to include provinces and municipalities, adding extra layers, levels, and distinctions between dominion, provincial, and municipal governments. Drawing off of new contributions that are tracking the establishment of settler-colonial infrastructures in the late nineteenth century (O'Toole Forthcoming; Gaudry 2016), historians of Metis history in the twentieth century must engage with exceedingly saturated layers of settler-colonial machinery that became increasingly specific to provincial regions and their governmentalities. While nineteenth century sketches of the establishment and growth of settler-colonial apparatuses have been formative, this dissertation has attempted to demonstrate their continued growth and transformation throughout the mid-twentieth century.

Given their administrative ambiguity between federal and provincial jurisdictions, Metis communities were often experiencing the force of municipal powers. While I dealt with these experiences specifically in Manitoba and in Minnewaken specifically in the following chapter, it is important to tie off a loose end that I leave to future work: Metis life outside of Manitoba and the ways in which municipalities governed these communities during the mid-twentieth century,

through by-laws, taxation, and the designation of space. These technologies of municipal rule may have produced similar experiences for Metis communities in Saskatchewan and Alberta, however, the archival working through of provincial and municipal documents has yet to occur in a substantive and systematic way to reconstruct Metis lives and their relationships to municipalities. However, everyday Metis life in rural municipalities did share familiar characteristics across the different provinces even as provincial markers of difference were producing different limits within which Metis could relate with each other and the places that came to define them—that is their Indigenous relationships to people and place.

Metis accounts of the mid-twentieth century outside of Manitoba, like in Manitoba, are scarce, and exist mainly in the form of memoirs and oral historical accounts. As such, accounts from the mid-twentieth century, although familiar, must be understood for the extremely limited breadth that they represent. Still, as Michif scholar Jennifer Adese (2016) argues through her use of Herb Belcourt's memoir *Walking in the Woods*, memoirs can become places where our peoplehood is represented as we begin to recognize ourselves, our families—indeed our relationality—in a way that stories our peoplehood beyond the dominant narratives of Metis-as-mixed (Andersen 2014a). As Adese (2016, 59) argues, "Belcourt's emphasis on kinship allows us to critically think about *how* Métis are Métis in ways that challenge us to go beyond the limited and limiting, discourses of mixedness and métissage." Moreover, Adese (2016, 59) asserts, that "Métis writing is an extension of, and exists in relation to, Métis peoplehood." Metis life writing, in this case, is also critical in storying our mid-twentieth century peoplehood, including, how such peoplehood came to be shaped by municipal apparatuses and as a result, led to the production of commonly held experiences of municipalities across vast spaces between differing provincial jurisdictions. The history of Metis peoplehood becoming embedded within

those jurisdictions, continue to shape the provincialism that has become Metis politics today. I want to conclude by providing a brief contrasting vignette of where the Manitoba Metis Federation finds itself today, compared to the governmentalities that I have tracked thus far.

MMF as an Indigenous Apparatus

On October 19, 2020 the Winnipeg Free Press published an article titled "Clash of the Titans: Chartrand vs. Pallister," documenting the last few years of conflict between the president of the MMF David Chartrand and the Conservative premier of the Province of Manitoba Brian Pallister. The story goes on to explain that while President Chartrand and Premier Pallister may have started off amicably, their relationship quickly deteriorated as the provincial government iced out the MMF from decision making in areas that require Provincial-MMF co-operation such as health, hydro, economic development, hunting, and cultural celebrations. In 2017, "Pallister warned that tensions over night hunting risked 'becoming a race war,' a comment for which he refused to apologize."[115] In 2018, Pallister decided to retroactively reject a $67.5 million land-entitlement deal between Manitoba Hydro and the MMF, calling the money ""persuasion money" and "hush money" for what he deemed 'a special-interest group.'"[116] Furthermore, in Spring 2019, the province clawed back an annual payment that it had been providing the MMF since 1987, citing that the MMF no longer required the money to operate.[117] Moreover, in his speech marking the 150th anniversary of the *Manitoba Act* Premier Pallister completely erased the contribution of Metis in forming the province as well as other Indigenous peoples in their signing of treaties.[118] After half of a year in to the Covid-19 pandemic Pallister publicly accused

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[115] Winnipeg Free Press, "Clash of the Titans: Chartrand vs. Pallister," Dylan Robertson, October 19, 2020.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] CBC News, "Premier should have recognized Indigenous Peoples' history on province's 150th birthday, professor says," May 13, 2020.

Chartrand of "trying to weasel money out of everybody, including Metis people," after the MMF filed a human rights complaint against the province of Manitoba for not cooperating in providing vital health statistics that could have significantly helped in the MMF's co-ordination of programs for its population.[119] Such disregard for Metis governance would have been normal in the mid-twentieth century context that we have overviewed. However, with the rise of the MMF as an Indigenous apparatus with its own citizenry (population) and with its assertion of its territorial title, indeed its sovereignty, becoming increasingly normalized over the last couple of decades, such provincial assertions are beginning to seem even whimsical, especially as the MMF's resources grow through federal recognition that has gathered a lion's share of resources.

When comparing the political and economic terrain that Metis in Manitoba have gained through their last half century of advocacy to the kinds of municipal dispossession that communities like Minnewaken, Rooster Town, or Ste Madeleine experienced during the mid-twentieth century, we cannot help but ask how strong representative Indigenous governments serve as mediating shields, and even pose the opportunity for counter-assaults on, further settler-colonial dispossession. What happens when Indigenous sovereignty, in the form of a mimicking liberal governmentality, meets settler-colonial sovereignty? Perhaps a more contrasting contemporary image could not be drawn than considering how Metis are living in our homelands today and how Metis government has built up the capacity to provide Metis citizens with the opportunities to *resecure*, *reterritorialize*, and *repopulate* Manitoba as land-owners through their first-time homebuyers program.

With no land remaining in the family, members of the Monkman family moved from Minnewaken to Lundar, and then from Lundar to Winnipeg. Roughly seventy years after Metis

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[119] CTV News, "Stop trying to weasel money': Premier and other officials respond to MMF Human Rights Complaint," Decon McKendrick, September 14, 2020.

families from Minnewaken lost the majority of their lands, descendants of these families are now *reterritorializing* within the Metis Nation's homelands through the MMF's first-time home purchase program that provides citizens with a $15,000 (plus $2,500 in closing costs) loan to place a down payment on a house. If a citizen commits to living in their home for ten years, the loan is forgiven.[120] My cousin, Matthew Jonnason, the grandson of my grandmother's brother Robert Monkman, was one of the 516 Metis citizens who have thus far benefited from this new Metis government *programme.[121]* In addition to the first-time home purchaser program, on May 1, 2020 the MMF also launched its Home Enhancement Loan Program (HELP) to fund emergency repairs for Metis homeowners needing home improvements that citizens struggle to afford, but which mean the difference between selling and being able to maintain residence, such as new roofs, wells, sanitation, etc. HELP loans are worth $15,000 and are forgiven after five years as long as citizens agree to the terms and conditions.[122] In terms of housing, the MMF has also considered more than just property owners. In 2020 they are nearing completion of a seniors community in the historic community of St Laurent, as well as numerous affordable housing developments in Manitoba's major cities, Winnipeg, Portage La Prairie, and Brandon. While the MMF caught heat from local news outlets for asking the city to do something about a predominantly Indigenous homeless camp that had set up across the street from them in early Winter 2020, for Metis citizens, there exists numerous, and expanding, housing programs. In September 2019 I moved to Manitoba to begin my first academic job as an assistant professor of

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[120] Louis Riel Capital Corporation, "First Time Home Purchase Program," Accessed November 11, 2020 (https://www.lrcc.mb.ca/first-time-home-purchase-program).

[121] Manitoba Metis Federation, "Métis Home Ownership Program to Impact Manitoba Economy by over $100 Million," Accessed November 11, 2020, (http://www.manitobametis.com/news/mmf-daily-message-september-18-2020/).

[122] Manitoba Metis Federation, "MMF to Launch a Repairs Program for Metis Homeowners: Home Enhancement Loan Program—May 1, 2020," Accessed November 11, 2020, (http://www.mmf.mb.ca/news_details.php?news_id=477).

Metis History. Coming home to Manitoba has meant reterritorializing my own body to place which has meant living more closely within the immediacies of my own Metis family who still reside here.

MMF's first time homebuyer program is but one example of the various programmes that they have begun administering for their population. The MMF have also begun providing major programs in the area of education through providing grants for Metis students seeking to attend post-secondary or establishing homeschool supports for Metis citizens during the Covid-19 pandemic.[123] Before the provincial government, the MMF was also able to provide emergency loans worth $40,000 to Metis businesses to help weather the initial days of the Covid-19 pandemic.[124] The MMF has also been sure to intervene in areas of health, including its own Health Action Plan to specifically support citizens throughout the Covid-19 pandemic.[125] The list of programs available to MMF's population continues to grow at a rapid pace and this is only a small sample of the gains only made in the last year or so (2019-2020). From this brief accounting, it seems as though Indigenous liberal governmentality has become the new buffalo hunt for Metis. It would also seem that Metis have increasingly gone from being a population governed by settler-colonial governments throughout the twentieth century, to rebuilding a government that can increasingly govern its own population during the twenty-first century.

Future Directions in Research

The preliminary research and conceptual scaffolding that I have undertaken in this dissertation, in my mind, splinter into three new interrelated projects. First, as just covered,

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[123] Manitoba Metis Federation, "MMF Announces Support for Métis Families Homeschooling their Children," Accessed November 11, 2020, (http://www.mmf.mb.ca/news_details.php?news_id=505).
[124] Louis Riel Capital Corporation, "Metis Emergency Business Loan," Accessed November 11, 2020, (https://www.lrcc.mb.ca/metis-emergency-business-loan).
[125] Manitoba Metis Federation, "Special COVID-19 Bulletin for Manitoba Metis Citizens," Accessed November 11, 2020, (http://www.mmf.mb.ca/news_details.php?news_id=469).

tracking Metis governmentality in the twenty-first century in its density and immediacy emerges as an extremely rich area for further research. While scholars have tracked the rise of the Metis National Council, its five constituent provincial organizations, and the increasing federal political recognition that these governments have with Canada as a result of major court decisions (Saunders and Dubois 2019; Weinstein 2007), the pace at which Metis governments continue to expand and apply their governance requires continued attention. Second, I see this research being expanded in two ways with regards to a twentieth century Metis historical agenda. Therefore, a natural second project is an expanded oral history project with descendants of Minnewaken that builds from my previous MA research that focussed on the everyday immediacies of people who grew up or are related to people who grew up in Minnewaken. Since meeting Diane Malcolm, we have started a Facebook group that has attracted over 60 members, many of whom are seeking to be interviewed about what they know about Minnewaken. One of the shortfalls of this dissertation is the lack of Metis 'voice.' Given that I have obtained an academic position at the University of Manitoba and am now located an hour away from the people that I want to interview, doing this research in a way that allows me more time for community engagement seemed like a good rationale for omitting it from this dissertation. Such a project could be a dissertation unto itself and I plan on beginning these interviews as soon as the covid-19 pandemic ceases. Finally, a third project consists of a twentieth century Metis lands in Manitoba study that employs the methods and Critical Indigenous governmentality framework developed throughout this dissertation to further complicate Legassé's survey of 254 Metis communities from 1959. While Legassé's report certainly helped the provincial apparatus in identifying Metis communities in 1959, today it can be used as an empirical baseline for carrying out the study of Metis lands prior to the report, reaching back to and linking in with well-worn

histories of the late nineteenth century studies of Metis histories, while also providing the opportunity to consider what happened to those communities after 1959. Such a project would, such as the case in this project, look to municipal archives as sources for reconstructing Metis relationships to and with municipal apparatuses. Finally, in bringing together oral histories of place into conversation with local histories of municipal settler-colonialism, my future goal is to, in following Mishauna Goeman (2013), 're-map' Metis histories of place in Manitoba throughout the twentieth century.

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NOTICE FOR MAILING

Application No. s 46117
46422

THE MUNICIPAL ACT

Notice is hereby given that proceedings have been taken under "The Municipal Act" in respect of a certain parcel of land sold for arrears of taxes, namely:

PARCEL 1

South West quarter of Section Twenty-five in the Nineteenth Township and Sixth Range West of the Principal Meridian in Manitoba excepting thereout that portion taken for a Public Road as shown on a plan filed in the Winnipeg Land Titles Office, Portage la Prairie Division, as Number Five Hundred and Forty-nine (549).
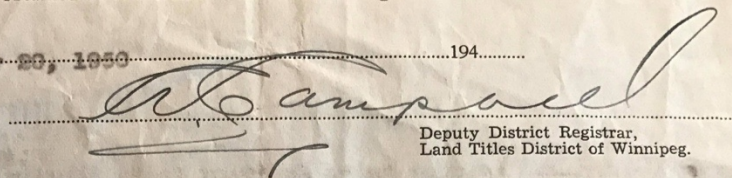
PARCEL 2

All that portion of the South East quarter of Section Twenty-six in said Township and Range along to the East of Lake Manitoba, as shown upon a map or plan of survey of said Township approved and confirmed at Ottawa on 7th May, A. D. 1874, by J. S. Dennis, Surveyor-General of Dominion Lands.

n which you appear to be interested; and, further, take notice that unless the amount necessary to redeem the land from tax sale and costs be paid, or proceedings be taken by you to stop the issue of a certificate of title to the tax sale applicant, within three months from the date of mailing of purchaser. Particulars regarding

By law enforcement letter

redeem the land from tax sale and costs be paid, or proceedings be taken by you to stop the issue of a certificate of title to the tax sale applicant, within three months from the date of mailing of this notice, a certificate of title of the land will issue to the tax purchaser. Particulars regarding redemption may be obtained at the office of the District Registrar.

Dated ~~September 20, 1950~~ ....194..........

....
Deputy District Registrar,
Land Titles District of Winnipeg.

To

Edward Monkman, Josephte Monkman nee Richard, Charley Monkman, Johnnie Monkman, Thomas Monkman, Mary Monkman daughter of Edward Monkman, Marguerite Richard, Elizabeth Monkman, Francis Monkman, Bella Monkman, Andrew Monkman, Albert Monkman, Mary Monkman daughter of Francis Monkman, Jane McLeod wife of Pierre McLeod, George Monkman, Ann Monkman, Margaret Chartrand wife of Michel Chartrand, Alexander Monkman, Charles Monkman, Philip Monkman and James Monkman, all of Minnewakan, Manitoba.

Henry Monkman, Prince Albert, Sask., William Monkman (Junior) and Catherine Henderson wife of Jack Henderson, both of Regina, Sask., William Monkman (Senior) Lundyville, Man., Louise and Edward Monkman, both of Lundar, Man., Josephine Monkman, Overton, Man., Archibald Monkman, Flin Flon, Man., Roderick Monkman, 54 Smith Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

NOTE—For particulars regarding redemption, apply to:
DISTRICT REGISTRAR, LAND TITLES OFFICE, WINNIPEG

AG-y-17. 5M-12-47.

Appendix 2:
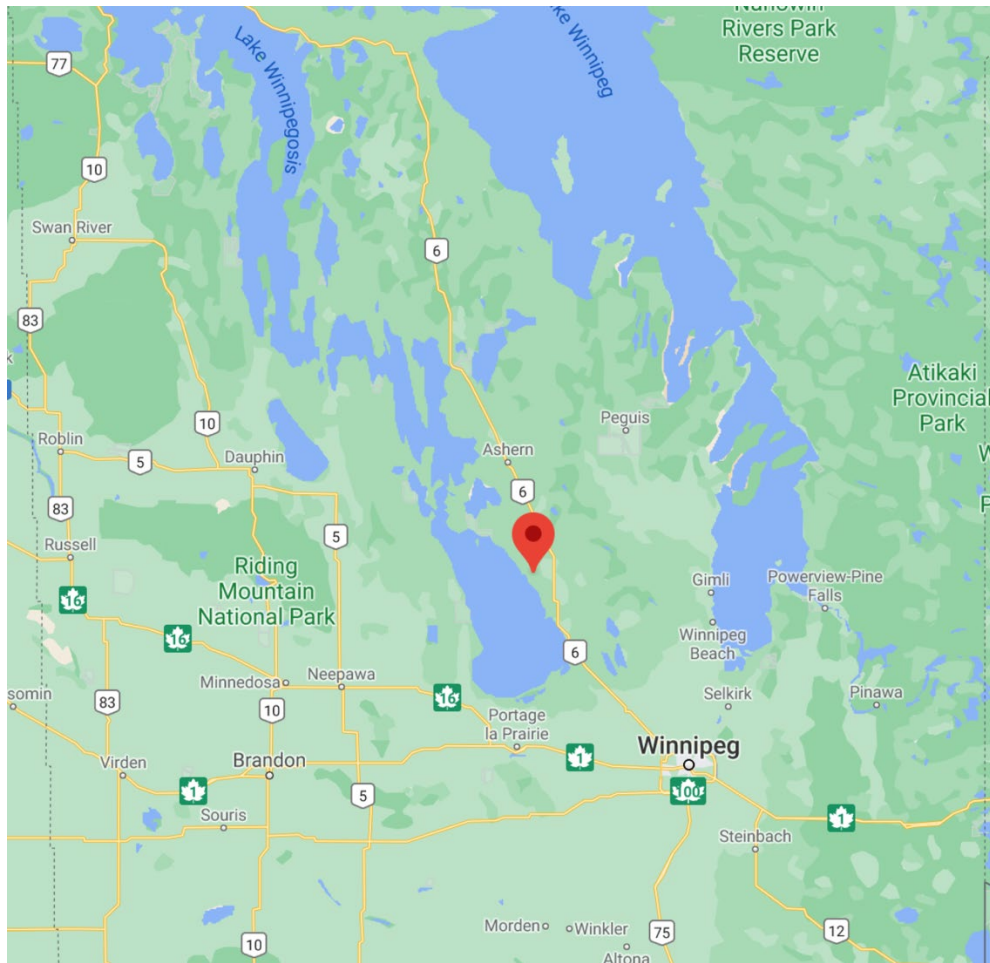
Location of Minnewakin in Manitoba