

AN INDIAN CHIEF, AN ENGLISH TOURIST, A DOCTOR, A REVEREND, AND A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT: THE JOURNEYS OF PASQUA'S PICTOGRAPHS AND THE MEANING OF TREATY FOUR

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Abstract / Résumé

Indian treaties of western Canada are contentious among historians, First Nations, governments, and courts. The contemporary written documentation about them has come from one side of the treaty process. Historians add information from such disciplines as First Nations Traditional Knowledge and Oral History to draw as complete a picture as possible. Now, we have an additional source of written contemporary information, Chief Pasqua's recently rediscovered pictographs showing the nature of Treaty Four and its initial implementation. Pasqua's account, as contextualized here, adds significantly to our knowledge of the western numbered treaty process. The pictographs give voice to Chief Pasqua's knowledge.

Les traités conclus avec les Indiens de l'Ouest canadien demeurent litigieux pour les historiens, les Premières nations, les gouvernements et les tribunaux. Les documents contemporains qui discutent des traités ne proviennent que d'une seule vision du processus des traités. Les historiens ajoutent des renseignements provenant de disciplines telles que les connaissances traditionnelles et l'histoire orale des Autochtones. Ils bénéficient désormais d'une nouvelle source écrite contemporaine, les pictogrammes récemment redécouverts du chef Pasqua, qui illustrent la nature du Traité n° 4 et les débuts de son application. Le compte rendu du chef, tel que replacé dans son contexte, est un ajout important à notre connaissance du processus des traités numérotés dans l'Ouest canadien. Les pictogrammes donnent une voix à la connaissance du chef Pasqua.

Introduction

In October, 2000, a remarkable historical document of an extremely rare type surfaced at auction in London, U.K. It is a western Canadian Indian Chief's representation, in pictographic form, of his understanding of the treaty he entered into with Queen Victoria and the provisions he received under the treaty in some of years following its negotiation.¹

This document is unique. No other contemporary written representation exists from the First Nations side of the negotiations and implementation of the numbered treaties of western Canada.² All other archival material relating to First Nations understandings of the agreements and events has gone through the filters of the White man's mind and hand.

The document has come home to Saskatchewan. A ceremony on June, 21, 2007, at the Pasqua First Nation southwest of Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, honored its repatriation. It is now housed at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum in Regina.³

The Pasqua First Nation raised \$ 197,500 to buy the document.⁴ It had sold at the London auction in 2000 to a private collector for \$ 84,000 (not including commissions). That was almost eight times the pre-sale estimate. A group of Alberta Cree, led by lawyer and former Member of Parliament, Willie Littlechild, bid on the document at that auction but had not raised enough money.⁵

The document is in two sections, or panels, totaling about 33 cm deep and 42 cm wide. The panels contain a large number of pencil drawings of situations and items. The left-hand panel shows the Chief's general understanding of the treaty. The right-hand panel contains an accounting of the treaty provisions he received during several years. It is quite obvious what many of the drawings represent; others are difficult to understand. There are also some English-language notations on the panel, done by someone as a "translation." Most of these notations are very badly faded and unreadable. This is most unfortunate with regard to the provisions panel, where those notes might have made understanding easier of what treaty items the Chief was attempting to represent.⁶

A descendant of William Henry Barneby, an English gentleman and world traveler, put the document up for auction in 2000.⁷ Barneby collected the document during a visit to the Canadian West in 1883. On the back of the framed pictographs is Henry Barneby's printed description of the history of the document, dated 1885, here in full:

This interesting paper represents the method adopted
by some of the Indian Chiefs of North America for keeping a
record of the supplies granted them by Government at treaty
times, during a successive series of years.

The first illustration is supposed to be two men (viz., a Lieutenant-Governor and an Indian Chief) disputing, and then follow representations of various presents. After this a more perfect record is kept (from 1873 to 1877), as will be seen on reference to the dates. The lettering is, as far as practicable, a translation of the drawings; but it is to a certain extent imperfect.

The original of this paper was given to me in July, 1883, whilst traveling in that portion of the North-West Territory of the Dominion of Canada in which the Cree tribe is predominant. After my return to England I sent it, in November, 1883, back to a friend in Winnipeg, who undertook to get it translated by a gentleman in the Indian Agency, with the intention that on its return it should form the frontispiece to "Life and Labour in the Far, Far West." After much delay, and a good deal of correspondence, I received a letter dated August 13th, 1884, saying the picture had been dispatched to my home address some time previously; but, as I had not received it, I instituted various inquiries, and, finally, in reply to a telegram in December, 1884 (thirteen months after I had parted with it), the drawing arrived in a tattered condition, with an explanatory letter from my friend in Winnipeg, stating he had given the picture to a "reverend gentleman," the latter having promised to mail it after examination; but, after the lapse of a year, my friend had discovered it in an historical museum in Winnipeg. Comment is needless – but the picture is here safe at last.⁸

Barneby published two accounts of his 1883 western Canadian visit, first as a series of articles in his hometown newspaper that were then published as a pamphlet.⁹ Later, he published the same account as part of a book.¹⁰ Those works identified Chief Pasqua of the Treaty Four area of what is now Saskatchewan as the author of the document.

In 1884, Presbyterian minister George Bryce gave a speech in Winnipeg during which he discussed the document. The speech was published in the *Manitoba Free Press* and then as a pamphlet.¹¹

In this article, I examine in detail the historical context of the document that Henry Barneby collected. Reproductions of the document itself, from photographs supplied to me by dealer Donald Ellis, are included with my "translation" of the document. Included here as appendices are important documents associated with the Barneby/Pasqua document.¹²

Indian Treaties

To develop relationships with the Indigenous peoples of their New World, the British, unlike their French or Spanish competitors, relied on formal treaties. They took this route for two good reasons.

The British frontier in the Americas was based on settlement much more so than were the French or Spanish frontiers. Explicit arrangements, especially regarding land matters, tended to keep relationships at a level and pace that helped the British establish themselves. As well, the formal arrangements helped keep the more aggressive and trouble-making British settlers under control.¹³

Another reason the British tried to be so assiduous in forming North American treaty relationships is one historians rarely notice. The British were legalistically minded, enamored with their English law.¹⁴ They were arrogant about it. In the British mind, the English Ancient Constitution was what set them apart from and made them superior to other peoples. It was natural for the British to seek formal legal relationships with the people they encountered in the Americas.

Of the 18th-century British treaty relationships with American nations,¹⁵ the best-known is that with the Iroquoian-speaking Five (later Six) Nations of the territory south of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence. The Iroquois Confederacy was a powerful and well-organized institution. The Iroquois-British treaty relationship, called the Covenant Chain, was concerned largely with military alliance as well as the Confederacy's need to protect its territory.¹⁶

From 1693 through the period of the American War of Independence, the British signed a series of elaborate treaties with the peoples of what is now the state of Maine and the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Historians have termed those treaties ones of "peace and friendship" because the major articles of agreement were often signed after the sporadic wars of the 18th century. But, considered in context, those treaties had most to do with territory, with the Indians trying to control British incursions into Indian country and the British trying to expand their footholds.¹⁷

The major treaty articles of 1693¹⁸ and 1725¹⁹ on the northeastern American seaboard explicitly acknowledged that the British held land title to the small areas of what are now Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia they had specifically acquired or "actually possessed." The Indians retained title to everything else.

Those treaties, or treaty relationships, were subject to frequent formal discussions, sometimes resulting in further written treaties. The discussions were more important to the Indians than to the British. Indian society was based on oral tradition. They needed to ensure that both

sides to the treaty relationships continued to understand the basic elements (and the details) of them. As well, they regarded the treaty relationships as living things that needed regular nourishment, not as static entities set in pieces of paper.²⁰

The Indians often used wampum belts to record the 18th-century treaty relationships with the British. Wampum were small pieces of sea-shell that were woven to form colorful designs and pictographs. They were mnemonic devices explaining the treaty relationships. An appointed elder, a wampum-keeper, would repeatedly tell the story of the treaty relationships using the images on the wampum belts. In this way, the meaning of the belts and of the treaty relationships were passed down the generations.²¹

The 18th-century treaties the Indians signed with the British were distinctly between them and the person of the English sovereign. The lead British negotiators were most often colonial governors or lieutenant-governors, the personal representatives of the sovereigns. Local politicians, members of the colonial assemblies, were rarely involved.

This direct and personal relationship with the sovereign was important to the British and became highly symbolic for the Indians. In English law, dealing with Indian land or territory was solidly within the Royal Prerogative. The sovereign had to acquire Indian land titles before he could make legal land grants to his subjects. Any individual's land title had to come from the sovereign. This was formal, entrenched in the British and then the Canadian mind to at least Treaty Seven of 1877. The principles and methods of the sovereign acquiring Indian titles were set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.²²

To cope with the influx of land-hungry refugees from the American War of Independence, John Graves Simcoe, first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada (now southern Ontario), signed a series of treaties with the local Indians. These read like simple real estate transactions and very little historical attention has yet been paid to them.²³

The first Indian treaty signed in what is now western Canada was that negotiated by Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, in 1817 to justify his incursions on Indian land to plant the Hudson's Bay Company's Selkirk or Red River Settlement in what is now southern Manitoba. Selkirk promised to pay the Indians 200 pounds of tobacco each year in return for their surrender of their land titles.²⁴ The Robinson Treaties of the 1850s covered a wide area of what is now Ontario north of Lakes Huron and Superior. Those treaties provided for annuities, and they were the first treaties to explicitly include Indian reserves and protection of Indians' hunting and fishing rights.²⁵

As soon as Canadian Confederation became a fact in 1867, pres-

sure increased to develop the obvious potential of the territories to the west of what is now Ontario. The first attempt to assert Canadian authority over the West was botched and resulted in the Red River Resistance of 1869-70.²⁶

The government of John A. Macdonald recognized that one of the important priorities was obtaining legal surrender of Indian land title in advance of White settlement to the West from Canada. In his first report as Indian Commissioner of the North-West Territories (the area encompassing much of what are now the three prairie provinces), J.A.N. Provencher explained the prevailing understanding when the Canadian government began negotiating Indian treaties in the West.

The Indians of this Continent have always been considered, if not as proprietors, at least as occupants of the soil. It was always understood that they had rights as owners, and that the Crown would first have to extinguish those rights to afterwards assume full possession of the land. From this point of view there is a double right and a double interest which cannot be settled without the free consent of those interested.²⁷

The first two of the numbered series of western treaties, Treaties One and Two signed in 1871 and 1872, covered most of what is now southern Manitoba from a line at about the middle of Lake Winnipeg. In return for surrendering their land titles to the Queen, those treaties promised the Indians annuities and reserves, and, for the first time in the treaty process, animals and equipment to help the Indians make the transition from a hunting and fishing economy to an agricultural one.²⁸ They also contained a new provision that would become an important standard, a promise of education.

Treaty Three, signed in 1873 and covering what is now northwestern Ontario, established the template for the rest of the numbered treaties.²⁹ The provisions of Treaty Three, with some variations (especially with Treaty Six), remained the standard for the rest of the numbered treaty process.³⁰

Treaty Four, signed in 1874, covered an area of what is now Saskatchewan south of the South Saskatchewan River.³¹ Treaty Five, signed in 1875, covered the area of what is now Manitoba north of the area of Treaties One and Two to about the Nelson River.³² Treaty Six, signed in 1876, covered an area of what is now Alberta and Saskatchewan north of the Treaty Four area and north of the Red Deer River to about the Athabasca River.³³ Treaty Seven, signed in 1877, covered what is now Alberta mainly south of the Red Deer River.³⁴ There was not another numbered treaty until 1899 when Treaty Eight was signed to cover north-

ern Alberta, part of northern Saskatchewan, and part of northeastern British Columbia.³⁵ (Many of the treaties, including Treaty Four, were subject to later adhesions from Indians who lived in the territory covered but who were not present at the original negotiations.)

Treaty Six was an exception among the numbered treaties. At talks for that treaty, the Indians wangled significant concessions. With the help of their interpreter, who was also a farmer and a schoolteacher, they were promised more agricultural animals, implements, and supplies than were included in other treaties. Treaty Six also contained a "medicine chest" clause, unlike any other treaty.³⁶ And, Treaty Six contained the most controversial clause of all, the "famine clause" that provided that if the Indians were victim of "any pestilence, or by a general famine", they would be provided with relief supplies.³⁷ The Treaty Six Indian negotiators insisted on that clause because they were worried about hardship as they made the transition to an agricultural economy.

In recent years, the numbered Indian treaties of western Canada have become subject to renewed examination and analysis. Historians have been looking for meanings of the treaties outside the bare, written words. They seek now the Indian understanding of what the treaties meant and what was said during the negotiations. Canadian courts have also been struggling to understand the treaties. Recent litigation has focused on important issues of the nature of the land surrender the treaties accomplished, of the relationship of such things as mineral rights to the treaties, and of the meaning of the education provision of the treaties. (This latter in the context of the residential schooling system that has become so controversial.³⁸)

Written sources that aid interpretation of the western numbered treaties are very few, particularly any contemporary sources that touch directly on Indian understandings of the process. The most extensive documentation is that contained in the book that treaty negotiator Alexander Morris compiled. But that is a partial record very much from one side of the treaty relationship. In this context, Chief Pasqua's pictographs that Henry Barneby collected in 1883 are an intriguing and important part of history.

Treaty Four Negotiations

After he negotiated Treaty Three in the fall of 1873, Manitoba and North-West Territories Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris realized that Canada would very soon need to deal with the Indians west of Manitoba. He pressed the government at Ottawa to make arrangements for treaties to the west.³⁹ The government was not anxious to enter into expensive arrangements with Indians until settlement pressure on a ter-

ritory made that necessary.⁴⁰ But Morris knew that the western Indians were agitating for treaty negotiations. They were experiencing increasing resource depletion, they were worried about the possibility of much increased White settlement and incursions of Americans from south of border, and they were both baffled and annoyed by the “sale” of their territory from the Hudson’s Bay Company to Canada. As early as the spring of 1871, Morris’ predecessor, Adams Archibald, had received messages from Chiefs in what is now Alberta describing the concerns and the anxiety for negotiations.⁴¹ Archibald assured the Indians west of Manitoba that there would be no encroachments on the territory in advance of treaty negotiations.⁴² Western Indians tried to keep up the pressure.

As a result of Morris’ pleas, the government agreed to negotiations with the Indians of what became the Treaty Four area for the early fall of 1874. The discussions would be held at the Hudson’s Bay Company post of Fort Qu’Appelle, about 70 kilometres north of Regina. Morris became the chief negotiator, accompanied by a former Hudson’s Bay Company employee, William J. Christie, and the Minister of the Interior, David Laird. M.G. Dickieson, Laird’s secretary, was secretary to the commission and produced the official record.⁴³

The Qu’Appelle Lakes were at about the geographic middle of the Treaty Four area, at the edge of the true plains. Southwest of Qu’Appelle, Treaty Four covered buffalo country, extending to the Cypress Hills at the modern Alberta-Saskatchewan-United States boundaries. Northeast of Qu’Appelle was broken, hilly parkland and woods country extending through the Touchwood and Porcupine Hills to Lake Winnipegosis.

The population of the Treaty Four area was divided among Plains Cree, Saulteaux, Assiniboine, and some Sioux.⁴⁴ The Cree who came to inhabit the western Canadian plains had their origins among Cree of the area of Hudson Bay and what are now northwestern Ontario and northeastern Manitoba. They moved on to the plains in the early-18th century as the fur trade began to expand west, often exploring and trading in advance of the European traders. The Saulteaux were a branch of the Ojibwa of the area north of Lake Superior who arrived in the Saskatchewan area in the late-18th century. The Cree and Saulteaux were closely related and both spoke Algonquian-based languages. The Assiniboine, who spoke a Siouan-based language, moved from the south sometime before the Cree moved to inhabit the western plains.⁴⁵ (The Assiniboine do not appear to have taken much part in the Treaty Four negotiations.)

Cree and Saulteaux were sometimes virtually indistinguishable.⁴⁶ The Saulteaux tended to live more in parklands or woods than on the plains, but so did many Cree. Many of the bands under Treaty Four were mixed

Paskwaw, 1884



Saulteaux-Cree. Chief Pasqua was born in about 1828 in a Cree family. But his band was Saulteaux. Pasqua lived near Leech Lake, Saskatchewan, near modern Yorkton northeast of Qu'Appelle.⁴⁷ But he moved to the south side of the Qu'Appelle Lakes and took a reserve there after he signed Treaty Four.

Walter Traill was a Hudson's Bay Company trader who had been stationed at Fort Pelly, in woods country on the Assiniboine River towards Lake Winnipegosis, then at Fort Qu'Appelle. In the late-1860s, he described the Indians he knew from his Qu'Appelle vantage point.

The Indians in our vicinity are mostly Plain Crees, the Crees being the chief and most numerous tribe on the prairies. They are spoken of as Woods Crees, Plain Crees, or Swampy Crees according to the character of the region they inhabit.⁴⁸...

At Fort Pelly the Indians are either Saulteaux or Woods

Crees and loyal to us without exception, in accordance with the respect shown all Hudson's Bay Company officers by the Indians. It is believed that the Saulteaux tribes originally came from around Lake Superior, the name being derived from Sault Ste. Marie. They mix with the Cree and though not speaking exactly the same language they understand one another and intermarry. These tribes are about equally divided at most Posts. Here the Crees predominate, owing to our position farther out on the Plain, originally the home of the Cree Nation where for the most part they still hunt.

The Saulteaux mostly hunt in the woods to the north.⁴⁹

Negotiations for Treaty Four began at Fort Qu'Appelle on September 8, 1874. They began very badly and sputtered along through a series of misunderstandings between the parties until the treaty was signed on September 15. There was a real possibility that coming to a treaty deal at Qu'Appelle would be impossible. There were three fundamental problems: a political split between the Cree and most of the Saulteaux, the "sale" of the Hudson's Bay Company territory to Canada, and the Company's trading activity.⁵⁰

His band was Saulteaux, drawn to the woods. But at the treaty talks, Chief Pasqua allied himself with the plains-oriented Cree, opposed to Chief Coté, apparently the leading Chief among the Saulteaux. Pasqua's attitude may have been reflected in his desire to move from the relative woodsy area of Leech Lake to Qu'Appelle, the gateway to the open plains.

The main point to be settled, the Cree told Morris, concerned what had happened at The Transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territory to Canada in 1870. Chief Coté and most of the Saulteaux did not agree that was the essential issue. They were close to the Company and wanted to maintain good relations.⁵¹ The Indians had been told (undoubtedly by Hudson's Bay Company officials) that the land had been sold to Canada. That was inconceivable and unethical.

In the Indian philosophy, the Creator had given the land and its resources to the Indians. The Indians did not "own" the land; the Creator did. The Indians could make appropriate use of the land and resources, and they could share those uses with others. But they could not sell anything.⁵²

Morris tried, impatiently, to tell the Cree and Saulteaux at Qu'Appelle that there had been no "land sale." The Hudson's Bay Company's trading monopoly had been extinguished, as had its ability to secure the surrender of existing Aboriginal Title. In return, the Company had been paid £ 300,000, plus promises of land grants and the security of land title around its trading posts.⁵³

Legally, what Morris said was correct. But there was little hope the Indians could understand the White man's lawyer and Queen's Lieutenant-Governor on that point. As the Cree and Morris tried to argue through their misunderstandings, Pasqua interjected, pointing at Hudson's Bay Company Factor Archibald McDonald:

You told me you had sold your land for so much money,
£ 300,000. We want that money.⁵⁴

The Cree had another issue regarding the Hudson's Bay Company. It was related to the issues surrounding The Transfer, but it was not really the same. Morris could not have understood the distinction.

The Cree wanted the Company restricted to its posts. They wanted that written into the treaty. Morris said he could not consider that. The Queen could not manage the Company or tell it how to conduct its business.⁵⁵ What the Cree were really talking about was sharing territory, something that was beyond Morris' comprehension.

As it expanded across what is now western Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company established its posts on the rivers. That was convenient for the Company; it was also convenient for the Indians. The Company employees stayed at the posts on the rivers. They did not wander into the woods or on to the plains. The Indians were happy to share bits of territory on the rivers (a resource the plains and parklands Indians seldom used) in return for an accessible and profitable trade. They did not want the White man intruding on the hinterland to do his own hunting or to bring furs into the posts. That was Indian business, and they were not willing to share that.

In the late-1850s, Canadian explorer Henry Youle Hind visited a Cree camp near Fort Qu'Appelle and was invited to a council meeting. He recorded:

All speakers objected strongly to the half-breeds' [Métis] hunting buffalo during the winter in the Plain Cree country. They had no objection to trade with them or with White people, but they insisted that all strangers should purchase dried meat or pemmican, and not hunt for themselves.

They urged strong objections against the Hudson's Bay Company encroaching upon the prairies and driving away the buffalo. They would be glad to see them establish as many posts as they chose on the edge of the prairie country, but they did not like to see the prairies and plains invaded.⁵⁶

In the late-1860s, the Company began sending expeditions out of its Qu'Appelle post southwest towards the Cypress Hills, an area that was becoming increasingly lucrative, particularly for the trade in buffalo robes.⁵⁷ That directly undercut an Indian middleman role in bringing robes

to Fort Qu'Appelle. That is what the Indians were most likely trying to say at the Treaty Four talks. They were not willing to share territory with the Company if the Company would use that agreement to undercut Indian business. And, they wanted the treaty to stipulate that.

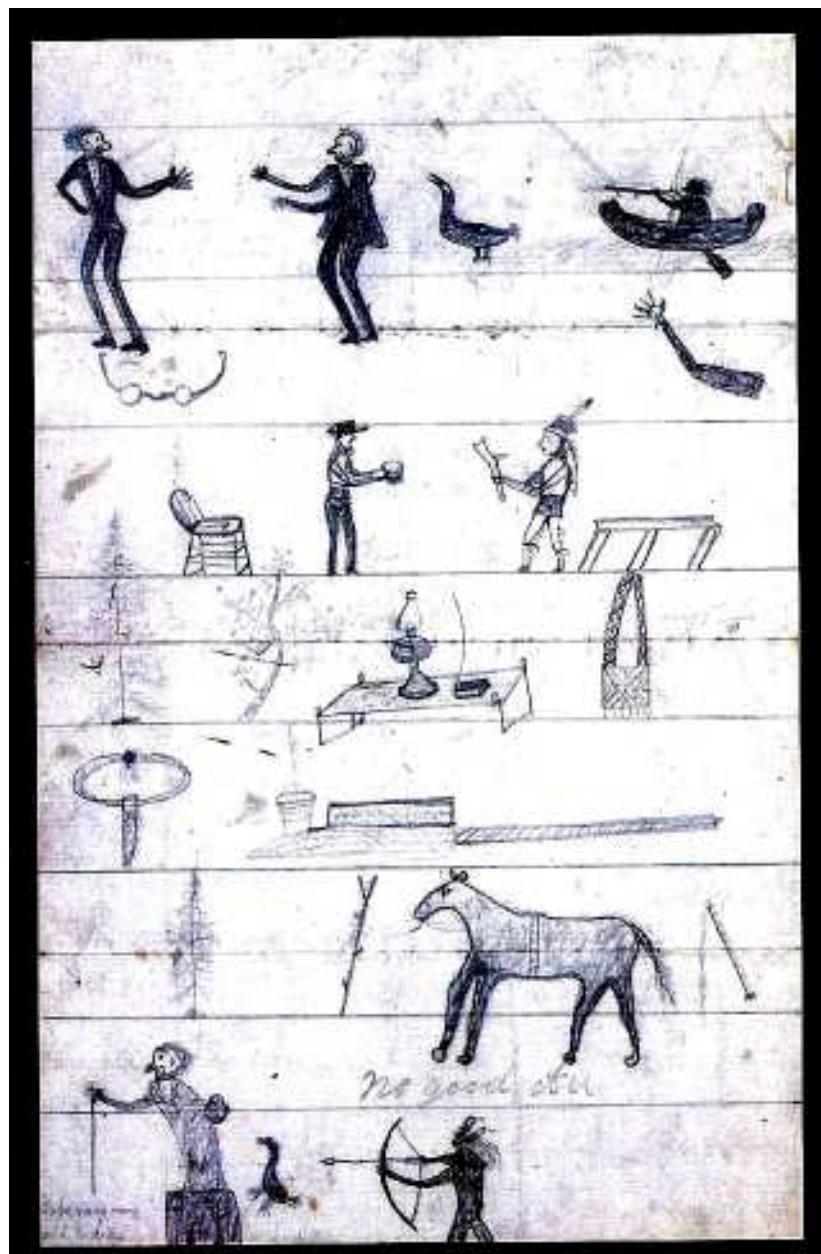
The misunderstandings at the Treaty Four negotiations were not resolved. And yet, the treaty was signed. According to the official record, the Indians said they would accept the same terms as those of Treaty Three. Then, they asked Morris what those terms were.⁵⁸ As historian John Leonard Taylor pointed out, on the face of it, it does not make sense for the Indians to say they would agree to terms without knowing what the terms were. Taylor speculated that the Indians were trying to open bargaining on the terms and that Morris did not understand their intent.⁵⁹ The Indian initiative to bargain on the terms had no effect. Morris' position was that they had already agreed to the Treaty Three terms. According to secretary Dickieson, "the Chiefs then signed the treaty, after having been assured that they would never be made ashamed of what they then did."⁶⁰

The Terms of Treaty Four

The written terms of Treaty Four, first signed at Qu'Appelle on September 15, 1874, contained these provisions:⁶¹

- Reserves of one square mile per family of five.
- \$25/Chief, one time only.
 - \$15/Headman (maximum 4 per band), one time only.
 - \$5, all others, one time only.
- A coat, Chief and Headmen (maximum 4 per band), one time only.
- "Some powder, shot, blankets, calicoes and other articles," one time only.
- \$25 annuity/Chief.
 - \$15 annuity/Headman (maximum 4 per band).
 - \$5 annuity/all others.
- Maintain schools on reserves.
- No liquor on reserves.
- Sections of reserves may be appropriated for government purposes.
- \$750 worth of ammunition and twine.
- 2 hoes/family actually cultivating.
- 1 spade/family actually cultivating.
- 1 axe/family actually cultivating.
- 1 plough/10 families actually cultivating.

Chief Pasqua's Treaty Panel



- 2 harrows/10 families actually cultivating.
- 1 scythe/family actually cultivating.
- For each Chief (band), 1 cross-cut saw, 5 hand saws, 1 pit saw, the necessary files for the saws, 1 grindstone, 5 augers.
- For each Chief (band), 1 chest of carpenter's tools.
- Enough wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes to plant land broken.
- 1 yoke oxen/Chief (band).
- 1 bull/Chief (band).
- 4 cows/Chief (band).
- A suit of clothes (uniform) for each Chief and Headman (maximum 4 per band) every three years.
- A flag and medal for each Chief.
- The right "to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing" through out the surrendered territory, subject to regulations and excepting tracts taken up for settlement.

The Meaning of the Treaty Panel

The pictographs representing the treaty itself were Chief Pasqua's personal images. There were not a form of Cree writing or hieroglyphs. The only certain way to understand them would have been to discuss them with Chief Pasqua, something that clearly was not done.

However, the meaning of Pasqua's pictographs becomes clear on a close reading of the book Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris published about the treaties.

Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, led the Canadian parties at Treaties Three, Four, Five, and Six. Morris considered himself close to Indians, and he sincerely had their welfare in mind.⁶² Morris was also firmly convinced he knew what was best for the Indians, better than they themselves knew and better than anyone in government knew. And, Alexander Morris took his role as Queen Victoria's personal representative very seriously.⁶³

Throughout his role in the numbered treaty process, Alexander Morris emphasized and returned to a number of themes, some of them metaphorical.

The treaty panel of Chief Pasqua's pictographs can be read as a transcript and understanding of some of the important aspects of Morris' discourse to the Indians. The pictographs follow closely what Morris said at the Treaty Four negotiations at Qu'Appelle.

One of the most prominent and consistent images Morris used

throughout the treaty process was the metaphor of shaking hands.⁶⁴ By accepting the treaty and shaking hands with Morris, the Indians were shaking hands with Queen Victoria herself and forming an everlasting friendship and relationship with the English Crown. Morris told the Treaty Four Indians:

What I want, is for you to take the Queen's hand, through mine, and shake hands with her for ever,...

In our hands, they feel the Queen's, and if they take them the hands of the White and Red man will never unclasp.⁶⁵

The tension between the Cree and Saulteaux and the dispute and misunderstandings regarding the Hudson's Bay Company jeopardized the Treaty Four talks as soon as they began. Morris feared he would be unable to reach agreement, that the Indians might not be willing to take Queen Victoria's hand.

I held out my hand but you did not do as your nation did at the Angle [Treaty Three]....

Must we [the treaty commissioners] go back and tell the Queen that we held out our hands for her, and her Red children put them back again?⁶⁶

The first images of the treaty panel of the document, at the top left, are of two cartoonish figures. The one to the right is clearly holding out his hands in greeting and friendship. The other figure has turned his back and is making a dismissive gesture with his hand, rejecting the overtures. This seems to represent Morris' discourse about rejecting the Queen's hand.

Just below the first cartoonish figure is a drawing of spectacles. Morris told the Indians during the numbered treaty process that if they opened their eyes, ears, and hearts to what the Queen had to tell them through her Lieutenant-Governor, they would see clearly that making a treaty and shaking hands with the Queen would have substantial benefits for them.

"Are your ears open to hear?" Morris asked the Treaty Four Indians.⁶⁷ "I want you to look me in the face, eye to eye, and open your hearts to me as children would to a father."⁶⁸

Immediately following the two cartoonish figures is an image of an Indian shooting a goose-like bird with a gun from a canoe. This is clearly a reference to the numbered treaty promise that the Indians "shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered."⁶⁹

Lieutenant-Governor Morris did not have much to say about hunting and fishing at the Treaty Four negotiations at Qu'Appelle, according to the record of the talks as printed in his book. But that record is incom-

plete and is concerned very largely with the disputes about the Hudson's Bay Company. Hunting and fishing rights were one of the most important issues for the Indians, and they would have undoubtedly been a subject of discussion at the Treaty Four talks at Qu'Appelle. Morris would have said much the same thing there as he said at other treaty talks.

Morris told Treaty Four Indians at an adhesion at Fort Ellice subsequent to the Qu'Appelle meeting that "What we offer will be for your good, as it will help you, and not prevent you from hunting."⁷⁰ Morris was particularly assiduous in using that kind of language at the Treaty Six talks, according to the published record. "What I have offered does not take away your living, you will have it then as you have now, and what I offer is put on top of it."⁷¹

Understand me, I do not want to interfere with your hunting and fishing. I want you to pursue it through the country, as you have heretofore done; but I would like your children to be able to find food for themselves and their children that come after them.⁷²...

Now the whole burden of my message from the Queen is that we wish to help you in the days that are to come, we do not want to take away the means of living that you have now, we do not want to tie you down; we want you to have homes of your own where your children can be taught to raise for themselves food from the mother earth. You may not all be ready for that, but some, I have no doubt, are, and in a short time others will follow.⁷³

Immediately below the Indian in the canoe in the treaty panel is a prominent image of an outstretched hand, reiterating the "shaking hands" metaphor and perhaps, because of its position, designed to reinforce the importance of hunting and fishing rights.

The line of the treaty panel following the images of shaking hands, hunting and fishing, and spectacles, sums up the numbered treaties. In this drawing, a White man rises from his chair and presents gifts. An Indian rises from his bench holding a gun with the barrel facing downward, clearly an image of peace. This is, in essence, Queen Victoria making gifts to her Indian subjects while the Indians promise everlasting peace and friendship. Implied is a sharing of territory. The figure of the White man, as George Bryce (see below) noted, resembles Alexander Morris. The Indian figure is dressed in Plains Indian regalia, with headdress and fringed leggings. The image of the two figures resembles the image on the reverse of the medal issued to Chiefs in the numbered treaties after Treaty Two.⁷⁴ The use of the canoe=hunting drawing on the

treaty panel may reflect Pasqua's environment at Leech Lake, while the headdress and leggings reflect the environment of the Plains Cree who took the lead role at the treaty talks.

The line below the drawing of the exchange between the two figures on the treaty panel begins with two trees, the first a evergreen and the second a deciduous tree. The pine tree was a frequent metaphor during the treaty process between the British and the Indian nations of the east in the 18th century. It represented the beauty and complexity of life. By linking the idea of treaties to a tree, the Indians were often making the point that for them a treaty relationship was not a static thing (as it tended to be for the British) but something that needed constant nourishment to survive and thrive.⁷⁵ I have seen no direct evidence that western Indians used a similar metaphor, but it is possible they did. The deciduous tree on the treaty panel resembles an aspen, the most common tree of the plains and parklands of western Canada. Those images may reflect the different areas in which the Cree and Saulteaux of Treaty Four lived.

To the right of the two trees on the treaty panel is a most important image for western Indians. On a table appear the lamp of learning and the book of knowledge, that is, education. According to the published record, Alexander Morris did not say much about the treaty promise of schooling at any of the numbered treaty talks in which he was involved. But it was always in the background, with the missionaries, who invariably attended the talks, being most assiduous in promoting it. The Indians were very anxious to receive the gifts of the White man's scientific knowledge and the White man's magic of writing.⁷⁶ It is no surprise that Chief Pasqua would represent education in the middle of his description of Treaty Four.

To the right of the table containing the lamp and book is a representation of a bag and shoulder strap decorated in Plains Indian design. The person who subsequently made the pencil notations apparently believed this represented shot, which would be another reference to hunting and fishing. But Cree Elders have suggested to me this image looks like a medicine bag.

There was no mention of medicine or medical services in Treaty Four. A clause promising a "medicine chest" was included in Treaty Six of 1876.⁷⁷ Historians and modern Indians interpret that as a treaty promise of medicare. Though medicine was not promised in Treaty Four, medicine and education went hand-in-hand for the Cree.

Cree Shamans were both the community's teachers and its doctors. As well, part of the White man's scientific knowledge the Cree were so anxious to access was medical. This had been demonstrated clearly during the severe smallpox epidemic on the plains from 1869 to 1871.

The Hudson's Bay Company inoculated numbers of Indians who came into the trading posts. Company employees and Protestant missionaries advised the Cree to disperse into small groups, an effective defence against the disease. In contrast, the Blackfoot-speaking peoples of what is now southern Alberta did not have the same access to scientific knowledge and medicine. They kept very much to their own territory, into which neither the HBC nor the missionaries ventured. As a result, the Blackfoot-speakers suffered to a greater extent than did the Cree.⁷⁸

A belt with an empty sheath, the scalping knife absent, begins the line below the two trees, another symbol of peace. To the right of that is the largest and most unmistakable image: a peace pipe. In Plains Indian culture, particularly Cree culture, the sacred pipe has much greater spiritual significance than simply as a symbol of peace.

Truth had to be spoken in the presence of the pipe, and, as anthropologist David Mandelbaum noted:

No intemperate action could occur in the presence of the Pipestem and in this quality lay its peculiar potency. If two men were engaged in a quarrel, no matter how serious, they were bound to desist when the *oskitcí•* was presented to them. A man bent on avenging the death of a relative could not continue in his purpose if confronted with this Pipestem. When peace was to be made with a hostile tribe, the Pipestem Bearer led the way. When the enemy saw the pipe, they recognized it and respected its sanctity.⁷⁹

Alexander Morris implied that no pipe ceremony preceded the talks for Treaty Four at Qu'Appelle, as had occurred when he negotiated Treaty Three.⁸⁰ A.G. Jackes, a medical doctor who was secretary to the Treaty Six commission, described the pipe ceremony at the talks for Treaty Six at Fort Carlton in 1876.

The semi-circle [of Indians] steadily advanced until within fifty yards of the Governor's [+Morris'] tent, when a halt was made and further peculiar ceremonies commenced, the most remarkable of which was the "dance of the stem." This was commenced by the Chiefs, medicine men, councillors, singers and drum-beaters, coming a little to the front and seating themselves on blankets and robes spread for them. The bearer of the stem, Wah-wee-kah-nich-kah-oh-tah-mah-hote (the man you strike on the back), carrying in his hand a large and gorgeously adorned pipe stem, walked slowly along the semi-circle, and advancing to the front, raised the stem to the heavens, then slowly turned to the north, south, east and west, presenting the stem at each point; returning to

the seated group he handed the stem to one of the young men, who commenced a low chant, at the same performing a ceremonial dance accompanied by the drums and singing of the men and women in the background.

This was all repeated by another of the young men, after which the horsemen again commenced galloping in circles, the whole body slowly advancing. As they approached the tent, the Governor, accompanied by the Hon. W.J. Christie and Hon. Jas. McKay, Commissioners, went forward to meet them and to receive the stem carried by its bearer. It was presented first to the Governor, who in accordance with their customs, stroked it several times, then passed it to the Commissioners who repeated the ceremony.

The significance of this ceremony is that the Governor and Commissioners accepted the friendship of the tribe.⁸¹

Jackes and the other Canadian representatives recognized the magnitude of the ceremony, but not its entire significance. It was not just about friendship. It was also about honesty and sanctity. It would be surprising if such a pipe ceremony did not take place at the Treaty Four talks at Qu'Appelle in 1874. The ceremony was usual, even necessary, at events of that importance. Perhaps the ceremony did not take place because of the serious rift between the Cree and Saulteaux at Fort Qu'Appelle. But even if the ceremony did not take place, the Cree would still recognize the sacred pipe as symbolizing the treaty and the treaty relationship.

Beginning the line below the sacred pipe is another image of an evergreen tree. To the right of that is an image of an Indian pony tethered to a stick or dead tree. Whoever wrote the subsequent pencil notations wrote underneath the pony "no good," followed by what may be an abbreviation for "etcetera."

The pony image may represent the Cree fear of being tied down by changes in their economy and a deal with the White man that might result in restrictions on their usual way of life. At talks for Treaty Six, Cree Chief Big Bear told Alexander Morris that his greatest fear was "the rope to be about my neck."⁸² Big Bear's statement was interpreted at the time literally, as a fear of hanging as a punishment for crime. That may have been what Big Bear meant. The Cree and other Indians believed hanging to be a barbaric form of punishment, one that interfered with the afterlife. But some historians have interpreted Big Bear's statement, as it was translated and recorded, metaphorically, as a declaration he did not want to be tethered or corralled, but to live his life according to Cree standards.⁸³

Following the tethered pony, to the right in the treaty panel, is another, much smaller, pipe.

Beginning the line below the empty sheath is a figure standing in what looks like a box. In one hand, he holds a long staff; in the other, what looks like a book or tablet. The person who made the subsequent pencil notations wrote something here about an "old Indian." This image could be a reference to the teachings of the Elders upon which Cree society relied. But it also resembles a Protestant missionary preaching from a pulpit with a cross in one hand and a Bible in the other. In the incomplete published record, there is no evidence of a discussion of missionaries at the Treaty Four talks at Qu'Appelle. But the Treaty Six Indians made a specific request that they be provided with missionaries.⁸⁴ This was not done from a desire specifically for Christianity (though the government officials, and especially missionaries, would interpret it that way). The Indians recognized the priests and ministers as direct links to the sought-after gifts of the White man's scientific knowledge and writing. In the west, Protestant missionaries in particular had been preaching civilization and education more than they had been preaching Christian doctrine.⁸⁵

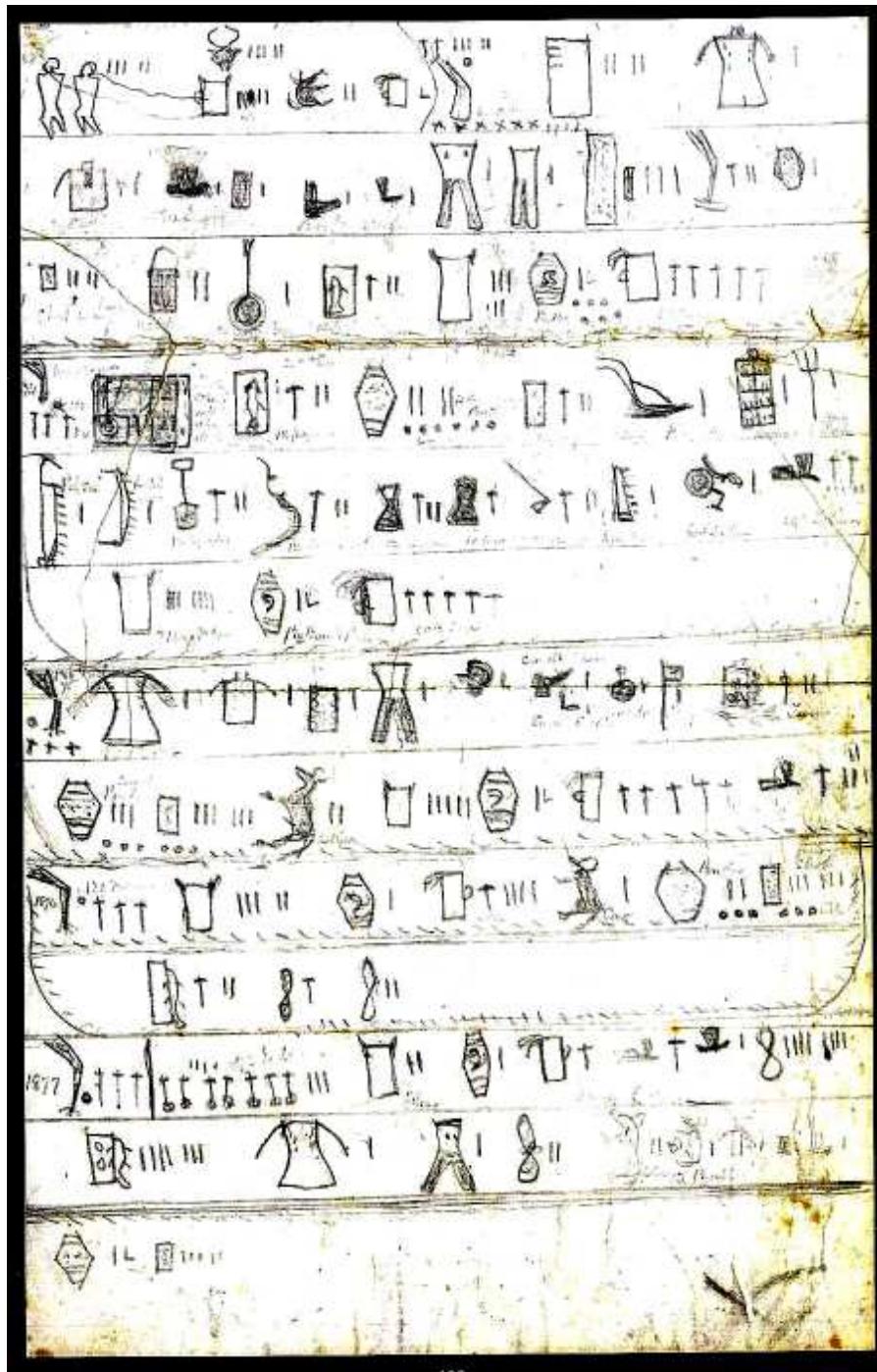
The last image on the treaty panel is another reference to hunting and fishing as usual, this time with an Indian in a canoe aiming an arrow at a waterfowl.

Treaty Provisions Due Chief Pasqua's Band

Chief Pasqua's band totaled about 70 families. If all of them were farming, as they were expected to, the band should have received under Treaty Four a total of:⁸⁶

- One coat for the Chief and each of four Headman in recognition of signing the treaty.
- For each Chief, a flag and medal in recognition of signing the treaty.
- A suit of clothes for the Chief and each of four Headman every three years.
- Some powder, shot, blankets, calicoes, "and other articles," one time only.
- Education.
- The band's share of the total \$750 worth of twine and ammunition given to Treaty Four bands annually.
- Enough wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes to plant land as it was broken.
- One yoke of oxen.

Chief Pasqua's Provisions Panel



- One bull.
- Four cows.
- 140 hoes.
- 70 spades.
- 70 axes.
- Seven ploughs.
- 14 harrows.
- 70 scythes.
- One cross-cut saw.
- Five hand saws.
- One pit saw.
- The necessary files for the saws.
- One grindstone.
- Five augers.
- One chest of carpenter's tools.

The Meaning of the Provisions Panel

I base my following analysis of the provisions panel of the document on my knowledge of the context of delivering supplies to Indians under the treaties, on a review of government records, and on consideration of the penciled notations made by someone after the document was written.

The Designation of Years

The provisions panel consists of thirteen lines containing symbols obviously representing various treaty supplies. These are clearly set out year-by-year, with the first year apparently beginning about halfway across the first line. The other years begin at the beginning of lines four, seven, nine, and eleven, for a total coverage of five years. The penciled notations identify those years as 1873 to 1877.

But the document is Chief Pasqua's personal record of Treaty Four and its implementation. The penciled dates are clearly incorrect and were probably deduced from a knowledge of Treaty Three signed in 1873.

Pasqua signed Treaty Four in 1874. He could not have received treaty supplies under it in 1873. He would have received some supplies immediately after the treaty signing, but most treaty supplies were due only after the Indians actually began farming.⁸⁷ Even by 1877, North-West Territories Indian Commissioner (and Lieutenant-Governor) David Laird

reported that of the approximately 18 Treaty Four bands, only two or three were partly settled, and none had begun farming.⁸⁸ In 1878, Qu'Appelle Indian Agent Allan McDonald noted that Pasqua and 30 families of his band had begun farming.⁸⁹

The reports and accounts of Indian Affairs as printed in the House of Commons *Sessional Papers* are often not much help in tracing specific supplies delivered. The accounts list the dollar totals spent on treaty supplies within each treaty but often do not even list the total number of supplies the dollars bought. The reports and accounts only rarely mention the delivery of specific supplies to specific bands. Commissioner Laird's report and accompanying tables for 1878 are an exception.⁹⁰ Laird detailed some supplies given to Pasqua's band and mentioned that "Pasqwa" had put his seed to good use.

The second year described in the provisions panel of the document, beginning on line four with the pencil notation of "1874," coincides somewhat, but far from perfectly, with Laird's accounting of 1878. (Given the sporadic and imprecise nature of government accounting, it is probable that the Chief's accounting was more accurate.) These are Chief Pasqua's pictographs, and it is reasonable to conclude that they cover the period of 1877 to 1881.

Each year begins with a drawing of an arm and outstretched fingers. This is probably related to the "shaking hands" metaphor that I discuss in this article in the context of the treaty panel of the document. The first year designated, which I believe indicates 1877 and appears about halfway across line one of the provisions panel of the document, is unusual in that it depicts the arm as pointing upward. The subsequent yearly designations show the arm pointing downward.

The Numbering System

Chief Pasqua used a base-ten numbering system. Digits up to ten he represented with a single line that looks like the numeral "one." Tens, he represented with elongated crosses. That is obvious and coincides with some of what is readable of the pencil notations. Small circles associated with some of the items may represent hundreds, but I am not certain of that. This latter is contrary to what the person who made the subsequent pencil notations assumed.

Each year-designating arm is associated with a number. If I am correct that the small circles represent hundreds, the first year (1877) is associated the number "125" (line 1). With each subsequent year (lines 4, 7, 9, and 11), the number is "130." The person who made the subsequent pencil notations ignored the circles and assumed that the 25 of the first year and the 30s of the subsequent years represented the treaty

money the Chief was paid. A Treaty Four Chief was supposed to receive an annuity of \$25 each year. Headmen were supposed to receive \$15 and all other members of the bands, \$5. However, Treaties Three, Five, and Six stipulated that the \$25 given to a Chief was a salary, presumably in addition to the \$5 annuity. This may have been the practice followed in the day for Treaty Four as well. Without examining the annual paylists (which are difficult to access because of privacy legislation), I can not be certain what amount Chief Pasqua received each year.

There is also a figure that looks like an "L" that the pencil notations identify as "1/14." There are 14 pounds in a standard stone and 364 pounds (or 26 stone) in a standard sack. The use of the 1/14 on the provisions panel may indicate this type of weight measurement, particularly for seed.

Clothing

The provision of a Chief's coat, a treaty stipulation and a matter of some discussion at treaty negotiations, is clearly indicated in Pasqua's account. According to the document, he received a uniform coat in 1877 (line 1). He received another uniform coat in 1879 and another in 1881 (lines 7 and 12). The treaty stipulated that Chiefs would receive "a suit of clothes" (meaning "uniforms") once every three years. Pasqua's record indicates he received the uniforms a bit early.

The provision of a coat in 1877 is, in the Pasqua record, accompanied by the provision of a fancy shirt, a fancy pair of pants, and an ordinary pair of pants (all on line 2). In 1879, he received the coat, a fancy shirt, and fancy pants (line 7); in 1881, he received a coat, a pair of fancy pants, and a shirt (line 12 – the shirt is very faint near the end of the line). He appears also to have received a hat in 1877 (line 2) and another hat in 1881 (line 11).

Images on line 2 of the Pasqua document might indicate that he received boots and socks, which is the way the person who made the subsequent pencil notations apparently interpreted it. This, in my opinion, is unlikely. The treaty made provision for clothing, but not shoes and socks. Indians would not have wanted those articles. They were comfortable in moccasins, which is what Chief Pasqua was wearing when Henry Barneby met him.⁹¹ If those images do not represent boots and socks, I do not know what they represent.

Notable in this regard is that Chief Pasqua did not record any clothing given to those other than himself. The treaty stipulated that the Headmen of each band (probably four in Pasqua's band) were also to be given uniforms every three years. The government records on this count are imprecise. But I have no doubt the government did provide Headman's

uniforms, at the same time as it provided uniforms for the Chief. This was important symbolically for both the government and the Indians; neither side would have let it slide.

In 1877, Pasqua appears to have received four blankets (line 1). Blankets and other cloth was promised as a one-time-only treaty provision. The blanket depicted is a Hudson's Bay Company "three-point" blanket, a very common trade item.

Animals

Treaty Four, as did other numbered treaties, stipulated that the Indians were to receive animals necessary to convert from a hunting lifestyle to an agricultural economic base.

Pasqua's account indicates that the first animals he received were a pair of oxen in 1879 (line 8). I am somewhat hesitant to identify the figure on that line as an ox. However, it does fit in context, though it appears to be a different conclusion than that of the penciled notation. It was rather late for Pasqua to receive oxen. By his record, he had received a plough the year before. But Treaty Four Commissioner W. J. Christie and commission secretary M. G. Dickieson reported in 1875 that Pasqua had actually been the first Chief to receive "cattle," which probably meant "oxen,"⁹² in 1875 when he tried to begin farming at Leech lake before moving to Qu'Appelle.⁹³ The apparently human figures at the very beginning of the provisions panel may also represent oxen or the promise of oxen.

According to the document, Pasqua received one cow in 1880 (line 9 – and it is obviously a cow) and another cow and a bull in 1881 (line 12).

Pasqua's record indicates the provision of oxen and cows was below what Treaty Four stipulated and below what government officials claimed they had delivered. In 1882, Pasqua's band supposedly had six yoke of oxen.⁹⁴ But these may not have all been supplied under the treaty. In 1881, two yoke of oxen were listed as being "on loan" to Pasqua's band,⁹⁵ and, in 1883, it was reported that three families of the band had bought their own oxen.⁹⁶

There are two very peculiar figures on the first half of the first line of the Pasqua document. One appears to be five units of some kind of animal ensnared in a mechanical device. I do not know what this represents. It is, though, possible that the Canadian government gave Pasqua some trapping equipment, though that was not stipulated in Treaty Four.

The other peculiar figure very obviously represents two pigs. Pigs were not promised in Treaty Four, though they would be promised to the Indians who signed Treaty Six in 1876 in lieu of increased numbers of

cattle the Indians asked for.⁹⁷ The Treaty Six Indians, assisted greatly by the interpreter/farmer they hired, demanded pigs. That also made sense to government officials. Pigs reproduced rapidly and provided large amounts of protein-rich food. On the other hand, western Indians did not like pigs. The look of them, the behavior of them, and the sound of them, were entirely foreign to their experience. In addition, pigs are difficult to raise compared to cattle, especially for people unused to animal husbandry and who lack equipment. Pigs eat grain, which the Indians had only in very short supply; cows graze. And, pigs require pens and more care and attention than cattle do.⁹⁸ Chief Pasqua's drawing here may represent the salt pork the government was fond of giving to the western Indians as rations, something that upset Indian digestions.

Agricultural Equipment

Chief Pasqua's document records that he received one plough and one harrow in 1878 (line 4). For the period the document covers, this was well below what was due his band under Treaty Four.

Chief Pasqua's account indicates he received 12 hoes in 1877 (line 2), a chest of carpenter's tools in 1878 (line 4), and then a series of other implements promised in the treaty (line 5), again for 1878. These latter are: a pit saw, a cross-cut saw, 12 spades, 12 scythes, 12 axes of one type and 10 of another, 12 more hoes (though these hoes are drawn somewhat differently than those of 1877), and one hand saw. The complex figure towards the end of line 5 for 1878 probably represents a grind-stone, another item that was due under the treaty. The figure on line three for 1877 that looks like a long-handled frying pan is probably an auger.

He also appears to have received a hay fork in 1878 (line 4). These were not promised in Treaty Four, but they were in Treaty Six. Hayforks were probably given to the Treaty Four Indians. In 1877, North-West Territories Indian Commissioner David Laird requisitioned 20 of them for the Qu'Appelle area.⁹⁹

According to this record, Chief Pasqua received some of these implements in 1877, then the bulk of them in 1878. His record indicates he received none of these kinds of implements from then to 1881. The totals here are very much lower than what the treaty stipulated.

Seed

There are a number of representations in Chief Pasqua's document that I believe have to do with the provision of seed. Treaty Four stipulated the Indians would receive annually enough wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes to plant the land the band had broken.

At the beginning of line one of the provisions panel of the document is a clear representation of five couples of human figures pulling five devices. The device in this illustration, but not the human figures, is repeated for each of the subsequent years (line 3 for 1877 with six devices, line 6 for 1878 with seven devices, line 8 for 1879 with five devices, line 9 for 1880 with five devices, and line 11 for 1881 with two devices). I guess, but it is only a guess with reference to the specific crop, that this might represent potato planting.

Also on line one of the document is a representation of what looks like a bag with a handle and with material spilling from the top, probably seed. This, on line one, is accompanied by the symbol that looks like an "L" and that may mean "1/14." This figure is repeated for all succeeding years, but with different amounts. For 1877 (line 3), there are 50 units of this commodity, for 1878, 50 units (line 6), for 1879, 50 units (line 8), for 1880, 14 units (line 9), and for 1881, 10 units (line 11). The progressive decrease in the number of units makes sense. As the band progressed in farming (as Pasqua's was in this period, according to government records), they would be able to progressively save more of their own seed and be less reliant on government stocks. In my opinion, this item in Pasqua's account probably represents barley seed. Barley was the most reliable crop in the Canadian West in the 1870s and early 1880s, especially on newly broken land. Oats were somewhat less reliable; wheat was not reliable at all.¹⁰⁰ The Canadian government, for good reason, preferred giving barley to the Indians in the early years of Indian farming.

The one I note above that I tentatively identify as barley is the only one that in the Pasqua account covers all years. But there are other items in the Pasqua account that I believe may indicate the provision of seed. In the context of the treaty, this only makes sense.

For 1877, in line three, is a figure shaped like a boldface "S" in the middle of a casket-like drawing. If I am correct in interpreting the small circles as each representing one hundred, there were 601 and 1/14 units associated with this. For 1878 (line 6), 1879 (line 8), 1880 (line 9), and 1881 (line 11), the same casket-like drawing appears, but with a figure that looks like a backwards "7" or "2." And, if my numbering understanding is correct, these represent only, respectively, 1 1/14, 1 1/14, 1, and 1 of whatever units in which they were calculated. Though these I think all represent the provision of seed, the disconnect between the first one in 1877 and the subsequent ones seems to me to be significant. Chief Pasqua may have been attempting to represent different kinds of seed.

The casket shape resembles the seed box of some 19th-century seed drills.¹⁰¹ The treaties did not specify that Indians would be provided with

seed drills. But the Indians would have been aware of the use of seed drills in western Canada in the 1870s and 1880s and would have associated the machines with seed.

For 1880 and 1881 are two figures that may represent seeds but that, given the lack of repetition or context, represent difficulty in interpreting. These are two similar versions of what looks like elongated numeral "8"s. Both versions of the numeral-8 figure appear for both years, and they do appear to be different. For 1880, there are 10 of a numeral-8 commodity (line 10), with the numeral somewhat colored-in. There follows immediately (again on line 10) another numeral-8 figure but not colored in and numbering 12 units. For 1881, the numeral-8 that does not tend to be colored-in appears at the end of line 11, numbering eight. The colored-in numeral-8 appears on line 12, numbering two. What this means I am not sure, but nothing seems to fit in context except seed.

Fishing and Hunting Supplies

According to Chief Pasqua's account, the Canadian government assiduously provided fishing and hunting supplies each year, as they were bound to do by Treaty Four. To what extent the government actually fulfilled its responsibilities in that regard for his specific band, from Chief Pasqua's record, I do not know.

The provision of powder and shot is clear in Pasqua's record. Whoever did the subsequent "translation" and appended the penciled notes made the same determination as I do here. In 1877, Pasqua received one unit of powder (end of line 2) and four units of shot (beginning of line 3). After that, the amounts seem to have increased substantially. If my understanding of the small circles meaning hundreds is correct, in 1878, Pasqua received 604 units of powder and 12 units of shot (line 4); in 1879, 303 units of powder and 306 of shot (line 8); in 1880, 302 units of powder and 306 units of shot (line 9); in 1881, only 1 1/14 units of powder and five units of shot (line 13).

Treaty Four stipulated that the government provide the Indians with twine to make fishing nets. Chief Pasqua's record indicates that he received 12 units of fishing supplies in 1877 (line 3); 12 units in 1878 (line 4); nothing in 1879; 12 units in 1880 (line 10); and seven units in 1881 (line 12).

From the government's records, it is clear that the provision of hunting and fishing supplies was one area, probably the only one, where the government regularly gave the Treaty Four Indians much more than the stipulated.¹⁰² By providing the Indians with hunting and fishing supplies, the government avoided having to provide the more expensive farming items, as officials noted occasionally.

Medals and Flags

Chief Pasqua's treaty medal and flag appear for 1879 (line 7). What appears to be the medal is immediately to the left of what is obviously a flag. This represents a significant difference with the official record. Alexander Morris recorded that the Treaty Four Chiefs received their medals and flags immediately after signing the treaty in 1874.¹⁰³ But it could be that there were not enough flags and medals to go around at the signing of Treaty Four or that Pasqua's flag and medal were lost and replaced.

Medals and flags were important symbolically for both the Canadians and the Indians. For the Canadians, they represented the Indians accepting British sovereignty and, as with uniforms, an acceptance of the rule of the Canadian government. For the Indians, they were physical reminders of their treaty relationships with Queen Victoria. The provision of medals has an additional significance related to the implementation of the treaties.

The medals given to treaties One and Two Chiefs in 1871 and 1872 at Red River were small, generic Queen Victoria medals, similar to those awarded at agricultural fairs. As far as the Indians were concerned, these were not sufficient to commemorate such an important matter as a treaty relationship with the Queen. As a replacement for the Treaty Two medal and for Treaty Three, the government engaged a Montreal medallist who produced a large medal modelled on the Confederation Medal.¹⁰⁴ But it was poorly produced, and the Indians viewed it with contempt. At the Treaty Three talks in 1873, the main spokesman, Chief Mawedopenais, told Lieutenant-Governor Morris, according to the newspaper account of the events:

I will now show you a medal that was given to those who made a treaty at Red River by the Commissioner. *He* said it was silver, but *I* do not think it is. I should be ashamed to carry it on my breast over my heart. I think it would disgrace the Queen, my mother, to wear her image on so base a metal as this. [Her the Chief held up the medal and struck it with the back of his knife. The result was anything but the 'true ring,' and made every man ashamed of the petty meanness that had been practised.] Let the medals you give us be of silver – medals that shall be worthy of the high position our Mother the Queen occupies.¹⁰⁵

After that complaint, the government tried again, commissioning medal expert Allan Wyon of London, chief engraver of seals to Queen Victoria. The result was the handsome treaty medal that was given to Chiefs for Treaties Three through Seven.¹⁰⁶

Treaty Medal Front



Treaty Medal Back



The Indians understood and could recognize the attributes of such physical things as medals. They demanded quality, and the government went to considerable effort to satisfy them. But when it came to areas in which the Indians lacked expertise, such as the overwhelmingly important matter of agriculture, the government delayed as much as possible and cut costs as much as possible. The government believed itself able to give the Indians more than what the treaties contained, but the policy was to take a tough line in bargaining. This was obvious, for example, in the instructions to the Treaty Three commissioners that the government was willing to go as high as a \$7 annuity but wanted the commissioners to bargain it down to as close to \$3 as possible.¹⁰⁷

Other Items

Near the beginning of the accounts for 1881 (line 11) is a series of notations representing numbers. Four and then three straight lines represent ones. But there are also seven elongated crosses with small circles at the bottom. Elsewhere in the document when numbers are described the small circles are kept distinctly separate from the crosses. If the circles are ignored, the number would be 77, which could represent the number of families in the band at the time. If the circles are taken as hundreds, the total would be 777. Otherwise, I don't know what number is represented.

There are a few items listed that I do not attempt to identify above. Notable among these are 20 units of figures that look like pipe bowls in

1878 (line 5), 15 units of this item in 1879 (line 8), and 10 units of this item in 1881 (line 11). (The numeral for the first of these has five dots associated with it.) This figure may represent flints and steels, things that were not specified in the treaty but which may have been distributed.

Summary of Items

If Chief Pasqua's record is accurate, it is clear that the supplies he received during these years were well below what the treaty stipulated his band should have received. The deficiencies may have been corrected in subsequent years, but that is unlikely.

Historian Lyle Dick noted that the implements promised the Treaty Four Indians were "simple agricultural tools more suited to a subsistence than a market-oriented agriculture."¹⁰⁸ Even for subsistence agriculture, the treaty provisions were obviously not adequate, a fact the government's own employees of the day sometimes noted.¹⁰⁹ What the Indians at all the treaty talks wanted, and what they trusted the White man would give them in return for sharing the territory, was everything needed for successful farming. The Indians were being asked to give up what had been their economy from time immemorial and switch to the White man's economy. They needed everything the White man used in that environment. But they had little knowledge of what that might be, and the Canadian government gave them no help in that regard. The government's interest was in making treaties that limited its expense. The Treaty Six Indians did somewhat better than did others in promises of agricultural assistance. But that was only because they had the good fortune to hire an excellent interpreter who was also a farmer.

The years Pasqua's record covers are significant. The western numbered treaties were supposed to give the Indians a headstart on the White farmers who would soon flood the West. That is certainly what the Indians expected. It is also what at least some government officials, probably including Alexander Morris, hoped.

Treaty Four was a dismal failure in that regard. The non-Indian population of the Treaty Four area when the treaty was signed, 1874, and when Pasqua began his accounting, 1877, was negligible. It consisted of the few employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, some small Métis communities, some North-West Mounted Police, and the few employees of the Indian Department. By 1881, the last year of Pasqua's accounting, that had begun to change dramatically in western Canada west of Manitoba, but not so much in the Treaty Four area.

In 1881, the total non-Indian population of the three provisional districts of the North-West Territories (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Assiniboia – roughly western Canada west of Manitoba and south of

about 55 degrees latitude) was 5,958. Indians outnumbered them, 25,631, about 80 per cent of the total population.¹¹⁰ Most of the non-Indians settled outside the Treaty Four area along the proposed route of the Canadian Pacific Railway. That route originally followed the North Saskatchewan River in the Treaty Six area, leading to the expansion of towns such as Prince Albert, Battleford, and Edmonton.

But in 1881, the railway route was changed to run across the southern prairies through the Treaty Four area.¹¹¹ That led to the sudden founding of major towns in the Treaty Four area such as Swift Current, Moose Jaw, and Regina. This last became the capital of the North-West Territories in the place of Battleford.¹¹²

By 1885, the non-Indian population of the North-West Territories had mushroomed to 28,192. The Indian population had dropped to 20,170,¹¹³ only about 42 per cent of the total population.¹¹⁴ The change was most dramatic in the Treaty Four area. In the District of Assiniboia, which covered much of the Treaty Four area, there was a non-Indian population of 17,591 in 1885, compared to 4,492 Indians. In the Regina and Qu'Appelle areas, there were 6,884 non-Indians, compared to 2,650 Indians.

Pasqua's record indicates nothing regarding the quality of the goods he received. This was a very contentious point in the period. Indians of Treaties Four and Six very often complained that the government supplied them with sick and/or wild cattle and that the ploughs and other metal goods supplied were often of such inferior quality as to render them useless. Government officials who investigated frequently backed-up the Indian complaints,¹¹⁵ though the more self-serving of the government employees tended to blame Indians' misuse of the tools.

An item considered vital in the treaty provisions that is missing in the Pasqua record is a school. A school was built on the Pasqua reserve in 1884,¹¹⁶ after Pasqua drew the pictographs.

The provision of farm animals and farm equipment from 1877 to 1881 are the only areas in which I can make certain and complete comparisons between Chief Pasqua's accounting and what Treaty Four stipulated. But the following list presumes that all of Paskwaw's band was engaged in farming. Many of the supplies were to be given only to families who were actually farming.

Pasqua's accounting	Treaty Four stipulations
Pair of oxen	1
Cows	2
Bull	1

Pigs	2	0
Ploughs	1	7
Harrows	1	14
Hoes	24	140
Chest of tools	1	1
Pit saw	1	1
Cross-cut saw	1	1
Hand saws	1	5
Spades	12	70
Scythes	12	70
Axes	22	70
Grindstone	1	1
Augers	1	5
Hayfork	1	0

Chief Pasqua Meets Henry Barneby and Arthur Williams

Henry Barneby was lord of the manor at Brandenburg Court in the village of Brandenburg in Herefordshire, England.¹¹⁷ He and two friends left England on May 10, 1883, for a whirlwind tour of North America. Barneby was back in Liverpool on August 28. Even by modern transportation standards, the trip was impressive. Barneby and his friends landed at New York, then they went to (not including most side trips): St. Louis, Denver, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Victoria, the Cascade Mountains, Victoria, Nanaimo, Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Helena, Glyndon (Man.), Winnipeg, Brandon, Qu'Appelle, Regina, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Moose Jaw, Brandon, Winnipeg, St. Paul, Chicago, Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec. The return trip was rushed. One of Barneby's friends, Meyzey Clive, died of typhoid at Winnipeg in August. Barneby estimated he had traveled 18,279 miles.¹¹⁸

Barneby's book gives the impression that the three English gentlemen were on a pleasure trip, and perhaps Barneby was trying to set some kind of record for distance traveled. But judging from the men who accompanied them on the western Canadian leg of their trip, they must also have been doing business. Barneby mentioned that he already owned land near Otterburne, Manitoba, a short distance south of Winnipeg.¹¹⁹

Barneby traveled in the official car of the Ontario-based Midland Railway. With him was George Cox, President of the Midland Railway, and two of the company directors, Robert Jaffray and Arthur Williams. Cox and Jaffray owned the *Toronto Globe*. Jaffray was also vice-president of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company. Williams was a director of the Touchwood and Qu'Appelle Colonization Company. He also owned

land near Brandon, Manitoba, coal land in southern Alberta, settlement land north of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and a subdivision in Minneapolis, Minnesota.¹²⁰ On the boat to New York, the three Englishmen met the charming and eccentric explorer and entrepreneur William Baillie-Grohman. Clive, in particular, was taken with Baillie-Grohman and was probably ready to invest in Baillie-Grohman's scheme to canal through the divide between the northerly flowing Kootenay River and the southerly flowing Columbia River west of the Rockies north of Cranbrook, B.C.¹²¹

Barneby and his companions traveled on the Canadian Pacific Railway line west from Winnipeg to Indian Head, about 65 kilometres east of Regina.¹²² Near Indian Head, on July 21 they visited William Bell's farm, as did probably every other visitor to that part of the country at that time. "Major" Bell's 83-square-mile farm was supposed to be the model of scientific and corporate farming for the prairies.¹²³ Barneby found time in his hectic travel schedule to write a glowing and detailed report about the Bell Farm for the Manitoba Free Press.¹²⁴ From there, they journeyed north to Fort Qu'Appelle. After visiting the Catholic mission at what is now the village of Lebret, east of Fort Qu'Appelle, Barneby and about 20 other tourists went to an Indian camp. Barneby estimated the camp contained about 100 tipis and about 400 people. It was, Barneby wrote, the remnants of a gathering for a Thirst Dance of the week before.¹²⁵

The Thirst Dance (often mistakenly called the "Sun Dance") was the most important ceremony on the Cree and Saulteaux calendar.¹²⁶ It was a time for several bands to get together to socialize and organize. It was also the time for "making braves," when young men would prove their courage through self-torture.¹²⁷ Barneby was disappointed he missed the Thirst Dance. It was a major tourist attraction, with the tourists trying to outdo each other by describing how revolting the ceremony was. In his book, Barneby reprinted a newspaper story about a "Sun Dance." He does not seem to have realized it, but the dance the newspaper described was probably the one Barneby had just missed.¹²⁸ After reading the newspaper story, Barneby professed to believe that his disappointment at missing the show was lessened, "for it must have been a horrible sight."¹²⁹

When they reached the camp, Chief Pasqua hosted to the White visitors,¹³⁰ who were then treated to "a regular 'pow-wow'" in a large tipi. Barneby named seven Chiefs in attendance in addition to Pasqua.¹³¹

Barneby seems to have enjoyed himself at the gathering. He thought the music seemed "superior to that of the Chinese – at least as we had heard it in San Francisco."¹³² He was particularly interested in Chief Pasqua's appearance.

Chief Pasqua wore a Jim Crow hat and feather, a leather jacket trimmed with beads, red trousers made out of a blanket, with black braid round the ankles (there being a tear on one side, through which a large piece of thigh was visible); a long piece of drapery hung from the shoulders, with small flat brass bells attached; he wore moccasins; round his waist was a belt with fire bag (to contain matches and tobacco), his face was painted a bright vermillion, his hair was long and black, he carried a pipe in his hand, and on his breast hung a pair of scissors and a looking-glass in a case; – evidently a present.¹³³

Chief Pasqua made a speech to his visitors, a speech "remarkable for its apparent fluency," so Barneby thought. Then one of the young men "counted coup" by telling of his exploits in battle. Arthur Williams replied for the tourists with a speech that, if Barneby's recording of it is accurate, was silly and condescending even by that day's standards.

We pale-faces from the East are making a journey to the Rocky Mountains, and we have come here to inquire into your welfare. But although pale-faces, we are the children of one mother, the Queen of Great Britain, and we have come to see you, such valiant men, who have fought great battles. We are sorry to hear that you are sometimes hungry, so we have brought you some tea and tobacco, and some vermillion with which to decorate your squaws; and we will send you some flour and bacon on our return. We must now wish you good-bye, and may the great Spirit direct you and keep you in the right path.¹³⁴

Barneby wrote that the flour and bacon were an afterthought, virtually demanded by the Indians. Hungry Indians were not likely to think that tea and tobacco were enough of a gift for a show for the White tourists, and the flour and bacon were probably not much closer to a fair price of admission.

When he wrote about the scene in the tipi, Barneby made his only mention of Pasqua's pictographs.

A few days later I was given a paper drawn by this Chief [Pasqua], showing everything he has received from the Government; it really is a great curiosity.¹³⁵

The summer of 1883 was one of discontent among the Indians throughout the Canadian West. The great buffalo herds had disappeared in 1879, leaving the plains nations in desperation. The government was not quick to come to their aid. In fact, the government saw the increasing hunger as a way to enforce its will on the Indians. There was nothing

in the treaties stipulating that the Indians had to take reserves. The reserves (and the agricultural assistance that went with them) were available if the Indians wanted to take advantage of them.

But as settlement increased in the West, it became more necessary for Indians to be pushed out of the way. Hunger provided the lever. Indians, government officials believed, were inherently nomadic. They had to be forced to settle down. Indians were inherently lazy. They had to be forced to work. Therefore, they would not be fed unless they were on reserve and working, and even then rations were kept short lest full stomachs encouraged laziness.¹³⁶

When Barneby and his friends visited Qu'Appelle, things had been particularly difficult for the local Indians. In February, 1883, Indian Head settler and trader Edwin Brooks wrote his wife back East:

There are lots of them dying on the reserve. They are really in a good many cases starving to death through the neglect of the Government to furnish them supplies. The Indians say they are going West next summer even if they have to fight for it, as they say it is better to die fighting than to be starved.¹³⁷

The government, and especially its local officials in Regina, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney and his assistant, Hayter Reed, did not have the same perception as Edwin Brooks. In January, 1883, the long-time Indian agent who was in charge of the Crooked Lakes Saulteaux reserve, down the Qu'Appelle River from Fort Qu'Appelle, had been fired. His offence was giving too many rations to Indians, especially giving rations to Indians who had not worked for them. The government replaced him with Hilton Keith, a man who would take a harder line. The day before Brooks wrote his wife, tempers flared at Crooked Lakes. Hudson's Bay Company trader N.M.W.J. McKenzie recalled:

The Indians were making stiffer demands on Keith every ration day for more grub. Keith told me what his instructions were, and that he intended to carry them out. I said: "Keith, for God's sake, do not reduce their rations any lower, or there will certainly be trouble." He carried out the Assistant Commissioner's [Reed's] instructions. A few of the Indians died. The others came time and again [sic] asked for more grub which they were denied. Finally they broke into the government storehouse, threw out as much flour and bacon as they wanted, and threw Keith out on top of it.¹³⁸

That resulted in a tense armed confrontation between the Crooked Lakes Saulteaux and the North-West Mounted Police.¹³⁹ Incidents of violence by Indians against government employees and armed confron-

tations would increase until real war broke out in March, 1885, with the North-West Rebellion.

Barneby wrote that he received Chief Pasqua's pictographs "a few days" after he and Williams visited Pasqua and the other Cree and Saulteaux.¹⁴⁰ Other than that vague reference, Barneby did not say when he received the document. He was also vague, perhaps deliberately, about how and why he received it.

It is doubtful that Pasqua drew the panel describing treaty provisions as White men would make accounts, year-by-year. He most likely drew it all at once, from memory covering several years. He kept his accounts (and his entire library) in his head. In his oral-based society, that was perfectly sufficient.

The only reason Pasqua would reduce such thoughts to paper would be to persuade the White man that he had not received all he was due under the treaty.

The document could have been stolen from Pasqua and then perhaps sold to Barneby. More probably, Pasqua gave it to Barneby or had it given to Barneby. He would do that to make his point, to get Barneby to carry Chief Pasqua's message.

Arthur Trefusis Heneage Williams, who accompanied Barneby, was no ordinary tourist and businessman. He was a Member of Parliament, Conservative Party Whip in the House of Commons and a close friend of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Williams was in the West in an abortive effort to revitalize his family fortune with western land investments.¹⁴¹

Barneby was a distinguished White visitor to the Cree-Saulteaux camp in July, 1883, accompanied by another distinguished White man, Arthur Williams. If two important men such as Barneby and Williams could be persuaded to carry Pasqua's message, perhaps the government would do more to live up to the treaty and be more help to the suffering Indians.

Neither Barneby nor Williams would have understood Pasqua's purpose, or understood the meaning and importance of the document. If they had understood, they would not have cared. Barneby was an English gentleman traveler. He was interested in the curiosities of the world, and few things were as curious as North American Indians. As well, at the time of Barneby's travels, the notion of the "disappearing Indian" was gaining currency. Canadian poet and long-time Indian Affairs bureaucrat Duncan Campbell Scott wrote that Indians were members of a "weird and waning race."¹⁴² Barneby was far from the only traveler in the 1880s who sought to see Indians in what was left of their natural and "savage" state. People such as Barneby were increasingly recording the look and the customs and collecting the artifacts of what they thought

was a vanishing race.

After Barneby and Williams met Pasqua, and perhaps at about the same or exactly the same time as Barneby received the pictographs, Williams received a letter. It was labeled "private" and was unsigned and undated. The letter-writer obviously wanted to get a message to the House of Commons and the prime minister.¹⁴³

The letter warned that the Indians were restless. They were complaining increasingly about the quality and quantity of the treaty supplies and other provisions the government was giving them. The letter was relatively mild, especially compared with other reports directed at the government at the same time. The letter-writer thought that the government had been doing reasonably well supplying the Indians.

But the letter-writer obviously wanted to deliver a warning. And, he also obviously wanted to avoid Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney in Regina. He was trying to go over Dewdney's head. Western Canadian Indians had grown very tired of Commissioner Dewdney, and they resented his hardline assistant, Hayter Reed. In 1883, Cree Chiefs of the area south of Edmonton complained to Prime Minister (and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs) John A. Macdonald that Dewdney:

took a rapid run once through our country; some of us had the good or bad luck to catch a flying glimpse of him. He made us all kinds of fine promises, but in disappearing he seems to have tied the hands of the agents, so that none of them can fulfill these promises.¹⁴⁴

Arthur Williams, M.P., was not the right man in whom to entrust a serious message. It is doubtful he had the ability to understand the message. He had impressive Conservative Party credentials. But his only crusade as a member of parliament resulted from a petty dispute with Canadian militia commander, General Richard Luard.

Luard had dared criticize the marksmanship of "parliamentary colonels," those militia commanders who owed their positions to Conservative patronage rather than ability. Williams was a parliamentary colonel. As a result of the insult, he dedicated himself to hounding Luard out of his job as commander of the Canadian militia.¹⁴⁵

Despite his visits with frustrated and sometimes unruly western Indians in 1883, and despite receiving the letter of warning, Williams had nothing to say during House of Commons debates on Indian affairs in 1884. There are no extant letters from him to John A. Macdonald about his western experiences.

Williams did exactly what the letter-writer probably did not want done. Williams simply gave the letter to Indian Commissioner Dewdney, who then identified the letter-writer as "A. Macdonald of Fort Qu'Appelle,"

probably meaning the experienced Hudson's Bay Company Factor at Fort Qu'Appelle, Archibald McDonald.¹⁴⁶

Prime Minister John A. Macdonald did receive the letter addressed to "Col. Williams, M.P." But it came with a much longer covering letter from Edgar Dewdney explaining the Indians would not be complaining except for bad advice from ill-disposed White men and "half-breeds." Dewdney particularly complained about the tendency of Hudson's Bay Company officials to think they knew better than Dewdney's Indian agents did. He, of course, ignored the fact that the Company had more than a century of developing relationships with the plains Indians, relationships that were for the most part friendly and profitable for both parties. Government Indian Department officials were new at their jobs, many of them had received their jobs as patronage, and some were wholly incompetent.¹⁴⁷

Barneby wrote that he sent the document to a friend in Winnipeg to show to someone in the Indian Department there for a "translation."¹⁴⁸ Winnipeg was not the right place to send a document drawn by Chief Pasqua, but Barneby would not have known that.

The Winnipeg Indian Department office was familiar with Manitoba and with the Treaty Three Indians of northwestern Ontario. The Regina office was the one concerned with people such as Chief Pasqua under Treaty Four.

There were major differences between the peoples of the Treaty Three and Treaty Four areas and major differences in any attempt to translate the document based on an understanding of those peoples.

The people of the Treaty Three area were woods-based Ojibwa. The people of the Treaty Four area were mainly Plains Cree, Saulteaux (Plains Ojibwa), and Assiniboine, mainly plains Indians, not woods ones. In the pictographs, plains motifs are clearly evident in the costume of the Indian treaty figure and in the "peace pipe." The pictographs come from Treaty Four, not Treaty Three.

The friend to whom Barneby sent the document was James Kerr, who had treated Barneby's friend, Meyzey Clive, as he was dying of typhoid in Winnipeg in August, 1883.¹⁴⁹ Kerr, a protégé of William Osler, was the West's most prominent doctor. He was Chief Surgeon of the CPR, Medical Health Officer for both the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba, and Medical Supervisor of Indians. The University of Manitoba Faculty of Medicine was being organized in the summer of 1883, and Kerr would become its first dean.¹⁵⁰

Kerr did what was perfectly logical. He gave the document to another prominent Winnipeg resident, George Bryce, a Presbyterian minister. Bryce was an energetic and prolific amateur historian, a founder of

the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society who considered himself an expert on Indians.¹⁵¹ Bryce then loaned the document to someone else, perhaps in the Indian Department, to make a “translation.”

The pencil notations on the document are not in Bryce’s handwriting,¹⁵² but it is clear that the person who wrote them had Treaty Three, not Treaty Four, in mind. Bryce also displayed the document in the historical society’s museum.¹⁵³

In November, 1884, Kerr retrieved the document from Bryce and sent “your treasure” to Barneby in England.¹⁵⁴

George Bryce and Pasqua’s Pictographs

In his printed description of the document,¹⁵⁵ Barneby noted his annoyance with the behavior of the “reverend gentleman” who had ended up with the document and tardily returned it to Barneby in a damaged condition. In polite Victorian fashion, he did not name the minister. It was George Bryce.

Bryce moved from Ontario to Winnipeg in 1871 where he became one of the founders of the University of Manitoba and taught science at the university. He served a term as president of the Royal Society of Canada. Bryce wrote several studies of Manitoba history and of the Treaty Three area of what is now northwestern Ontario.¹⁵⁶

In a speech in the fall of 1884, George Bryce described a document that is too-close-to-be-coincidence to the Barneby-Pasqua document, though Bryce distorted its provenance.¹⁵⁷ In fact, Bryce probably had in his hands the document Barneby collected. In his speech to the Winnipeg YMCA, Bruce said:

As illustrating the native aptness of the Indians I may state that I have before me remarkable examples of their “picture writing.” This is so ingenious that an Indian Chief will keep the whole account of his dealings, and that of his tribe, with the Government with absolute exactness. Before me are the transactions of Mawintopeness, Chief of the Rainy River Indians. On a single page not larger than a sheet of foolscap are the transactions of several years. I am sure this system, which is one of very simple entry, does not occupy one-tenth of the space filled in the Government records of the same affairs. Governor Morris, tall and slender, is recognizable with a gift in his hand; each year has a mark known to the writer; the Chief recording the fact that he has received each year \$5 bounty and \$25 salary, represents an open palm, a piece of money, and three upright crosses each meaning \$10; his flag and medal are represented; his oxen and cattle are rec-

ognizable at least, and so on with his plough, harrow, saws, augers, etc. The same Chief, noted for his craft, represents himself between the trader and the teacher, looking in each direction, showing the need of having an eye on both.¹⁵⁸

In the reference to the Chief being between the trader and the teacher, Bryce was probably referring to the figures at the beginning of Chief Pasqua's treaty panel, though he stretched the image somewhat.

It is clear from Bryce's speech that he knew very little about Indians west of Manitoba. He did, though, know the Indians in the vicinity of Winnipeg and those of the Treaty Three area, particularly Rainy River. Bryce had acquired the document Barneby had collected and simply substituted a Chief he did know for one he did not know. He pretended it was his document and his knowledge. That was not unusual for the day when it came to Indians. Who would catch the lie? There were no Indians in Bryce's audience, and the White men would simply be intrigued by "Indian curiosities."

The speech in which Bryce mentioned the document is typical for its day for the views of Indians, particularly the views of Protestant missionaries. As a minister, Bryce was sympathetic to the "inferior races." The White man owed the Indian for taking the land, but the Indian always made "exorbitant demands" at the treaty talks. The Indians were "naturally averse to labor" and had to be coaxed and cajoled to civilization.

The greatest need, according to Bryce and others of his profession, was Indian education. The Indians were "clamorous" for schools. "In intellectual ability the Indian is much above the average of savage races," and therefore capable of being taught, though the Indian was "not particularly strong as a reasoner."

For Bryce, the Pasqua document was a curiosity, an artifact of a race that would vanish as civilization and Christianity took hold.¹⁵⁹ The document belonged in a museum such as the one of the historical society Bryce founded in Winnipeg.

Conclusion

It would be interesting and useful to know exactly why Chief Pasqua made the pictographs. Did a White man, perhaps Barneby, say to him: "Please show me on paper your understanding of the treaty"? Did Pasqua draw the pictographs without any prompting, thinking that using the White man's powerful magic of writing might enhance his chances of getting better treatment from the government for his people?

The pictographs did not achieve the purpose for which Pasqua prepared them. They were probably designed to persuade White men,

especially the Canadian government, that is was their obligation to treat Indians better by living up to the treaties that had been made.

Pasqua certainly did not intend the document to get lost in Winnipeg, be used publicly as an “Indian curiosity,” then disappear into a private collection in Britain for almost 120 years.

But in resurfacing after all these years, then coming home to Pasqua’s people in Saskatchewan, the pictographs shed light on the Indian understanding of the treaties and on the initial implementation of the treaties. Part of Chief Pasqua’s purpose has been achieved.

Some of what I have written here as a “translation” of the pictographs obviously remains speculation. Elders of the Cree and Saulteaux communities may be able to add explanation of Pasqua’s representations and thinking. Others may be able to add meaning to the symbols of the treaty panel or the specifics of the provisions panel. I welcome additional insight, or criticism of what I have done here. I can be contacted at oldpoges@telus.net.

The Author of This Study

Bob Beal is a historian and ethnohistorian who has a particular interest in Indian treaties. As an employee of the Mi’kmaq Chiefs of Nova Scotia, he researched and wrote extensively about the treaty relationships between the 18th-century British and the Indian nations of the eastern seaboard of North America. He managed research and evidence-preparation in treaty litigation for the Chiefs, including the precedent-setting treaty-rights case of Donald Marshall, Jr.

In the West, Beal was an expert historical witness on Treaty Six and its environment in *Buffalo v. the Queen*, a case that is continuing at the Supreme Court of Canada. He was retained as an expert witness in the recently settled residential schools matter about the relationships between the schools and the treaty promise of education. He wrote the article about Treaty Six for the recently published *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*. For the Government of Canada, Beal (and historian James Morrison) researched and wrote a study of the role of the Crown in the numbered treaty process. He is currently researching and writing a major study of the development of law in Rupert’s Land and “Indian Territory,” and is the author (with law professor Barry Wright) of a chapter about some of the trials resulting from the 1885 rebellion for the forthcoming third volume of *Canadian State Trials*.

Beal continues to research the treaties, with an intent to put Indian treaties in a general North American context. He lives in Edmonton and

teaches general Canadian history and the history of the First Nations of the Americas for Athabasca University.

Notes

1. This article is based on a report and analysis I did for Donald Ellis of the Ellis Gallery, Dundas, Ont., who brokered both the 2000 sale of the document and the subsequent sale to the Pasqua First Nation.
2. In my search of archives and with museums, I found nothing similar.
3. Kyle, Anne. "Pictograph returned to Pasqua Nation." *Regina Leader-Post* June 22, 2007, A3. I thank Pasqua band councilor Delbert Pasqua for keeping me informed about the repatriation.
4. Kyle, "Pictograph returned to Pasqua Nation."
5. Canadian Press. "Pictograph gets \$ 84,000 at auction." *Peterborough Examiner*, Dec. 5, 2000, B11. When the document came up for auction in London, I was in Calgary preparing to testify on behalf of the Samson Cree First Nation in the case *Buffalo v. the Queen*. The Canadian Museum of Civilization informed our team in Calgary that the document had surfaced at the London auction. Morgan Baillargeon, Canadian Museum of Civilization, to Terry Munro, Munro Associates, Calgary, Nov. 1, 2000. I was one of those who attempted to get Canadian museums interested in bidding for the document. I was familiar with Henry Barneby's writing, but I had no idea that the pictographs he collected still existed.
6. Experts in the field tell me that the faded (or rubbed) pencil notations might become clearer under ultraviolet light. Abigail Quandt to Bob Beal, Nov. 11, 2003.
7. Excerpt, Phillips Auctioneers catalogue, included in Baillargeon to Munro, Nov. 1, 2000.
8. Included in Baillargeon to Munro, Nov. 1, 2000. The "friend" was CPR doctor James Kerr and the "reverend gentleman" was George Bryce, both discussed below.
9. Barneby, W. Henry. *Notes from a journal in North America in 1883*. Hereford: *Hereford Times*, 1884. First published in the *Hereford Times*, Dec. 29, 1883.
10. Barneby, W. Henry. *Life and Labour in the Far, Far West: Being Notes of a Tour in the Western States, British Columbia, Manitoba, and the North-West Territory*. London: Cassel & Company, 1884. The relevant excerpts from this work appear as Appendix B of this report.
11. "Our Indians: Discussion as to Their Condition and Wants." *Mani-*

toba Free Press, Dec. 9, 1884, pp.1, 3. Bryce, George. "Our Indians": Delivered before the Y.M.C.A., Winnipeg, December 1st, 1884. Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press, 1884. The pamphlet is reproduced as Appendix C of this report.

12. I need to thank several people in particular who helped me decode the document: Cree-Métis Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper, Edmonton auctioneer Arthur Clausen, former Manitoba farm boy Dennis Fruck, agricultural historian Randy Kvill, and Saddle Lake Cree Joe Gladue. Pasqua band councillor Delbert Pasqua tells me the Elders will be working with the pictographs. They may well come up with a somewhat different "translation" than I do here.
13. At least to the American War of Independence. The promulgation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, designed to stop settler incursions on Indian land west of the Thirteen Colonies, was one of the irritants that led to that war.
14. I use the terms "British" and "English" specifically. It was people of the British Isles who colonized the Americas and managed their empire. But it was the English sovereign who was sovereign over American territory, not, for example, the Scottish sovereign, despite the fact that those two were the same person after the Crowns united in 1603. It was English law that applied in the Americas, not the law of other parts of Britain.
15. The British did often call the American tribes "nations." But they did not regard the Indian treaties as being quite analogous to international treaties.
16. For a thorough examination of the British-Iroquois Covenant Chain relationship, see: Jennings, Francis. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744*. New York: Norton & Company, 1984.
17. For a thorough examination of these treaty relationships, and particularly their connections with land and trade, see: Beal, Bob. *Wetapeksi Maqmikem: Report of the Nova Scotia Aboriginal Title Project*. Shubenacadie, N.S.: Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Research Centre, 1997.
18. "Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians," Aug. 11, 1693. Public Records Office (London). Colonial Office 5, v.751, no.37(i).
19. "Submission and Agreement of the Delegates of the Eastern Indians," Dec. 15, 1725. Public Records Office (London). Colonial Office 5, v.898, 173r-174v.
20. See: Beal, *Wetapeksi Maqmikem*.
21. Wampum belts are discussed, usually somewhat briefly and

inspecifically, in most works about the early relationships eastern Indians established with Europeans. A study that highlights the use of wampum belts in the context of the American War of Independence is: Schaaf, Gregory. *Wampum Belts and Peace Trees: George Morgan, Native Americans, and Revolutionary Diplomacy*. Golden, Col.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1990.

22. The Proclamation is widely printed, including in *Revised Statutes of Canada 1985*, Appendix One. The translation into French in that publication is a poor one. A good French translation appeared in *House of Commons Sessional Papers (CSP) 1919*, no.29a, pp.322-9, "Report of the Public Archives for the year 1918." The Proclamation was originally issued in English only.
23. Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders. From 1680 to 1890*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891, v.1, pp.5-10.
24. Morris, Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including the negotiations on which they were based, and other information relating thereto*. Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co., 1880, pp.299-300.
25. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.303-9.
26. This used to be termed the First Riel Rebellion. Historians now generally recognize that Louis Riel's provisional government at Red River had at least a patina of legal legitimacy, as both the Canadian and Imperial governments recognized at the time. The events of 1869-70 are covered thoroughly in: Stanley, George. *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961 (first published, 1936), pp.19-143.
27. Provencher to [Mills], Dec. 31, 1873, *CSP 1875*, no.8, p.56. The report was written in French and translated for the *Sessional Papers*. Provencher trained as a lawyer but was better known as a journalist. He wrote about constitutional law. Landry, Kenneth. "Joseph-Alfred-Norbert Provencher." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*. Montreal and Toronto: Laval University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1982, v.11.
28. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.313-20, 126-7. The original written Treaties One and Two did not contain everything that had been promised. They were revised in 1875 to incorporate the so-called "Outside Promises."
29. The negotiations for what became Treaty Three began in 1870 as a result of Indian complaints about incursions on their territory, particularly in the form of troop movements in response to the Red River Resistance and the building of a route between Fort William (now Thunder Bay, Ontario) and Red River (now Winnipeg, Mani-

- toba). Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.44-52.
30. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.320-6.
 31. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.330-5.
 32. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.342-8.
 33. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.351-60.
 34. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.368-74.
 35. Canada. *Treaties and Surrenders*, v.3 (1912), pp.290-3.
 36. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.351-60.
 37. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.354.
 38. Beal, Bob. *Expectations, Understandings, and Realities: Treaty Eight and Residential Schools*, a report prepared for Treaty Eight clients in the recently settled residential schools litigation.
 39. See, for example, Morris to Campbell, Oct. 18, 1873. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG-12, B2.
 40. See, for example, Campbell to Morris, Aug. 5, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B2, item 38; Campbell to Morris, Aug. 6, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B2 item 39; Campbell to Morris, Aug. 14, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B2, item 41. Interior Minister Alexander Campbell blamed part of the delay on his boss, "Old Tomorrow," John A. Macdonald. He told Morris: "We both of us know in the past that his [Macdonald's] policy of delay has very often succeeded and we know also how partial he always is to that course." Campbell to Morris, Nov. 29, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B2, item 81.
 41. Christie to Archibald, Apr. 13, 1871. Printed in: Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, 169-70.
 42. Blackfoot Chiefs to Morris, [fall 1875], enclosed in Irvine to Morris, June 12, 1876, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG-12, B1, item 1265. The Chiefs mention that Archibald told them this in a letter in the winter of 1871.
 43. A thorough overview of the negotiations is: Taylor, John Leonard. *Treaty Four (1874)*. Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985. There were three adhesions to Treaty Four in 1874 and 1875. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.336-8.
 44. The Sioux were not included in treaty negotiations because they were refugees from the United States, and the Canadian government did not consider that they held Aboriginal Title in this country.
 45. Dickason, Olive Patricia. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.171. Ray, Arthur J. *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, pp.3-6.

46. Amelia (McLean) Paget, who knew both the Plains Cree and the Saulteaux well and who spoke their languages, wrote an excellent book about them in the early 20th century. Paget, Amelia M. *People of the Plains*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1909.
47. Tyler, Kenneth J. "Pasqua." *DCB*, 1982, v.11. The name translates as "The Plain."
48. Plains, Woods, and Swampy Cree are different dialects of the same language.
49. Atwood, Mae, ed. *In Rupert's Land: Memoirs of Walter Traill*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970, p.89.
50. Treaty commission secretary M.G. Dickieson's account of the negotiations at Fort Qu'Appelle are in: Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.87-123. Frank Larned Hunt, an American lawyer living in Red River who was married to the sister of one of the Headmen involved in the Treaty Four negotiations, wrote an intriguing, and little-noticed, eyewitness account of the proceedings. Hunt, F.L. "Notes of the Qu'Appelle Treaty," *Canadian Monthly and National Review*, v.9, no.3, Mar. 1876, pp.173-81.
51. Tobias, John L. "Gabriel Coté," *DCB*, 1982, v.11.
52. In 1899, during discussions of Treaty Eight, a northern Cree Chief told a missionary: "Le gouvernement nous propose de lui céder notre pays, en retour il nous offre de l'argent. Or moi, je n'ai pas fait ce pays, c'est le bon Dieu qui a fait le ciel et la terre. Donc, si je reçois cet argent, je me rendrai coupable de vol, puisque je serai censé vendre une chose qui ne m'appartient pas." ["The government proposes that we give up our country to them, in return offers us money. However myself, I did not make this country, it is the good God that made the heaven and the earth. Then, if I receive this money, I make myself guilty of theft, since I would be selling something that did not belong to me."] Grouard, Emile. *Souvenirs de mes Soixante ans d'Apostolat dans l'Athabaska-Mackenzie*. Lyon: Oeuvre Apostolique de M.I., 1923, p.374.
53. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.102-3. The Hudson's Bay Company Charter of 1670 granted the Company "free and common socage" of the land described as Rupert's Land, akin to modern "fee simple." But in order for the Company to exercise its land rights and titles, it was necessary that the Company first secure surrender of Aboriginal Title, something it did not do, with the exception of the treaty the Earl of Selkirk signed with Indians in the Red River area in 1817. McPherson, B.H., "Revisiting the Manor of East Greenwich," *American Journal of Legal History*, v.42, no.1 (Jan. 1998), pp.35-56. This subject is part of an ongoing study by Bob Beal into the devel-

- opment of law in Rupert's Land and "Indian Territory."
54. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.106.
 55. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.110-2.
 56. Hind, Henry Youle. *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*. London: Longman, Green, 1860, v.1, p.360.
 57. Cowie, Isaac. *The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867-1874 on the Great Buffalo Plains*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1913, pp.289-94. Atwood, ed., In Rupert's Land, pp.88-9. Beal, Bob. "The Buffalo Robe Trade." In: Beal, R.F, J.E. Foster and Louise Zuk. *The Métis Hivernement Settlement at Buffalo Lake, 1872-1877*, Alberta Culture, 1987, pp. 80-103.
 58. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.119-20.
 59. Taylor, *Treaty Four*, p.18.
 60. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.122-3.
 61. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.330-5. The original treaty signed at Fort Qu'Appelle is at National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG-10, v.1846, no.135, IT 272.
 62. Friesen, Jean. "Alexander Morris." *DCB*, 1982, v.11.
 63. And, he was pompous about this. He got into an argument that now seems humorous with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald about whether Lieutenant-Governor Morris should be addressed as "Your Excellency" or "Your Honor." Macdonald insisted upon the latter, much over Morris' objections. Macdonald told Morris he was "only mediately" the representative of the Queen, through the Governor-General. Macdonald to Morris, Feb. 18, 1873, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), MG-12, B2, item 22.
 64. This was such a prominent image that I and James Morrison entitled our report to the Government of Canada about the numbered treaty process, *Shaking the Monarch's Hand*. Morrison, James and Bob Beal. *Shaking the Monarch's Hand: The Crown and the Early Numbered Treaties*. Ottawa: Treaty Policy Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1999.
 65. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.90, 95.
 66. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.97, 113.
 67. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.92.
 68. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, pp.95-6.
 69. Printed in Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.333.
 70. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.124.
 71. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.211.

72. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.204.
73. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.233.
74. See the discussion of medals below in this article.
75. The tree symbolism is discussed in: Schaaf, *Wampum Belts and Peace Trees*.
76. See, Beal, *Expectations, Understandings, and Realities: Treaty Eight and Residential Schools*.
77. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.355.
78. The statistics gathered by the newly created Saskatchewan District Board of Health in 1871 show the death rate among the Blackfoot-speakers and their Sarcee allies to have been between four and five times that of the death rate among the Cree and their Assiniboine allies. But those figures should be used with caution, and there are reasons for the different rates that I do not mention here. The health board's figures are in Begg, Alexander. *History of the North-West*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1894, v.2, p.231.
79. Mandelbaum, David. *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographical, Historical, and Comparative Study*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979, p.173. [First published: 1940.]
80. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.97.
81. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.198.
82. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.240.
83. Dempsey, Hugh A. *Big Bear: The End of Freedom*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1984, p.74. Before he met Big Bear, Morris had told the Treaty Six Indians: "we do not want to tie you down." Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.233.
84. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.215.
85. When Methodist minister John McDougall spoke to Indians, he "talked of law and government and civilization and Christianity" (in that order). McDougall, John. *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1903, p.175. In his books of reminiscences, McDougall made similar comments in many situations.
86. By 1884, slightly fewer than half the families of Pasqua's band were actually farming, the government reported. *CSP 1885*, no.3, p.204. There were then 273 members of the Pasqua band. *CSP 1885*, no.3, p.198.
87. Pasqua and his band had attempted some farming at Leech Lake. Tyler, "Pasqua." But that was before the treaty, and the band moved to start over at Qu'Appelle.
88. *CSP 1879*, no.7, p.66.
89. *CSP 1879*, no.7, p.66.
90. *CSP 1879*, no.7, pp.56-65.

91. Barneby, *Notes from a Journal*, p.22.
92. Indian Commissioner David Laird suggested in 1877 that carts and harness be supplied to Treaty Four Indians to complement the “cattle.” Laird to Mills, Jan. 4, 1877, NAC, RG-10, v.3641, file 7570.
93. Christie and Dickieson to Mills, Oct. 7, 1875, PAM, MG-12, B1, item 1102. Paskwaw decided to move to Qu’Appelle in 1879. *CSP 1880*, no. 4, p.107.
94. *CSP 1883*, no. 5, p.205.
95. *CSP 1882*, no. 6, pp.46-7.
96. *CSP 1884*, no. 4, p.71. The band also bought a mower and a rake. *CSP 1884*, no. 4, p.75.
97. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.219.
98. I am grateful to Cree-Métis Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper and my uncle, mixed-farmer Harold Doble, for sharing their knowledge about raising cattle and pigs.
99. Requisition, Feb. 23, 1877, NAC, RG-10, v.3641, file 7,570.
100. Macoun, John. *Manitoba and the Great North-West*, 2nd ed. Guelph: World Publishing, 1882, pp.216-20. Botanist Macoun was probably the leading expert on the Canadian West of the day, but was prone to exaggeration in his efforts to promote the country. Waiser, W. A. “John Macoun.” *DCB*, 1998, v.14. Wheat did not become a truly reliable crop in western Canada until the development of the Red Fife variety in about 1882 and then the Marquis variety in the early-20th century. D. A. MacGibbon, “The Adaptation of Wheat to Northern Regions,” *Pacific Affairs*, v. 7, no. 4, Dec. 1934, pp.415-24.
101. Randy Kvill, curator of Documentary Collections and Agriculture at the Reynolds-Alberta Museum, confirmed my comparison of this image to seed drills.
102. Indian Commissioner David Laird noted in 1877 that the expenditure on ammunition and twine for Treaty four was \$1,500, double the \$750 promised in the treaty. He said this resulted from initially underestimating the number of Indians in the Treaty Four area, and he advised that this level of expenditure continue. Laird to Mills, Mar. 6, 1877, NAC, RG-10, v.3641, file 7570. But in 1881, the government spent \$ 3,038.80 on ammunition and twine for the Treaty Four Indians. *CSP 1882*, no.6, part 2, p.123.
103. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.87.
104. Morin, Victor. “Les médailles décernées aux d’Amérique,” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, ser.3, v.9, 1915, Section 1, pp.277-353.
105. Morris, *Treaties of Canada*, p.74. Italics and brackets in original.
106. Morin, Victor. “Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d’Amérique.”

107. Campbell to Morris, Aug. 5, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B1, item 377; Campbell to Morris, Aug. 13, 1873, PAM, MG-12, B1, item 394. The Treaty Three annuity was \$5. Morris, Treaties of Canada, p. 324. The Indians of the Treaty Three area had initially asked for an annuity of \$15. "Demands made by Indians...as their terms for Treaty," Jan. 22, 1869, PAM, MG-12, B1, item 509.
108. Dick, Lyle. *Farmers "Making Good": The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920*. Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989, p.21.
109. For example, Edmonton Indian Agent James Stewart noted in 1880 that the provision of four oxen per band in Treaty Six, double the number promised in Treaty Four, "is by no means sufficient." *CSP 1881*, no.14, pp.103-4. Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney reported that the numbers of oxen and ploughs in Treaty Four were insufficient. *CSP 1882*, no.6, p.41.
110. Canada, Department of Agriculture. *Census of Canada, 1880-81*. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1882-5, v.1, pp.300-1.
111. Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984, p.178.
112. Waiser, Bill. *Saskatchewan: A New History*, Calgary, Fifth House, 2005, p.51.
113. The reason for the drop in Indian population is unclear. The 1881 figure may have been over-estimated.
114. Canada, Department of Agriculture. *Census of the three provisional districts of the North-West Territories*, Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1886, pp.10-1.
115. See, for example: White, Thomas. "Chronicles by the Way." *Montreal Gazette*, Sept. 29, Oct. 4, Oct. 6, 1879. White was a Conservative Member of Parliament who was a favorite of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Unlike Arthur Williams, M.P., in 1883, when White toured the West, he reported what he discovered, particularly with regard to Indian conditions and the implementation of the treaties.
116. *CSP 1885*, no.3, p.66.
117. Barry, Bill. *People Places: The Dictionary of Saskatchewan Place Names*. People Places Publishing, 2003. This book says that Barneby left his mark on the Saskatchewan landscape with the naming of the town of Brandenburg, southeast of Yorkton. But it is also possible the town was named after Lord Brandenburg, a stockholder in the Manitoba and North-West Railway Company. George Charnock to Bob Beal, Nov. 25, 2005. I am grateful to Herefordshire local historian George Charnock for sharing the results of his research with me.

118. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.xi-xvi, 380-94, 395-6. "Obituary. Death of a Well-known English Traveler," *Manitoba Free Press*, Aug. 16, 1883, p. 10. Barneby undoubtedly wrote the obituary. It also appears in his book, pp.391-4.
119. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.197.
120. Beeby, Dean. "Robert Jaffray." *DCB*, 1998, v.14. Bliss, Michael. "George Augustus Cox." *DCB*, 1998, v.14. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.192, 221, 391-4. Williams Family Fonds, Archives of Ontario, MU3218, MU3219, MU3223. I am not sure if Williams owned all this land in the summer of 1883 or acquired it subsequently. The Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company was one of the first and one of the great coal companies of the southern Canadian Rockies. It merged with Kaiser Coal in the late 1960s.
121. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.391-4. Baillie-Grohman wrote an appendix to Barneby's book touting the East Kootenay region of British Columbia where he was hoping to build his canal. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.397-424. The remains of Baillie-Groham's abortive effort are now a park at Canal Flat, B.C.
122. The railway was completed across the prairies in the summer of 1883, though it would not be complete across northern Ontario and through the mountains until the fall of 1885.
123. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.207-9. Waiser, W.A. "William Robert Bell." *DCB*, 1998, v.14. Bell also owned the Indian Head townsite. The most unusual feature of the farm was its round stone barn that had rifle slits instead of windows. Major Bell was afraid of Indian attack. Locals say that a tunnel once led from the farmhouse to the stone barn. The stone barn, now dilapidated, is the only structure standing from the Bell Farm on its original site. A laborer's cabin from the Bell Farm is now on the grounds of the Indian Head museum. The Bell Farm experiment ended in failure. Danysk, Cecilia. "Corporate Agriculture vs. Family Farms: Qu'Appelle Valley Squatters and the Contest for Rural Identity," paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Edmonton, Alberta, 2000.
124. "The Bell Farm," *Manitoba Free Press*, July 26, 1883, p.10. As was usual, this article was not bylined. But it is obviously Barneby's work. It is surprising that he did not include part of this account in his book.
125. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.211-4. In Regina after they left the Qu'Appelle area, Barneby and his friends visited Nicholas Flood Davin, proprietor of the new publication, the *Regina Leader*, and gave him accounts of their adventures. "A Distinguished Party," *Regina Leader*, July 26, 1883, p.4.

126. Barneby did not know the difference between Cree and Saulteaux, and he thought all the Indians he met at Qu'Appelle were Cree. In fact, the camp was quite mixed between the two peoples.
127. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree*, pp.183-99.
128. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.258-61. The story appeared in the *Regina Leader*, probably just before Barneby arrived in the area. Thirst Dances were major events that did not happen often. The one the newspaper described was probably the one Barneby missed. The *Manitoba Free Press* picked up the *Leader's* story. *Manitoba Free Press*, Jul. 31, 1883. For tourists, that particular Thirst Dance was even more revolting than usual because a woman was initiated as a brave, a rare but not unknown occurrence. The newspaper correspondent thought the woman was being punished for some terrible crime.
129. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.261. The other Chiefs Barneby listed were (in Barneby's transcriptions and translations of the names): Côté (The Coast), Keechchona (The Keys), Muscowpetung (Little Black Bear), Pepekens (Eagle), Okanes (Thigh-bones), and Kawakatoos (Poor Man). A few days later at Moose Jaw, Barneby spent some time with Cree Chief Piapot. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.233-6.
130. The fact that Pasqua hosted the visitors indicates that he was the senior Chief in a combined camp. Hierarchy among the Cree and Saulteaux Chiefs was consensual rather than formal. But a hierarchy was recognized, and one of the duties of the most senior Chief was to host visitors.
131. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.215.
132. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.215.
133. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.216-7. Barneby gave a somewhat different account of Paskwaw's attire to the *Regina Leader* a couple of days after the visit. "Pasqua was gloriously attired in beaded robes, glowing with all the colors of the rainbow. He had on his head one of the most beautiful pieces of fur I ever saw. He had hanging round his neck as ornaments a looking-glass and a pair of nail scissors." "A Distinguished Party," *Regina Leader*, July 26, 1883, p.4.
134. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, pp.218-9.
135. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.217.
136. Tobias, John L. "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885." *Canadian Historical Review*, v.64, no.4 (Dec. 1983), pp.519-48. This article has been reprinted widely.
137. Edwin to Nellie Brooks, Feb. 19, 1883, Saskatchewan Archives Board,

- R-17. Brooks would become one of the jurors at the trial of Louis Riel in 1885, the only one of the six jurors who spoke French.
138. McKenzie, N.M.W.J. *Men of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Fort William, 1921, p.116.
139. Beal, Bob and Rod Macleod. *Prairie Fire: the 1885 North-West Rebellion*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994, pp.81-5.
140. Barneby, *Notes from a Journal*, p.22.
141. This conclusion is obvious in an examination of the voluminous Williams family papers at the Archives of Ontario.
142. Scott, Duncan Campbell. "Onondaga Madonna." *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951, pp.133-4.
143. The letter addressed to Williams was enclosed in Dewdney to Macdonald, Oct. 6, 1883, NAC, RG-26A, v.211, 89933-40.
144. The letter was printed in the *Edmonton Bulletin*, Feb. 3, 1883. Catholic priest Constantin Scollen wrote the letter for the Chiefs.
145. Morton, Desmond. "Arthur Trefusis Heneage Williams." *DCB*, 1982, v.11. A fuller biography appears in: Rose, George Maclean. *Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, Rose Publishing, 1888, pp.153-5. And see the character sketch of Williams in: Beal and Macleod, *Prairie Fire*, pp.258-60.
146. Dewdney to Macdonald, Oct. 6, 1883, NAC, RG-26A, v.211, 89933-40. Williams probably gave the letter to Dewdney when he and Barneby visited the Lieutenant-Governor in Regina a short time after they had been at Qu'Appelle. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.232.
147. Chief Pasqua and Arthur Williams had a later connection that neither would have appreciated. They both played important roles in the North-West Rebellion of 1885, Pasqua by staying out of it and Williams by getting deeply into it. Despite the desperation and instincts of many of their people, Pasqua and the other Chiefs of the Qu'Appelle area decided not to participate in the 1885 rebellion. That was due to the fact that Canadian militia commander General Fred Middleton, partly by good luck and partly by good management, got a significant body of troops to Fort Qu'Appelle just a couple of days after rebellion broke out on March 26, 1885. That surprised and intimidated the Chiefs. Williams commanded an Ontario battalion in the rebellion. In defiance of his general's orders, Williams led the charge on May 12, 1885, that defeated the Métis at Batoche. Shortly after, Williams died of illness as the troops were moving in a vain attempt to capture Cree Chief Big Bear. These events are covered in Beal and Macleod, *Prairie Fire*.
148. See the story about the document quoted in the introduction to this

- article.
149. Barneby, *Life and Labour*, p.385.
 150. Mitchell, Ross and T. Kenneth Thorlakson, "History of Canadian Surgery: James Kerr, 1848-1911 and Harry Hyland Kerr, 1881-1963, Pioneer Canadian-American Surgeons," *Canadian Journal of Surgery*, v.9, July 1966, pp.213-20. James Kerr to Henry Barneby, Nov. 3, 1884, Herefordshire Public Records Office, F99-135.
 151. Morgan, Henry J. *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography*, Toronto, William Briggs, 1898, pp.121-2.
 152. See, for example: Bryce to Laurier, Apr. 20, 1898, NAC, MG-26G, v.74, 22936-8.
 153. Barneby, printed description of the document, quoted in full above in this article. Kerr to Barneby, Nov. 3, 1884.
 154. Kerr to Barneby, Nov. 3, 1884.
 155. Quoted in full above in this article.
 156. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, pp.121-2, and the website of the Manitoba Historical Society.
 157. Bryce, "*Our Indians*."
 158. Bryce, "*Our Indians*", p.4.
 159. Indians had already virtually disappeared in Bryce's hands. In his history of Manitoba and in his history of the Hudson's Bay Company, Indians are absent to an extent unusual even for Bryce's day. Bryce, George. *A History of Manitoba, Its Resources and People*. Toronto: The Canada History Company, 1906. Bryce, George. *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1900.

Appendix A**Treaty No. 4**

Articles of a Treaty made and concluded this fifteenth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories; the Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and William Josphéh Christie, Esquire, of Brockville, Ontario, of the one part; and the Cree, Saulteaux and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs and Headmen, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said territory have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, have convened at a meeting at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by her Majesty's said Commissioners that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, trade and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of Her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty and between them and Her Majesty's other subjects, and that Her Indian people may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and Headmen, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for their faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them the said Indians, have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: Ka-ki-shi-way, or "Loud Voice" (Qu'Appelle River); Pis-qua, or "The Plain" (Leech Lake); Ka-wey-ance, or "The Little Boy" (Leech Lake); Ka-kee-na-wup, or "One that sits like an Eagle" (Upper Qu'Appelle Lakes); Kus-kee-tew-mus-coo-mus-

qua, or "Little Black Bear" (Cypress Hills); Ka-ne-on-us-ka-tew, or "One that walks on four claws" (Little Touchwood Hills); Cau-ah-ha-cha-pew, or "Making ready the Bow" (South side of the South Branch of the Saskatchewan); Kii-si-caw-ah-chuck, or "Day-Star" (South side of the South Branch of the Saskatchewan); Ka-na-ca-toose, or "The Poor Man" (Touchwood Hills and Qu'Appelle Lakes); Ka-kii-wis-ta-haw, or "Him that flies around" (towards the Cypress Hills); Cha-ca-chas (Qu'Appelle River); Wah-pii-moose-too-siis, or "The White Calf" (or Pus-coos) (Qu'Appelle River; Gabriel Cote, or Mee-may, or "The Pigeon" (Fort Pelly).

And thereupon in open council the different bands, having presented the men of their choice to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and Headmen, for the purpose aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described.

And whereas the said commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say:-

Commencing at a point on the United States frontier due south of the northwestern point of the Moose Mountains; thence due north to the said point of said mountains: thence in a north-easterly course to a point two miles due west of fort Ellice; thence in a line parallel with and two miles westward from the Assiniboine River to the mouth of the Shell River; thence parallel to the said river and two miles distant therefrom to its source; thence in a straight line to a point on the western shore of Lake Winnipegosis, due west from the most northern extremity of Waterhen Lake; thence east to the centre of Lake Winnipegosis; thence northwardly, through the middle of the said lake (including Birch Island), to the mouth of Red Deer River; thence westwardly and southwestwardly along and including the said Red Deer River and its lakes, Red Deer and Etoimaini, to the source of its western branch; thence in a straight line to the source of the northern branch of the Qu'Appelle; thence along and including said stream to the forks near Long Lake; thence along and including the valley of the west branch of the Qu'Appelle to the South Saskatchewan; thence along and including said river to the mouth of Maple Creek; thence southwardly along said creek to a point opposite the western extremity of the Cypress Hills; thence due south to the international boundary; thence east along the said boundary to the place of commencement. Also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wheresoever situated within Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them. To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees, through the said Commissioners, to assign reserves for said Indians, such reserves to be se-

lected by officers of Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada appointed for that purpose, after conference with each band of the Indians, and to be of sufficient area to allow one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families; provided, however, that it be understood that, if at the time of the selection of any reserves, as aforesaid, there are any settlers within the bounds of the lands reserved for any band, Her Majesty retains the right to deal with such settlers as She shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to the Indians; and provided, further, that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any part thereof, or any interest or right therein, or appurtenant thereto, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of by the said Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians, with the consent of the Indians entitled thereto first had and obtained, but in no wise shall the said Indians, or any of them, be entitled to sell or otherwise alienate any of the lands allotted to them as reserves.

In view of the satisfaction with which the Queen views the ready response which Her Majesty's Indian subjects have accorded to the invitation of Her said Commissioners to meet them on this occasion, and also in token of their general good conduct and behaviour, She hereby, through Her Commissioners, makes the Indians of the bands here represented a present, for each Chief of twenty-five dollars in cash, a coat and a Queen's silver medal; for each Headman, not exceeding four in each band, fifteen dollars in cash and a coat; and for every other man, woman and child twelve dollars in cash; and for those here assembled some powder, shot, blankets, calicoes, strouds and other articles.

As soon as possible after the execution of this treaty Her Majesty shall cause a census to be taken of all the Indians, inhabiting the tract hereinbefore described, and shall, next year, and annually afterwards for ever, cause to be paid in cash at some suitable season to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose, within the territory ceded, each Chief twenty-five dollars, each Headman not exceeding four to a band, fifteen dollars; and to every other Indian man, woman and child, five dollars per head; such payment to be made to the heads of families for those belonging thereto, unless for some special reason it be found objectionable.

Her Majesty also agrees that each Chief and each Headman, not to exceed four in each band, once in every three years during the term of their offices shall receive a suitable suit of clothing, and that yearly and every year She will cause to be distributed among the different bands included in the limits of this treaty powder, shot, ball and twine, in all to the value of seven hundred and fifty dollars; and each Chief shall receive hereafter, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band thereof who are now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter settle on their reserves and commence to break up the land, that is to say: two hoes, one spade, one scythe and one axe for every family so actually cultivating, and enough seed wheat, barley, oats and potatoes to plant such land as they have broken up; also one plough and two harrows for every ten families so cultivating as aforesaid, and also to each Chief for the use of his band as aforesaid, one yoke of oxen, one bull, four cows, a chest of ordinary carpenter's tools, five hand saws, five augers, one cross-cut saw, one pit-saw, the necessary files and one grindstone, all the aforesaid articles to be given, once for all, for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

Further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve allotted to each band as soon as they settle on said reserve and are prepared for a teacher.

Further, Her Majesty agrees that within the boundary of the Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted, to preserve Her Indian subjects, inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within the North-West Territories, from the evil effects of intoxicating liquor, shall be strictly enforced.

And further, Her Majesty agrees that Her said Indians shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country, acting under the authority of Her Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining or other purposes, under grant or other right given by Her Majesty's said Government.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and Her said Indian subjects that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or building of whatsoever nature may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made to the Indians for the value of any improvements thereon, and an equivalent in land or money for the area of the reserve so appropriated.

And the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen, on their own behalf and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Maj-

esty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, that they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and between themselves and other tribes of Indians and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians, Half-breeds, or Whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract, or any part thereof, and that they will assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Her Majesty's said Commissioners, and the said Indian Chiefs and Headmen, have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at Qu'Appelle, this day and year herein first above written.

Signed by the Chiefs and Headmen within named in presence of the following witnesses, the same having been first read and explained by Charles Pratt:

W. OSBORNE SMITH, C.M.G.	KA-WEZAUCE,
Lt.-Col. D.A.G. Commg.	his x mark
Dominion Forces in North-West.,	JOSEPH MCKAY,
PASCAL BRELAND,	DONALD McDONALD,
EDWARD MCKAY,	A. McDONALD,
CHARLES PRATT,	Capt. Provl. Battn. Infantry,
PIERRE POITRAS,	GEO. W. STREET,
BAPTIST DAVIS,	Ens. Provl. Battn. Infantry,
his x mark	ALFRED CODD, M.D.,
PIERRE DENOMME,	Surgeon Provl. Battn. Infantry,
his x mark	W.M. HERCHMER, Captain,
ALEXANDER MORRIS,	C. DE COUYES, Ensign,
Lt.-Gov. North-West Territories,	JOS. POITRON, x
DAVID LAIRD,	M.G. DICKIESON,
Indian Commissioner,	Private Secy. Min. of Interior,
WILLIAM J. CHRISTIE,	PETER LAPIERRE,
his x mark	HELEN M. McLEAN,
KA-KII-SHI-WAY,	FLORA GARRIOUGH,
his x mark	JOHN COTTON,
PIS-QUA,	Lt. Canadian Artillery
his x mark	

JOHN ALLAN,	KA-WA-CA-TOOSE,
Lt. Provl. Battn. Infantry	his x mark
KA-KEE-NA-WUP,	KA-KU-WIS-TA-HAW,
his x mark	his x mark
KUS-KEE-TEW-MUS-COO-	CHA-CA-CHAS,
MUS-QUA,	his x mark
his x mark	WA-PII-MOOSE-TOO-SUS,
KA-NE-ON-US-KA-TEW,	his x mark
his x mark	GABRIEL COTÉ OR MEE-MAY,
CAN-AH-HA-CHA-PEU,	his x mark
his x mark	
KII-SI-CAW-AH-CHUCK,	
his x mark	

Appendix B
Excerpts: Barneby, *Life and Labour*

LIFE AND LABOUR
IN THE
FAR, FAR WEST:

Being Notes of a Tour
in
THE WESTERN STATES, BRITISH COLUMBIA, MANITOBA,
AND THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

BY
W. HENRY BARNEBY.

WITH SPECIALLY PREPARED MAP, SHOWING THE AUTORUN ROUTE.

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1884.

CHAPTER XII.

AMONG THE REDSKINS.

Indian Settlers—A Roman Catholic Mission—The Cree Indian Camp—Survival of Cruel Customs—A Ceremonious Reception—Indian Music—Dog Show—Musical Accompaniment to a Speech—Indian Beaves on the Beast—The Pale-faces respond—An Embarrassing Offer.

On our arrival at Fort Qu'Appelle we went to a framed house to see about rooms, though we had expected to have to put up with a tent hotel. However, we found a place called Echo House, built of wood, and about forty feet by twenty-one feet; in which there were upstairs four beds in one room, two rooms with two beds each, and two single-bedded rooms, while outside there was a tent with twelve cribs more. We had a fair luncheon with the natives, all of whom seem to be a very tidy lot—what are called "good settlers" of the right stamp. There are a great many French half-breeds here, as indeed can be seen by the name of the place. A considerable number of Indians were encamped in the valley, as well as on the hill, they were all gorgeously painted.

We made a very interesting expedition in the afternoon to a Roman Catholic Mission, which was estab-
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lished here about eighteen years ago; having arranged our plans so as to visit the Indian camp afterwards; a Mr. Macdougall, whose acquaintance we had formed, and who was well known to the Indians, promising to precede us there, and to ask their permission for us to call. The Roman Catholic Mission is situated six miles to the east, on the border of the lake. Our party, which, on our plans becoming known, had been joined by other travellers, was well received by the priest, who is a Frenchman (born between Marseilles and Lyons). He has been here about ten years, and is assisted in his duties by two other priests, the one a German, the other English; but they were out when we called. The Mission was originally started for the French Roman Catholic half-breeds, a good many of whom are settled in this neighbourhood.

The room into which we were shown in the Mission house was rather stuffy and dirty; it contained eleven chairs with hide-string bottoms, a table, form, stove, and clock, maps of the North-West Territory and of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and three or four pictures—one of which represented the present Pope. The porch to the house was covered with hops; and the garden, which reached down to the border of the lake, was gay with flowers, and well stocked with tomatoes, French beans, Indian corn, potatoes, parsnips, and vegetable marrow, all looking in very good condition.

The church is built of wood and stucco, the same as the Mission house, and, like it, is thatched with straw; it stands a little to the east of the house, and is now being enlarged. The belfry is detached, and is a kind of frame-work erection at the west end of the chapel, containing two bells which swing in the open. The grave-yard is on the eastern side, and, as regards grass, is badly kept; but each grave was marked by one or more crosses, and over many of them was placed an ornamental box, making a kind of little house. Sometimes a little air-space is left between the top and bottom of the grave to allow "the spirit" room to pass through. In these cemeteries the Indians frequently place over the head of the grave a couple of sticks and a receptacle of some kind, in which the friends of the departed when they come to the grave, put a little tobacco, bit of tobacco pipe or some similar object, in order to propitiate the "spirit" when it visits the grave. There were several out-buildings behind the Mission house, and also one or two cottages; the chimneys in every case were of metal; the whole had a very attractive, though rather primitive appearance, and reflects credit on the Roman Catholics. I think the Church of England ought to have an eye to this district as well, for there are Presbyterians, &c., also in this neighbourhood. The priest seemed delighted to see some strangers, for he said the Indians

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spoke of nothing but their horses and cattle when they came to see him. Our party consisted of about twenty altogether, each of whom was introduced to him individually.

On taking our leave we drove on to the Cree Indian camp, regaining the open prairie by a track up the side of the valley, so steep that in England one would have thought it quite impassable; from the summit we had a beautiful view of the valley and its three lakes. At some distance from the camp we were introduced to a half-breed Indian, who undertook ~~to~~ be our interpreter. The camp, containing about a hundred wigwams or more, was on a flat elevation; and, as we drove past, every tent produced a number of peering faces, painted red, or yellow and red, the hair-partings being generally of the latter colour. About 400 Crees were assembled here, for there had been a great function the previous week, which the different neighbouring chiefs and their tribes had come to attend; one ceremony had been to admit five warriors as "braves." These unfortunates have to go through various ordeals, one of which is to have a stick run through the flesh of the chest, and another to be stung up by the skin of the shoulders for an hour and a half, during which latter operation we heard one of the Indians had fainted twice.

When we approached the large wigwam we saw

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that we were in for a regular "pow-wow;" the tent was crammed with Indians, the chiefs sitting at the farther end with the band on one side. The sight was one we shall probably never see again, and shall certainly never forget. The tent itself was about forty feet long by fifteen broad, made of dirty canvas or skins, and supported by light cross-poles very like our hop-poles. Towards its southern end were three cauldrons containing food; one delicacy being dog-stew, which is thought a great dainty. We were met at the door by Chief Pasquah, of Qu'Appelle Lake District, who introduced us to the assembled chiefs (seven in number, all Cree tribe Indians), and we had great shakings of hands all round. Their names were:—

Chief Côte,	i.e., The Coast,	from Pelly.
" Keechekona,	" The Keys,	" The Keys.
" Pasquah,	" The Plain,	" Qu'Appelle Lakes.
" Muscowpetung,	" Little Black Bear,	" " "
" Pepekens,	" Eagle,	" Tite Hills.
" Okanek,	" Thigh-bones,	" "
" Kawakatoos,	" Poor Man,	" Touchwood Hills.

After the introductions were over we took up our positions on the ground, and watched the dancing, orations, and singing. There was really a tune in some of the songs, and the music seemed to us very far superior to that of the Chinese—at least as we had heard it at San Francisco. The dancing was in the centre of the tent, and was joined in by some six or

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ten at a time, to the music of the band, the head-man selecting the dancers. He was not a chief, but what we should call master of the ceremonies; he was an old man, and wore nothing but a dirty-white blanket, blanket-trousers and mocassins, nothing on above his waist except a dirty white handkerchief tied in a band round his head. He had several patches of paint in streaks about his body and arms; but he was not nearly so well dressed as some of the other Indians, for some of the dresses were really handsome and of wonderful colouring.

Finding that we were in for a regular "pow-wow," we took our seats on the ground and philosophically resigned ourselves to do anything that might be required of us, in order that we might show our love for our Indian fellow-subjects; but all the same we devoutly hoped that we might not be called upon to taste the great Indian delicacy of dog-stew which was simmering in the cauldron (and was the nastiest-looking thing in the camp, which is saying a good deal), or even to join in the pipe of peace, which we imagined to be looming in the distance.

The following slight description of some of the dresses will show how curious the scene was:—Chief Pasquah wore a Jim Crow hat and feather, a leather jacket trimmed with beads, red trousers made out of a blanket, with black braid round the ankles (there being

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a tear on one side, through which a large piece of thigh was visible); a long piece of drapery hung from the shoulders, with small flat brass bells attached; he wore mocassins; round his waist was a belt with fire bag (to contain matches and tobacco), his face was painted a bright vermillion, his hair was long and black, he carried a pipe in his hand, and on his breast hung a pair of scissors and a looking-glass in a case;—evidently a present.

A few days later I was given a paper drawn by this chief, showing everything he has received from the Government; it is really a great curiosity. Another chief had a birds' feather head-dress, fans of feathers, silver rings on forefingers, and his face painted yellow with dashes of vermillion. One old Indian chief was not painted like the others, but was dressed in darkish clothes, and wore a round black hat trimmed with wide gold braid. He was a stranger, and came as a guest, the representative of a tribe 300 miles away, and sat out the whole performance with great stolidity. With this exception, all had more or less coloured faces; some being painted bright vermillion down to the nose and yellow ochre below it, which is quite sufficient to give a hideous expression. Ear-rings were the general ornaments; the hair was mostly worn very long, and in many cases plaited, but one or two had it cut so as to make it stand up on end. Chief Pasqualah made us

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a speech, remarkable for its apparent fluency; in this he was followed by a young warrior, during whose oration the band struck in between each sentence, giving a single note on the "tom-tom"—a circular instrument struck with a stick. The speech of this young warrior was translated to us by our interpreter, and was an account of the number of men he had killed. Mr. McDougall, who had arranged our interview, advised that we should, before leaving, see how the Indians keep a record of their fights, and of the number of their victims. One tall Indian, whom we had noticed before, was therefore selected; he wore a large linen mantle, and he showed us examples painted on it in yellow, illustrating how he had killed eighteen Indians, each drawing showing how the deed had been done.

After witnessing a great deal of dancing, singing, and speech-making, we thought it time to move; so Colonel Williams was advanced as our representative to make a speech, which was duly translated to the Indians by our interpreter, and was as follows:—

"We pale-faces from the East are making a journey to the Rocky Mountains, and we have come here to inquire into your welfare. But although pale-faces, we are the children of one mother, the Queen of Great Britain, and we have come to see you, such valiant men, who have fought such great battles. We are sorry to hear that you are sometimes hungry, so we have

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brought you some tea and tobacco, and some vermillion with which to decorate your squaws; and we will send you some flour and bacon on our return. We must now wish you good-bye, and may the great Spirit direct you and keep you in the right path."

After this followed a great deal of hand-shaking, and then we took our departure from the Indian camp, and returned to Fort Qu'Appelle. Our first present to the Indians had consisted only of tea and tobacco, and vermillion for painting themselves; the bacon and flour were an after-thought. They, however, evidently expected a handsome present, for they sent to ask if they should bring a cart to fetch it; so we made the best of it, and answered in the affirmative. These gatherings only take place occasionally, so it was most fortunate for us that we should have come across such a sight during our trip to the North-West.

Appendix C
Bryce, "Our Indians"

OUR INDIANS
 DISCUSSION AS TO THEIR CONDITION AND WANTS

The following paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Bryce at a recent weekly meeting of the Y. M. C. A.

During the summer it was my lot to be for a considerable time in the country lying to the east of us, known as the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River districts. Though now the Canadian Pacific Railway runs through the region on its way from Winnipeg to Lake Superior, yet the most familiar sights that meet the eye are bands and parties of the aborigines of our country, not now decked in the fantastic garb in which the red man was wont to disport himself, but still forming a picturesque feature of the region. The Indian agent found here and there throughout that wide district, in charge of a certain number of bands, is a representative of the wise care taken under British control of the inferior races committed to our rule, while the Indian trade is a very considerable portion of the business done by the merchants of Rat Portage and Fort Frances. It is well for us who have come to the Northwest to take possession of the land to make homes for ourselves to remember that we have dispossessed the Indian. No doubt the Indian was failing fully to utilize and develop the country over which in canoe and snowshoe he roamed, and a certain school of political economists will tell us he has consequently no claim upon us; that the weaker goes to the wall; and it serves him right for being weaker. I am sure we endorse no such hideous delification of Force as that. Since we have taken the red man's country we should remember our obligations to him. But in addition to this the poverty, misery and ignorance of the Indian appeal to the sympathy of any one who has a spark of generosity or pity in him. If men are impelled to cross the ocean to better the condition of heathen and degraded nations, surely the cry of the race disappearing before the onset of the white man, like mist, before

the rising sun, cannot be unheeded by us. Let me name the

INDIAN NAMES

around us. Winnipeg stands at a somewhat important point in the meeting place of two, if not three, Indian peoples East and west of us, the Algonquins. This great Indian family, coming up the Atlantic coast, on the first slope of the Alleghanies, has flowed west through rockland and forest, despising the art of agriculture probably because its habitat was sterile. It crossed the St. Lawrence, crossed the Ottawa and descended it to James Bay, displaced the peoples north of the Great Lakes and Georgian Bay, and then flowed on to the west. West of the Ottawa it has generally borne the name of Ojibway or Chippewa. Large bodied, somewhat coarse in feature, but persistent in his industry, the Ojibway met the Hochelagans and Hurons, and crushed them out against their enemies advancing from the south, the Iroquois. The Ojibways gradually occupied the back country north of Lake Superior to Lake of the Woods, crossed Lake Winnipeg and took possession of the Saskatchewan, now taking the name of Kestimay or Crees, until, gaining a footing on the prairies west of Lake Manitoba, they are henceforth known as the Crees of the plains, while those following the woody skirtings of the river retain the name of the Wood Crees. A later portion of this western current settled on the borders of Lake Winnipeg and extended down the slope to Hudson's Bay, receiving the name Swampy Crees or early Swamplots, and were called also by the French Muskegoos, from their dwelling place in the country of Muskegoos. It was to a still later portion of the same stream that the early French voyageurs gave the name of Saulteaux, viz. to the Indians of Winnipeg river and contiguous districts in memory of the fact related by the Indians themselves that their ancestors came from far-

ther east, as far down as Sault Ste. Marie. Thus

THE CREEES.

Plain, Wood, and Swampy—the Saulteaux and the Chippewas—all branches of the one great Algonquin family—fought their way westward and are proved to be not only by their traditions one race, but as well by their speaking tongues, which are dialects of a common language. Winnipeg may in a general way be said to be the meeting place of Crees and Chippewas. The French voyageurs who came northwest from Lake Superior, met as far east as Lake of the Woods, as they had already met at Sault Ste. Marie and Michilimackinaw, another family of Indians calling themselves Nadouessi. Taking the last syllable of this word the voyageurs gave it the French form—Sioux—a name still retained by the Dakotas. On Lake of the Woods is still pointed out Massacre Island, where a band of Sioux 150 years ago put to death a priest and party of the French explorers. It was the

ASSINIBOIINES.

one of the tribes of Sioux confederacy, which lived on the south side of the river bearing their name emptying into the Red River at Winnipeg. According to Bishop Baraga their name means Assini-Stony; Bwan-Sioux. So far back as 1697 the Assiniboinies are spoken of as having separated from the Sioux, a "long time ago." After their separation, as to which there are several theories, they became friendly with the Crees, and largely intermarried with them. They are now reduced to a few remnants in the southwestern portion of the Northwest Territories, one of their most interesting bands being on the reserve on Bow River, 40 miles west of Calgary.

THE BLACKFEET.

Are Indians living at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and have been treated with by our government. They seem related in language and tradition with the tribes upon the Pacific Slope. Several other peoples, such as Bloods, Piegan and Sarcees, occupy the country with them along the course of the Bow River. Did we aim at giving a sketch of all the Indians of British North America, I should further have to call your attention to the Tsimi or Chippewayans, lying north of the Crees, and related in several respects with the Indians across the Rocky Mountains, and still further north to the Esquimaux, extending along the

Arctic Sea from Behring's Straits, even to Northern Labrador and Greenland. The number of the various tribes in the Northwest and over the mountains to the Pacific Ocean is as follows:

Ojibways, Crees and Blackfeet, &c.	34,320
Tsimi, Esquimaux, &c.	25,000
Indians of British Columbia.	36,493
Total.	95,813

This evening, however, I intend to speak chiefly of the nearly 35,000 Indians first named, and whom, from our having as Canadians, entered into treaties with them, I speak of as "our Indians."

GENERAL CONDITION.

A very decided change has taken place in the condition of these tribes since my arrival in the Northwest in 1871. It is true at that time many of the Indians were far from being entirely savage. The Indians of St. Peter's, for example, on the Red River, seemed nearly as far advanced as they are to-day. For fifty or a hundred years the Indians of this district have been under the influence of Europeans. Much of their intercourse with the whites was hurtful, yet the Hudson's Bay Company, with a wise self-interest, if from no higher motive, treated the Indian well; did not allow him to go very deep in his use of the firewater—the bane of his race—and gave him credit for such supplies in advance as he needed, a trust very rarely abused. The Hudson's Bay Company Indian, indeed, almost formed a distinct type of red man. He was an easy-going, light-hearted mortal, shrewd in trade, agile on foot or in canoe, fond of his ease, and taking on very much the character of his immediate superiors, good or bad as they chanced to be. In 1871 all the tribes were in a ferment. The old order had passed away. What was the new to be?

THE INDIANS WERE RESTLESS.

I remember well the exorbitant demands, the long debates, the Indian fickleness and sulky grumbling that the commissioners met with when in Governor Archibald's time at Lower Fort Garry and Manitoba Post Treaties One and Two were made, and when Governor Morris negotiated at Northwest Angle Treaty Three. The Indians were unwilling to allow even the surveyors to subdivide the land, and the joint expedition which I remember well seeing in 1872, which on behalf of Great Britain and the United States surveyed the 49th parallel, was threatened. For several

years after the occupation of the Northwest by Canada, the movements of the other Western Indians, as well as the Sioux, were so uncertain that frequent despatches of an anxious character were forwarded to Ottawa by the Governor of Manitoba. On the 4th of March, 1873, an urgent petition to the Governor was forwarded by Rev. John McNabb, Presbyterian Minister at Palestine (now Gladstone), then the farthest point of settlement. The anxious pastor with 55 others complained of the threatening attitude of the Indians and of the defenceless state of the settlers, and asked for arms and ammunition. I remember very well that in 1872 the Sioux at Portage la Prairie were so domineering that the settlers dare not refuse their demands and were in constant fear. The reports—often canards—of murder and theft on the plains were of weekly occurrence in Winnipeg in those days. The Indian question was regarded as a most difficult one by our statesmen. We were told that Canadians had never dealt with large bodies of Indians; that Blackfeet, Bloods and Sarcees, and even the Plain Crees were bent on mischief; that they would hold the plains against us mounted as they were on fleet steeds and armed with repeating rifles, obtained from the American traders. The Little Saskatchewan, and Fort Ellice, and Turtle Mountain were out of the world in those days; Prince Albert and Edmonton were the "ultima Thule"; while Forts "Whoop-up," and "Slide out," in the Bow River country were the inaccessible haunts of horse thieves and desperadoes. How changed now! Our Government boldly and successfully met the threatened danger. They made

TREATY AFTER TREATY.

It was seen that not only must the Indian be quieted, but also steps should be taken for his improvement. The wandering habits of the Indian render his subsistence precarious. If possible he should be induced to settle down upon a reserve. Then he may have a house; after that agriculture and cattle raising might be possible for him. Naturally averse to labor, he must be induced and pressed to become more and more self-reliant. He must be educated, and at any rate his children may be trained to a civilized life.

The following are the treaties and interesting facts connected with them:—

MANITOBA AGENCY.

	Popula-	Who
	tion.	Made.
Treaty I. 1871. Chiefly the old Province of Manitoba	270	Simpson.
Treaty II. 1871. Lake Manitoba, Souris, Moose Mountain	185	Simpson.
Treaty III. 1873. Lake of the Woods, Hayes River and North, area 50,000 square miles	263	Morris.
Treaty V. 1873. Lake Winnipeg and River Saskatchewan area 100,000 square miles	383	Morris.
	11,301	

WESTERN AGENCY.

	Popula-	Who
	tion.	Made.
Treaty IV. 1871. Lake Winnipeg to Cypress Hills area 55,000 sq miles	686	Morris.
Treaty VI. 1876. Plain and Wood Cree, Upper Sask. area 120,000 square miles	662	Morris.
Treaty VII. 1877. Blackfoot, Piegan, Stoney area 35,000 square miles	581	Laird.
	21,299	
Resident Sioux.....	200	

RESERVES.

All these treaties promise certain reserves to the Indians. In most cases these were selected after the Treaty by the joint action of the Government agent and the bands themselves. The reserves are given on the basis of 640 acres for each Indian family of five. All the lands of the reserve, however, belong to the band. The following is the number of reserves held by the several bands:—

Treaty I.....	8	
" II.....	10	
" III.....	63	
" V.....	21	
	192	
" IV.....		
" VI.....		
" VII.....		
Sioux.....	not obtained.	

Once upon the reserves the chief of the tribe, elected by the Indians themselves, but who must have the approval of the Government, has a sort of rule or precedence. Each agency is divided up into a number of districts, and over each district an agent is appointed who must be a resident of the district, and whose duty it is to give his sole time and thought to the advancement and comfort of the Indian. When Treaties One and Two were made they were not so favorable as those afterwards agreed on. One and Two were revised, and now it may be said the terms of all the treaties are virtually the same. The following are the leading features:—

Money payments:-

At Treaty, \$12 to each of band.
Annually thereafter, \$5 to each of band.
Annually, each head chief, \$25; three subordinate chiefs, \$15 each.

Articles promised:-

\$1,500 worth of ammunition and twine (Treaty 3) (annually.)

For each band: 1 yoke of oxen, 1 bull, 4 cows.
Seed grain for all the land broken up.
1 plough for 10 families.

Other agricultural and mechanical implements and tools.

Privileges granted:-

A school on each reserve.

No intoxicating liquor to be sold on reserve.

Right to fish and hunt on unoccupied land of the district.

INDIAN PICTURES

Among the most cheering things in the negotiations of all the treaties was the earnest desire of the Indians for the education of their children. In Treaty Three this is embodied in the following words:-

"Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve may desire it." I am glad to be able to state from the best authority that the Indians not only desire schools on their reserves, but are clamorous for them. Of course there will be difficulty in maintaining regular attendance of the children, but this is a thing not unknown among whites. While I am not among the illusionists, who regard the redman in his savage state as a hero of the Fenimore Cooper type, yet I know from many years' hearsay and experience that in intellectual ability the Indian is much above the average of savage races. He has a good eye; he learns to write easily; has a remarkably good memory as a rule, and while not particularly strong as a reasoner, he will succeed in the study of languages and the pursuit of the sciences. Of course the school begun on an Indian Reserve must be in most cases of the most primitive kind, particularly until the wandering habit is overcome. As illustrating the native aptness of the Indians I may state that I have before me remarkable examples of their "picture writing." This is so ingenious that an Indian chief

will keep the whole account of his dealings, and that of his tribe, with the Government with absolute exactness. Before me are the transactions of Ma-wintopness, chief of the Rainy River Indians. On a single page not larger than a sheet of oilcloth are the transactions of several years. I am sure this system, which is one of very simple entry, does not occupy one-tenth of the space filled in the Government records of the same affairs. Governor Morris, tall and slender, is recognizable with a gift in his hand; each year has a mark known to the writer; the chief recording the fact that he has received each year \$5 bounty and \$25 salary, represents an open palm, a piece of money, and three upright crosses each meaning \$10; his flag and medal are represented; his oxen and cattle are recognizable at least, and so on with his plough, harrow, sows, anger, etc. The same chief, noted for his craft, represents himself between the trader and the teacher, looking in each direction, showing the need of having an eye on both. Interesting examples of Indian bark letters, petitions, etc., of a pictorial kind, may be found in Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization." Lying before me also, is a number of paintings in colors, done by an Indian artist, and though not likely to be mistaken for those of Rubens or Turner, yet they are interesting. Another most interesting feature of Indian intelligence is the widespread use among them of the

SYLLABIC CHARACTERS.

This is a system of characters invented after 1840 by Rev. James Evans, at the time a Methodist Indian missionary to Hudson's Bay. Since that date it has spread—especially among the Cree—even far up the Saskatchewan. It is used extensively by the Indians in communicating with one another on birch bark letters. It may be learned by an intelligent Indian in an afternoon or two, being vastly simpler than our character. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church of England and Roman Catholics use this syllabic character in printing Indian books. When Lord Dufferin was in the Northwest he heard of the character for the first time, and remarked that some men had been buried in Westminster Abbey for doing less than the inventor of the syllabic had done, and during the late visit of the British Association, a number of the most distinguished members expressed themselves in sur-

pried at this invention of which they had not previously heard. As one more instance of the adaptability of the Indian let me refer to the

CHINOOK JARGON

used in trade on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, in British Columbia. It is a combination of Chinook and Clatsop Indian dialects, with French and English words introduced. It is a language used in barter all along the Pacific slope. It resembles in use the "lingua franca" of the Mediterranean, or the "piggin English" of China. It originated about the beginning of this century, and chiefly from the meeting of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies with the Indians. Some of the words are very interesting, even amusing, in their origin. "Puss-puss" is Chinook for cat; "King-chartsman" is a King George man, or Englishman; "Boston" designates an American; "Potlatch" is a gift; "Pas-looks" is a Frenchman; "Pish-ship" is a steamer, a corruption of fire-ship's "Cosho;" is a pig, from French cochon; "Tahla" is a dollar, and so on. The formation and use throughout the different tribes upon the Pacific slope of a common language indicates shrewdness and adaptability. I have given these various indications of the intellectual power of the Indian for a purpose? The Indian being seen to be thus mentally endowed, I wish to ask whether he is not worth Christianizing and educating? Is it enough to see to it that he has as much as the horse or cow of a respectable farmer, viz., food and shelter? Is he to be regarded as well treated when the Government pays some attention to his material welfare? Is the Indian question solved when you have him in the condition of the Indian of the "good old Hudson's Bay Company time"—a trapper and voyageur, whose self-interest it is not to shoot his white masters? I say decidedly not. The Indian is capable of more. What then? He should be.

CHRISTIANIZED.

Who is to do this? Plainly not the government. Who then? We, the Christian whites ought to do it. I will give you a few figures. In treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, there were in 1881, as shown in returns, nominally:

Roman Catholics.....	1,171
Episcopalians.....	3,209
Presbyterians.....	136
Methodists.....	90
	5,316

Pagans..... 1,914
I.e. about one-half Pagans out of..... 10,433

And when I say nominally one-half Christians, I am giving a proportion too favorable by far. Last summer Indian families came to me at R.R. Portage to have children baptized, in whom the only trace of Christianity I could find was a sort of idea that they belonged to the white man's party. Among the Indians of these treaties there were in 1881 seventy seven cases of polygamy. Now I say this showing is a shame to us as Christians. It is a disgrace to the churches that after sixty years of operations in the especial ground covered by these treaties these things should be. I speak the more freely in this case because of the larger churches of this land my own church in its anxiety to follow the white settlers has been shamefully remiss in its duty to the Indians. In dozens of reserves in this the oldest settled part of the Northwest there are bands without anyone to care for their souls. In a number of cases the missionaries, and I speak as being able to support my statements, are ~~not~~ the kind of men to do any good to the Indians, and are lazily drawing their salaries without giving an equivalent. I know the extremely hard and dull life of the Indian missionary; I know of his disappointments, of the vacillating and ungrateful character of some of the Indian bands, but I say no man should be lying under the guise of being an Indian missionary who is not doing his work earnestly. Are we willing to see the heathen perish at our own door and not try to save them? For these 10,000 Indians divided among 102 reserves there were in 1881 only thirteen churches. The remaining 50,000 Indians east of the Rocky Mountains in the Northwest are probably not as well looked after as these. I would warn the churches against making use of a poor class of clergy for the Indians, employing men who could satisfy no white community, men who may be chiefly bent on trading with the Indians, men who are unneighborly or inhospitable, men who in some cases are not above suspicious as to morals. The pruning hook should be vigorously applied, and if we are to try to evangelize the Indian let us do it with determined, earnest, respectable men, who pity the poor Indian, and whose one consuming desire is to improve his moral as well as his physical condition. Careless mission-

aries stand up the way of men who could be got to do their duty.

SCHOOLS.

Next I would ask your attention to the educational facilities, if I may so call them, afforded the Indians. As already shown, the Government is pledged to provide schools. The system followed, until very lately, has been to induce the Indians to erect the log walls of the school houses, and then for the Government to provide \$100 to complete the building. The \$100 is not sufficient to finish the building, and so the building lies unfinished. This is a sample case. Between the scylla of Indian negligence and the charybdis of the Government system the school is lost. No wonder the agent in 1883 has to report as follows : "Mawintepeness, handing me a copy of the treaty, said that if I could show him where they were required to build school-houses, that he would give that new house (pointing to a building on the bank of the river) for that purpose, but that if there is nothing about their building school-houses in the Treaty, he will never do so, so long as the sun courses in the heavens." Any lawyer would, in reading the treaty, agree with the chief that the Government is bound to erect the school-house and carry on a school. The Government, considering the trifling cost of a log schoolhouse, should have erected one on each chief reserve. I am told that now the Government admits the necessity of immediate attention to the matter. Public opinion should urge the erection of a school-house on every reserve where say ten children may be gathered with any degree of regularity, and then should insist on the maintenance of a school.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS.

So far as I can find there were only 17 schools among the 10,000 Indians of the treaties spoken of in 1883, and only 36 in operation among the 34,500 Indians in the seven treaties. If I am rightly informed there are now 41 school houses built in Treaties 1, 2, 3, 5 and 24 of these at present occupied. Is that a faithful carrying out of the treaties, some of them made 10 and 12 years ago? Surely not. We have in Winnipeg Government buildings and Government House, and the second post office going up, magnificent brick structures costing hundreds of thousands of dollars; of which part of the ornamental stone work would have furnished

school houses for the poor neglected Indians.

TEACHERS.

Probably the saddest part of this whole matter is the utterly miserable character of many of even the few teachers supplied the Indians. The teachers are supplied in two ways. Where missions exist the teacher may be employed by the mission authorities, and then the Government pays \$12 per annum for each individual pupil of the yearly average. If the school is a Government school the Government pays \$300 per annum to the teacher, and if the school reaches 42 yearly average, he may receive as high as \$504, but no more. It will be noted that scarcely any Indian school teacher reaches above 25 of an average, so that \$300 is practically the salary. Now I give my deliberate opinion that reasonably good teachers cannot be got for such salaries. Indian schools have a very low average. Look at Ontario, where the Indians have been under constant training for from 50 to 100 years, where roads are good, where the Indians are settled down and are better clothed and fed, and in the 65 Indian schools of Ontario the yearly average is only 16 while of the 65, 18 schools do not average above 9. Now take 16, which is I am sure a larger average than the bona fide average in Northwest Indian schools and what have you, the teacher of the mission school receives the annual pittance of \$102, and the Government teacher is a long way from reaching any higher sum than his \$300.

THE CONSEQUENCE.

Chiefly in consequence of the poor remuneration, many of the Indian teachers are utterly unworthy. Among those who have been teachers within the last three years I can point you to one who has not the most remote idea of what a noun is in grammar; to another who is frequently intoxicated; to another who led an utterly impure life; to another whose attainments are contemptible; to another whose knowledge of arithmetic showed itself only in making up fraudulent averages; to a number of others thoroughly unfit for any position requiring ordinary intelligence, and this among only 20 or 30 teachers all told. I am told there has been some kind of certificate required. What the certificate can have covered judging by the individuals certificated one is completely at a loss to imagine. Upwards of 40 per cent. of the school

houses erected have no teachers at present. From the facts just mentioned the Indians where these vacancies are are not much more to be pitied than where there are teachers.

THE REMEDY.

This state of things must not continue if the Indian School is to be anything else than a disgrace. To improve the class of teachers the first thing is to give them a salary on which they can live. The ordinary Indian school teacher in Ontario does not generally receive more than \$200 or \$300 a year, it is true. I have known many teachers in large country schools in Ontario receiving no more than that amount, but then they obtained board at \$1 or \$1.50 per week. Teachers in Manitoba public schools receive 50 per cent more than in the same class of schools in Ontario. And our teachers need it, paying as they must do \$3 or \$4 a week for board. What hope then of getting a respectable teacher for our Indian school at \$200 or \$300? Rather from the loneliness of the Indian reserve, from the disagreeable nature of the work, having to deal as the teacher does with the uncooth and the uncultivated, he should have a bonus. I should say no Indian teacher should receive less than \$400 per annum, and the school house should be so constructed as to give him a living room for himself; as accommodation is hard to get and I have known an Indian teacher compelled to walk four miles from the schoolhouse to find rest for the sole of his foot. I would say further that the minimum salary of \$400 should be given to the teacher of every Indian school, whether the school belong to the Mission or the Government directly. In this case, however, I would require that Indian teachers should pass a regular examination, like any other public school teachers. I would insist that no teacher should participate to the extent of \$1 in the Government grant unless he possesses the required certificate. If this were required of every teacher, then the mere matter of how he is appointed would be of no moment, his certificate being a Government certificate. That the educational condition of the Indians is very unsatisfactory is seen in the fact that last year only \$6,856.66 was spent for schools among the 34,520 Treaty Indians.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

One of the chief obstacles to the Indian's progress is his wandering habits.

That his character may be materially improved, he must have a permanent dwelling. Life in the wigwam is most destructive of regular habits. If the Indian can be induced to frequent his reserve, he will soon obtain a house; with a better house he will become more domestic; becoming less of a nomad he, will incline to cultivate the soil—at least as a gardener, and by-and-by he may perhaps become a cattle raiser or agriculturist. This secured he can be wrought upon—or at least his children—by the missionary and the schoolmaster. He dearly loves a pow-wow, and this habit is easily transformed into a love for other public gatherings. Let me note shortly features of progress since the treatys were made.

MANITOBA AGENCY (TREATIES 1, 2, 3, 5).

The Indians of Treaty 3—i.e. those east of Lake of the Woods, have not made much progress in agriculture. I was told last summer that there is not a pound of butter made for sale within a hundred miles of Rat Portage. I am not able to dispute the statement. On the Rainy River, however, there is an agricultural country unsurpassed. The other means of support however are rather abundant. The chase affords a fair living to the Indian, for there are few settlers to destroy the game. The killing of sturgeon on Rainy River in spring is said to be a slaughter most terrible to witness. The thickwood supplies plenty of berries in July and August. In August and September the usual haunts of the Indians are deserted for the bountiful supply of wild rice upon the lakes. Farming thus being less necessary, is not likely to be extensively followed. Yet the Indians are generally on their Reserves, are annually paid upon them now, and encouraged to look upon them as their homes. The statistics show a considerable increase too in agricultural products. In the Manitoba agency there is less wheat grown by the Indians than six years ago. The following figures show this: 3,864 bushels in 1878; 3,142 bushels in 1881; 3,720 bushel in 1883. In potatoes there is a great increase, viz: 11,482 bushels in 1878; 37,322 bushels in 1881; and 41,292 bushels in 1883. There were 1,220 acres cultivated in 1881, and 1,601 in 1883. The progress is no doubt slow, but when I state that in this agency there were only 790 houses in 1878 and that there were 1,854 in 1883, an increase of 135 per cent in five years, it will be seen that the foundation for future progress is

being well laid. It is a thing deserving of special remark in this agency that the 11,311 Indians so nearly supported themselves with their small Government allowances that only \$784.60 needed to be spent for the relief of destitution—an amazing contrast with the western superintendency. In

TREATIES 4, 6, 7, great efforts have been put forth to teach the Indians agriculture. It is a question whether the results have been commensurate with the amount expended. In 1879 a large number of farm instructors was appointed to reside among the western Indians and direct them in agriculture. Much amusement was caused at the time by the choice of some for these positions, who to say the least were amateur farmers. This was, however, probably inevitable. These farmers have been at work four or five years, and the expense of their maintenance is heavy. There were in 1883 twenty-six farms scattered over the Territories. The expenses of these was \$33,777, and salaries to the instructors amounted to \$47,062. The total cost for 1883 of these farms was \$80,839. The leading items of produce raised were 15,854 bushels of barley and 49,301 bushels of potatoes. I have fixed the full market price on all raised on these farms during the year, and find it amounted to \$63,439.05. The deficit on the farms thus is upwards of \$17,000, no allowance whatever being made for the Indian labor employed. Of course it is an easy matter to find fault, and that is not my purpose in this discussion, but it seems very questionable, now that the farms are started, and that there are local agents having in charge a certain number of reserves, whether the nearly \$50,000 paid annually to farm instructors might not at this stage be saved. In treaties 4, 6, and 7 making up the western superintendency, I have to notice the

EXORDIUM'S EXPENDITURE incurred for destitute Indians. The farms are a long way indeed from supplying their wants. The Government feeds the Indians, issues regular rations to them. I am well aware the disappearance of the buffalo has been a tremendous loss to the plain tribes, but yet I am astounded in stating that in 1883 there was expended among the 21,200 Indians of this superintendency the immense sum of \$480,163. Of this sum \$409,248.32 was paid to one firm, that of

L. G. Baker & Co. These sums do not include; it must be remembered, annuities and other yearly amounts paid to those Indians of say \$420,000 more. The striking disproportion between the \$784.60 paid in 1883 in Manitoba Superintendency for relieving destitution among some 10,000 Indians, and that of well nigh half a million dollars among some 21,000 Indians in the western superintendency is startling. I again state that the circumstances, especially of the Blackfeet in Treaty 7 are exceptional, but I also assert that it becomes the duty of our legislators and rulers to see that the expenditure of so large a sum of money spent in an Indian country, away from a healthy and impartial public opinion, should be carefully enquired into.

PROHIBITION.

One of the chief means of preserving the peace, and of giving our Indian population opportunity to advance is prohibition of spirituous liquors. Not only is it illegal to sell or give an Indian strong drink, but in our Northwest Territories it is a crime to introduce strong drink at all, so completely prohibitory is the law. The ravages made by intoxicating liquors in organized society are terrible. What would they be in an Indian country? Hear the decided words of one of the chiefs of Treaty Three when making the treaty with Governor Morris: "As regards the fire-water, I do not like it and I do not wish any house to be built to have it sold." Again: "Shall anyone insist on bringing it where we are I should break the treaty." Again: "If it was in my midst the fire-water would have spoiled my happiness, and I wish it to be left far away from where I am." At the time of making the Blackfoot Treaty of 1877, after the prohibitory law had been in force for several years in force, one of the chiefs said to Governor Laird: "The great mother sent Stamixotokon (Old McLeod) and the police to put an end to the traffic in fire-water. I can sleep now safely. Before the arrival of the police, when I laid my head down at night, every sound frightened me; my sleep was broken; now I can sleep sound and am not afraid." The experience of Indian and white since has been immensely in favor of this law. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Prohibitory Liquor Territory gave as severe a test to the law as it could have had. It has been the universal testimony that no

railway on this continent has been built in so orderly, expeditious and satisfactory a manner. Instead of the prohibitory liquor law being looked upon as a temporary law for a primitive state of society, to be done away when settlers fill in, Canadian sentiment is coming to the point of saying that it should not only be retained, but extended as a protecting negis over our so-called highly organized state of society as well.

INDIAN AGENTS.

In closing, I have a word or two to say as to our Indian agents. Everyone knows that the "Indian Question" in the United States has been largely created by the rascality of Indian agents. However a few years ago we may have suffered from the same, we seem now to be better served. Of the Indian superintendent of treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, Mr. Ebenezer McColl, I can speak with great confidence. He seems enthusiastic in doing everything to have the Indian progress, that may lie in his power. He is very much interested in the moral and intellectual advancement of the Indian. With the Indian agents of this Manitoba Superintendency I am acquainted either by personal knowledge or accurate report. I believe them to be an honest, painstaking and respectable band of officers. I have to thank a number of the Government officials for their kindness in supplying me with such information as they had a right to give. As to the officials and agents of the Western Superintendency, from Governor Dewdney downwards, I cannot speak so surely. With

some of the agents, as well as officers of the Mounted Police, I have some acquaintance. While some of these gentlemen are useful and reputable, I am bound to say in some cases the public opinion both in Manitoba and the Northwest is unfavorable. As in the case of inefficient missionaries and teachers I have spoken out plainly, as I would say the pruning hook should be applied where it is needed in this part of the Indian service. I believe the Government is anxious to do well by the Indians. It is almost a tradition of Conservative Governments in Canada to treat the Indian well, as the Liberals claim it is their forte to succeed in dealing with the new settler. Public opinion should back up the Government and its officials. The Indian must not be looked upon simply as having a lower nature. There is most danger in this. We must not despair of the Indian. Routine is the deadliest enemy of progress. We want the Indian to improve. We want him christianized; we want him rescued from ignorance; we want him to become independent enough to support himself. The agent in charge should be inventive; should try new plans; should encourage the Indians; should recommend the Government to be as liberal as possible. The agent should lead the way axe and hoe and plough in hand, if example would induce the Indian to try the same.

God bless the Indian, and help us to raise him to a civilized and Christian life.