

## BOOK REVIEWS

Flanagan, Thomas: *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983, 177 pp., \$12.95 paper, 13 maps and photos.

Recently, the attention of scholars has shifted from the personal tragedy of Louis Riel to the larger issues of the development and dispersal of his people. Certain questions about Riel have been examined and re-examined so often, with substantially the same conclusions, that it has seemed appropriate to regard the old subject as closed. But hold on. Thomas Flanagan, co-ordinator of the Riel Papers project and previously sympathetic contributor to the Riel studies stream, now attempts to take the debate back to the point of departure that was abandoned in the mid-1930s.

Flanagan's preface boldly proclaims that the "conventional account., that the Metis had serious unresolved grievances; that Riel resorted to violence only after legal means of action had failed; that he received a trial of questionable validity before being executed by a vengeful government" is totally misguided: "the opposite was closer to the truth." As Flanagan also contends that his claim is supportable by evidence, readers will be anxious to know what new facts have been discovered to force such a complete rejection of the past half-century of scholarship. More particularly, we must inquire into the support for Flanagan's return to the official view, the interpretation that reduces to four propositions:

1. The Metis had no basis for demanding treatment from the Government of Canada that would differ from that accorded to any other Canadian settler population.
2. Their just demands as settlers were well looked after by the Department of the interior.
3. Riel manipulated their unreasonable expectations to further his own personal claims and weird political ambitions.
4. Riel's trial for the crime of treason was procedurally fair and the death sentence was in accord with Canadian precedent.

Clearly, the first proposition is the most important because if it is plausible to regard the Metis as no more than an appendage of fur trade society (rather than a people in their own right), then Canada had no obligation to consider

any of their extraordinary demands - in 1870 or later. The official view is that the only legal obligation was to buy out the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians. On this account, it is important for Flanagan to analyze the Metis claims to national status that were advanced on several occasions between 1815 and 1859. He does not. Instead of analyzing how an insider-outsider social dichotomy developed in Rupert's Land in the fifty years before 1870, how the *inside* structure created by the HBC was supplanted by the *outside* structure that was proclaimed as the "new nation" in 1869, and how the government of Canada was forced to negotiate a settlement with the provisional government, Flanagan only mentions the outcome of the process and then just to assert that "the Manitoba Act was a unilateral action of the Canadian Parliament, not a treaty between independent partners . . ." (p. 78). The provisions of the statute that took account of the uniqueness of the Metis by recognizing their aboriginal status as well as their pre-emptive settlement rights only confirm for Flanagan that the arrangement was "hastily contrived". To him - and opponents of the Manitoba Act in the parliamentary debate of 1870 - it was an error to think that a population could have settler and aboriginal status simultaneously. In fact, Macdonald agreed, but only because he had every intention of ignoring that which had been conceded in a hurry.

From November of 1869 the Prime Minister had planned military action in response to the Metis demand for recognition as a people. The negotiations, the promise of amnesty, the Act of Parliament - all of it was part of a strategy to lull them into a false sense of security, to neutralize resistance before the troops arrived. Interestingly, Flanagan does not seem to have considered such double dealing even though he claims to have sifted all the evidence before concluding that there was no "calculated campaign to destroy the Metis or deprive them of their rights" (p. 146). The facts, however, show otherwise.

Briefly, the "calculated campaign" was to deny the Metis their nationality, to treat them the same as any other settler population, and to do so in the full knowledge that most were not likely to pass such proceedings precisely because they were a non-literate trading and ranching population rather than literate farmers accustomed to bureaucracy and its paper mysteries. Once cleared from their homeland, the way would be open for "actual settlers". The Metis were merely "occupants".

Flanagan observes that the Metis "did not typically have farms" (p. 14). He also sees that the point of the Dominion Lands Act and the amendments to the Manitoba Act was to promote field agriculture by awarding free grants of land to persons who "intended to settle on land and support themselves by farming" (p. 23). Inevitably, the Metis came into conflict with the Government. But instead of seeking to justify the government's dispossession of the Metis by appealing to some cosmic imperative such as progress (George Stanely's version of the *Birth of Western Canada*, an interpretation that still permits a certain sympathy for the Metis and their "fate"), Flanagan reaches for an apology that puts most sympathy with the personnel who manned the bureaucracy.

The sections of the book that are intended to prove government good faith will be difficult for some readers to follow, however, because the argument

unfolds on two levels. On a level of factual narration Flanagan shows that the unqualified assurance of land in Section 32 of the Manitoba Act was transformed after 1875 into a less definite opportunity. The result was "those with few improvements on their lots ran into a good deal of trouble" (p. 24) that included an "extortion racket" operated by officials within the Department of the Interior. The impact of the amendments and the discretionary process for administering claims was that a huge portion of the original population received "nothing at all". Later, many found their way to the south fork of the Saskatchewan River and emerged as the core of the new community of St. Laurent, upriver from the protestant village of Prince Albert. Naturally, they demanded confirmation of their new river lot estates in the pattern of survey of the old Red River Settlement, a pattern that was conceded for the whole of Prince Albert in 1878. But for reasons "unknown" to Flanagan the same pattern was withheld from St. Laurent. There the survey was completed in a grid pattern in 1879 and none of the land was legally open for settlement until the spring of 1884. As a result of the "mysterious" delay, the entire community was guilty of the crime of illegal trespass or "squatting" (in the quaint language of the bureaucracy). The people persistently claimed that their occupancy was ownership; and local officials dutifully forwarded their claims to Ottawa, where, just as persistently, John A. Macdonald (the Minister of the Interior) refused to entertain such demands. Once it became evident that another riot like the resistance of 1869-70 was likely, letters were sent to a "substantial portion" of the people informing them that their worries were over if they qualified as homesteaders. Others could buy their land at whatever government price was in effect when they came on the scene.

Such is Flanagan's account of the critical facts in the river lot question. The confusion that arises is his insistence that the facts do not mean what they seem to indicate. To Flanagan, the evidence does not amount to a chain of causation provoking rebellion. He only admits that "the government made some serious mistakes" (p. 5). What is interesting about Flanagan's narrative is his refusal to connect any of the errors. He mentions the denial of rights and corruption that led to the dispossession of "many" Metis in Manitoba, but glosses over such maladministration with the assurance that it made sense to withhold land from "claimants, who previously had shown little interest in farming" (p. 24). On the same logic, Flanagan claims that the exodus from Manitoba had more to do with "social pressure" (advancing non-natives and retreating buffalo) than land loss. Not knowing the value of what they had lost, they cared but little, according to Flanagan: "the handling of river lots in Manitoba was connected with the North-West Rebellion only in the remote sense that it had engendered mistrust . . .". Consequently, we are to believe that the Manitoba-born settlers of St. Laurent could be irritated but should have forgotten about past practices because the officials of the Department of the Interior in the vicinity of their new settlement were "competent and dedicated". To the extent that the Metis faced difficulties in the new setting, the "problems lay in Ottawa", says Flanagan. Here, however, he seems to have forgotten that John A. Macdonald was the Minister of the Interior throughout the period of "myster-

ious" delay. Given Macdonald's cabinet responsibility for land matters and his deep interest in the Canadian Pacific Railway, can we ignore the possibility that he played one issue against the other? Surely, we must at least pose the question to determine if neglect of St. Laurent led to one crisis that, in Macdonald's priorities, was intended to resolve another. No matter how painful, we must inquire if John A. Macdonald suspected that the "impulsive half breeds" of St. Laurent could be forced to the brink of insurrection by suspending them in uncertainty until the eleventh hour. Then, at the last moment, the Government could move toward conciliation and convince the politically naive of the government's good faith. At the same time, by not becoming too clear (by keeping the promise of accommodation only a promise rather than a full resolution of grievances) the crisis could still ripen and provide the pretext Macdonald needed for rushing many thousands of troops to the scene of a couple of hundred families taking up arms. In the end, the railway would fulfill a dramatic national mission and win approval for a last infusion of needed subsidy from a jubilant Parliament. Thus, careful manipulation of one crisis could resolve another.

Such is the scenario that is suggested by Flanagan's predecessors. Here, the point is not that they are right and Flanagan is wrong; the essential point is the incredible reluctance of Flanagan to seek the bottom of the mystery, to follow the trail of evidence to Macdonald. All other historians - even Macdonald's most uncritical admirers - have observed that "Old Tomorrow" could use delay for well designed purposes. Flanagan is the first to isolate the problems of the Metis from those of the railway. He is also alone, and quite incorrect, in his unproven assertion that "the objective grievances of the Metis were remedied" before St. Laurent took steps to separate from the rest of Canada.

It is essential for Flanagan to insist the Metis had no objective reason to rebel because he wants to make Riel the evil genius of the affair. According to Flanagan, Riel made government concessions seem like "provocations" (p. 76). Instead of leading his people to a realistic accommodation, Flanagan says he plotted to heighten their anxiety over land questions and seized the "opportunity to implement his theory that the Manitoba 'treaty' had been broken," then led them to rebellion under the illusion that "they could renegotiate entry into Confederation [or] . . . seek an independent political destiny if these terms were not met" (pp. 99-100). It has already been suggested, however, that the apparent concessions of January-February, 1885 were provocative. The people of St. Laurent only gained assurance of future consideration, not unequivocal news that tangible results were at hand. Moreover, the view that Riel was a kind of magician who could turn his people into sheep and lead them as he pleased disregards the reality that the man was nothing more than a spokesman, one who articulated the shared resentments and hopes of his community. Rebellion did not break out in St. Laurent (rather than elsewhere) because the "unique fact about St. Laurent was the presence of Louis Riel." Rebellion broke out along the South Saskatchewan because it was probably the largest concentration of displaced Manitobans anywhere in the West, and because they were uniquely threatened with a repetition of the Manitoba experience of 1874 to 1880 between 1881 and 1885.

Quite correctly, Flanagan points out that Riel did make a stand in the "tradition of Metis nationalism." He did believe that the Manitoba Act was a treaty; he did know that the agreement had been violated; and, did hope desperate measures might yet win himself and his people the recognition that had been withheld since 1870. None of this proves that Riel was out of touch with reality or his people. Indeed, the document that Flanagan cites to support his assertion that the Metis of St. Laurent wanted land rather than the "rights of a people", the document that was taken by the delegation to Riel in Montana to persuade him to organize them at St. Laurent, specifically mentioned the Manitoba Act and the need for Riel to re-educate them and the government as to its provisions, They reminded Riel that he had "made a bargain with the government of Canada in 1870" and added that they were "not knowing the contents of said 'Manitoba Act'..." Thus, they thought it "advisable that a delegation be sent to Louis Riel and have his assistance to bring all the matters referred to . . . before the government of Canada, so that our just demands be granted" (pp. 4-5).

In other words, Flanagan's attempt to paint Riel as a fanatical outside agitator is simply absurd. Admittedly, the Metis resistance of 1885 might have ended differently had the community supported certain key individuals in challenging the constitutionality of Canada's many amendments of the Manitoba Act instead of denying the strength of Macdonald's resolve first by their separatist move and then by resisting the eastern militia on the battlefield. On the other hand, Flanagan demonstrates (albeit inadvertently) that direct action was remarkably more successful than anyone has recognized to date. The success was that the survivors of the Rebellion of 1885 did not suffer the fate of many veterans of the less violent first episode in 1870. According to Flanagan, "Dominion Lands inspectors apparently decided that they would just leave St. Laurent alone .... " (p. 52-53).

Canada's decision to leave the survivors where they were is Flanagan's proof that Canadians ought to congratulate themselves for their humane forgiveness of rebels. "In how many countries of the earth," he asks, "would [rebels] . . . have received such lenient treatment?" (p. 51). Were it not for the judicial murder of Louis Riel, the assertion of just treatment would be somewhat more credible. Perhaps that is the reason Flanagan devotes the last one fourth of his book to the non-issue of the justice of Riel's trial and execution.

Here Flanagan pursues the wrong question and faulty comparisons. The appropriate comparison is not with Upper Canadian sympathisers with the United States in the War of 1812 (tried and executed in 1814 when the war was still in progress). Nor is the appropriate comparison with obscure rebels who bore the brunt of Tory vengeance immediately after the Rebellions of 1837. The appropriate comparison is with the defeated *leaders* of other rebellions.

Here Riel is singular. Louis Joseph Papineau and William Lyon Mackenzie - the only other persons in the same category in Canadian history - were banished and then forgiven. Indeed, Papineau eventually returned to Canada and resumed his political career. Neither former leader ever stood in the prisoner's dock. The question that is relevant to Riel's punishment is why he was brought to trial in

the first place, because once the proceedings began, his death was predetermined.

Should Canada now forgive and forget? That is the question addressed in Flanagan's last chapter. Not surprisingly he says no. But here again he pursues a non-issue because no line of native organizations is forming to beg pardon. The only groups likely to press the matter are politicians seeking a cost-free gesture for improving Canada's image on the subject of race relations. But as Flanagan himself points out, in political crimes "clemency is extended when the authorities feel that the public order is secure and withheld when insurrection still seems a real possibility" (p. 152). Remembering that Riel's crime was showing his people that the Government of Canada had systematically set aside the recognition of the Metis that was accorded in 1870, and that they would be justified in withholding their allegiance to the Canadian state unless and until those rights were recognized and restored, it would appear that even the empty gesture of a pardon is still too dear because the issues of 1885 continue unresolved. Indeed, they are matters that are still before the courts.<sup>1</sup>

Flanagan's echoing of the official view that "the officers..., who are not dealing and who have..., dealt with..., the petitioners, have been in every way qualified to deal, and have dealt with them intelligently and generously"<sup>2</sup> is no doubt comforting to the bureaucracy. As an academically respectable interpretation, however, the view is no more credible today than when the official history was first put forward by the Department of the Interior in 1887.

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#### NOTES

1. Manitoba Metis Federation Inc. and Native Council of Canada Inc. vs. Attorney General of Canada and Attorney General of Manitoba, 1081/81 of Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench.
2. A.M. Burgess for Minister of the Interior, 22 May 1887, Public Archives of Canada, RG 15 vol 492, file 13867-1, p. 10.

Oswalt, Wendell H.: *Eskimos and Explorers*. Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc., 1979, ISBN 0-88316-532-5, Illus., Bibliog., Append., Maps, Indices, xii + 349 pp., \$15.00 cloth.

The dust jacket of this book informs us of Oswalt's credentials, which include twenty seasons of field work among different Eskimo populations

(mostly Alaskan Yuit), and the studying of "Literally everything published about Eskimos from the time of first Norse contact.., to the present." This meticulously researched and enviably executed book is an appropriate synthesis for a worker of such energy, commitment and wisdom. While the title suggests a focus on European-Eskimo contact history, the book delivers much more. To be sure, Oswalt provides us with a critically interpreted journey through the early European accounts of encounters with Eskimos. These range from the earliest Norse sagas, where "Skrelling" descriptions are partly mythical, through 19th century writings which describe the peoples occupying the last of the "discovered" Eskimo territories.

This chronological approach is accommodated by chapter-length treatments of geographic realms, for the slicing baseline of historical contact covaries approximately with geography. The first chapter covers the Norse contacts in Vinland, beginning in the 11th century, and the subsequent Norse colonization of Greenland. The 16th and early 17th century encounters made during the Frobisher, Davis, Hall and Baffin voyages are the subject of Chapter Two. The third chapter, "The Perfect Craze" synthesizes the multitude of "fleeting glimpses" of Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit made by those on the 17th to early 19th century voyages in search of the Northwest Passage. Throughout these first three chapters, the exploration events and ever-accumulating ethnographic data are skillfully set in a matrix of contemporary European historical and political-economic realities. Equally impressive is Oswalt's ability to animate historical figures, informing us (wherever possible) of their motivations, character and the degree to which ethnocentrism coloured their writings.

The next six chapters deal, sequentially, with West Greenlanders, Polar Eskimos, East Greenlanders, Canadian Inuit, Alaskan Inuit and Alaskan Yuit. While explorers (and now missionaries and ship's naturalists) continue as prominent foci within these chapters, Oswalt's main objective is in integrating the early ethnographic descriptions with later primary and secondary ethnographic and historical accounts. This ambitious undertaking, towards reconstructing regional "thumbnail" ethnographics of the peoples prior to their rapid post-contact cultural transformations, is the first comprehensive treatment of pan-Eskimo ethnology since E.M. Weyer's 1932 Classic, *The Eskimos*. This is not to suggest a close similarity between the two works, for Weyer's encyclopaedic work is structured as a description and analysis of culture trait and culture complex distributions. While nonmaterial aspects of culture are not slighted, Oswalt gives special attention to inter-regional diversity and continuity in material culture and related subsistence strategies. Complementing this emphasis, the author reproduces a number of primary source illustrations of the people and their manufactures, few of which are seen in other secondary sources.

The last chapter covers selected theories on Eskimo origins and spread, and concisely chronicles post-contact changes in their subsistence strategies, material culture, tracing patterns, social organization, health conditions and political autonomy. Appendix I provides a place name map with exploration data, and a distribution map of named regional groups of Eskimos, together with population size estimates. There is accompanying text providing documentation.

Appendix II, on "The Eskimo Culture Area", provides short discussions of the cultural continuities which were probably shared by all and most Inuit and Yuit at the time of their discovery. The book features both a personal name and a general index.

There is precious little to fault and so much to praise about this work. I felt privileged to read such a lucid "big picture" synthesis; it may be fair to say that only Oswalt could have written such a work. Of course, reviewers must make obligatory negative remarks, lest their critical facilities be questioned. One nit is Oswalt's claim that Bergmann's and Allen's "Rules" (on climate-body proportion interaction) do not extend to Eskimos, owing to successful and ingenious cultural buffering of their harsh environment. In fact there is a generally good fit of empirical data on physique vs. critical climatic factors to a clinal gradient model when the data on North America's original peoples is examined. Also (though Oswalt can't be faulted for this) his population distribution map, while useful, can be regarded as superceded by a map on Arctic Peoples distribution in the February 1983 number of *National Geographic*. This latter map is finer-grained than Oswalt's, being based on E.S. Butch's recent work on delineating Northern "societal" boundaries.

The documentation throughout is impeccable, yet Oswalt does not clutter his text with citations. Instead, each chapter ends with a Notes section which takes the form of a critical bibliographic essay. These essays, together with the Reference listing, provide a most useful guide to the vast literature on Eskimos and early Northern voyages. This book is among that rare breed that lay public, students and professional Arctic researchers alike can savour. Last, I commend the publisher for making this important work available at such a reasonable price.

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Pentland, David C. and Christoph Wolfart: *Bibliography of Algonquian Linguistics*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1982, 333 pp. ISBN: Cloth 0-88755-128-9; Paper 0-88755-611-6. \$25.00 cloth, \$14.50 paper.

This bibliography is a well designed reference work for scholars in the field, the generalist, and students.

Works are listed from 1891 through 1981 plus earlier titles overlooked by Pilling in his exhaustive *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (1891). The Preface states that the work is intended to be "practical rather than historical: . . . author and audience alike need a current reference work which . . . will prove reasonably comprehensive and reliable." The compilers go on to state

" . . . we plan to bring this bibliography up to date on a regular basis, we welcome corrections and additions."

The book is physically attractive and well bound, printed in a clearly readable type face on good quality paper. Its reference apparatus is excellent. Significant information is highlighted and there are many features which will save the user time. Notable examples are the setting off of the publication date in a column to the left of the entry thus making it easy to pick out publications from a particular time period; the naming of reviewers and date of reviews in the annotations; and the printing of the name of the first author listed on the left hand page along with the running title for that page and the name of the last author listed on the right hand page along with its running title facilitating quick access to the work of specific authors and making it easier for generalists to identify these authors.

The arrangement in the main body of the work is by author. There are short clarifying annotations which give added information content, reprint editions, reviews, etc. The publications in which reviews appeared are not cited. Some typical entries are:

Trowbridge, C.C.

1939 Shawnee traditions: C.C. Trowbridge's account [ca. 1824]. Vernon Kinietz & Erminie W. Voegelin, eds.  
University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Occasional Contributions 9. Ann Arbor.

Pp. xxi+71; reprint New York; AMS Press, 1978.  
Kickapoo and Shawnee vocabulary 67-71 reviewed by Frank T. Siebert, 1940.

Walker, Willard

1981 Native American writing systems.  
Charles A. Ferguson & Shirley Brice Heath, eds., Language in the United States of America 145-174. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

includes Shawnee, Fox, Potawatomi

Wood, William C.H.

1912 The place names of Quebec.  
University Magazine 11:220-231. Montreal.

some Micmac names 220-223.

The Index is by language subdivided by subjects:

Language Headings are: Algonquian (General); Algonquian (Comparative & Historical); Algonquian (Wider Connections): Abenaki, Eastern; Abenaki, Western; Arapaho; Atsina; Beothuk: Blackfoot; Cheyenne; Cree; Etchemin; Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo; Loup B; Mahican; Malecite-Passamaquoddy; Massachusetts; Menomini; Miami-Illinois; Micmac; Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk; Montagnais; Munsee; Nanticoke-Conoy; Narragansett; Nawathinehena; Nipmuck-Pocumtuck; Ojibwa; Pamlico; Potawatomi; Powhatan; Quiripi-Unquachog; Shawnee; Shinnecock; Unami ("Delaware"); Wappinger; Wiyot; Yurok.

Subject Headings are: General Algonquian: Surveys; Historiography; Bibliographies; Methodology. Gramatical Studies: Grammars; Grammatical Discussions; Phonology; Morphology & Syntax; Semantics. Studies of Related Topics: Classification; Linguistic History; Dialects; Language Use; Language Use: Loans; Writing; Primary Education. Sources: Dictionaries; Vocabularyes; Vocabularyes: Kin Terms; Place Names; Words; Texts; Texts: Songs.

The scope and limitations of coverage are clearly spelt out in the Introduction. As the main objective of the work is to meet the needs of practicing Algonquianists, its coverage is limited to Algonquian linguistics. Ethnographic accounts and literary works published without the Algonquian original are included only if they contain at least some terms or names in an Algonquian language, works of purely local interest in the field of Algonquian toponomy have been omitted, obituaries of prominent Algonquianists and biographical and historical works which deal with their subjects' studies in Algonquian linguistics are included and a sampling of pedagogical works is included.

The Introduction states "... this bibliography is addressed to Algonquianists first and foremost -- and to librarians and bibliophiles only secondarily - it follows bibliographical conventions which we have found practical, without regard to their status among professional cataloguers." The reviewer is a librarian and in no way an Algonquianist. I have not tried to judge on inclusions and exclusions because I do not feel competent to do so. I have found the work to be very well prepared, accurate and easy to use. I highly recommend it both for scholars and for libraries. It is particularly suitable for libraries which serve undergraduate university students.

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Sprague, D.M. and R.P. Fry: *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983. Note; Introduction by D.M. Sprague, 38 pp., Tabs, Maps, Illus. ISBN 0-919143-34-2, \$19.95 paper.

The story of Metis development and dispersal during the years 1820-1900 in the North-West has been well documented. This book not only adds to that historiography but provides as well a firm basis for further research. The Introduction, written by D.N. Sprague (Department of History, University of Manitoba) is a concise portrayal of the development of the First Metis Nation and its eventual dispersal both West and North. The balance of the text consists of tables, simply presented, which can be of inestimable use both to researchers looking for demographic and social patterns during the period and to the descendants of the First Nation searching for their roots.

Sprague's introduction has much to commend it, especially to the historian. To those uninitiated by the Muse of History, it provides a readable account of Metis development during the Nineteenth Century. The narrative includes details of Metis daily life as portrayed by their various means of employment. The theory that the Hudson's Bay Company was responsible for the social divisions between "Scotch halfbreeds" and "inferior" Catholic Metis (Sprague's quotation marks) through their preferential treatment of the former is sure to stimulate further debate. Sprague also reinforces the Company's divisive role by stressing that the Hudson's Bay Company's failure to defer to the natural leaders of native society further divided Metis leadership. This then permitted Louis Riel to assume a dominant role in a Metis community denied a rightful place in Red River society by Company preference for English halfbreeds. Further compounding this issue were the Metis entrepreneurial elite who were doubly removed from any realistic input into the affairs of Red River both because they were Metis and because they were also not part of the ruling elite which Sprague rightfully identifies as retired fur traders and clergy.

The arrival of Canadian sovereignty and the accompanying Resistance in 1870 are played out against this background. The failure of the Metis to retain their rights, guaranteed them in the Manitoba Act, is explained as the result of Macdonald's desire to defy the land promises of the Act despite the British Parliament's decision in 1871 not to allow Canada to alter the provision of laws creating new provinces. The land loss suffered by the Metis after 1870 is portrayed then as a direct result of Hudson's Bay Company preference for English halfbreeds and specifically their provision of land grants for them prior to 1870. The French, Catholic Metis, who did not usually hold such grants found themselves disadvantaged when Canada made proof of agricultural improvements and Hudson's Bay Company land grants a means of proving "undisturbed occupancy." This Canadian condition for the issuance of "letters patent" meant that the Metis were eventually alienated from their land and forced to move. Thus the members of the First Metis Nation, spanning three generations at Red River, were dispersed over the entire North-West.

The general history of Metis development and eventual dispersal outlined in the Introduction is documented much more scientifically in the six tables which comprise the bulk of the work. The section, "Using The Tables," is written in such a manner as to provide not only an explanation for each of the tables but also the instructions for using them. For those with an inherent aversion to "cliometrics" or statistics in any form the explanations are sufficient

to permit ready and easy use of the tabulated material without the stress usually associated with integrated data bases.

The first table, "Genealogy of Red River Households, 1818-1870," provides vital statistics about persons known to have been heads of families before 1870. Those who received land between 1814 and 1835 appear in Table 2, "Family Size and Location, 1835." Hudson's Bay Company use of the Red River Colony as a labour pool with specifics for native employment are illustrated in Table 3, "Contract Employees of the Hudson's Bay Company." Location of households complete with the names of children involved are documented in Table 4, "Geographical Location and Children, 1870." Canadian recognition of land occupancy after 1870 is detailed in Table 5, "Recognition of Occupancy by Canada." The final table, Table 6, deals with population dispersal and relocation of the Manitoba Metis after 1870.

The six tables are compiled from census returns, parish registers and genealogical affidavits collected by Canadian Government officials in 1865. Census returns which are used are both those of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River Census of 1870. Surveyor's field notes and the records of the various "Half-breed Commissions" are also included in the data base. The authors have taken great care to eliminate what they term as nonsense linkages and glaring errors. They do, however, make the point that errors inherent in the original documents make the use of the tables a cautious and critical exercise. Despite these drawbacks, normally present in any comparable piece of research, the tables can be of great value.

Family histories can be traced both vertically across the generations and horizontally within entire kinship networks. Personal property, farm size and usage, equipment and the number of cattle owned, can also be traced. It is in fact, possible to reconstruct a family or families, along with their possessions, property identification, children's names and eventual disposition for most persons listed in the tables. Such information as Riel's ability to act as a broker between the economically obscure and socially prominent in Red River can be determined from an interpretation of the data in the tables. As the authors claim, the mapping of kinship patterns, although no guarantee of the existence of alliances, can however, go far towards explaining the politics of small communities such as Red River in the 1800's.

This book should become a necessary addition to any professional library, despite the high price (\$19.95). The wealth of data it provides can be used both for speculation and analysis and as such anyone interested in the Metis and their role in Western Canada could make good use of the data in the tables. For those who are interested in discovering their roots this work may be the only source, short of the original documents themselves, which is readily available to determine one's ancestral origins.

All in all an interesting and commendable piece of research, literally packed from cover to cover with thought provoking narrative and useful data which should become a welcome addition to the field of Metis and western studies.

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de Tremaudan, A.H.: *Hold High Your Heads, (History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada)*, translated by Elizabeth Maguet, (Introduction by Antoine S. Lussier). Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982. Paper, N.P., ISBN 0-919143-24-5.

In the recent (Vol. 3, No. 1) issue of *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* Professor Antoine S. Lussier has noted the increasing diversity of recent research on the Metis in Canada especially in the twentieth century. This is the first English translation of *Histoire de la Nation Métisse* that was researched and written by the French born A.H. de Tremaudan (1874-1929) in the 1920s. When it was finally published in 1936, it aroused considerable controversy, since it also contained an appendix written by the "Union Nationale Métisée" that was a defence of Louis Riel and the Metis involvement in the Metis resistance of 1885. This was the first time that the Metis people had officially provided their written views of their activities in those events. Those views ran counter to the conventional wisdom of that day, namely that in 1885, the Metis, particularly Louis Riel, were to blame for the bloodshed that occurred in the Riel Rebellion of 1885.

This work also appeared at the time Canadian historians were only beginning to research and write about those same historical events. It was not until June 1936 that George F.G. Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada* appeared. Stanley, sympathetic and interested in Metis views of their past, makes reference to A.H. de Tremaudan in his *Birth of Western Canada*. This historiographical significance of de Tremaudan's *Histoire* and its Appendix is that, at the same time Canadian historians were beginning to research and evaluate the Metis and the resistance of 1885, the Metis and Tremaudan, their "commissioned official historian" were also undertaking research, using similar but not the same, methods of history, including oral as well as written sources.

Professor Lussier, a Metis himself, now Director of the Native Studies Program at the University of Saskatchewan, in his useful Introduction to this English edition, explains and notes this important historiographical divergence. The objective in translating and reprinting this work into English is to recapture and present to Canadians come Metis views of their own history. This book is a social and political statement as well as a labour of love both by de Tremaudan and the translator Elizabeth Maguet, and it should be judged on that basis.

After de Tremaudan's "Preface to the French Edition", the "Foreward to The French Edition" by the Historical Committee of L'Union Nationale Métisse Saint Joseph de Manitoba, and Professor Lussier's introduction, this book

is divided into five parts.

The first part briefly describes the formation of the "Metis Nation", from its ancestors, i.e., the Indian Woman and the French and British men. The second part explains the life of the Metis Nation from about the late eighteenth century to the 1860s showing the development of the Metis people to maturity as a nation prior to its martyrdom, first in 1869-70 and then in 1885. The third part attempts to explain the invasion of the Canadian Government in the 1860s and the years following in terms of the Metis resistance that led to the subsequent partition of Western Canada. The last part ends after the 1885 insurrection with a mere eight pages on "The National Situation of the Metis", only three pages of which deal with the Metis situation after 1885. The author concludes on this subject, that since 1885 "the Metis, by force of circumstance, have become so well assimilated that in many cases it has become impossible to distinguish them from the whites of this country". Among others, this sentence indicates that de Tremaudan's historical account, written in the golden California sunshine, while sympathetic to the struggle of the Metis, is still essentially an outside view of Metis history.

The Appendix on the Metis interpretation of the 1885 Metis insurrection and "Louis Riel's Last Memoire" (Parts 4 and 5 respectively) give more fully than de Tremaudan the depth of feeling of the Metis between 1885 and the 1920s about Metis nationhood.

It is interesting, perhaps significant historiographically, that, as a young Metis historian in the 1980s Professor Lussier did not apparently choose to comment critically in his Introduction on Louis Riel, or on the events of 1869-70 and 1885. His object is to understand and explain, thereby indicating how much more research and critical thought needs to be done on this aspect of native studies in Canada. One can only welcome the publication by Pemmican Publications of this excellent English translation of *Hold High Your Heads*.

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