Unit 3: After Confederation

Coming Up in Unit 3
A certain idea of citizenship shaped Confederation in 1867. Since 1867, this idea has faced challenges, and continues to face challenges today.

- How have events and policies since Confederation shaped Canadian society?
- What ideas of citizenship have shaped Canada since Confederation?

Unit 3 at a Glance

Chapter 9: The Métis Rise Up
The Red River Métis had lasting effects on western Canada, and raised lasting questions about what it means to be a "Canadian."

Chapter 10: Western Expansion and the National Policy
A deliberate policy to populate the west added a variety of new cultures to Canada’s already diverse society. How did the migrations of people it generated shape Canada?
Chapter 11: Citizenship in an Evolving Society

Since Confederation, Canadian society has wrestled with ideas of citizenship. What does it mean to belong to Canadian society? Who belongs today, and how did they come to belong? What impact has technology and the growth of cities had on this issue?
What’s Chapter 9 About?

People often say that the way you behave in a crisis shows a lot about who you are. Canada faced a crisis soon after it became a country. The crisis happened because Canada planned to expand west, but did not consult the people who already lived in the west. This crisis means different things to different Canadians.

Many Métis people lived in the west. For Métis people then and now, the crisis confirmed their unique identity as a people: they rose up and demanded recognition. The crisis also demonstrated that many Anglophone Canadians at that time rejected people of other collective identities.

Canadians felt this rejection, too. The crisis drew the spirit of Confederation into question. Confederation had established Canada as a bilingual, bicultural society. Did the government of Canada take this commitment seriously? Would it uphold the language and education rights of Francophone citizens as Canada expanded west?

Focus Questions

- What issues did the Métis uprisings in the west raise for Canada?
- In what way did different ideas of citizenship shape events?
- What consequences did Canada’s response to the uprisings have for Canadian society?
CHAPTER TASK
Present an Informed Opinion

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is an idea in the making — a place where the history and stories of human rights in Canada will be showcased.

The museum is still in the planning stages. The museum board is currently seeking input from interested Canadians on one of the essential questions about Canada’s past:

What is the importance of Louis Riel in Canadian history?

Please send us your ideas. Make sure to answer the following questions:

• What is the historical context of Louis Riel?
• What perspectives on this aspect of Canada’s past need to be considered?
• What were the positive and negative consequences of the political decisions made during this period of history?
• Do you recommend including an exhibit on Louis Riel in the new human rights museum? Why or why not?

Your submission may be presented in written or multimedia format.

Thank you for your interest. We look forward to your submission.
The Red River Resistance

GET READY

Two Métis uprisings shaped the history of Canada. This section is about the first uprising at Red River in 1869 and 1870. It presents information about these chapter-focus questions:

What issues did the Métis uprisings in the west raise for Canada?

In what way did different ideas of citizenship shape events?

As you read this section, look for evidence to answer these questions from the perspective of Métis people, of Canadiens and of English-speaking Canadians.

What Was the Red River Resistance?

Starting in October 1869, the people of Red River began to resist a plan of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Britain and Canada to transfer their region to Canada without consulting them.

In April 1869, Canada had concluded an agreement with the Hudson’s Bay Company and Britain to take possession of Rupert’s Land and British-claimed territories in the northwest. As part of the agreement, Canada’s government paid the HBC £300,000 (about $1.5 million).

Few of the people living in Rupert’s Land or the northwest territory were consulted about this agreement.

The Métis people of Red River wanted a say in their future, but Canada intended to make their settlement part of a territory in which they would have little say.

Who Were the People of Red River?

Fertile land had attracted many people to the Red River settlement: Francophone Métis people, Anglophone Métis people, Canadiens, retired British HBC employees, and Scottish and Irish colonists.

By 1869, when the HBC transferred Rupert’s Land and the northwest to Canada, the majority of the people living at Red River were Métis. About half of the total population spoke French, and about half spoke English.
The Red River Resistance centred in the Red River settlement, which lay west of Canada in 1868. Look at the map of the settlement. What geographic feature accounts for the shape of the settlement? Why?
RED RIVER, RUPERT’S LAND Wednesday, August 25, 1869 — We heard them nearly an hour before we saw them. Hundreds of Red River carts were approaching the settlement, returning from months spent hunting and processing buffalo.

“A single cart is noisy enough on its own, never mind an army of them,” laughed one of the local Métis farmers. “That shrieking you hear is the sound of wood rubbing on wood,” he explained. “The carts’ wheels and axles are made of wood. That way, if a cart breaks down, you can always find spare parts!”

From a distance, the huge convoy sounded like an unearthly choir, with each cart singing its own insistent note. As the carts drew nearer, the noise became almost unbearable.

This year, more than a thousand men, women and children took part in the annual buffalo hunt, which is a highly organized affair run as precisely as a military campaign. Today, I was privileged to be on the scene when they arrived back home.

A cause for celebration
Home for the Métis people is Red River, where they have farmed for generations. Their way of life revolves around raising crops and livestock on their farms, and working in the fur trade. The people at Red River are particularly involved in supplying pemmican to the Hudson’s Bay Company. They hunt buffalo every year, partly to provision their own families and partly to trade pemmican with the HBC.

With buffalo becoming scarce in this part of Rupert’s Land, the annual hunt is growing ever more important to Red River. When the hunters return to Red River — their carts and animals loaded with buffalo hides, bones, and tonnes of pemmican — everybody celebrates.

As the afternoon turns to evening, the entire colony gathers to feast and dance. Homemade fiddles fill the air (a pleasant change after the howl of the carts) as everyone tries to outdo one another in the famous Red River Jig, or Oayache Mannin as it’s called here.
There’s a real sense of community in Red River. For one thing, families live close to one another on “river lots”—long, narrow farms stretching back from the riverbanks. A trail along the river connects the houses. “I can visit eight families by walking 20 minutes in one direction, and eight more by walking the other way!” remarked one farmer to me, during a break from the jigging.

River lots give each family access to the river for transportation, and for water for themselves and their animals. They follow the same pattern as Canadien farms in Québec.

If you plan to visit Red River, you’ll need the help of a very creative travel agent. Red River can be reached only by dogsled in the winter, or by canoe or York boat in the summer—that is, unless you have your very own Red River cart.

On the brink of change?
Before you make any travel plans, be sure to check the latest news from the district.

The Red River settlement has faced extra stresses this year, besides the scarcity of buffalo. Crops have failed due to dry weather and swarms of grasshoppers.

In addition, surveyors from Canada are in the vicinity. The surveyors are measuring the land into sections, so that settlers from Canada can claim it. The Hudson’s Bay Company has transferred Rupert’s Land to Canada, but little consultation as taken place with the people of Red River about the future of their settlement. Many people are concerned about what the future holds.

RESPOND

The Métis people wanted rights to the land they lived on.
1. How did the Métis use the land to make their living?
   Give some examples.

2. Think back to the issues in the negotiations for Confederation.
   Why would people in Ontario want to challenge Métis rights to land?
What Triggered the Red River Resistance?

By December 1869, the Red River settlement faced many stresses. Crops had failed, the buffalo were declining, and Canada seemed to be making plans for Rupert’s Land and the northwest as if nobody lived there.

The presence of Canadian surveyors was particularly troubling.

In April 1869, the HBC, Britain and Canada had worked out an agreement to transfer Rupert’s Land to Canada. They decided the transfer was to take place in December 1869. Surveyors from Canada, however, entered the territory in July 1869. They began to measure the land into sections for settlement — settlement that would push the fur trade, and the Métis way of life, off the land. Worse, the surveyors sometimes went right through Métis farms as if they didn’t exist.

In a famous incident in October 1869, Métis leader Louis Riel stopped the surveyors from crossing his cousin’s farm.

The next month, an official of Canada’s government tried to enter Rupert’s Land — William McDougall. Canada had appointed McDougall lieutenant-governor of the territory, and wanted him in Red River before the transfer of the territory took place. Métis volunteers set up a blockade and stopped him. The Métis then took control of Fort Garry, the major HBC trading post in the vicinity. The HBC did not resist the seizure of the fort, which took place without a shot fired.

In December 1869, the Métis declared a provisional government at Fort Garry and issued the Declaration of the People of Rupert’s Land and the North-West. The members of the provisional government chose Louis Riel as president.
RESPOND

1. Use the information on page 277 to set up a timeline of events at Red River in 1869. Check your work with a small group of classmates. Did you all come up with the same sequence? If not, try to clarify the correct sequence.

   Check pages 384 and 385 of the Skills Centre for tips on making timelines.

2. If you could change one event in your timeline, what event would you change? As a group, make a choice.

3. Timelines can help clarify cause-and-effect links among events. How does the event your group chose demonstrate this? Prepare to explain the links between the event you chose and other events on the timeline.

4. Think about what citizenship means. What signals had Canada’s government given the people at Red River that they would not count as citizens in Canadian society? Give at least two examples.

5. In the declaration of the provisional government, what words and phrases challenge Canada’s government to rethink its ideas of citizenship? What words in the declaration describe Canada? What words describe the population of Rupert’s Land and the northwest?

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Declaration of the People of Rupert’s Land and the North-West

We solemnly declare that the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the government it had established, abandoned us by transferring its authority to a strange power (Canada). The people of Rupert’s Land and the North-West are now free from all allegiance to the Hudson’s Bay Company.

We refuse to recognize the authority of Canada, which pretends to have a right to coerce us.

We have acted according to the sacred right which commands every citizen to prevent his country from being enslaved.

We continue and shall continue to oppose with all our strength the establishing of Canadian authority in our country.

We do declare and proclaim in the name of the people of Rupert’s Land and the North-West that we have established a provisional government. We hold it to be the only lawful authority now in existence in Rupert’s Land and the North-West.

We are ready to enter into negotiations with the Canadian government, with the goal of ensuring good government and prosperity for this people.

— Adapted from the Declaration of the People of Rupert’s Land and the North-West, 1869.

coerce: to force
The Métis Rise Up

**History Happens**

**Special Edition on the Red River, 1869** The “newspaper” from the past for today’s reader.

**Letters to the Editor**

— by Beatrix Chronos, your time-roving reporter

These “letters” represent the major issues and positions that developed as the Red River uprising unfolded. They use an element of imagination to present historical information and authentic points of view.

Watch this page in History Happens for updates on issues and opinions as events unfold.

**Ontario Wants Western Expansion**

I remind Mr. Macdonald that Ontario expects him to take firm possession of Rupert’s Land for Canada. The people of Ontario need more farmland. We have already developed all the best land here, and now we’re looking west.

Don’t forget, Mr. Macdonald, that Ontario has the most seats in Canada’s parliament. If you want to remain prime minister, you need to listen to us.

— A concerned voter from Ontario

**Will Canada Honour Canadien Identity?**

The way Mr. Macdonald responds to the Red River Resistance will show whether English-speaking Canadians really believe that this country has two founding cultures: Canadien and British. Will Francophone, Catholic people be welcome everywhere in this dominion, or only in Québec? As Canadiens in the west, we simply want recognition of our rights.

We hope Mr. Macdonald and all of Canada will respect our rights and recognize the contribution of Canadiens to the development of the west. It’s a contribution with a long history. The Canadien explorer and fur trader Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye established the first fur trade posts on Lake Winnipeg in the 1730s. Let’s remember that the French language was the first European language spoken in the west.

— Un Canadien de l’ouest

**Equality for the Métis and Everyone**

Many people in Red River are unhappy with the transfer of HBC territory to Canada: French-speaking and English-speaking people. The people of Red River — all of them — have rights that need to be respected and reasons to be alarmed. Why were we not consulted about the proposed transfer of Rupert’s Land to Canada? Why is Canada preparing to flood the territory with settlers, without any regard for the way of life the Métis have established here? It makes us think Canada plans to count us out. But we will not be counted out. We will make Canada negotiate with us. If we decide to enter Confederation, we will do so on our own terms.

We do not wish to enter Confederation until the claims of all people have been given equality.

— A citizen of Red River
Canada Must Respect the Royal Proclamation

We are concerned that First Nations in the northwest get proper recognition. So far, Canada has shown no signs that this will happen. The opposite is true. First Nations did not agree to become “responsibilities” of Canada’s government, as the BNA Act states. We did not agree to be “transferred” to Canada when it “bought” Rupert’s Land. We are independent nations with our own governments and our own lands.

We remind Mr. Macdonald that he must negotiate with First Nations as nations. Canada must live up to the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which recognizes the rights of First Nations to the land and prevents European settlement on the land until First Nations have negotiated treaties.

— One voice among many

Need a Hand?

Many of us in the United States would be quite happy to take this troublesome territory off your hands. Some of us have presented a motion to Congress calling for the annexation of the Red River and northwest territories to the United States. Just say the word, and we’ll be there. We may even turn up without an invitation.

— Your helpful neighbour

RESPOND

It appears that Prime Minister Macdonald is in a difficult situation.

1. What groups do these letters to the editor represent?
2. Find at least one example of how resolving the Red River Resistance for one group would create problems for another group.
3. Do you have any advice for Mr. Macdonald, based on your own experience with solving disputes?
What Made Louis Riel a Leader?

Louis Riel was born at St. Boniface in the Red River settlement. His father was Métis and his mother was a *Canadienne*. He was raised in the Francophone Catholic community of St. Boniface, but he identified strongly with the Francophone Métis.

When Riel was 14, he went to study at the Collège de Montréal. Riel was a good student and received a broad education in languages, including English, and the sciences.

He returned to Red River in 1868. He stood out in his community as someone with higher education who could speak English, French and Cree.

In the transfer of Rupert’s Land from the HBC to Canada in 1869, Riel saw opportunity to establish the Red River settlement as a province. He understood that Confederation could give the settlement an elected (provincial) government with control over local affairs. Through Confederation, the settlement could also set conditions for joining Canada, such as establishing rights for Francophone, Catholic people and for Métis people.

In December 1869, the Métis formed a provisional government without elections and chose Riel as president. Two months later, Riel called for elections. He sought support from all the people settled at Red River: Francophones and Anglophones, Catholics and Protestants.

In February 1870, Francophone and Anglophone communities of Red River each elected 20 representatives to the provisional government. These representatives then elected Riel as president.

RESPOND

1. By what method did Louis Riel become a leader? To what extent does the way he was chosen influence your opinion of him as a leader?

2. What idea of citizenship shaped Louis Riel’s leadership? Who did his idea of citizenship include? How do you know?

3. Would a person with Riel’s characteristics make a good leader in Canadian society today? Why?
Meeting Louis Riel

Louis Riel is one of the most controversial figures in Canadian history. People disagree about him now, and people disagreed about him then.

The following very different impressions of Louis Riel date from the time of the Red River Resistance.

What Nathaniel Langford Saw

Nathaniel Pitt Langford, an American who visited Red River in 1870, wrote this after meeting Louis Riel:

Riel is about 28 years of age, has a fine physique, of active temperament, a great worker, and I think is able to endure a great deal. He is a large man... of very winning persuasive manners; and in his whole bearing, energy and ready decision are prominent characteristics; — and in this fact, lies his great powers — for I should not give him credit for great profundity, yet he is sagacious, and I think thoroughly patriotic and no less thoroughly incorruptible.

— From Lewis H. Thomas, “Louis Riel”, Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, University of Toronto, Université Laval and Library and Archives Canada.

What Robert Cunningham Saw

In January 1870, reporter Robert Cunningham travelled to Red River to meet Louis Riel. The article Robert Cunningham later wrote shows his bias against the Métis leader. It also, however, captures first-hand statements of the Métis people’s cause. As you read the following piece from the article, think critically about where the reporter reveals his prejudices and where he states the facts.

Métis volunteers seized Fort Garry, a Hudson’s Bay post in the Red River settlement, in November 1869.
The piece begins after Robert Cunningham arrived at Fort Garry, which Métis volunteers had seized in November 1869.

I was conducted to the guardroom.

“Will Monsieur take a seat by the stove?”

Monsieur thanked him and sat down by the stove.

Monsieur sat a long time by the stove. Eleven, twelve, one, two o’clock, but none of them brought M. le President, Louis Riel. One of the guards took a seat beside him.

“Shall I tell Monsieur what we want?” said he, turning to his confrères.

“Oui,” resounded all around. So my friend resumed, “We want to be treated as free men. Canada’s government offered to pay three hundred thousand pounds to the Hudson’s Bay Company for the Red River Territory. Now, we want to know what they mean to buy? Is it the land? If so, who gave the Hudson’s Bay Company the right to sell the land? When Canada’s government bought the land, did it buy what was on it? Did it buy us? Are we the slaves of the Hudson’s Bay Company?”

“Non!” resounded on all sides.

“No, we are not slaves. But remember, and you may tell Canada’s people this when you go home, we do not want to kill anyone in this quarrel. We have hurt no one yet, nor do we mean to. Let the Canadian government come and negotiate with us as free men, and we will lay down our arms, and go to our homes.”

As the hour approached at which I was positively assured the President would appear, I felt somewhat anxious. I had seen some pen and ink sketches of the President, in which he was portrayed as an Alexander or a Napoleon. The prospect of meeting with an Alexander or a Napoleon was surely enough to fluster most men.
Louis Riel was a man of about thirty years of age, about five feet seven inches in height — rather stoutly built. He head was covered with dark, curly hair. He stood gazing at me in the most piercing manner, at least, there is no doubt he thought so. I did my utmost to see in him a Napoleon or an Alexander, but it was a failure. I could not get beyond the fact that there stood before me a linen draper’s assistant. There could be no mistake about that. I indicated that the people of Canada were anxious to know all about this Red River affair. *M. le President* observed that he thought the people of Canada knew all about it already. “Look here, and here, and here,” he said, pointing to great blotches of ink on a desk. “Some ink has been used, has it not, in writing facts — what more do you want?” said the Modern Alexander.

I indicated that the people of Canada desired to have the facts of the case laid before them in a plain, honest way. *M. le President* made no direct reply to this, but struck the desk violently with his hand, and said “we are in the right, we are in the right!” and walked off.


**RESPOND**

Nathaniel Langford and Robert Cunningham saw Louis Riel in very different ways.

1. Use a graphic organizer to list examples of facts and opinions in each description. Under the organizer, write down the criteria you used to distinguish facts from opinions.

2. In what way does Robert Cunningham portray Louis Riel as someone who considers himself a conqueror? What facts about Louis Riel’s leadership (see page 281) contradict this assessment?

3. Parts of Robert Cunningham’s article are more reliable than others, as far as representing the perspectives of Métis people. What parts? What makes them more reliable?

4. Like the Métis uprisings, many events in today’s world provoke biased, emotional responses. How can you get a reliable fact-based picture of these kinds of events? With a group of classmates, formulate at least one strategy and share it with the class.
The Death of Thomas Scott

After the Métis took over Fort Garry and the people of Red River had elected the provisional government, a group of settlers from Ontario tried to overthrow the government. These settlers had intolerant views. They believed that British Protestant people should have power over other peoples. They dismissed the idea of equality for people of other collective identities, such as Métis people or Canadiens.

In February 1870, the government at Red River arrested some of these settlers and tried them for conspiring against its authority. In March 1870, it convicted and shot one of them, Thomas Scott. As president of the government, Riel could have spared Scott’s life, but he did not.

Some considered this action justifiable. Others considered it inexcusable.

Scott acted on all occasions as a fanatic, and it was necessary to give an example of severity and firmness. The people of Ontario are using this execution to raise prejudice and hatred, not only against the Métis, but against all that is French and Catholic. I believe impartial people grant that Riel and his government were perfectly right to act as they have. The government at Red River is the only government here, and it has been established and recognized by elected representatives.

— Adapted from a statement by Louis Schmidt, a member of the government at Red River.

RESPOND

1. Conflicts often pressure people to choose sides. After the death of Thomas Scott, many people in Canada felt that pressure. Using the perspectives on this page, how would you characterize the two ways to view the death of Thomas Scott?

2. To what extent do you personally feel it is important to take a stand on the death of Thomas Scott? For example, do you think you need to take a stand to complete your chapter task? Why or why not?
The Manitoba Act

GET READY

The Red River Resistance ended with the negotiation of the Manitoba Act. This section describes the act, and what outcome it had for the people of Red River. It provides information that answers the chapter-focus question:

What consequences did Canada’s response to the uprisings have for Canadian society?

As you read this section, look for:
- Examples of how the act answered the objectives of the Métis, Canadiens and English-speaking Canadians.
- Examples of how it failed to answer those objectives.

Key Features of the Manitoba Act

The government of Canada and the provisional government at Red River negotiated the Manitoba Act, which brought the settlement of Red River into Confederation as an officially bilingual province — the province of Manitoba.

In many ways, the act was a compromise.

Have you ever compromised to solve a problem? Say you and some friends want to go to a movie together, but you can’t agree on what movie to see. The perfect solution for you would be for all your friends to agree to come to the movie you like. A compromise solution might be for you to go to the movie of your choice without all your friends. Or, you might decide to stick with all your friends and go to a different movie.

The Manitoba Act was a compromise because many people felt they had a stake in how the Red River uprising was resolved.
Who Had a Stake?

- Métis people at Red River wanted an elected government, rights protecting the French language and Catholic religion, and acknowledgement of their rights to land.
- Canadiens wanted a country that respected the commitments to them contained in Confederation, which established Canada as a bilingual, bicultural country, and that respected their history and identity.
- First Nations wanted recognition of their rights to the land, and negotiations with Canada that honoured those rights.
- Many English-speaking Canadians in Ontario wanted the freedom to move west and establish farms.
- Canada’s government, led by John A. Macdonald, wanted to build a railway west to British Columbia. This also required land, and the government hoped to acquire it with as little trouble as possible.

What Compromise Did the Manitoba Act Strike?

| Acknowledged First Nations peoples’ rights to land. | Did not specify any particular tracts of land for the Métis. |
| Committed public funding for both Protestant and Catholic schools. | Did not suggest a process or principles for negotiating with First Nations. |
| Made French and English official languages of Manitoba’s legislature. | Did not give Manitoba control over public lands, although the original provinces in Confederation had this control. The federal government took control of public lands. |
| Established Manitoba as a province, which gave the people of Manitoba the right to elect a provincial government and representatives to Canada’s federal government. | Made Manitoba small: the rest of Rupert’s Land and the northwest territory came under direct federal control. Defined “qualified voters” as permanent residents. Many Métis could not meet this requirement because of the time they spent out of province on the annual buffalo hunt. |
Because of the Manitoba Act, Manitoba became the fifth province to enter Confederation. In 1870, it was, as you can see, much smaller than it is today.

**RESPOND**

1. Some people believe the ability to compromise is a trait that characterizes Canadians. To what extent is the Manitoba Act an example of compromise, in your opinion? Back up your position with examples.

2. Think of how you resolve conflicts in your own life. What are some of the advantages of compromising, in your experience?

3. In what situations can compromising be a bad idea?

4. In your opinion, can compromising affect different groups in society differently? For example, how might compromising affect a minority group differently than a group that forms a majority in society?
Should Canada have an official Louis Riel Day?

The Topic
This chapter introduces you to Louis Riel and describes the uprisings he led of the Métis people. Some Canadians honour this important chapter in Canadian history by marking Louis Riel Day each year. Should all Canadians mark this day? Should Louis Riel Day become an official Canadian holiday?

Getting Started
Work with a group of classmates to plan this inquiry. Start with these questions:

- Who marks Louis Riel Day now? On what date? Why this date?
- What evidence can you find of events in Alberta marking Louis Riel Day?
- Has Canada’s parliament ever considered designating an official Louis Riel Day?
- In what ways might the idea of an official Louis Riel Day spark controversy?

Your Goal
On your own, keep track of your process for retrieving information during this inquiry. Be sure to answer these questions:

- Where did you look for information? What new sources did you try as the inquiry progressed? Why?
- What new keywords did you develop as the inquiry progressed? How did you develop them? How useful were they in retrieving more information?
- How did you document your sources of information?
- What strategies helped you identify and verify information that seemed unreliable?

Finishing Up
Be prepared to debate informally whether Canada should have an official Louis Riel Day in class. Based on your research, what’s your opinion?
BREAKING NEWS — After Manitoba entered Canada as a province, Canada sent troops to Red River to secure the territory. The move has helped settle some of the anger in Ontario over the death of Thomas Scott. History Happens has learned that Canada has granted amnesty to all members of the provisional government at Red River, except those it holds responsible for Scott’s death. This includes Métis leader, Louis Riel.

Letters to the Editor
— by Beatrix Chronos, your time-roving reporter

Outrage in Ontario

Mr. Riel has forced us into this deal by showing his willingness to use violence. In my opinion, the Manitoba Act gives French Catholics too much power. Canada is a British dominion, after all. The west needs the firm stamp of British institutions and the English language.

Here’s the only good thing about the Manitoba Act: the new province is the size of a postage stamp!

— An Ontario voter

Good Work, Monsieur Riel

We are pleased that the Manitoba Act acknowledges the French language and our Canadien culture, and we commend M. Riel for standing up to defend our culture as Francophone, Catholic people. The Francophones of western Canada will take their place beside the Canadien of Quebec and the Acadians of the Maritimes.

— Un Canadien de l’ouest

Dissatisfied, and Moving On

We are disappointed that we had to create a crisis before Canada would even consider our rights. We have some concerns, now the crisis is over, that Canada may not honour its commitments.

The Manitoba Act promises us land, but instead of land, the government has given us “scrip” that we can exchange for land. The rules for exchanging scrip are complicated, and many of us have lost our homes.

Some of the new settlers coming from Ontario, and some of the troops Mr. Macdonald has sent, treat us like enemies. One of our people, Elzéar Goulet, has been murdered, but no one has been arrested for it.

Many Métis people have decided to leave Red River, which has become an unwelcoming and even dangerous place.

— A former citizen of Red River

The government gives scrip, like this, to Métis people. They can exchange the scrip for land, but often not for the land they want — the land they have farmed for generations.
Elzéar Goulet, a Métis resident of Winnipeg and known supporter of Louis Riel, drowned in the Red River on September 13, 1870, trying to escape a group of men and soldiers. The men threw rocks at Goulet after he entered the water. One rock is reported to have hit him on the head, knocking him unconscious.

Some reports say the men were “Orangemen” — people of strong Protestant and British sympathies. Others say the soldiers wanted to arrest Goulet for his possible role in the death of Thomas Scott.

The Manitoba Act solves nothing for the First Nations peoples who live in the territory Canada now claims. We also have rights. Canada also needs to negotiate with us.

— One voice among many

A Friendly Observation

Seems like you’ve weathered the crisis, for now. The people of Red River have negotiated an agreement with Canada, and now Canada has sent troops to occupy the area. If the territory had fallen into our hands, we would have taken it, but we don’t really want to fight you for it. Canada has used a carrot and a stick to gain control of the northwest — first the carrot of negotiation and now the stick of military might.

— Your helpful neighbour

The Manitoba Act recognized the rights of Francophone, Catholic people to maintain their language and religion, and the right of the Métis people to land. It reflected an idea of citizenship that included Canadien and Métis people. In what way did the actions of the government of Canada after the Red River Resistance contradict this idea of citizenship? Give at least two examples.
BUILD THE BIG PICTURE

Many Métis people left the Red River settlement soon after the Red River Resistance. Some left a few years later, as settlers from Ontario moved into Manitoba to establish farms.

What direction did the Métis migration from Red River take? Why?

The Métis established many communities further west, including the “South Branch” communities, along the “south branch” of the Saskatchewan River (the South Saskatchewan River).

How did ecoregions influence the Métis migration?

The Great Plains Ecozone supported North America’s buffalo herds. Over-hunting decimated these herds by the late 1880s.

As the buffalo declined, they became less and less common in the eastern part of their range. During the 1850s and 1860s, Métis hunters from Red River began setting up outposts — cabins where they sometimes spent the winter — closer to the herds, around Batoche, Fort Edmonton, Cypress Hills and in Montana.
The Métis Rise Up

How did routes through the west influence the Métis migration?

The maps on pages 292 and 293 show the boundaries of Canada’s provinces and territories today. These boundaries didn’t exist during the 1870s. We have included them to orient you.

By the mid-1800s, overland transportation routes using the Red River cart had become as important as river systems for **freighting** goods to and from western fur trade posts. The Carlton Trail, between Red River and Fort Edmonton, was a major route through the prairies.

In 1885, Canada completed the CPR in its drive to connect BC to the east and open the west to settlement.

**RESPOND**

Use the maps about ecoregions and routes to identify some “push” and “pull” factors of the Métis people’s migration west after the Red River Resistance.

1. What factors pushed the Métis west?
2. Can you identify at least two factors that pulled them this direction?
3. What positives and negatives would this migration have had for the Métis people?
The Second Métis Uprising

GET READY

The second Métis uprising took place in 1885. It had many similarities to the Red River Resistance, and some crucial differences. This section adds more information to the chapter-focus questions you explored for the first uprising.

What issues did the Métis uprisings in the west raise for Canada?

What consequences did Canada’s response to the uprisings have for Canadian society?

As you work through this section, keep track of:
• Who was involved in the uprising.
• Why they were involved.
• How Canada responded.

The Métis at South Branch

In the South Branch communities, the Métis people from Red River started over. They established farms and worked in the fur trade, providing supplies and services to Fort Carlton and Fort Edmonton. They continued their annual buffalo hunts.

By the 1880s, the buffalo was almost extinct on the prairies because of overhunting by Canadian, American and European hunters. This photo from the 1890s shows the waste of these years. The loss of the buffalo led to food shortages for many First Nations and Métis people. Many people were unable to replace this important food source with alternatives, especially since the fur trade had depleted the population of many animals on the prairies. Without the buffalo, many people faced starvation.

What other challenge to traditional ways of life does this photo show?
The people who settled in the South Branch communities knew they would eventually face the same challenges they had faced at Red River. The buffalo would continue to decline and settlers would continue to push west. Canada now formally controlled the west, and had begun to demonstrate its authority. It set up a police force for the territory in 1873: the North West Mounted Police. Canada’s government had plans to build a railway across the west to BC.

The Métis at South Branch began to send petitions to the federal government, starting in the early 1870s. Government surveyors had already begun to arrive, and the Métis wanted recognition for the farms and settlements they had established.

Land speculators had also arrived. They were marketing land along the route they thought the railway to BC would go. The government’s original plan was to run the railway between Winnipeg and Edmonton. Canada’s government granted one land company, the Prince Albert Colonization Company, huge tracts of land that included the Métis settlements at South Branch, as if these communities didn’t exist.

The Métis sent petition after petition, asking to correct these problems, but Canada’s government did not respond. The drive to complete the railway had made Canada’s government deaf to the concerns of Métis people in the west, and of First Nations such as the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Cree.

In 1884, a leader from the South Branch communities, Gabriel Dumont, went to seek the help of Louis Riel. Riel was living in a Métis community in Montana, where he had become a schoolteacher, had married, and started a family. Although he had established a new life, Louis Riel left Montana with his family and came to the South Branch communities. He began talking to Francophone and Anglophone Métis, and other settlers, about a way forward.

**Land speculator:** a person who buys up land with the intention of selling it to make a profit

Gabriel Dumont was well known among Métis people and First Nations people for his hunting skill and because he led the annual Métis buffalo hunt. He left Red River soon after the Red River Resistance and encouraged many Métis people to settle in the South Branch region.
Louis Riel Returns

A Story about the South Branch Communities

March 26, 1885

Dear Diary,

It’s been many years since I saw M. Riel. I still remember him at the beginning of our struggle for rights. In the heat of the guardhouse at Fort Garry, he slammed the table in front of the reporter from Montréal. He helped us then. I hope he can help us now.

After the Red River Resistance, my family came to Batoche. We have petitioned for rights to our land here, but the government has not responded.

We face other difficulties, too. The buffalo we depend on have almost disappeared. We are short of food, and so are the Cree and Nakoda living here. The Cree and Nakoda are having a particularly hard time, because a smallpox epidemic has broken out among them. They desperately need food and medicine.
The white settlers in this region also have grievances. They came here because they expected the railway to pass nearby. But the railway is being built further south. The future these settlers expected has vanished.

M. Riel said we should all work together — Métis, First Nations, white settlers, all of us. At first, he advised us to stay calm and be patient. He said he would help us negotiate with the Canadian federal government to become a province. Last fall, he drafted a petition, which the federal government said it would consider.

But last week, we heard that the federal government is sending troops against us. So, at Batoche, our Métis leaders have formed a provisional government. Our government has decided to fight the Canadian troops.

Like most Francophone Métis, I support this move, but many Anglophone Métis and white settlers have voted to stay neutral. Two Cree leaders have declared support for our government — Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahimaskwa. They hope this will persuade Canada to pay more attention to the needs of their people.

We Métis have already fought a battle. We raided some stores for food. When some North West Mounted Police arrived to arrest us, a skirmish started. Five of us died and twelve police died.

We have heard that Pitikwahanapiwiyin has occupied a nearby town and taken some food without bloodshed. Some of Mistahimaskwa’s fighters, against his advice, have seized an HBC store, and killed nine people.

We expect to see the Canadian troops any day, and we are getting ready to defend our homes and families.

**RESPOND**

The Red River Resistance and the second Métis uprising had important similarities and differences. For some people, the similarities between these events count more than the differences. For other people, it’s the other way around.

1. One key difference between the events is that Canada had official control of the west when the second Métis uprising occurred. How might this affect the words people use to describe these events? Use a dictionary to check the meaning of *resistance* and *uprising*.

2. In what way were the causes of the two events similar? Give some examples.

3. Why might the similarities between the two events shape the way people describe them? For example, some people use *resistance* to describe both. How do you explain this?
What does this cartoon say about Macdonald's choice between granting Riel a pardon or letting him hang? Did Macdonald face a simple or a difficult decision?

Look for labels: Do you recognize Prime Minister Macdonald? Can you identify Louis Riel? What words appear on the horses?

Summarize the situation: Why is it important that the horses are pointed different directions? What will happen once they start to move?

Check the source: This cartoon appeared in Grip in August 1885. Grip was an English-language magazine from Ontario. It supported the death sentence for Louis Riel, but blamed “plotting” land speculators and “drowsy” federal politicians for the second Métis uprising.

How Did Canada Respond?
As it turned out, Canada had not decided to send troops against the South Branch communities. But it did make that decision once the Métis declared their provisional government at Batoche. Using the new railway, six hundred troops arrived in the region and marched on Batoche.

The Battle of Batoche lasted three days. By the end, an estimated one hundred Métis fighters and Canadian soldiers had died.

Many Métis people continue to live at Batoche, which hosts Back to Batoche each year — a celebration of Métis history and identity.

Riel gave himself up to the Canadian troops, as did Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahimaskwa. They were all charged with treason and found guilty. Pitikwahanapiwiyin and Mistahimaskwa were imprisoned. Riel was executed.

Why did Riel, alone, receive the death penalty? Perhaps because many English-speaking people in Ontario viewed Riel as a murderer, and Riel’s jury included only English-speaking Canadians. A member of the jury remarked years later, “We tried Riel for treason, but he was hanged for the murder of Thomas Scott.”

After the second Métis uprising, Canada’s government took steps to suppress and control First Nations and Métis people generally. For example, it restricted the movement of First Nations people by requiring them to obtain a pass before they could leave their reserves.
PERSPECTIVES ON

Louis Riel

Riel, after six months fanning of the flame of dissatisfaction, induced a handful of men to rise in rebellion and commit acts of hostility to constituted authority, which place the perpetrators outside the pale of law. Riel is a fanatic, without judgement or reason. The men whom, in his fanaticism, he instigated to rebellion, are poor ignorant people.

— Adapted from The Gazette, Montréal, 25 March 1885, page 4.

What Canadians do not understand is that Louis Riel is a Father of Confederation... He intuitively sensed the future for Canada and wanted to guarantee a place for Métis people in that future. The fact that he was betrayed and martyred for his efforts only guarantees the fact that today he is hailed by his people as a freedom fighter of the highest order...

— Louis Bruyère, former president of the Native Council of Canada, a contemporary organization representing Métis people and non-Status First Nations people.

Montréal’s La Presse newspaper sold more than 50 000 copies of this image of Louis Riel following Riel’s execution.

Riel’s execution, on November 16, 1885, created deep divisions in Canada. Many Canadiens questioned the verdict, because the jury had not included even one Francophone. Many felt betrayed by the federal government, which had refused to spare Riel’s life. Riel’s execution struck many Canadiens as evidence that English-speaking Canadians aimed to crush Canadien culture and identity.

Some English-speaking people in Ontario thought of Riel as a traitor, who had stirred up trouble against Canada’s authority.

For many Métis people, Louis Riel symbolizes their struggle for rights and recognition as a people.

RESPOND

1. Compare the image of Louis Riel with the descriptions of him on this page. To do this, write a description of Riel, based on the image, or create images of Riel, to match the descriptions. You will now have three images of Louis Riel, or three descriptions.

2. How would you title a newspaper report that put the three images, or the three descriptions, side by side? What graphics could you use to help readers interpret these different versions of Louis Riel?
After the Uprisings

GET READY

This section presents information about what happened to Manitoba and to the Métis after the uprisings. It adds information to what you already know about the following chapter-focus questions:

**What consequences did Canada’s response to the uprisings have for Canadian society?**

**In what way did different ideas of citizenship shape events?**

As you read this section, look for examples of:
- Decisions that affirmed respect for diverse cultural communities.
- Decisions that did not.

**What Was the Manitoba School Act?**

The rights in the Manitoba Act that protected French language and culture didn’t last long.

The original act established separate schools for Catholic people and for Protestant people, each supported with government funding. In 1890, the government of Manitoba abolished separate schools. It also revoked the clauses of the Manitoba Act that made Manitoba officially bilingual. English became the only official language of the government.

What pressures resulted in these changes, and were the changes appropriate?

This cartoon presents English and French language rights as “opposites” and encourages us to choose sides. How?

**Look for Labels:** This cartoon uses puns. The part of a cart pulled by a horse is called a tongue. A language can also be called a tongue. This cart has two tongues: an “English tongue” on the left, and a “French tongue” on the right.

**Summarize the Situation:**
This cart is impractical. Why?

**Check the Source:**
This cartoon appeared in *Grip*, an English-language magazine from Ontario, in February 1890.
**Demographic Change**

When the Manitoba Act was negotiated, more than fifty percent of the population was Catholic and spoke French. Over the next twenty years, the migration of settlers onto the prairies changed this. By 1890, less than fifteen percent of the population was Catholic and spoke French. This **demographic change** happened because Canada’s government sought out Protestant, English-speaking immigrants to settle the west.

Why might this change have factored into French language and education rights in Manitoba?

**Perspectives on Canadien Rights and Identity**

Dalton McCarthy, a member of parliament for Ontario, had this to say about the Manitoba School Act:

_This is a British country, and the sooner we take in hand our French Canadian fellow subjects and make them British in sentiment and teach them the English language, the less trouble we shall have to prevent._

Some English-speaking Canadians had a different point of view. This is an editorial from _The Manitoba Free Press_, August 25, 1889:

_Separate schools involve no injury to any man, woman, or child in Manitoba. Separate schools are a privilege conceded to Catholics by the constitution, confirmed by years of possession, and which now cannot be taken away without a gross violation of faith, a cowardly exercise of power, and a serious menace to the whole fabric of Confederation._

How did people in Québec react? On May 12, 1890, Bishop La Flèche of Trois-Rivières wrote to J.A. Chapleau, Canada’s Secretary of State:

_...the Manitoba minority asks for protection against an unjust law, which is a violation of the federal compact, for that compact guarantees the official use of the French language on the same footing as the English language, and the maintenance of separate schools, conditions without which the Catholic and French-speaking people of Manitoba would never have consented to enter into Confederation._


**RESPOND**

1. Do you think the language and culture rights of one group can interfere with rights of other groups? Why or why not?
2. Why do some perspectives on this page make reference to Confederation? In what way are Confederation and the Manitoba School Act connected?
3. Some people consider the Manitoba School Act an attempt to impose British identity on western Canada. Do you agree with this assessment? Why or why not?
The Métis Move West Again

The defeat of the Métis at Batoche in 1885 triggered a new migration west. Many Métis people left South Branch and moved into what would become Alberta. Partly because of this migration, Alberta has the largest population of Métis people in Canada.

In Alberta, Métis people faced challenges and actively sought solutions.

James Brady
1908–1967

James Brady pauses, his pen poised over the paper. His thoughts have raced ahead of his writing again. He’s just made another mistake. The calm face of his friend Joseph Dion looms up in his mind. Does Dion, a Cree schoolteacher, ever have the urge to correct Brady’s letters? He must. But to Brady, spelling and handwriting are details. The important thing is to say what needs saying and get things done.

Only three weeks ago, in December 1932, Brady, Dion and three other activists had helped found l’Association des Métis de l’Alberta et des Territoires de Nord-Ouest (now the Métis Association of Alberta). They want to take action to help Métis people.

Brady resumes his letter in a torrent of words. He marshals the facts. Settlers have transformed the land and destroyed the Métis people’s way of life. The Métis have become scattered, without homes or farms, eking out lives on the edges of cities and towns.

“We have felt,” he concludes, “that an ordered scheme of settlement in special reserved areas would attain our purpose of righting this deplorable social condition.”
James Brady was the grandson of Laurence Garneau, who had known and supported Riel during the Red River Resistance and the second Métis uprising. Young James grew up hearing the history of the Métis fight for rights.

In Alberta, James Brady fought some of his own battles for Métis rights. He was born at St. Paul des Métis. Father Albert Lacombe had founded the settlement in 1896 in an effort to help Métis people become commercial farmers.

Many Métis people had migrated to Alberta after the uprisings, and had very little to live on. The land was filling up with settlers, and little open land remained where they could set up farms. To get land in Alberta, they needed to buy it, and few had the money.

St. Paul des Métis offered a way for Métis people to start over, but the settlement closed in 1910. The decision was controversial. Church and federal government officials said the Métis had failed to adapt to farming. The Métis denied this, and said Canada's government had not provided the support it promised, such as adequate seed and machinery. Despite this, some Métis settlers had thrived, including Laurence Garneau. The records of the settlement show that Garneau had 400 cattle, 135 horses and a sawmill.

Brady and his family left St. Paul des Métis, but Brady continued to believe in the idea of Métis settlements. Through l'Association des Métis de l'Alberta, he lobbied the Alberta government to allocate land for Métis settlements. Today, Alberta is the only province in Canada where the Métis claim land as a people.
Many Métis people live in Alberta’s cities and towns, but more than six thousand live on Métis settlements. Alberta is the only province in Canada that has designated land for the Métis people. The settlements on this map date from 1938, but the Métis did not have full ownership of them until 1990.
IDENTITY THEN AND NOW

Hello from Paddle Prairie

An Interview with Carmen Hockett

Paddle Prairie has 1 400 members, with about 725 Métis people actually living on the settlement’s land. They value their Métis culture. You won’t have any trouble speaking English in Paddle Prairie, but many Elders speak Cree. A Cree language and culture program is taught in grades one to six, and students in grades seven to twelve can take courses in Aboriginal studies. The Cree language is offered in senior high classes.

The settlement school follows the Alberta curriculum, but it has special provisions to teach Métis culture. Students learn crafts such as beadwork and mocassin-making, and how to drum and sing in Cree, while Elders teach traditional pursuits such as hunting.

Only a few Paddle Prairie families make their living from hunting. Most people work in the oil and gas industry, in forestry, or in farming and ranching.

Some families have unconventional occupations — such as logging in the traditional way with horses, which has few impacts on the environment.

“I’ve come back home to develop my company, Sash Designs and Promotions,” says Carmen. “My company taps into and develops the artistic and cultural talent of our young people. In eastern Canada, there are Celtic fiddlers and step dancers who make music that draws visitors in from everywhere. Well, guess what? We have Métis fiddlers and step dancers, too, and we wear woven Métis sashes to show our proud heritage. We have homegrown Métis talent right here, and it’s time we showed it off.”

RESPOND

1. Why do more Métis people live in Alberta than in any other province? Construct a timeline of events that explains this aspect of Alberta’s demographics. Check pages 384 and 385 of the Skills Centre for tips on making timelines.

2. Carmen Hockett wants more people to know about her collective identity as a Métis person. Why might someone find it important to promote knowledge of their collective identity?

3. In what ways do the people of Paddle Prairie maintain their collective identity? Find as many examples as you can.
Chapter 9 Review

What Did Chapter 9 Explore?

- Why the Red River Resistance in 1869 and the second Métis uprising in 1885 took place.
- Why different peoples have different perspectives on these events, and on Métis leader Louis Riel.
- How the objectives of the Manitoba Act differed from those of the Manitoba School Act.

Check for Understanding

1. Contrast these two ideas of citizenship:
   - The idea that shaped Canada’s plan to take control of Rupert’s Land from the Hudson’s Bay Company.
   - The idea that shaped resistance at Red River to Canada’s plan.
2. Give an example of how the Manitoba Act met and did not meet the objectives of one of the following stakeholders in resolving the Red River Resistance:
   - Métis people at Red River.
   - Canadiens at Red River.
   - English-speaking people from Ontario.
   - John A. Macdonald’s government.
3. Describe an example of a similarity and a difference between the causes of the Red River Resistance and of the second Métis uprising.
4. Give at least one example of how the Manitoba School Act in 1890 reflected a different idea of citizenship than the Manitoba Act in 1870.

Demonstrate your Knowledge

5. Leaders in your community have received a request to help fund an event to mark Louis Riel Day next November 16. They have called on you to supply them with information to assist them in making a decision. List three points about the importance of Louis Riel in Canadian history that you think these leaders need to know. Explain why these points are important.

Apply your Skills

6. Create a cause-and-effect diagram for the second Métis uprising, using the information on pages 294 to 298. Include three “cause” elements in your diagram. Check the information on graphic organizers in the Skills Centre at the back of this book for tips on cause-and-effect diagrams.

Take Stock

7. In this chapter, you constructed a timeline of events for part of the Red River Resistance. How would you rate your work on timelines in this chapter? Give yourself a rating on the spectrum below and explain why you gave yourself that rating. Describe two steps you could take to improve your skills at constructing timelines.