

### PART 3



Figure 60: Four Cree horsemen, undated. Pictured on the Papaschase.ca website. (167)

1870-71 were years that marked a significant change in European demand for bison hides. Aboriginal peoples always had a tanning process, involving using parts of the animal body itself, brains, liver, and fat. This expanded their ability to use the hide for many purposes.



The western world did not have a workable tanning process, so hides were used for their fur only, as blankets, throws and coats. Hunting was limited to the winter months when the bison had thick coats. And the limited blanket/throw/coat market was primarily in eastern Canada and the USA.

However, a revolutionary tanning process invented in England and Germany was able to turn the durable and strong bison hide into usable leather.

A new market for shoe and boot leather (of note by the British Army), animal harnessing and machinery belts opened up a hitherto untapped European market. That demand increased the market many fold, all at a world price quoted in 1880 of \$3.53 per hide. The hunter received \$2.74 of that price.

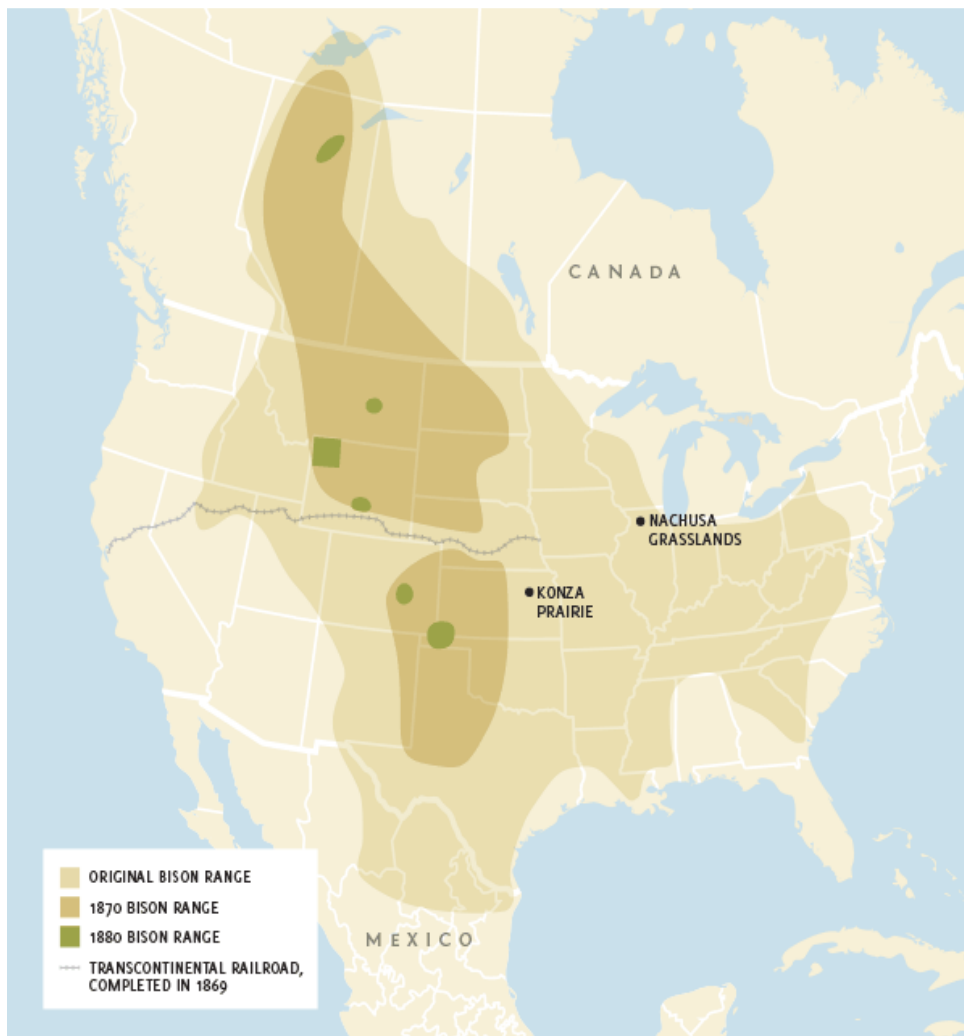
Figure 61: Buffalo (bison) fur coat c 1880's. (Pinterest)

Now needing only the hide for export, not the fur, bison could be hunted any time of the year.

Market prices did not fluctuate, whatever the intense, relentless demand created over the 10 years or so that it took to decimate prairie herds (actually, all the herds across North America).

Any meat derived from hunting for this purpose was too expensive, and would spoil too quickly, to ship. So, the rest of the animals' bodies were left to rot where they fell. (121)

In the early 1800s, there were an estimated 30 million bison roaming the western prairies. By 1878 the last remaining remnants of those once great bison herds crossed into Montana.



To sustain their food supply and have all that came from a bison for other uses, it has been estimated that each bison-hunting tribe would need 7-10 animals per person yearly. Many commercial hunters were capable of taking 100s of animals a day over a sustained period of time. (129)

Figure 62: Map showing the change in bison herd distribution within a 10-year window of hunting. (Map by Dolmarva Design LLC)

Accelerated over-hunting by native peoples and Europeans, commercialization of hunting with firearms, animal disease and westward expansion all contributed to this precipitous fall in bison numbers over a very short period of time.

Through this all, the bison remained virtually the sole source of food and materials for making clothing, for housing, utensils, and general articles of daily use by native peoples on the prairies. (118)

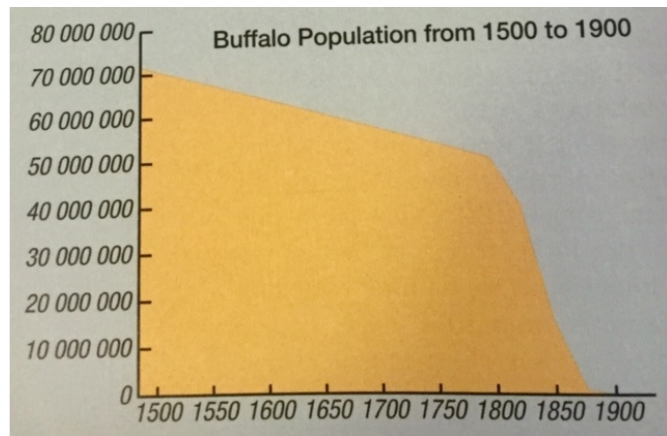


Figure 63: Bison were nearly extinct on the prairies by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (10)

With the collapse of food sources and trade, the result of almost extinction of an entire species, the Plains indigenous peoples were left bereft of virtually all means of support. Starvation and disease took the peoples of the plains from proud, self-sufficiency to utter destitution.

News of the *sale* of Rupert's Land in 1870 to the Canadian government was puzzling and disturbing to indigenous prairie peoples. For they did not recognize land "ownership" in the context of their traditions. (142)

A number of Cree Chiefs, also worried about smallpox and the visible diminution of the bison, made a trip to Edmonton House to see Chief Factor of the entire Saskatchewan District, William J. Christie. (183) Upon learning about treaties that had already been signed, and the protection they appeared to offer, they urged that they be given the same opportunities to enter into similar agreements. (142) Christie did forward those concerns and requests and ultimately served as commissioner at Treaty 6 negotiations. (184)

British King George III's 1763 royal proclamation decreed that indigenous peoples owned their lands. The only legal way for newcomers to gain control of those lands would be through treaties between them. And that decree set Canadian government policy on into the future. (20)

The federal government focused attention on colonization. And land acquisition became their primary goal for treaties. Treaties in eastern Canada had already helped forge peace between warring tribes, giving settlers a feeling of confidence and safety. (142)

For First Nations peoples, the terms of the treaties evolved from peace and friendship to a means of deriving security as they faced overwhelming numbers of settlers. And the disintegration of their traditional way of life (decimated food sources and devastating new diseases hitherto never experienced).

Treaties were thought to be the only way to survive. Through them, promises of protection and support could be made.

And the process began.

Treaty 6, signed Aug 23, 1876 at Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan, and Sept 9, 1876 at Fort Pitt, designated an area for the Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibwa signees, surrounding the North and South Saskatchewan rivers, across both Saskatchewan and Alberta. (71)

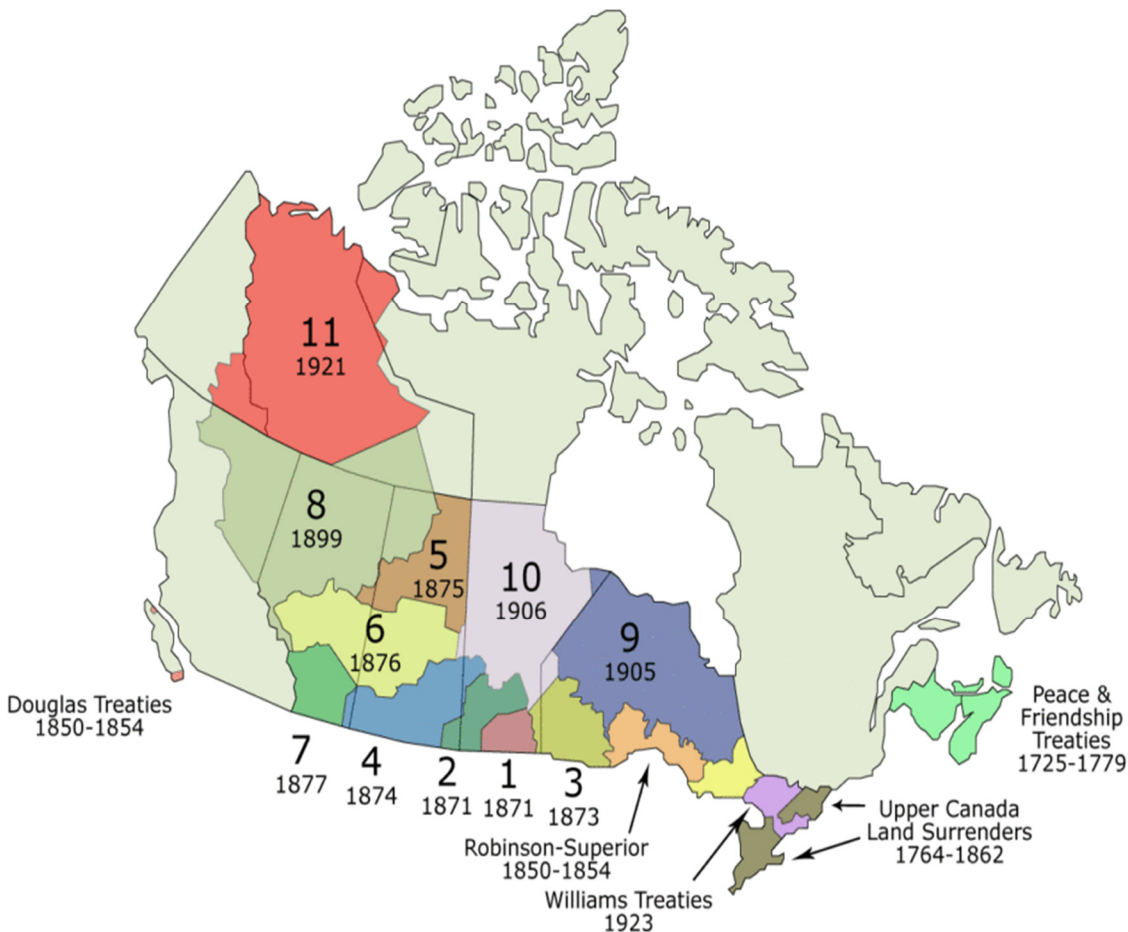


Figure 64: Map of Canadian treaty areas, including Treaty 6 which covered 120,000 sq. miles (an area as large as Great Britain) in present day central Saskatchewan and Alberta. (44)

Treaty 6 committed to allowing hunting and fishing rights and support for the Plains and Woods Cree of the area to adapt to the disappearance of their economic base, the bison. With the purpose of introducing farming practices, specifically identified tools, equipment, seed, animals, and monies were included in the terms of the treaty. And the expectation that within three years, all treaty signers would be self-sufficient farmers, no longer in need of assistance. (142)

Unique to this treaty was the clause to provide and maintain a medicine chest on each reserve. This became the foundation for a health care system for First Nations descendants. (79)

Within documentation of the Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt treaty signing events, there is precise mention of how seriously the bands represented took the process.

The pipe ceremony, in the presence of over 2,000 participants at Fort Carlton alone, spoke to the extreme importance given the negotiations. For under the sacredness of the pipe only the truth must be used, and any commitment must be kept. (142) Expressing the thoughts of many, a Saulteaux chief (Plains Ojibwa) spoke to the commissioners at Fort Carlton.

**In translation:**

“When I look at the buffalo, it appears to me as if there was only *one*. I trust to the Queen and to the Governor, it is only through their aid we can manage to preserve them.”

And indeed, negotiator Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Alexander Morris, provided assurance that the government would look into the feasibility of a law to preserve the buffalo. (142)

The treaty negotiation process was fraught with many challenges for the 2 translators for the Crown and the one, Peter Erasmus, brought by the Chiefs and Headmen.

The treaty was written in English. The indigenous, oral tradition participants could not read or speak English. Direct translation was not possible as certain words in English had no corresponding words in Cree and vice versa.

Cultural differences, several meanings for the same word (called “polysemy”) and language structure (how and why things are worded in certain ways) all contributed to misinterpretations at the time and into the future. (184) (185)

Even the greeting from Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris stating that the Queen wanted, “...peace... and for all her children to be happy and well taken care of” had different significance to those in attendance. Culturally, the symbolism of a mother with children went vastly beyond the mere words. (186)

Elders talk of a second copy of the treaty being made at the time. Written on a buffalo hide, it is purported to contain different wording and intent from the official version. For now hidden, the claim is made that its whereabouts will be revealed in the future by Elders who know of its existence. (187)

This is the 6<sup>th</sup> of 11 “numbered treaties” in Canada, all signed between 1871 and 1921.



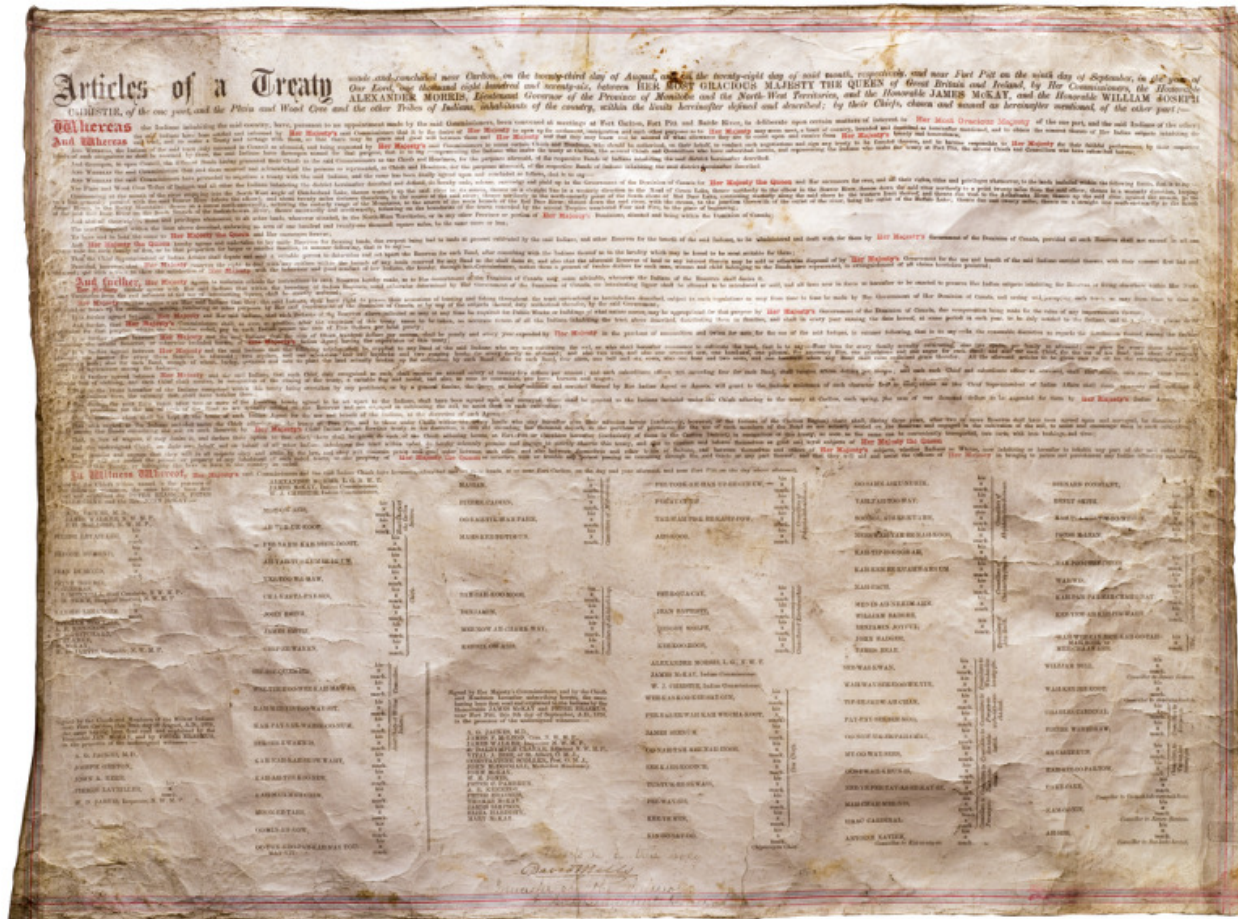


Figure 65: Original Treaty 6 document (45)

The full Treaty 6 document, with adhesions, can be found at:  
[www.trcm.ca](http://www.trcm.ca) Copy of Treaty No 6 Her Majesty the Queen Plain and Wood Cree

In the full document noted above, Chief Papaschase's "mark" is beside the spelling PAHS-PAHS-CHASE. In future records with the Department of Indian Affairs, his name is continually spelled Passpasschase. His brother, Headman Tahkoots, also made his mark.

### Alberta bands/Nations in Treaty 6:

Alexander First Nation, Alexis First Nation, Beaver Lake Cree Nation, Cold Lake First Nation, Enoch Cree Nation, Erminskin Tribe, Frog Lake First Nation, Heart Lake First Nation, Kehewin Cree Nation, Louis Bull First Nation, Michel First Nation, Montana First Nation. O'Chiese First Nation, Papaschase, Paul First Nation, Saddle Lake Cree Nation, Samson First Nation, Sunchild First Nation. Twenty-nine Saskatchewan nations and two Manitoba First Nations are also represented in Treaty 6. (43)

Alberta has 45 First Nations in three treaty areas and 140 reserves. (53)

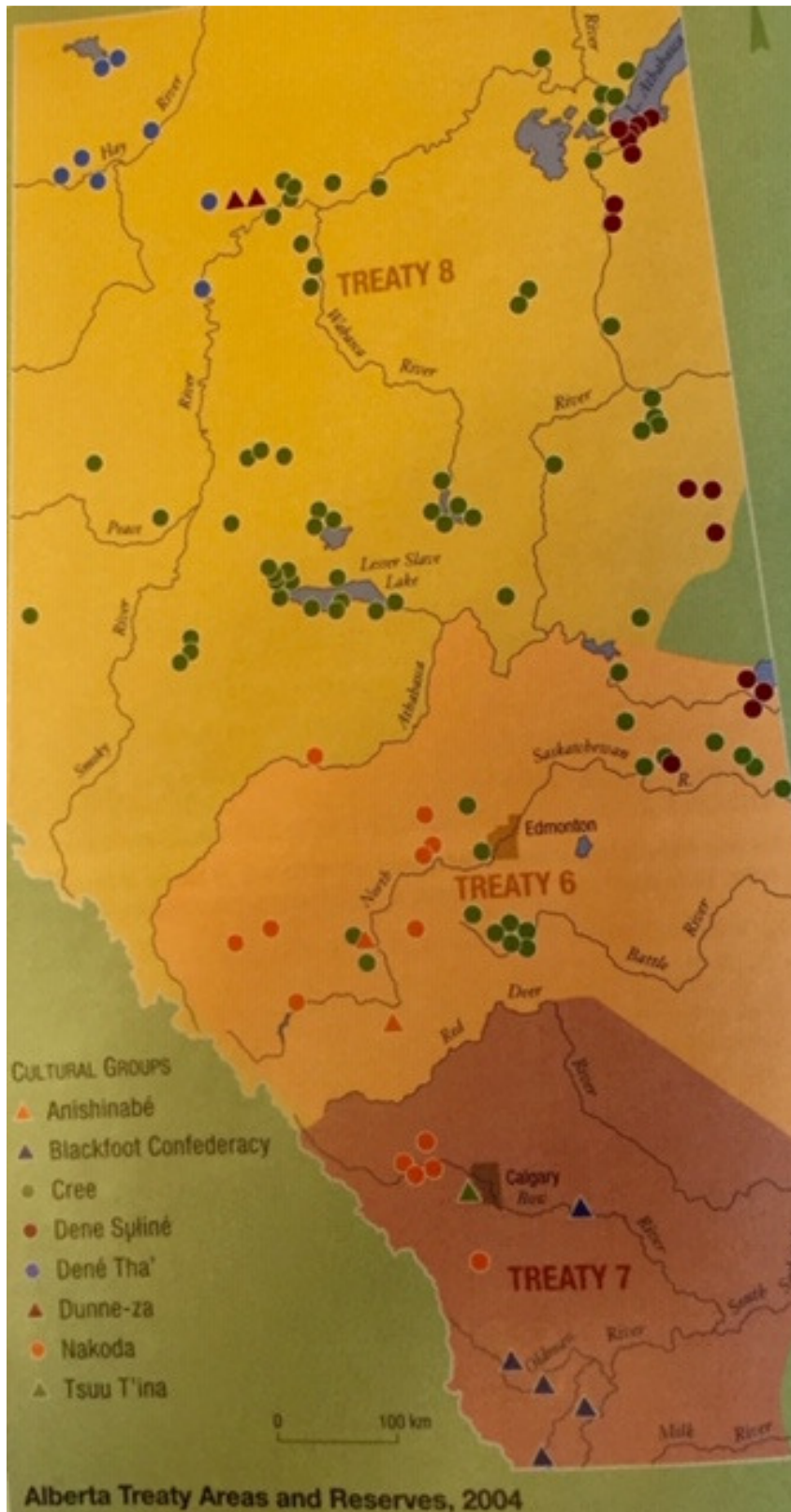


Figure 66:  
Alberta's treaty areas and reserves, 2004. (source unknown)

Although not original Treaty 6 signers, the Papaschase signed a year later in hopes that a treaty would ensure their survival.

Under the terms of their adhesion to Treaty 6, signed Aug 9, 1877 at Edmonton, the Papaschase reserve (Indian Reserve No 136 at the Two Hills near Edmonton) was to be surveyed over 59.8 square miles (155 square km) at a location of their choice.

Given that option, the band's first choice was to remain close to Fort Edmonton, their home.



Figure 67: An archival photograph of Cree people in the Edmonton area 1898. (72)

There was vehement opposition to that location from local residents and businesspeople. Edmonton's settler population, according to the municipal census, was 148 in 1878, increasing to 263 residents by 1885.

They took action by submitting a petition in early 1881 to then PM and Minister of the Interior, Sir John A MacDonal, insisting that the reserve be moved 20 miles south of the Fort Edmonton area.

*Note: Beaumont is some 17 miles from old Edmonton.*

The letter cited that the Papaschase were "aliens" to the Edmonton area and were a disparate group brought together for the purpose of forming a band. And indeed because of the fluidity of indigenous peoples across the prairies, band formation was based on locality at the time of treaty rather than on long-standing social history. Permanent membership in a single band was partly a post-reserve phenomenon that developed when reserves were eventually settled. (176 page 34)

The location ultimately decided on was not near the Fort but 4 miles south across the river. And *this* site was then deemed to be the Papaschase choice. The band had 249 members and land allocation was to be based on historic calculations of 1 square mile for each family of 5.

When Papaschase realized, in 1879, that surveyor George A. Simpson was using a band membership of 241, thus reducing the amount of reserve land, he objected. (83)



Timothy Wadsworth (the Department of Indian Affairs local inspector) immediately transferred 84 members out of the band to payee list "Edmonton and District Stragglers" (90) (which did not receive land allocation but was supported with the perceived intent of assigning them to other bands at a future time). (158 page 35)).

Researchers have not found documentation about why this action was taken. Anecdotal stories indicate it was out of anger over the dispute and a mean-spirited way to limit the reserve size. (83)

Another point of view is that those transferred were overwhelmingly women (and their children) living with no recognized chief and who did not want to reside on reserves. They continued to travel with their husbands or family in freighting, hunting and fur gathering endeavours across the NWT. Assigned to this treaty designation, these "stragglers" could receive annuities without being restricted to a reserve. (158 page 53)

There is a strong correlation between women identified as stragglers and their non-treaty husbands being in the fur trade economy. They had every expectation of continuing their nomadic lifestyle. This group overwhelmingly withdrew from treaty in 1885 and applied for Métis scrip. (158 page 65 & 57)

Wadsworth also split the Michel and Alexander bands in 1880, transferring members to the straggler "band." (158 page 52) Whatever Wadsworth's reasoning, the Papaschase band membership was reduced, and the reserve allocation shrunk to 39.9 square miles. (99) This First Nations' nomadic hunting and fishing lifestyle changed forever. Farming was to become their livelihood. For the First Nations of the western plains, the very idea of farming was a foreign concept. It had never been necessary on the prairies.

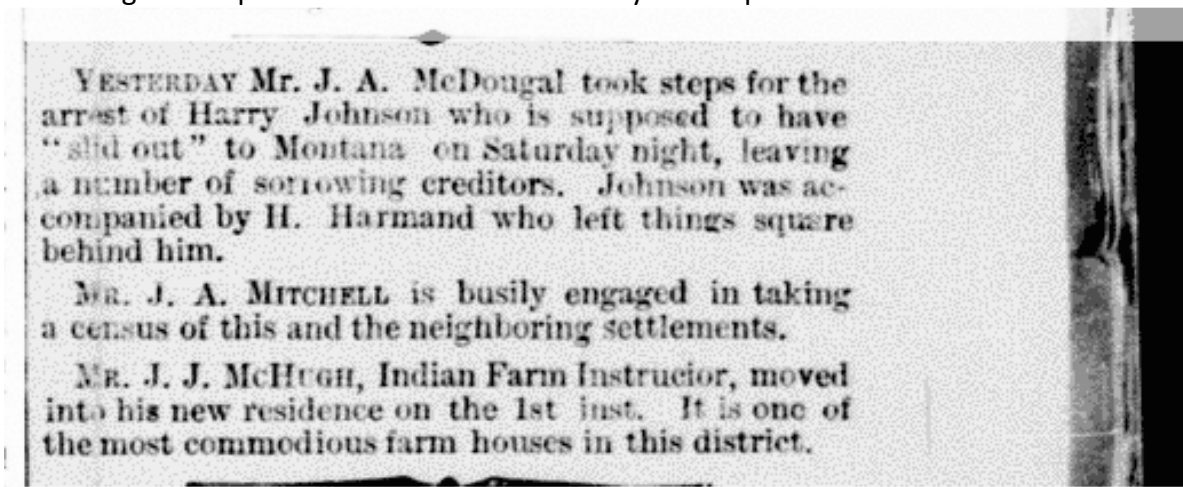


Figure 68: Excerpt from The Bulletin Dec 13, 1880 page 1  
(Peel's Prairie Provinces U of A libraries)

"Mr. J.J. McHugh, Indian Farm Instructor, moved into his new residence on the 1<sup>st</sup> last. It is one of the most commodious farmhouses in this district."

With no agricultural experience, and promises of assistance thwarted over and over again, the band continued to struggle. (143) Despite local officials' claims to the contrary at the time, there are many references to the fact that, under the terms of Treaty 6, the federal government did not provide necessary rations or relief to the Papaschase band that was suffering in starvation conditions. (84)

**This clause is from Treaty 6:**

"That in the event hereafter of the Indians comprised within this treaty being overtaken by any pestilence or by a general famine, the Queen ...will grant to the Indians assistance of such character ... deemed necessary and sufficient to relieve the Indians from the calamity that shall have befallen them."

And from 1879 through 1886, the federal government of Canada did not provide necessary rations or relief to Papaschase members who were in such destitute conditions. (84) (96) (98) In the literature there are many citings of the withholding of food supplies as a form of government manipulation to force compliance. (100)

Noted Canadian historian George Stanley makes reference to North West Mounted Police providing food for many thousands of native peoples in their areas through the winter of 1879-80 from their own scant rations. (128)



North-West Mounted Police Library and Archives Canada PA-202188

Figure 69: This is a 1900 photograph of "B troop" of the North West Mounted Police (used as an example).

It was “A Troop”, diverting from their total numbers arriving to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, who arrived to police the Fort Edmonton area in 1874. (85) The force was established in 1873 to squash the illegal western Canada whisky trade and reduce lawlessness (of note, identifying the need to intercede in settler violence against aboriginal people). These Mounted Police were ultimately merged with the Dominion Police in 1919 and re-named the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (86)

Bands such as the once proud Blackfoot and Papaschase, that did not leave the Canadian plains in desperate search of bison and a diminishing supply of other game, were left to live off mice, badgers, gophers and carcass remains. (160) Theft of settlers’ cattle for food was common. (96)

A Jan 17, 1881 issue of The Edmonton Bulletin ran coverage of a “Mass Meeting” which included discussion about the “Indian question.” Startling stories of “misery and wretchedness” among the Papaschase prompted agreement to telegraph the government to investigate the Departmental affairs here. “Not a dissenting voice was heard.”

Further in discussion, citing some settlers’ fears for their safety, were native thefts of food and animals from settlers. The consensus, as reported, appeared to be that no one blamed them in resorting to this. “The same number of white men if placed in their position would have it long ago.” (96)

In that *same* issue, publisher Frank Oliver urged:

“If the Indians take the reserve as at presently surveys, a lasting injury will be done to this settlement, without any corresponding benefit accruing to them. Now is the time for the Government to declare the Reserve open and show whether this country is to be run in the interest of the settlers or the Indians.” (96)

Letters continued to be sent from the Edmonton community to have the reserve moved away or surrendered for sale, strongly espoused by Oliver and other leading businessmen. The Edmonton Bulletin January 31, 1881: under the heading “Those Petitions” was written, “The petition against the Indian reserve at the Two Hills gives as reasons why it should not be granted:” The petition concludes with a 5<sup>th</sup> reason, “because the land is needed by better men.” (97)

## TELEGRAPHIC.

WINNIPEG, Jan. 25, 1881.

Blake's amendment to the Syndicate resolutions was defeated by a vote of 140 to 54.

Afterwards the Opposition offered amendments to every clause of the contract, which were defeated on a strictly party vote. The resolutions passed a second reading.

The latest intelligence represents Letellier de St. Just as dying.

The Hanlan and Laycock race has been postponed until Feb. 14th.

The Biddulph murder trial is proceeding.

A fire at the Portage on the 25th, destroyed two stores and the office of the Marquette "Review."

Mount Baker in British Columbia is reported in a state of active eruption, throwing out clouds of smoke and ashes.

A despatch from Fort Buford says that Sitting Bull refuses to surrender to the United States authorities, and returned to Canadian territory with only 300 of his band, the remainder having surrendered.

In the British House of Commons the Coercion Bill introduced by Mr. Forster empowers the Viceroy to designate districts in which the act is to be enforced, and suspends the Habeas Corpus Act by empowering the Viceroy to arrest any person deemed an offender under the act. Persons arrested cannot be released, tried or bailed without an order from the Privy Council or the Viceroy, who in certain cases will institute trial before two judges for trial by jury.

J. Gould proposes to establish an independent cable around the world.

Despatches from Denver, Col., states that a band of Indians killed fifteen persons near San Manuel on Jan. 3rd.

The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie is reported to be still improving.

GRIZZLY BEAR, Jan. 28.

A large band of Indians arrived here to-day, and say they have had no hard times this winter.

They have killed forty moose. Amongst the number was one white one, which they claim was the first white moose ever killed in the North-West.

## THOSE PETITIONS.

The petition to the Postmaster-General, which was decided on at the mass meeting, will be forwarded by this mail. It asks that Edmonton post office be made a money order office, that a mail service be established between this place and Fort McLeod, and that the mail between here and Winni-

peg be run fortnightly instead of once in three weeks. The fact that from thirty to forty registered letters go east by every mail is proof of the necessity of a money order office. The joint interests of the Saskatchewan and Bow River districts in the matter of stock—(all our cattle and horses come from there, and a great many are wintered there)—would warrant the small outlay—about \$1,000—necessary to establish a mail service, at least between Edmonton and The Elbow. And the bulk and importance of the Eastern mail is reason enough for its being carried more frequently. In connection with the southern mail, we might remark that there is not in the whole of that district—even at Ft. McLeod or Ft. Walsh—a regular post office. The Police Department and I. G. Baker & Co. run the mail service between them—as they do everything else in that country.

The petition against the Indian reserve at the Two Hills, gives as reasons why it should not be granted there—First—because the Indians are not satisfied with it, and ordered the survey to be stopped. Second—because they have no right to it, not being natives of this part of the country. Third—because it will oblige the neighboring settlers to leave their claims, as it takes in their hay ground and wood land. And fourth—because it is disadvantageous to all parties to have an Indian reserve so close to a business centre. A fifth reason might be added—because the land is needed by better men.

The Winnipeg "Times" contains an article telling how an Edmonton electrician who bought some goods from a grocer of that place, extracted the contents from a caddy of tobacco, replaced it with mud and claimed reimbursement from the grocer. Also, how the same man on another occasion purloined from his own loaded carts which stood at the grocer's door, two bags of shot, supplied by said grocer, claimed and received other two in their place and then left for his western home chuckling at his trick. Shortly after this occurred a man called on the mystified grocer and laid bare all the facts, as he was conversant with them, having travelled with the electrician to Edmonton. The grocer laid low and his patience was rewarded. Some time ago a large quantity of yarn came in his care, addressed to the knight of the electric key, and the next mail from Edmonton brought \$2 to pay the overland freight to this place. The grocer passed the money and yarn to the electrician's credit and sent him a new statement of account asking him to pay up the balance instant. The "Times" must be mistaken as we don't know any man within a day's journey of Edmonton who would do such a dirty trick.

Figure 70: The Bulletin, Edmonton, N.W.T. January 17, 1881 (Peel's Prairie Provinces)

By September 1884, 7 years after their signing of Treaty 6, the reserve survey was complete. 39.9 square miles, following the instructions that the survey was to interfere as little as possible with settlers' claims and timberlands. (152)

On today's Edmonton map, the reserve was bound on the north by 51<sup>st</sup> Ave, the east by 17<sup>th</sup> St NW, the south by 30 Ave SW and the west by 119 St. This places the south-east edge of Indian Reserve No 136 12 km (7.5 miles) from Beaumont's boundaries today.



*Reserve survey*  
*Printing on the top, right hand side reads:*

**Treaty No 6  
North West Territories  
Plan  
of the subdivision into sections  
of the lands reserved  
for the band of Chief "Papaschase"  
Reserve No 136  
near Edmonton  
Department of Indian Affairs  
Ottawa, May 5, 1891**

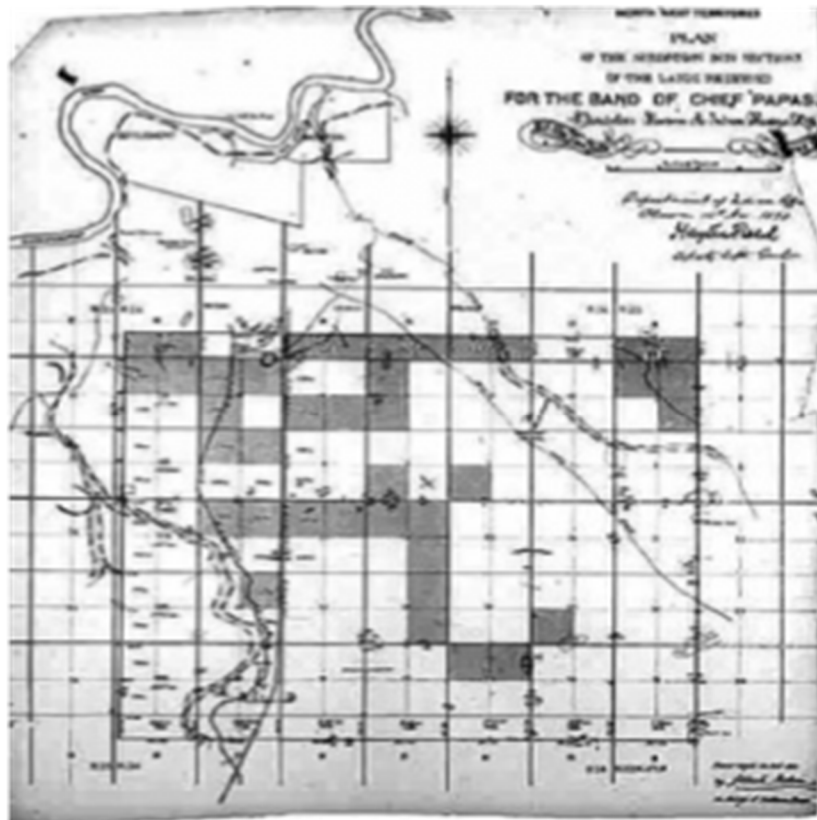


Figure 71: Papaschase Reserve – City of Edmonton Archives (72)





Courtesy PAA

Figure 73: Dominion land surveyors. (56)

The prairie winter of 1883-84 has been described by historians as the “starvation winter”. (123)  
An estimated 1 in 10 plains indigenous people died of malnutrition or illness.

NWMP doctor Augustus Jukes, upon touring encampments, described conditions he saw. “The disappearance of the buffalo have left them not only without food but also without robes, moccasins, adequate tents or “tepees” to shelter them from the inclemency of the impending winter. Few of the lodges are of buffalo hide, the majority being of cotton only, and many of these in the most rotten and dilapidated condition...Their clothing for the most part was miserable and scanty in the extreme...It would indeed be difficult to exaggerate their extreme wretchedness and need, or the urgent necessity which exists from some prompt and sufficient provision being made for them by the government.” (143)

According to a sample federal government archived record, in the year 1883, Papaschase and his family of 15 received their total annual annuity payment of \$95 stipulated in the terms of their treaty agreement. All such treaty annuity records are available at:

[heritage.canadiana.ca>oocihn.lac\\_mikan\\_133552](http://heritage.canadiana.ca/oocihn.lac_mikan_133552) Indian Affairs, Paylists - Heritage

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“Since my last report three Indian schools have been commenced, one on Enoch’s Reserve with a Protestant teacher, one each on Alexander’s and Papaschase’s Reserves with Roman Catholic priests as teachers. As they are all painstaking men, the children have made fair progress, those of Enoch’s Reserve are at present the most advanced from being the first school that commenced teaching. The denomination of the teacher on each reserve was the choice of the



Indians of each band as expressed to me, when I told them that the matter rested entirely with themselves and that I declined to say anything regarding it one way or the other. "

Written by Indian Agent W. Anderson, dated August 24, 1886 for inclusion in the Dept of Indian Affairs report year ending 31 December, 1886.

(Library and archives Canada 1864-1990 Indian Affairs Annual reports) (169 item 4781)

134 [PART I]

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INDIAN OFFICE,  
EDMONTON, N.W.T., 24th August 1886.

The Right Honorable  
The Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa.

SIR,—I have the honor to submit my annual report, for the year ended 30th June 1886, together with tabular statement.

The Indians of this district since my last report have been quiet and orderly. In the spring and summer seasons they worked well on their reserves, in the fall and winter the most of them were engaged hunting and fishing.

I made the annuity payments in November, which was rather late in the season, as it interfered with their fishing. All passed off well, with no trouble, and a very unusual thing at that late season, the weather was fine and the roads dry and good.

Since my last report three Indian schools have been commenced, one on Enoch's Reserve with a Protestant teacher, one each on Alexander's and Passpaschase's Reserves with Roman Catholic priests as teachers. As they are all painstaking men, the children have made fair progress, those of Enoch's Reserve are at present the most advanced from being the first school that commenced teaching. The denomination of the teacher on each reserve was the choice of the Indians of each band as expressed to me, when I told them that the matter rested entirely with themselves and that I declined to say anything regarding it one way or the other.

The treaty stock on the reserves have now increased much; Alexander's and Michel's bands have the most, the first have forty-six head, the latter forty-five head, all fine cattle and looking well.

Dr. Munroe in company with myself vaccinated all the Indians of this district, every care was taken in the operation—two application on the arm of each. However, I am sorry to state it was a total failure; the doctor attributes it to the vaccine matter not being good. As instructed by you this operation will be again repeated on the arrival of fresh vaccine matter, which Dr. Munroe is now procuring. I am happy to state there has been no appearance of small-pox.

The Indians made a good catch of fur last winter, principally lynx which were very numerous, for which they got large prices. This has helped them much in procuring clothing and blankets, of which they are in much need.

The grain and potato crops were good, the turnips were a failure being cut off by the fly. All the bands lost much of their grain and hay by rabbits, which were very numerous, and they destroyed much grain and hay after it was cut and stacked.

The general health of the Indians this year has been fairly good. There have been a few deaths, in most cases caused by consumption. Of late many are attacked with measles, most of the cases are of a mild form, and I trust none will prove fatal.

The presents made by the Department to loyal Indians who behaved well and who assisted the Government and Department employes, appear to have pleased them much, and I think will have a good effect on the others.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. ANDERSON,  
Indian Agent.

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SARCEE RESERVE, 6th August, 1886.

The Right Honorable  
The Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa.

SIR,—In September, 1885, the northern portion of Treaty No. 7 was divided, and I was appointed acting Indian agent of the western half, including the Sarcee and Stoney Reserve, with headquarters at the former. It therefore devolves on me to

Figure 74: Archived document of school establishment on three reserves in the Edmonton area, including the Papaschase.



Figure 74A: Department of Indian Affairs report on the salary payment of \$48 to Z. Leger, teaching on the Papaschase Reserve for the June quarter of 1887. (169 item 5810)

F. A. Mercer	ber quarters, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	207 51		
W. E. Jefferson	Salary as Teacher at Cumberland, September and December quarters, 1886	150 00		
Hudson Bay Co.	Salary as Teacher at The Pas, September and December quarters, 1886	166 78		
do	Supplies to Indians working at Birch River School	34 56		
do	do for schoolhouse at Crose Lake	100 80		
do	do do Moccas Lake	17 98		
D. D. McDonald	Passage from Selkirk to Pas repaid	17 50		
A. Macdonald	Biscuits	1,237 88		
G. O. Mortimer	Stables	14 65		
Hudson Bay Co.	Biscuits	1,079 33		
P. T. Roberts	Repayment of transport from Winnipeg to Hollow Water River	18 30		
Brown & Rutherford	Furniture for schools	74 71		
J. H. Ashdown	Sundries for schoolhouse at Poplar River	8 25		
Hudson Bay Co.	Supplies for Birch River, Ohemawawin and Black River Schools	47 20		
Johnston, Fredrickson & Walkley	1,000 ft. flooring, Black River Schoolhouse	35 00		
Sundry persons	Freighting	8 85		
			6,119 61	
Treaty No. 6.				
Maria McKenzie	For Salary as Teacher at John Smith's Reserve, June, September and December quarters, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	285 48		
Mary Stevens	Salary as Teacher at James Smith's Reserve, December quarter, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	27 00		
J. M. Blanchet	Salary as Teacher at Alexander's Band, June quarter, 1886	51 00		
A. A. Ringuette	do do March do 1887	45 00		
Z. Leger	Salary as Teacher at Passapachase Reserve, June quarter, 1886	48 00		
M. Anderson	Salary as Teacher at Enoch Lepotac's, Stony Plain, June, September and December quarters, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	259 61		
O. J. McKay	Salary as Teacher at Mistawasis' Reserve, June, September and December quarters, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	209 00		
do	First prize for management of school.	100 00		
T. Mitchell	Salary as Teacher at Stony Reserve, Battleford, June and September quarters, 1886	84 00		
Minnie McConnell	Salary as Teacher at Stony Reserve, Battleford, December quarter, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	60 00		
O. A. Lindsay	Salary as Teacher at White Fish Lake, December quarter, 1886, and March quarter, 1887	131 58		
	Carried forward	1,403 65	25,797 88	46,836 00

This year-end report also contains a letter from Agent Anderson, simply dated 1887 (other letters in the same part of the report are dated Aug/Sept 1887), stating:

"The schools on Enoch's (2) and Alexander's Reserves have done very well during the year..."

No mention is made of the Papaschase school. Nor were further records (financial or otherwise) found regarding the specific dates that the Papaschase school operated or when it closed. The school was never identified by a unique name.

Education was a term of Treaty 6.

"And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may deem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it." (Treaty 6)

Some students from the Edmonton area were sent to outlying schools not on or close to their homes. One of the few examples of existing schools was the St. Albert Youville Residential School for Metis children. Previously, it had been a Roman Catholic mission school located at Lac Ste. Anne and moved to St. Albert in 1863. (170)

Some academic education was provided, as well as religious instruction. However, the main focus was on practical subjects, carpentry and farm work for the boys and domestic skills for the girls. (170)



Figure 75: Grey Nuns with students at their residential school in St. Albert (170)

For non-indigenous Edmontonians, a local vote endorsed the construction of *Edmonton's* first school in 1881, ready for occupancy Jan 1, 1882. Considered one of Edmonton's more high-quality buildings, it boasted 6 windows with the largest panes of glass in the entire community, each 10" by 14." This school served until 1904 and is known as Edmonton (1881) School. (173)

Administratively, reserves in the Edmonton area were under the purview of the Edmonton Agency. This Indian Affairs agency included the Enoch, Michel, Alexander, Joseph, and Paul Reserves. It was headquartered at the Enoch Reserve 12 miles west of Edmonton. (178)

The following letter, dated July 29, 1889, was sent by then chief of the Tommy Lapotac/Enoch reserve, for publication in the Edmonton Bulletin. It outlines the continued inadequacy of provisions for reserve-bound members who could no longer follow and hunt bison as their livelihood.

## INDIAN RATIONS.

To the Editor of the BULLETIN.

SIR:—Owing to the misfortune suffered by the Indians on the Stony Plain reserve by fire of March 31st, by which they lost a great many of their buildings, nearly all their fencing, and a considerable portion of their implements, household utensils, clothing and provisions they are not in as good a position to provide for their own wants during the present summer as they usually are, and besides instead of hunting require to employ themselves more upon the reserve in repairing the damage done by the fire so that their crops may be raised and themselves and animals properly housed during the coming winter. Owing to the dry weather the small lakes and ponds where they usually kill ducks in the summer are all dry, and ducks are only found in the large bodies of water where they are very difficult to approach and kill without great loss of ammunition, which they have not been supplied with and which they have not the means to buy, owing to their losses. The rations at present issued from the agency are: One pound of bacon a week per head, 4 pounds of flour per week per head. Sometimes no beef is issued, sometimes there is a ration of a pound a week and sometimes two pounds a week. Children at the breast get no rations nor does the mother receive an extra allowance. These rations are not sufficient for our support, under the circumstances and considering the large number of widows and children in the band unable to support themselves—especially as those who can hunt will soon have to employ themselves in putting up hay for the cattle—and we fear that there will be much sickness unless the ration is increased.

ENOCH LAPTAK, Chief.

Stony Plain, July 29th, 1889.

Figure 76: From Chief Enoch Laptak (sp) Edmonton Bulletin. (126)

The government introduced a "pass" system on reserves in 1885. In order to leave, for any reason, a band member had to obtain written permission from the Indian Agent. Failing to do that could result in incarceration. This system was not repealed until 1951. (20)

<u>DUPLICATE.</u>		No.
Date <u>December 27<sup>th</sup> 1891</u>		
No. <u>Lower Indian Agency</u>		
Deliver from Indian Supplies to		
<u>Pat Grasshopper of Bull Head Band has</u>		
<u>on account of permission to be absent from</u>		
<u>his Reserve until January 3<sup>rd</sup>. Going to</u>		
<u>join his father near High River</u>		
ARTICLES.	<u>147. for S.D.L.</u>	QUANTITY.
	<u>Agent.</u>	
		<u>Agent.</u>

**Glenbow Archives M-1837-22b**

Figure 77: An 1892 pass for Pat Grasshopper to be absent from his reserve to join his father near High River for 7 days. (133)

The Treaty 6 chiefs' understanding had been that their bands signing the treaty could continue to hunt and live throughout their region. Reserves were established for those who wanted to farm. (143) The government's intent was clear that *all* would farm. And that there would be little or no traditional movement on the land through hunting seasons.

Restrictions, lack of experience or history in farming practices and drastic cultural changes were not conducive to adaptation from seasonal, nomadic hunter to self-sufficient prairie farmer. In 1885 the Northwest Rebellion, also called the second Riel Rebellion, erupted into violence between Métis (along with supportive First Nations) and the federal government. At issue in Manitoba and Saskatchewan was protection of Métis land claims. That same year a Half Breed Scrip Commission arrived in Edmonton. Half breed meant Métis.

Scrip, land "certificates" or "coupons", has a long and convoluted history in the Canadian west.



Initially established by the Dominion for the *children* of eligible Manitoba Métis parents, over a few short years recipient eligibility and amounts changed. (164) The issuance of scrip was a government strategy to avoid entering into more treaties and creating reserves for a newly recognized Métis population. And it dealt with individuals, not collectives.

It was, in effect, to “extinguish any Indian title the (Manitoba) Métis heads may have acquired by virtue of their native ancestry.” (164) As word spread, the request was made to extend the program further west. (164)

What scrip offered was the opportunity to buy land (deemed to be valued at \$1 per acre) with cash scrip (usually \$160 or \$240) or to acquire a preset property size (160 or 240 acres) with land scrip. The amounts changed over time and depending on the age of the minor recipient. (164)

In exchange for taking scrip, recipients relinquished claim to any treaty rights and any interests in a reserve. If on a reserve, they were expected to leave their community, their dwelling and any assets or improvements they had made. (161) Taking scrip initially included repaying any annual treaty annuity payments that had been previously made to members of a reserve.

An amendment to the Indian Act ended that requirement and a floodgate of applications to “leave treaty” and take scrip ensued. This was the result the government was looking for, in the Métis context (people not ever included in any treaty land negotiation). But the overall response from treaty peoples was overwhelming for federal agents in the field. (161)

The Department of Indian Affairs annual report identifies the Papaschase band had 219 members at that time. Twelve members of the Papaschase band took scrip.

Treaties offered reserves, annuities, and aid.

The reality of reserve life looked very different: little and inadequate food provision on reserves once the bison were gone (with the necessity to *stay* on their reserve land or wait nearby until surveying was completed), an annual treaty annuity of \$5.00 and unfulfilled delivery of: animals and farming equipment, \$1,000 yearly for supplies and the fruitlessness of farming instruction.

Scrip in all likelihood held the expectation of acquiring land and money without a wardship relationship to the federal government. Families often wished to live together, so receiving scrip and leaving, created a domino effect for others to follow. (165)

But it was a one-time offer. The government scrip program was “to allow ‘enterprising’ Métis to become self-sufficient citizens.” (161) It’s interesting to note one author’s thoughts that, while not interested in the “*recognition*” of an existing Metis identity (as was the case at Red River and that effort at securing Métis identity), taking scrip resulted in the *making* of a Metis

cultural and political identity in the NWT. The main reason to take scrip was, in all likelihood, to receive economic benefit. (176 page 4-5) It was a long and very detailed application process. (166)



Figure 78: Métis scrip, which was offered to mixed-race individuals as well as those holding treaty rights (74)



Figure 79: Scrip was issued and used for almost 40 years in Alberta, between 1885 and 1923, having initially begun in Manitoba in 1876. (108) (164)

A criterion to qualify for Métis scrip was to show evidence of mixed ancestry or not “live the same mode of life as Indians.” (83) And initially there was the necessity to have lived in the ceded territory (the land included in Treaty) as of July 15, 1870. This requirement changed over time. (158 page 18)

The Papaschase Cree had been aligned with the HBC as their primary source of livelihood, so potentially could be viewed as not “traditional.” Most First Nations and Métis in Edmonton qualified for scrip because of the fur trade intermarriages in the early years. (105)

Early travellers, the independent entrepreneurial French-Canadian traders, trappers and boatmen (“voyageurs” and “coureur des bois”), and later men from the U.K., married indigenous woman, had families, and often integrated into traditional life. Their children ultimately became a recognized people of Canada, Métis. (182)

Despite treaty terms, from 1879 to 1886 there was not sufficient relief provided to members of the Papaschase band and they continued to suffer in appalling conditions. (98) By July of 1886, Chief Papaschase had decided to leave treaty by taking scrip. He enlisted HBC Chief Factory Richard Hardisty as an ally to persuade Indian Commissioner Dewdney to allow this action.

1239  
(T. 1239 K.)

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Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph.

Terms and Conditions: Messages are received by this Company for transmission, subject to the terms and conditions printed on their Blank T. Form A, which terms and conditions have been agreed to by the sender of the following message.

Sent by *S* Rec'd by *V*

Check *37 P. 11 267*

No. *3* Time *10:30* *July 9th 1886*

By Telegraph from *Edmonton*

To *Hon. E. Dewdney*

*Pass-pass-chase*  
*of Edmonton with*  
*his five brothers*  
*most anxious to get*  
*discharge from treaty*  
*known to all that they*  
*are half breeds would*  
*recommend the Govern-*  
*ment to grant them their*  
*Discharge*

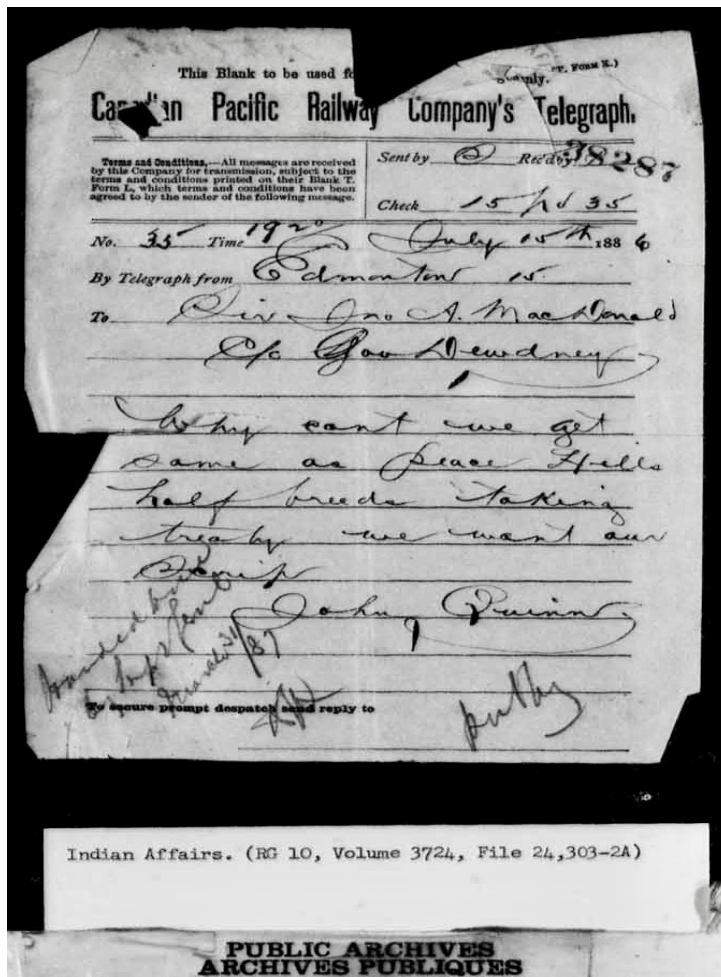
To secure prompt despatch send reply to *R. Hardisty*

Indian Affairs (RG 10, Volume 3595, File 1239 Pt. 12)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES  
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES  
CANADA

Hardisty sent the following telegram July 9, 1886.

Figure 80: The telegram reads “Pass-pass-chase of Edmonton with his five brothers most anxious to get discharge from treaty, known to all that they are half breeds and would recommend the government to grant this discharge. R. Hardisty”



Frustrated with past delays and refusal, Chief Papaschase, under his English name John Quinns, sent his own telegram to Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald July 15, 1886. (175 pages 283-284)

It reads "why cant (sic) we get same as Peace Hills half breeds taking treaty we want scrip."

Figure 81: Chief Papaschase's telegram asking for equal opportunity with a surrounding band to have scrip offered.

LAC RG10 Vol 3724 File 24,303-2A

His reference to "Peace Hills" pertains to Chief Bobtail and the fact that he and almost his entire band withdrew from treaty in 1885-86 to take Métis scrip. The Peace Hills Agency administered Cree Chiefs Bobtail, Samson and Ermineskin and Stoney Chief Sharphead.

Chief Bobtail's reserve was near Pigeon Lake, north of Wetaskiwin. After receiving scrip, many members went south to Montana. Ultimately, by request, the band was returned to Treaty status and became the Montana Band in Alberta. (177)

When the Commission returned to Edmonton a year later in 1888, 102 more impoverished band members, including Chief Papaschase, took scrip. (83) (152)

Based on this previous correspondence, it appears to have been a deliberate, well- planned request. And it appears equally clear that Papaschase decisions and requests at this time were based on dire and desperate living conditions. Whether done in full realization of the consequences of leaving treaty cannot be known.



520

Declaration by John Quinus Gladu  
 Concerning his Claim  
 to participate in any grant to Half-Breeds living in the  
 North-West Territories. Head

1. What is your name and P. O. Address? Edmonton P.O.
2. Where and when were you born? at Lesser Slave Lake in 1838
3. What was the name of your father? John Quinus or Kuenis
4. What was the name of your mother? Lisette Gladu
5. Was your father a Half-breed or Indian or either? Half breed
6. Was your mother a Half-breed or Indian or either? Yes
7. Where were you living each year since you were born? I lived in N.W. Terr.  
the whole of my life, at Beaver Hills  
near Edmonton on the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1870, I  
was only 18 years of age when I came first  
from Lesser Slave Lake.
8. What has been your occupation?
9. If married, when, where and to whom? in 1858, at Edmonton, to  
Julie Batoche my legitimate wife
10. How many children have you living? five
11. Give their names, and dates of birth? Oliver, John, Nancy,  
Eliza + Catherine from my legitimate wife -  
I also have six with my illegitimate wife  
Peggie Bruneau, their names are: Joseph,  
Joe, Henry, William, Caroline + St Pierre
12. What was the name of their respective mothers or fathers, as the case may be?
13. How many children have you who died? six
14. Give dates of birth and death of those who died? Paul, Marie, Catherine,  
Isabelle from Julie Batoche - Isabelle +  
Justin from Peggie Bruneau -

Form No. 143.

Figure 82: The Chief Papaschase application for Metis scrip signed Edmonton July 31, 1886.  
 Page 2 of 7. (81)

The remaining 82 band members who did not take scrip were described as mostly elders, women, and children.

Edmonton residents and businesspeople continued to petition the government, via a letter in April 1887 from Wadsworth to Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner in Regina, to reduce the reserve size or have it removed. The letter states that the Papaschase wanted to withdraw from Treaty 6 and surrender their reserve. There is no evidence of such a request. (83)

Locally, reserve land was deemed to stand in the way of homesteader growth in the area (“the best agricultural land in Edmonton which they leave unused”). (83) And the railroad was coming up from the south and going right through the reserve. They argued that, with a reduced band membership, the reserve should be reduced in size or eliminated.

Commissioner Dewdney wrote to the Ottawa Minister of Justice supporting Wadsworth’s recommendation from Edmonton. Justification was given that the band would be too wealthy in land, in relation to their population. (83)

Federal Deputy Minister of Justice Edmund Newcombe responded that such change would be breaking the laws of the Treaty and the Indian Act. He wrote:

“There was no provision in the law I am aware of, under which a reserve set apart under treaty for a particular band can on account of reduction for any cause of the original number of the band be reduced in extent without the sanction of those still continued to be members.” (83)

Despite this letter, the Department of the Interior advanced a proposal for the remaining members to join the Tommy Lapotac Reserve #135 (now Enoch Cree Nation), stating that it was the *wish* of the Papaschase Band to combine their numbers. (83)

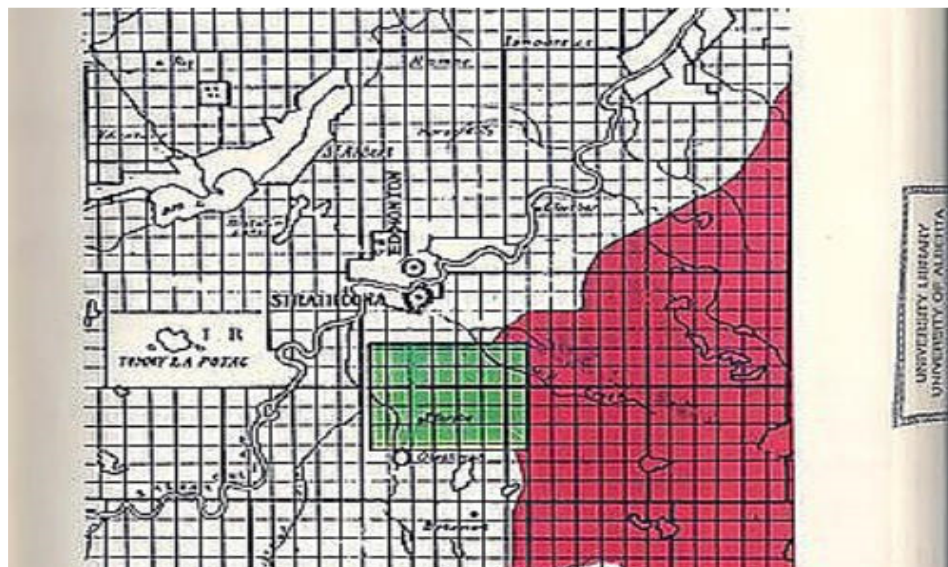


Figure 83: Map showing the Papaschase and Enoch Reserves relative to Edmonton of the 1800s. (167)

An agent encouraged members to move, even giving promises that one of their own would be named the new Chief and headmen of the amalgamated bands. This was a promise that could not be kept. (83)

Residing chief, Tommy Lapotac, (his Cree name was Wahnimahwatah (156) had been urged to increase his band's membership number to have his own reserve created. (174 page 290) His was indeed a band of "stragglers". By 1880, this Cree band had already started to farm land, which was not yet completely surveyed, three years after signing Treaty 6 August 21, 1877.

They were one of a minority of bands that appear to have had some degree of success farming, albeit not consistently. In the annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1906, the agent commented, "No band has better opportunities to improve its position than is within the reach of the Indians of this band", this with a population of 125. (178)

Continued hunting, gathering, and trapping as well as engagement with the surrounding communities to socialize, sell produce, merchandise and labour presented a problem. Off-reserve activity kept bands and individuals away from their farms and animals, sometimes for extended periods. (153)

Those Papaschase members who had taken scrip were allowed to occupy their reserve land until after the fall harvest of 1886. August of 1887 the remaining 82 band members were reassigned and moved to the Tommy Lapotac/Enoch Stony Plain Reserve. The 1888 federal census at Enoch identified the reserve was now home to 217 members. (166)

Commissioner Dewdney was instructed by Indian Affairs in January of 1887 to obtain a formal surrender from the remaining Papaschase members so the land could be sold "for their benefit." (83) This task was delegated to Assistant Commissioner Reed who had arranged removal of all members of the band. But he made no attempt to comply with the order to obtain a surrender prior to them leaving.

On a few occasions in late 1887, again no attempts were made to convene a surrender meeting even though 8-10 members of the band were paid annuities at Enoch, indicating their known whereabouts. (84) On Aug 12, 1887, with no surrender signed, the 102 "discharged from treaty" band members who took scrip, were evicted. (80)

*Note:* The following website has excellent documentation of:

- Papaschase band members who were discharged from treaty status (took scrip) in 1886 (Papaschase himself is #1).
  - a list of band members who went to the Enoch reserve.
  - another list for those known to have gone to others reserves.
  - last annuity payments for band members whose whereabouts was then no longer known.
  - a list of eligible voters on the question of IR No 136 surrender.
- [www.papaschase.ca](http://www.papaschase.ca) Go to "News" and then "More History"

*Note:* This is a website of people who took Métis scrip in the Edmonton area, including the Papaschase, Enoch and Edmonton Stragglers:

[www.scribd.com>document>Enoch-Band-Metis-Wh](http://www.scribd.com/document/Enoch-Band-Metis-Wh) Enoch Band Metis Who Left Treaty Canadian Prairies Canada Feb 3, 2013

Papaschase paylist of treaty annuity 1877 to 1887 (number of members receiving):

1877 - 179 1878 - 207 1879 - 227 188 - 190 1881-161 1882 - 201 1883 - 188 1884 - 231  
1885 - 194 1886 - 82 1887 - 0 (175 page 211)

79 Papaschase were documented at the Enoch Reserve west of Edmonton in 1894. Others went to different reserves and some disappeared. (82) By 1905, despite the federal agent's optimism, the Enoch Reserve had only 15 families operating farms. And there is documentation of their struggle with the poor quality and inadequate equipment they were provided. (159)

Even in advance of having an answer about the fate of IR 136, settlers were moving in and using Papaschase reserve land to build cabins and cut timber. (74) All members were gone, displaced voluntarily or by force. But IR 136 land was still in the band's name.

By Nov 19, 1888, Inspector Wadsworth obtained a "surrender" for Indian Reserve No 136, signed by 3 adult male members of the band who were, by then, living on the Tommy Lapotac/Enoch Reserve. (83)

These three men were deemed to be *the* remaining members of the band and signed the 1889 agreement to surrendering all interests in the reserve with a view to its sale or lease.

The surrender was to "such person or persons and upon such terms as the Government of the Dominion of Canada may deem most conducive to our welfare, and that of our people." (105)

With that intention, and stated in the surrender document, revenues were to be held in trust for the band members and interest paid to them and their descendants from the trust.

A record shows that \$98,000 from land sale was credited to the Enoch account but band members never saw the benefit. (113 page 103)

There is little doubt that the Town of Edmonton's strong stance against a reserve so close to its border spearheaded the demise of the Papaschase Reserve. That charge was led by influential members of the business community such as Frank Oliver. While he held fairly typical views of First Nations People for that day and age, he did have a very effective vehicle in which to voice them, his own newspaper.

He became a Member of Parliament in 1888 and is covered once again in his newspaper, The Edmonton Bulletin. The headline of May 27, 1913 read "Plain Piracy Practiced on B.C Indians" where he denounces the government sale of Indian reserve land in B.C. at a tenth of its value. (171)

However, this may not have been a change of heart or character for this charismatic and influential Edmontonian.



A self-proclaimed man of honour and principal who served federally as both Minister of the Interior and Indian Affairs, Oliver leaves records that show he himself obtained substantial tracts of (reserve) land for much less than market value and profited from their resale. (172)

Although it took many years, 1890-1930, the Papaschase land was all sold off. (83) (152)  
Almost all of the “scrip” ended up in the hands of land speculators who then resold as values increased. The speculators purchased scrip for as little as 40 cents on the dollar. (105)

Of almost 15,000 money scrip issued overall, land speculators ended up obtaining over 12,500. And they acquired the vast majority of land scrip issued as well. (136) By 1982, the City of Edmonton had incrementally absorbed the entire reserve area through annexation.

Many bands in Alberta did surrender portions of their reserve land, usually for rights of way or settler farms. These surrenders were not always done without collusion on the part of the government agents assigned to the request. One reference describes cutting food rations to gain co-operation from the Blackfoot near Gleichen, Alberta for the surrender of 125,000 acres to be sold primarily to the CNR. (141)

With treaty obligations broken (if not the laws of the land as well), the Papaschase Band IR 136 was the first in Canada to surrender its full reserve, despite signing a treaty. Only eleven years had transpired between making their “marks” on Treaty 6 and enfranchisement.

It could be said that the Papaschase lost their land and official status because they were too close to Edmonton. And deemed to be in the way of the expanding influx of settlers bent on developing rich land, seeking economic advantage, and prospering in *their* new home.

Upon hearing of his fate in 1904, old friend Laurent Garneau brought Chief Papaschase from the Beaver Hills to live alongside him at his home in St Paul des Metis (now St Paul).

Papaschase’s final resting place is at Elinor Lake, SE of Lac La Biche. He died of the Spanish flu in 1918. (174 page 286)



Figure 84: Chief Papaschase as an Elder (73)



We are all treaty people.

“This statement is a conversation starter and a challenge.”

*Written by Winnipeg Free Press opinion journalist Jamie Wilson.*

### Author's note:

Many thanks and appreciation to Carole Hudson for her patience, support and clever layout editing. Also, to Cristine Bayly for her time, motivation and interest in this project.

The intent of this study is not to delve into modern-day treaty or reserve disputes. It is, rather, an exploration of what traditional aboriginal history is available, and extrapolating it to the Beaumont area.

Many English and aboriginal word spellings vary from reference to reference. One spelling was chosen and used throughout, Broad dating referring to geologic times and pre-history archeological sites, vary within the research. Dates used come from the specific sources cited.

Author Melanie Niemi-Bohun provides interesting perspectives on the Edmonton and District Stragglers playlist available at:

[era.library.ualberta.ca](http://era.library.ualberta.ca) Melanie Niemi-Bohun-Doctoral Dissertation-Different Perspectives on Edmonton Stragglers & scrip  
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### **Various spellings of the same name or word:**

Peigan – Piegan usually in the USA

Nakoda – Nakota

Julia – also as Julie

Papaschase – Paspaschew, Passpasschase, Pahpahstyo, Pahpastayo

Lapotac – Lapatack, LaPotac, Lapatac

Tipi- teepee, tepee

Mikowhâp – Mikiwahp, Mikiwâhp

Tsuut'ina – Tsuu T'ina

Métis - Mètif

Presented to the Beaumont and District Heritage Society by  
Barbara Willis this 21 day of June 2020

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