



**ASSORTED METIS
PAPERS**

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY:

METIS IN ONTARIO

FOR

THE MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO

NATIVE AFFAIRS SECTION
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February 8, 1999

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METIS IN ONTARIO

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INTRODUCTION

PRAXIS Research Associates is pleased to submit to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources an annotated bibliography of published and unpublished sources relevant to the subject of Metis in Ontario. The sources included in this bibliography have been selected for their relevance to the following four topics:

- 1) The historical presence of Metis communities in Ontario;
- 2) Recent ethnographic and statistical data about Metis in Ontario;
- 3) Existing and potential Metis claims in Ontario;
- 4) Issues related to the inclusion of Metis within the definition of 'Aboriginal' in the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Categorization of sources under one of these four headings is not always a straightforward task. In several cases, sources contain information relevant to two or more of these topics. For example, quite a number of references could have been listed under either topic '1' or '3.' In such cases, it is the major theme, purpose or emphasis of the material which determines its topical classification. A couple of genealogical sources which may be useful in tracing Metis ancestries in Ontario are listed a sub-section at the end of Chapter 1. Except for topic '4' which concerns constitutional issues relevant to Metis in Canada generally, only those sources which contain information specific to Metis in Ontario are annotated.

This bibliography and the annotations employ the word form "Metis" to signify the group of people who are the subject of this project. However, it should be noted that several publications discuss the issue of whether and when the term should be capitalized, and sources do not conform to any standard use of the French accent, i.e. *Métis*. The terms "half-breed" and "mixed blood" are used only as referred to in the sources being annotated.

The objective of this project is to produce an exhaustive list of sources of information related to Metis in Ontario. Hence, all types of sources have been considered including the following:

- ▶ Published books and journal articles
- ▶ Unpublished research reports and theses
- ▶ Government and Non-Government Organization (NGO) documents

The sources listed in the bibliography have been located from the following holdings:

- ▶ Carleton University Library (MacOdrum)
- ▶ University of Ottawa Libraries (Morrisett and the Law Library)
- ▶ McMaster University and the University of Toronto (via on-line searches and inter-library loan services)
- ▶ National Library of Canada
- ▶ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Library
- ▶ Claims and Historical Research Centre (INAC)
- ▶ Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat & Ministry of Natural Resources
- ▶ Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples Research Reports

In addition to those sources which are annotated, numerous other sources were reviewed and found to contain negligible or no Ontario-specific data regarding Metis. These are listed as 'Sources Consulted.'

1. HISTORY OF METIS IN ONTARIO

Bakker, Peter J.

1997 *A Language of Our Own: The Genesis of Michif, the Mixed Cree-French Language of the Canadian Metis.* New York: Oxford University Press.

A linguistic analysis of the *Michif* language as an indicator of Metis identity. Chapter 3 deals with the origin and culture of the Metis Nation. Based on research by Peterson (1978) and Brown (1980), Bakker traces the origin of Metis culture to the fur trade in New France and the Great Lakes area. However, Bakker states that in neither of these areas did the children of mixed unions between European men and Indian women, consider themselves separate from their parents' groups. It was only in the 1800s, particularly in the Red River area, that people of mixed origin began to consider themselves a separate ethnic group. Although Bakker outlines points where Metis do not fulfil the essential criteria which define most other ethnic groups, he argues that Metis do form a separate ethnic group. Bakker distinguishes "pan-Metis" (no group identity) from "historical Metis" (separate ethnic identity), and in diagram form (Figure 3.1) illustrates the historical path from which each emerged (pp.62-63). The origin of all Metis are the "Great Lakes Metis."

Brasser, Ted J.

1985 *In Search of Metis Art.* In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America.* Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Eds.) Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press (pp.221-229).

Brasser documents art forms which are unique to Metis, and which represent an element of the ethnic identity of Metis. Brasser employs a sociological definition of the Metis who settled on the Red River, as "marginal people" originating from earlier fur-trade frontiers primarily around and north of the Great Lakes. Brasser describes these "widespread and early" Metis as "barely aware of a distinct ethnic identity as yet" (p.223). It was at the Red River where the Metis population was large enough to promote an endogamous marriage preference that a distinctive art style emerged. He concludes that the beginnings of a distinctively Metis art style was linked to the rise of an ethnic identity in the early decades of the 19th century.

Brown, Jennifer S.H.

1985 *Metis.* In *The Canadian Encyclopedia.* J.H. Marsh, Ed. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing (pp.1124-1127).

In this typical encyclopedic entry, Brown traces the origins of "the first distinguishably Metis communities" around and beyond the Great Lakes from the 1690s onward. Numerous American and Canadian towns and cities (eg., Sault Ste. Marie in Ontario) had their origins in these informal biracial communities.

Brown (continued)

1987 *The Metis: Genesis and Rebirth, In Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis.* Bruce Alden Cox, Ed. Ottawa: Carleton University Press (pp.136-147).

Brown distinguishes the meanings between *metis* written with a small "m" (signifying all people of dual Amerindian-white ancestry), and *Metis* capitalized, which is used to specifically refer to those people who are agreed to possess a distinctive socio-cultural heritage and sense of ethnic identification. Based on this distinction, Brown outlines the history of metis families and communities in Canada from east to west, beginning in Acadia and New France. In the Great Lakes region, metis (small "m") settlements were increasingly remarked upon by clergymen, travellers and others from the 1690s onward. These communities achieved a social order and economy of their own. Small "m" metis of the Hudson' Bay prior to 1810 are described as lacking the distinct community and economic basis upon which to build a separate identity. Brown speculates that the British conquest of New France in 1763 may have heightened a metis sense of separateness. By 1800, numerous metis communities around the lower Great Lakes migrated northwest towards Manitoba and Minnesota. It is at Red River that metis developed identification as (capitalized) Metis.

Burley, David, Gayel A. Horsfall, and John D. Brandon

1991 *Structural Considerations of Metis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Study.* Vermillion, S.D.: University of South Dakota Press.

As the title suggests, this book combines archaeological, architectural and historical data to develop a theoretical basis for the study of Metis ethnicity and change. Chapter 2 focuses on understanding Metis history, ethnicity and social identity, beginning with the statement that the Metis emerged as a distinct and recognizable ethnic group as a consequence of the fur trade. Citing Peterson (1981; 1985), the authors indicate their earliest origins to stem from the union of native women and French Canadian men in the vicinity of the Great Lakes. Included is a clear discussion of the debate about exactly when the Metis perceived themselves as Metis, and the authors conclude that the "ethnogeneses" of Metis can be explained "only through reference to social, political and economic circumstances in the Red River settlement" (p.15).

Cameron, David and Jill Wherret

1997 *New Relationship, New Challenges: Aboriginal Peoples and the Province of Ontario (February 1995). Research Report on CD-ROM: For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.* Ottawa: Libraxus Inc.

A general research report on Aboriginal people in Ontario, with brief references to Metis history and demographics. Historically, Metis in Ontario are described as distinct local groups of families or as individuals involved with the fur trade. Metis communities were located in or near trade centres including Moose Factory, Thunder Bay, Fort Frances, Kenora, and Penetanguishene. Metis in Ontario did not appear to identify themselves as a distinct 'nation', but rather as politically and culturally distinct communities from each other.

Campbell, George

1980 *The Final Adventure: Old Fort William. Thunder Bay: Guide Print and Publishing.*

A booklet produced by a local historian of Thunder Bay, aimed at a popular audience interested in the history of Old Fort William. In a section titled "Life at the Fort...", Campbell states that most of the North West company employees at the Fort had married native or Metis women, who also lived around the premises. In addition, a small settlement of 'free' Canadians lived across the River, *ex-voyageurs* who lived with their native families. As well, the Fort's farm was occupied and worked by French Canadian labourers who lived in cottages with their Indian or Metis wives and families. It is believed that some of these people could well have become the first permanent settlers of the Thunder Bay region. Gale 1998 cites this as evidence of Metis as one of the founders of Thunder Bay.

Chrétien, Annette

1996 "Mattawa, Where the Waters Meet:" *The Question of Identity in Metis Culture.* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Music, University of Ottawa.

Although Chrétien's focus is on music as an indicator of Metis identity, her work concerns the history and culture of the Metis living in Mattawa, Ontario. Chapters 1, 3, and 4 present reviews of the pertinent literature on the historiography and geography of Ontario Metis.

Douaud, Patrick C.

1985 *Ethnolinguistic Profile of the Canadian Metis.* National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No.99. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

A study of the mechanisms of cultural and linguistic variation among the Metis of western Canada, with a focus on the Mission Metis of Lac la Biche, Alberta. The ethnohistorical background to the study traces the origin of Metis to the long period of interaction between Indians and Whites in the St. Lawrence and Upper Great Lakes regions, in present-day Quebec and Ontario (citing Peterson 1978).

Foster, John E.

1995 *The Plains Metis.* In *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, 2nd Ed.* R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, Eds. Toronto: Oxford University Press (pp.414-443).

An examination of Metis as communities rather than as the individual offspring of mixed marriages. The development of Metis is characterized as the unique, socio-cultural product of particular events and circumstances, which – although infrequent – flourished in the Great Lakes region and on the Canadian Plains. The two regions were apparently linked, as some traders who were related to the Great Lakes Metis families, managed to establish small trading operations in the Red River Valley (prior to the monopoly created by the amalgamation of HBC and the Northwest Company in 1820).

Gale, Alison E.

1998 *The Metis of the Robinson-Superior Treaty: Historical Report. Draft prepared for the Claims Research and Assessment Directorate. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.*

A compilation of historical evidence regarding the people of Metis heritage who lived in the Thunder Bay area since the beginning of the 19th century and following the making of the Robinson Treaties in 1850. The evidence supports the contention of the Metis settlement at Fort William as one of the two first Metis settlements in Canada.¹ The historical documentation presented dates from ca. 1849-1925, concluding with evidence related to Metis not being included on Robinson-Superior Treaty annuity lists.

Giraud, Marcel

1986 *The Metis in the Canadian West, Volume 1. (Translated by George Woodcock). Edmonton: University of Alberta Press [original 1945].*

The fundamental work regarding the Plains Metis, *Les métis canadien* is considered the most thorough ethnographic and historical study of that people. Giraud conducted fieldwork in Metis communities during the 1930s, heavily supplementing his research with investigations into the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) Archives and other archival collections. The entire work is published in two volumes. Volume I is relevant to the subject of Metis in Ontario as it contains Giraud's discussion of the origin of the Metis as occurring from two nuclei of "racial fusion", both of which involve what is now Ontario. The first was the "southern nucleus" – along the Great Lakes route from the St. Lawrence to the western shores of Lake Superior. While a fusion of the races (primarily French traders and Aboriginal women) began in what is now western Quebec and eastern Ontario, it appears that most children of these native/white unions were generally absorbed into the native population (i.e. the mothers' communities). The Metis as a separate identity in Western Canada seemingly originated from this southern nucleus. Giraud's "northern nucleus" – along the western shores of Hudson Bay, in association with the establishment of HBC posts at Fort Albany and Moose Factory – is where Metis having Scottish and British ancestry originated. This "nucleus of racial mingling" gradually radiated into the northern hinterland, but for more than a century was limited to the Bay coast line where the first British posts were established. From these two nuclei, Giraud singles out settlements such as Michilimackinac, Rainy Lake, Moose Factory, York Factory, and Fort Albany as foci of the first appearances of recognizable Metis populations.

¹ Gale's citation for this reference to Fort William is: "Lorimer, *The Birth of the Metis Nation* (p.28)." A search for this publication at all holdings listed in the Introduction of this bibliography, was unsuccessful.

Gorham, Harriet

1987 Families of Mixed Descent in the Western Great Lakes Region. In *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis*. Bruce Alden Cox, Ed. Ottawa: Carleton University Press (pp.37-55).

An examination of the historical record of people of mixed descent who lived in or about the fur trading settlements such as Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac or La Baie, and who filled a liaison role between the Indian and White societies represented in the Great Lakes region between 1670 and 1830. Specifically, Gorham addresses the question: "Were these people Metis?" This question is addressed according to three criteria of ethnic identity: 1) self-ascription; 2) ascription by outsiders, and; 3) mating and marriage patterns. Gorham concludes that the Great Lakes mixed-bloods might be better described as an economic class rather than as an ethnic group.

Hamilton, J.C.

1876 *The Prairie Province: Sketches of Travel from Lake Ontario to Lake Winnipeg...* Toronto: Belford Brothers.

Chapter 1 of this travel account describes Hamilton's journey by train and steamer from Toronto to Thunder Bay. At Killarney, Hamilton observed Indians in their "tepees" as well as "log-houses" of white and red men" (p.2). At the east end of Prince Arthur's Landing, Hamilton describes a village at McVicar's Creek with "log and clap-board houses" as well as a "wigwam of an Indian" (p.5). Gale 1998 cites this as evidence of Metis settlement at McVicar's Creek. At the "ancient fort of the great Hudson's Bay company" at Kaministiquia River (near Prince Arthur), Hamilton observed "white men, Indians and half-breeds" (p.7).

Harrington, Carolyn

1981 *Development of a Half-Breed Community in the Upper Great Lakes. Consulting Report* (sponsor/client unknown; copy available at Claims & Historical Research Centre, INAC, Ottawa).

A detailed report on the historical development of "mixed bloods" in middle-northern Ontario (Sault region), where the first French contacts and settlements led to trade patterns which formed the basis for the emergence of a mixed blood population. The role of mixed bloods in Native and French-English wars is described, followed by a description of mixed blood lifestyles from 1623-1720. For the post-1720 periods, Harrington presents marriage and birth records of mixed bloods, the development of a sense of community, the impact of the shift from French to English regimes, the effects of consequent changes in trade patterns, and the role of mixed bloods in the political changes which ensued after the War of Independence and the establishment of the American boundary. Half-breed involvement in the wars during the Napoleonic War years, the War of 1812, and the development of an "Indian Liberation Army" after the fall of the Red River Metis are presented as evidence for a war-based community bond, which in part explains the lack of development of a high profile ethnic identity of Metis in the area. The report concludes with a description of the Half-breed-Indian community in the American Sault (Michigan) in contrast to the Metis community on the Ontario side of the border.

Jones, Gwynneth C.D.

1998 **Characteristics of pre-1850 and Metis Families in the Vicinity of Sault Ste Marie, 1860-1925. Unpublished Report, with Public History, Inc. (Ottawa).**

A historical research report prepared as background material for the *R. v. Powley* case (Ontario). The report surveys evidence relating to residence and persistence patterns of family names listed as Sault Ste. Marie residents dating from 1850 and earlier, and during the period from 1861 to the mid-1920s. The report also introduces some historical material relating to ways of life, community and identity among these families during the period 1850-1925. Jones concludes: 1) a significant core group of families associated with pre-1850 and/or mixed blood residents of Sault Ste. Marie remained in the Sault area at least until 1901; 2) Metis families relied economically on such activities as wage labour, fishing, agriculture, or maple sugar production making, and appear to have been less involved in hunting and trapping subsistence activities than were Ojibwa families; 3) residential patterns and reserve voting trends at Batchewana and Garden River indicate some degree of community feeling among Metis families; there is evidence also to suggest Metis sense of community in Sault Ste. Marie, as well as at St. Joseph's Island.

Judd, Carol

1983 **Housing the Homeguard at Moose Factory: 1730-1982. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3(1):23-37.**

This article makes that point that Metis have been resident at Moose Factory since the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post was established there in 1730. By the late 18th century, HBC men and Aboriginal women had erected dwellings outside the post itself, a homeguard housing site or community. By extension, Judd suggests that this phenomenon is similar for all HBC posts.

Long, John S.

1978 ***Treaty No.9: The Half-Breed Question, 1902-1910. Cobalt, Ontario: Highway Book Shop.***

A small booklet which documents some of the historical roots of the Metis at Moose Factory. Long suggests in his Preface that this booklet was written as a historical guide for the Moose Factory Local of the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

1983 **Archdeacon Thomas Vincent of Moosonee and the Handicap of "Metis" Racial Status. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3(1):95-116.**

This case study of Archdeacon Thomas Vincent is indirectly relevant to the subject of Metis in Ontario by its references to persons of "mixed-descent" in Fort Albany, Moose Factory and Moosonee in the mid to late 1800s. Of significance is Long's question about whether Vincent can be considered a "Metis", a term which appears only once in relation to Vincent's identity. While he was aware of the Riel Rebellion at the Red River, Vincent's missionary correspondence reveals no feeling of solidarity with any "Metis" cause. Long does not examine the question of whether a sense of Metis "community" existed in Moosonee during this period.

Long (continued)

1985 **Treaty No.9 and Fur Trade Company Families: Northeastern Ontario's Half-breeds, Indians, Petitioners and Metis.** In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, Eds. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press (pp. 137-162).

A detailed discussion of the history of the James Bay descendants of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) men and the Cree "homeguard" women with whom they founded families in the decades after 1670s. Male descendants of these families were by the early 1800s a notable category among HBC employees and after 1840 some also found roles as native clergy and catechists. Long argues that this group of families maintained a unique sense of identity. In 1905-06, Treaty Number 9 excluded the "half-breeds" and some Metis petitioned the Ontario government for compensation. However, no settlement of their claims or of the broader question of their status was reached. This case study shows in microcosm the complexity of the question: Who are native people? Long illustrates the inadequacy of arbitrary government decisions about who was eligible and ineligible for treaty status.

Lussier, Antoine

1973 **The Metis.** In *Indians Without Tipis: A Resource Book by Indians and Metis*. Bruce D. Sealey and Verna J. Kirkness, Eds. Winnipeg: William Clare Ltd.

This article mentions Metis in Ontario only once, and in the negative: "True, there are some Metis in Quebec and Ontario, since Indian people met white men there, but only in the prairie provinces did the Metis acquire a sense of group identity and a strong feeling of nationalism" (p.40).

McNab, David T.

1983 **Hearty Cooperation and Efficient Aid: The Metis and Treaty #3.** *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3(1):131-149.

This is a critical review of the historical evidence regarding the role played by Metis individuals in the negotiation of Treaty No.3. McNab address this issue in light of Commissioner Alexander Morris' statement in 1873 that the Metis had an important part in helping to persuade Indians to sign the Treaty. However, McNab concludes that the Metis role was limited to that of facilitators, and that they served mainly as reporters, interpreters and witnesses.

1984 **Research Report on the Metis Involvement in Treaty #3 in 1873. Final Report Prepared for the Office of Indian Resource Policy, Ministry of Natural Resources.**

This research report expands on McNab's research published in 1983 (above). It presents relevant historical facts on the Metis involvement in the Treaty No.3 negotiations of 1873 with particular attention to the role of individuals such as Joseph Nolin, a Metis interpreter at the negotiations, whose notes contain a version of the terms of the treaty which are identified by the Grand Council of Treaty No.3 as the "Paypom Document" or "Paypom Treaty." In contrast to McNab's publication in 1983, in this report he renders accounts of the influence on the Treaty No.3 negotiations by individuals from Metis communities in Ontario such as in the Rainy

Lake/Rainy River area, Fort Francis, Fort William and Sault Ste. Marie. McNab also seems to alter his former conclusions, and there is some implication that the Metis involvement in these negotiations may have led to adhesion to Treaty No.3 in 1875 which included Metis in that area.

McNab (continued)

1985 Metis Participation in the Treaty-Making Process in Ontario: A Reconnaissance. *Native Studies Review* 1(2):57-79.

McNab continues the line of analysis begun in his 1983 publication cited above. In this article, McNab concludes that the Metis of Ontario have been actively involved as facilitators and participants in the treaty-making process in Ontario since at least the late 18th century. By the 1840s the Metis of Ontario were living in distinct communities along waterways and near the fur trade routes in all parts of the province, and they presented to government some of their claims relating to aboriginal rights to presents, land and resources. Hence Metis were acknowledged in the Robinson Treaties, Treaty No.3, etc. In view of Metis history, culture, political action, and participation in the treaty process, McNab concludes that "it should not be surprising to find "metis" now in the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Morrison, James

1997 The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study (August 1996). Research Report on CD-ROM: For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Libraxus Inc..

Section 12.9 of this report is titled, "Metis Land Rights" (pp.152-158). Morrison describes the last day of Council at Sault Ste. Marie when signatory chiefs raised the issue of Metis land rights, asking that "Robinson give a free grant of 100 acres to some sixty half-breeds whose names were on a list they handed him." Although the Canadian government was not prepared to acknowledge any special status for half-breeds, the commissioner was prepared to grant the "old residents" (the majority of whom were Metis) free and full possession of their lands on which they resided. A month later these Metis forwarded a memorial to the Governor General in Toronto; the Ojibwa chiefs supported their petition by claiming that these families had "an inheritance in the country equal to our own." The river-lot holdings of Metis were confirmed, but by 1900 only half a dozen Metis still owned property in Sault Ste. Marie. Morrison also identifies Killarney and St. Joseph's Island as Metis residences.

Moss, Wendy

1979 Metis Adhesion to Treaty No.3. Field Report (sponsor/client unknown; possibly the Native Council of Canada; available from ONAS Resource Centre).

This report describes the events and issues surrounding the inclusion of Metis of Rainy Lake in Treaty No.3 in an adhesion signed in 1875. Moss focuses on the post-treaty conflict between the "half-breed" perception of themselves as a distinct group and the government's insistence that they join co-existent Indian bands. The report proposes that, by administrative fiat, this group was forced either to leave or to join existing Indian bands. Describing the boundary and related disputes between the Ontario and Federal governments between 1876-1915, the report outlines the activity of E.B. Borron and the processes he advocated for removing mixed bloods from the treaty lists.

Osborne, A.C.

1901 The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828.
Ontario Historical Society, Vol.3:123-149.

This is an excellent and detailed account of the transfer of the British garrison from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828 and the migration of 75 families of *voyageurs* ("half-breeds") connected with the post. These settlers became the "original owners and patentees" of lands on the borders of the Penetanguishene Bay (p.124). Osborne provides the historical (political and military) context of the transfer, followed by six personal narratives by direct descendants of Metis who were involved in the move to Penetanguishene. A list of names of the Drummond Island *voyageurs* is appended (pp.149-166).

Peterson, Jacqueline

1978 "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis," *Ethnohistory.*
25(1):41-67.

Peterson's research is considered seminal in the study of the Metis and the origins of Metis communities on the shores of the Great Lakes. This research paper examines the scope and significance of Indian-White marriages in the Upper Great Lakes region during the 18th and early 19th centuries, concluding that by the 1820s, a sizeable population of Metis inhabited a growing network of towns and villages. While most of these were south of the Great Lakes (now the USA), some Metis settlements were attached to present-day Ontario towns, including Sault Ste. Marie, Amherstburg and St. Joseph's Island. A map of major and minor Great Lakes Metis settlements ca. 1763-1830 is provided (see Appendix A to this bibliography). Peterson also suggests that the Great Lakes Metis were in the process of developing a group identity similar to that which matured several decades later in the Red River valley. She states that Louis Riel's rebellion was "the culmination of a nearly two centuries of ethnic formation rooted along the St. Lawrence and in the Upper Great Lakes and transplanted, of necessity, in the northern Red River Valley" (p.46). Within the context of this study, the term Metis designates less a racial category than an incipient ethnic group, entry into which could be acquired through marriage and self-identification, as well as birth. One of the primary reasons that Great Lakes Metis were able to construct a separate identity was the monopolization of the middle occupational rungs of the fur trading system. In addition to their occupations, the establishment of geographically separate and visually distinct band villages, their living arrangements, material culture, and marriage customs, set Metis apart from both their Indian relatives and neighbours and from European society.

1981 "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Metis Society and Culture in the Great Lake Region, 1680-1830." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Chicago.

Peterson's Ph.D. thesis represents her indepth examination of data related to the Great Lakes Metis, and forms the basis of publications annotated in this bibliography. (A copy is available at McMaster University).

Peterson (continued)

- 1985** *Many Roads to Red River: Metis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815.* In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America.* Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, Eds. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press (pp. 37-71).

Peterson further justifies the description of Metis as a new ethnic group, presenting a detailed argument that Metis' intersecting lineages and growing endogamy, their rapidly increasing numbers, their relative isolation from New France, and their distinctive lifestyle provide a vivid example of ethnogenesis. Based on marriage, birth, baptismal and household census records, several case studies of metis communities are provided, including that at Sault Ste. Marie. Quantitative data is available for the Metis population at Michilimackinac. Peterson concludes that many human roads led to the evolution of the Metis Nation at Red River, several of which stretched from the Great Lakes country in the southeast.

Redbird, Duke

- 1980** *We are Metis: A Metis View of the Development of a Canadian Native People.* Willowdale: Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

The stated purpose of this book is to examine Metis history with the view to prove that Metis are in a strong moral and legal position to demand their aboriginal rights and recognition of their major role as a founder of Canadian Confederation. Redbird traces the roots of the first half-breeds in the West, to eastern [Great Lakes] Metis who spearheaded the movement into the Red River country. This movement took place 100 years before the white man settled and 200 years before the first white women arrived. Redbird argues that the Metis were being identified as a group as early as 1670, and hence "it is safe to assume that the Metis identified themselves as a distinct group sometime before that" (p.3).

Sawchuk, Joe

- 1978** *The Metis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity.* Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd.

Although focused on Metis in Manitoba, Sawchuk's chapter on "Historical Background" provides a brief account of the Metis origin in the lands west of the Great Lakes, in the territory known as "Rupert's Land." It was the French who first set up a post (Fort Rouge) at the fork of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers in 1736, using the Lake Superior route to cut off the flow of furs to the English. Sawchuk argues that the Metis – as a new ethnic group – came into being in the Red River Valley, the main battle ground of the trading companies, and the centre of French, Scottish and English traders' unions with Cree, Saulteaux and Assiniboine women. By 1775 a prairie Metis population was definitely in existence. Sawchuk notes that there were enough mixed-bloods in the vicinity of the west coast of Hudson Bay to be classed as a second group of Metis, but the exact geographic region in which this second group emerged is not specified.

Surtees, Robert J.

1979 "Role of the Metis in Ontario to 1850." Unpublished report prepared for the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

This report outlines the difficulties in identifying the role of mixed bloods in historical Ontario. It begins by describing the role of mixed bloods in the earliest days of the Indian Department under the Johnson administration when the role of mixed bloods was pronounced. The significance of native peoples as military allies resulted in a decline in the need for mixed blood middlemen. Part I of the report ends with a listing of employees of the Indian Department from 1782-1845. Part II profiles significant mixed blood employees of the Department and indicates archival papers which may be useful in future research on this subject.

Tronrud, T.J. and A.E. Epp, Eds.

1995 *Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity.* Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Inc.

A collection of research articles related to the pre-history and history of Thunder Bay. Chapter 2 by Victor Lytwyn traces the Anishinabeg origins of the region, and their role in the fur trade. Chapter 10, "The Achievement of Community" by A. Earnest Epp includes evidence of Metis settlers on the opposite side of the Kaministiquia River, "where they gave rise to the village of Westfort" (p.181).

Van Kirk, Sylvia

1980 "*Many Tender Ties*": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer.

The most thorough and definitive historical study of women in the fur trade, written from a feminist perspective. Van Kirk argues that Indian and Metis women were an integral part of the success of the fur trade, forging enduring relationships with their white trader husbands. Trading posts are viewed as the epicentre of all original Metis communities. Drawing on numerous diaries and HBC records, she traces the history of the fur trade and documents the beginning of Metis communities across Canada. A closer examination of Van Kirk's work would likely produce data directly relevant to the history of Metis communities in Ontario.

Whiteside, Don (*sin a paw*) and Scott Douglas Whiteside

1979a *Indians in Upper Canada from 1846 through 1885, with Special Reference to Half-Breed Indians. The Circle Being Threatened.* Prepared (February 21, 1979) for the Aboriginal Title Research Group. Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

This is the first of two reports examining how the full-blood and half-breed Indians were divided into separate categories of Indians within a century. This first report describes the development of a half-breed population in Upper Canada (now Ontario), emphasizing their role in early colonial society and the changes in attitude by colonial administrations toward half-breeds. The appointment of Bond Head to Indian administration and his policy of cutting expenses by removing half-breeds from paylists, is identified as a turning point in Indian:Colonial Government relations.

Whiteside & Whiteside (continued)

1979b *Indians in Upper Canada from 1846 through 1885, with Special Reference to Half-Breed Indians and the Development of Political Associations. The Circle is Broken.* Prepared (March 15, 1979) for the Aboriginal Title Research Group. Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

This second report documents the laws, policies, and techniques used by the federal government to create another "type of Indian in Ontario", the Indian without "status". This report also examines the development of aboriginal political associations in Ontario, with particular emphasis on the role of half-breed Indians in their development. "The circle is broken" refers to the year 1885 (Riel Rebellion) when the unity among Indians was shattered by the arbitrary administrative decisions of the colonial government.

1.1 GENEALOGICAL SOURCES

Merriman, Brenda Dougall

1996 *Genealogy in Ontario: Searching the Records (3rd Edition).* Toronto: The Ontario Genealogical Society.

A general guide to conducting genealogical research in Ontario, this book also includes entries on tracing Metis ancestry. The entry for the 1901 Census (pp.83-85) indicates that a column for racial or tribal origin was added to this census, and that "very specific instructions" were given to enumerators for persons with a "mix of native blood with other races ('breeds')", and researchers working to prove native ancestry will find this column very helpful." As well, the chapter on "Additional Sources" includes several potentially useful entries relevant to "Native Ancestry" (pp.225ff), listing mission and church registers for "Christianized natives and Métis" (p.227-228), as well as "Voyageurs, Fur Traders" (pp.229-230) and the "Hudson's Bay Company" (pp.230-231).

Morin, Gail

1996 *Métis Families: A Genealogical Compendium.* Pawtucket, Rhode Island: Quintin Publications.

This two-volume set includes over 1,200 pages of genealogical records in alphabetical order by surname, of Metis families primarily in western Canada and in north-west USA. While there are some entries of individuals who reside in Ontario, a page by page search is required to isolate these. The bibliography does not list any Ontario sources (eg., church records, etc.) searched in the production of this compendium.

2. METIS IN ONTARIO TODAY

Gates, R. Ruggles

1928 **A Pedigree Study of Amerindian Crosses in Canada. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 58:511-532.**

This is an account of observations on inter-racial crosses between Whites and Indians in Canada. It concerns "pedigree" and tracing of facial characteristics through blood lines, concluding that the Canadian Indians were mainly from the Cree and Ojibway tribes and the whites were French Canadians, Scots, English and others. Gates does provide some information on Metis in the Lake Temagami and Bear Island region in northern Ontario, although his sources are primarily government census records.

Hedican, Edward J.

1986 ***The Ogoki River Guides: Emergent Leadership Among the Northern Ojibwa.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.**

This book is an ethnographic account of community-based economic development in Collins, an "Indian and Metis community of one hundred and fifty people in the forest belt of northern Ontario." Led by three Metis, sons of the village's former fur trader, the people have founded a locally operated tourist operation. Includes data on band membership, and the criteria local people use to identify themselves: labels such as "status" and "non-status" do not form part of the Ojibwa taxonomy for "Indians", and according to people in Collins, non-status and Metis people are all considered *anishnabek* (semantically equivalent to "Indian people").

Jenkins, Jeremy

1984 ***Report on the Moosonee Housing Development Project.* Prepared for the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Moosocabee Local Non-Profit Homes Development Corporation & Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Toronto: Shelter Limited.**

The only relevance of this report is in its indirect relation to Metis residents in Moosonee, as represented by the OMNSIA co-sponsorship of this project.

Normand, Josée

1996 ***A Profile of the Metis. Target Groups Project,* Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.**

This report includes only very general statistics on Metis in Ontario. For example, of the Metis people identified in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 9% (population 12,055) live in Ontario. This translates as 0.1% of the total population in the province, and 10.4% of the Aboriginal population in Ontario.

Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation

1980 *Metis and Non-Status Indians of Ontario: Community Profiles & Demographic Study (Vol.1 & 2)*. Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

Quantitative analysis of Metis and Non-Status Indians living in Ontario, based on surveys conducted during 1978-1979 in 66 communities in 5 regions. This study amalgamates Metis and Non-Status Indians (MNSI) as a single unit of analysis, and Metis-only data are not provided. Estimates of MNSI population in Ontario ranges from 50,000 to 185,000. While the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association claims to represent 185,000 MNSI, Provincial and federal estimates are much lower, ranging from 50,000 - 90,000.

Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture

1982 *Distribution of Native Population in Ontario by Census Areas, 1981*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.

A compilation of tables based on 1981 Statistics Canada census, including a "Metis" only category.

1983 *A Profile of Native People in Ontario*. Toronto: Government of Ontario.

An overview of all native people in Ontario, this profile includes basic information about Metis and Non-Status Indians, including brief discussions about perceptions of native identity, and some statistical data on Metis and Non-Status Indian populations. Metis and Non-Status Indians are examined as a single unit of analysis.

Peters, Evelyn, Mark Rosenburg and Greg Halseth

1991 *The Ontario Metis: Characteristics and Identity*. Native issues 4. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies (University of Manitoba).

A report based on an examination of data from a 1985 questionnaire survey conducted by the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA) of Canada. This report is one of a very few which focuses on the group of people in Ontario who identify themselves as Metis (of whom over 80% live in the northern areas of the province, defined as all the area north of Petawawa), but who appear to have few historic links with the Metis at Red River. Chapters include: 1) a review of the historical, political and theoretical issues surrounding Metis identity; 2) a description of the OMNSIA survey and comparison of the characteristics of the population surveyed to the population in the 1981 census; 3) the history of the Ontario Metis and their contemporary social and economic characteristics; 4) a discussion of the Metis responses to the survey questions, exploring the extent to which responses are homogenous across socio-economic characteristics, and; 5) a comparison of Metis and Non-Status Indian responses in an attempt to determine the degree to which Metis attitudes vary or correspond to Non-Status Indian attitudes. The report concludes that Metis identity must be seen as a dynamic phenomenon, in which people who identify themselves as Metis are in the process of defining and redefining what it means to be Metis. Ontario Metis strongly identified with an Aboriginal heritage and indicated that Aboriginal and spiritual values are important in their everyday lives, demonstrating a sense of separateness from Status, Non-Status and non-Native society.

Peters et al. (continued)

1991 The Ontario Metis Some Aspects of Metis Identity. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23(1):71-84.

This journal article is an abridged version of the 1991 report the same authors (above). This paper focuses on the links between socio-economic characteristics and attitudes about Metis identity in Ontario. Results suggest that the majority of self-identified Metis see themselves as Aboriginal people, although few use an aboriginal language at home; 75% of respondents stated that they would prefer a legal status other than Status Indians, and expressed considerable support for separate lands, political representation, and separate institutions to preserve native culture. Responses also indicate that youth, gender, higher education, employment, and urbanization are not associated with lower levels of commitment to Metis identity, as expected.

Schwager, K.W.

no date "An Investigation of Educational Levels and Attrition Rates in School Systems of Metis and non-Status Indian Children in North-Eastern and Mid-Northern Ontario." Unpublished report prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Education.

An educational survey of ten communities in which Metis and non-Status Indians reside in North-Eastern Ontario: Blind River, Thessalon, Sault Ste. Marie, Wawa, North Bay, Temagami, Moosonee, Moose Factory, Timmins and Cochrane. The report identifies some of the schooling problems which exist for the population of Metis and non-Status Native people in these communities who are not considered for aid by the Department of Indian Affairs.

3. POTENTIAL METIS CLAIMS IN ONTARIO

Anonymous

ca. 1977 Burleigh Falls Research Project'77. Unpublished Report.

No title page accompanied the copy of this report reviewed for the present bibliography. It appears to be a draft outlining the main features of a claim regarding a land claims case being brought forward by Metis at Burleigh Falls, Ontario. In part, this report appears to be proposing issues in need of further research, while also reporting on the status of the claim process. A cursory review of the report and appended correspondence (eg., Memorandum from Moss to Daniels, 26 May 1977) indicates that the author may either be H.W. Daniels (president of the Native Council of Canada), or more probably, "Kilowatt" alias Wendy Moss (coordinator of a student research project at Burleigh Falls).

Daniels, Harry W., Editor

1979 *The Forgotten People: Metis and Non-Status Indian Land Claims.* Ottawa: Native Council of Canada.

A compilation of articles (see also Sanders, below) including an interview with Duke Redbird, Research Director for the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Land Claims Research, with comments by Marty Dunn, Assistant Director (pp.45-59). The historical claims of the Metis in Ontario are characterized as diverse, and seen as a testing ground for the political and legal claims of Metis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario. Specific case studies at Burleigh Falls, Moose Factory, and Bear Island are presented.

Driben, Paul

1987 *Aboriginal Cultures of Ontario: A Summary of Definitions and Proposals Made by the Native People of Ontario to Preserve Their Cultural Heritage.* Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Chapter 5 of this report deals with proposals by Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indians to preserve the integrity of their culture. Recommendations encompass: educational issues such as financial assistance for Metis and Non-Status Indian students, curricula that focuses on their own cultural heritage; issues of membership in Aboriginal society under the Indian Act; issues of child welfare; economic issues related to Metis and Non-Status Indian identity as linked to the land and its natural resources; proposals to preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' arts and media; proposals to preserve their political organizations, and; proposals to preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' spiritual values and beliefs.

Imai, Shin

1998 *The 1999 Annotated Indian Act and Aboriginal Constitutional Provisions*. Toronto: Carswell - Thomson Professional Publishing.

Includes a section on Metis Rights in Ontario (pp.318-319), citing and annotating *R. v. Perry* (1997), *Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies v. Ontario* (1997), *R. v. Buckner* (1997), *R. v. Chevrier* (1988).

Long, John S.

1979 "Born and Brought up in the Country": The Metis of Treaty No.9. Final Report prepared for Ontario Metis & Non-Status Indian Association (available at Claims & Historical Research Centre, Ottawa).

This report attempts to explain the response of the Treaty No.9 Metis, particularly the Moose Factory Metis, to an offer of 160 acres of land by Ontario's Treasurer Matheson in 1906. The Treaty No.9 Metis are defined and the economic changes they experienced at the turn of the century are described. This is followed by an examination of the Metis petition of 1905, the offer in 1906 by the Ontario government to recognize Metis aboriginal rights and to compensate each family with 160 acres. Long argues that Metis of Moose Factory are still due that compensation. Methodologically, Long qualifies the report by detailing the problems involved in establishing an accurate census of the Metis; genealogical sketches used in the report are described as "very very tentative."

Manore, Jean

1988 *Moose Factory Metis Land Claim. Research Report for Ontario Native Affairs Directorate*. Toronto: Ontario Native Affairs Directorate.

This research report presents the documentary historical record relevant to the claim by Metis of Moose Factory that they were denied admission to Treaty No.9 signed in 1905-06. The Metis claim that a petition signed by "the half-breeds of Moose Factory" in 1905 in which provisions for Metis in the treaty were requested, was not responded to by either the Federal or Ontario governments. The claimants further claim that when they were removed from the Indian Reserve in the 1950s, they also lost hunting, fishing and trapping rights under Treaty No.9. The report documents the history of Metis occupation of lands around Moose Factory from the 1700s onward, with particular emphasis on the content and context of the "Half-Breed" petition to the Treaty No.9 Commissioners in 1905. The report concludes with a brief discussion of the removal of non-Indians (Metis) from the Reserve in the 1950s.

Metis Nation of Ontario

1997 *Provisional Harvesting Policy*. Ottawa: Metis Nation of Ontario (copy contained in: Interoffice Memorandum dated 17 October 1997, Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat).

A policy paper specifying the Metis Nation of Ontario's (MNO) *Provisional Harvesting Policy*, effective as of September 18, 1997. A sample of a "Harvester's Certificate" and a list of "Captains of the Harvest" are attached. This policy statement represents notification to Ontario that "Metis citizens" (as defined in the Policy statement) will act on their claimed

Aboriginal right to hunt and fish within their traditional territories, as authorized by the MNO. [These documents are compiled in an "Interoffice Memorandum" of the Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat, which also includes a "Ministers House Note" prepared by Bruce Sandilands, Native Affairs Unit Ministry of Natural Resources].

Moose Factory Local, Ontario Metis & Non-Status Indian Association ✓
1979 Brief presented to the "Committee Investigating the Question of Special Status for Metis and Non Status Indians in Ontario". Moose Factory, Ontario: June 18, 1979.

This brief presents an overview of Metis history at Moose Factory, their claim based on a petition submitted by Metis during the 1905 Treaty No.9 negotiations, a claim for compensation for rights lost by Metis under the Treaty provisions, and a demand by Metis of Ontario to be given indigenous status.

Native Council of Canada

1979 Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights (with commentary by Harry W. Daniels). Ottawa: Native Council of Canada.

Declaration founded on the idea that Metis are an "original people" of Canada. The Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSI) were represented on the NCC Board of Directors which drafted this declaration.

1980 A Statement of Claim Based on Aboriginal Title of Metis and Non-Status Indians. Ottawa: Native Council of Canada.

A Statement of Claim followed by a Document of Support (copies of historical documentation appended) submitted by Metis and Non-Status Indians of Canada. Both the "Statement of Claim" and the "Document of Support" begin by describing Metis people as a distinct national group which developed in the Canadian West. Of significance to Metis in Ontario, the Statement notes that the aboriginal rights of mixed blood people were recognized in the Robinson Treaties of 1850 and in the Half-Breed Adhesion to Treaty No.3. Also, it points to the specific claims of Metis and Non-Status Indians in Ontario as an "outstanding issue."

Sanders, Douglas

1979 Metis Rights in the Prairie Provinces and the Northwest Territories: A Legal Interpretation. In *The Forgotten People: Metis and Non-status Indian Land Claims*. Harry W. Daniels (Ed.). Ottawa: Native Council of Canada (pp.5-22).

This article briefly discusses the historical fact that the system of Metis grants was not applied in Ontario. Sanders outlines issues concerning: the Robinson Treaties negotiated in 1850, during which time Metis at Sault Ste. Marie and elsewhere sought to be recognized by the government; Treaty 9 negotiated in northern Ontario in 1905, 1929, and 1930, in which there were no provisions for "Half-breed" grants, and; the transfer in 1930 of parts of the northwest from the Dominion to Ontario, after which special Metis claims were considered spent.

Schwartz, Fred

ca.1980

**"The Mississauga Treaties and Surrenders, and Southern Ontario."
Unpublished field report (sponsor unnamed, but appears to have been prepared
for the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association of Ontario).**

This report describes the Mississauga Treaties and outlines their broad implications for Metis and Non-Status Indian claims in Southern Ontario. A brief description of mixed-blood and Non-Status populations is followed by an outline of the effect of boundary changes and economic development on native people. Potential Metis claims are placed in the context of difficulties of identification, related to pressures on Metis to identify themselves as either Indian or white with subsequent inclusion or exclusion from treaty provisions. Of particular interest is a list of settlements known to have been started by Metis, including Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac, St. Joseph's Island, Drummond Island, Penetanguishene, Chatham, Amherstburg, and Burleigh Falls (p.30).

Tough, Frank and Leah Dorion

1997 **"the claims of the Half-breeds... have been finally closed": A Study of Treaty Ten and Treaty Five Adhesion Scrip. Research Report on CD-ROM: *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: Libraxus Inc.**

This report reconstructs the implementation of scrip policies for northern Saskatchewan (Treaty 10) and northern Manitoba (Treaty 5). Although the Treaty 5 Adhesion also includes a section of northern Ontario, scrip issued on the Ontario side is not discussed in the report. The authors also present arguments against those made by Sprague and Flanagan.

Weinstein, John

1997 **Metis Land Rights Research Project - Introduction and Conclusion. Research Report on CD-ROM: *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: Libraxus Inc.**

A project designed to answer four questions regarding Metis land rights: 1) Are Metis in possession of Aboriginal title?; 2) If yes, was either the *Manitoba Act* or the *Dominion Lands Act* capable of extinguishing that title?; 3) If title was extinguished, what were the abuses in the administration?, and; 4) What was the link of existing Metis Aboriginal rights in 1930 to the *Natural Resources Transfer Agreements* of the same year? Four reports were produced as a result of this project, including that by Tough and Dorion (annotated above).

4. METIS AND THE *CONSTITUTION ACT, 1982*

Allain, Jane and Elaine Gardner-O'Toole

1994 *Aboriginal Rights*. Current Issue Review 89-11E. Ottawa: Library of Parliament Research Branch [Original 8 November 1989; Revised 30 September 1994].

An overview of constitutional rights of Aboriginal people in Canada as these have evolved since 1867. Within the context of Section 35, the authors address the effects of Supreme Court decisions such as in *Sparrow v. The Queen* (Canada 1990), and by lower courts as in *R. v. Jones* (Ontario 1993). Included is a discussion of Section 35 (2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, in which Metis are included in the definition of "aboriginal peoples of Canada." According to the authors, this has added to confusion over the meaning of "Indian" for constitutional purposes in general and in particular for Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* which grant jurisdiction to the federal government over "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians." It is not clear whether the word "Indians" in this section includes Metis and non-status Indian people. This research paper concludes with an outline of proposed amendments to the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Bell, Catherine E.

1989 *Metis Aboriginal Title*. Unpublished Thesis (Master of Laws), University of British Columbia.

A legal analysis of the origin and persistence of Metis aboriginal title as an independent legal right. A theory of Metis title is developed through the examination of the inclusion of Metis peoples in s.35(2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*; jurisdiction over Metis claims; natural rights of indigenous peoples and the recognition of natural rights in domestic and international positive law, and; the persistence of Metis title in the face of unilateral and consensual acts of extinguishment. These general issues are examined more closely through a case study of the Metis Nation of Manitoba. (Ontario Metis are not a subject of this thesis.)

1991 *Who are the Metis People in Section 35(2)? Alberta Law Review* 29(2):351-381.

A follow-up publication to Bell's thesis, this article focuses on the ambiguity of the use of the term "Metis" in Section 35(2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Questions arise because self-identifying Metis are not a homogenous group that lend themselves to easy definition. Bell concludes that the term must be defined according to logical and political considerations in addition to self-identification based on racial, cultural and historical criteria. (A condensed version of this article is a chapter in *Aboriginal Peoples and the Law: Indian, Metis and Inuit Rights in Canada*, Second Edition. B. Morse, Ed. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.)

Boisvert, David and Keith Turnbull

1985 Who are the Metis? *Studies in Political Economy* 18:107-147.

The argument in this article is based on the assumption of Metis as Aboriginal with all attendant rights that status conveys, rights which have been "denied for too long." The authors describe how the Metis emerged and developed in the various parts of Canada, particularly the Northwest. Brief discussion is devoted to the treatment of Metis in Upper Canada (later Ontario) by William Robinson during treaty negotiations in 1850. Boisvert and Turnbull take issue with Thomas Flanagan's claims, and much of the article is a refutation of Flanagan's arguments.

Chartier, Clem

1985 Aboriginal Rights and Land Issues: The Metis Perspective. In *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*. Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long, Eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (pp. 54-61).

This essay argues that Metis should be included within the constitutional definition of the term "Indian" with all attendant aboriginal land rights this entails. Support for this position is based on the following: section 31 of the *Manitoba Act, 1870* which was subsequently given constitutional force by the *British North America Act, 1871*; the adhesion of Rainy River half-breeds to Treaty 3 in 1875; the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *Re Eskimos* (1939); schedule 1 (re: *Manitoba Act, 1870*) and section 35(2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Chartrand, Paul

1991 "Terms of Division": Problems in 'Outside-Naming' for Aboriginal People in Canada. *Journal of Indigenous Studies* 2(2):1-22.

Although concerned with the historical and legal categorizations of all Aboriginal peoples in Canada by "outsiders", Chartrand's discussion of Metis refers specifically to their inclusion in the *Constitution Act, 1982* (pp.13 ff.).

Daniels, Harry W.

1979 *We are the New Nation: The Metis and National Native Policy*. Ottawa: Native Council of Canada.

A compilation of policy statements which formed the basis of discussions between the Native Council of Canada (NCC - H.W. Daniels, President) and the Federal government in 1978. Throughout 1978 the NCC pressed for the recognition of the rights of Metis and Non-Status Indians as indigenous people and as historic national minorities. Policy statements contained in the volume are organized under three headings, and include the following: I) The Myth of Two Founding Peoples [Federalism and the Metis Nation; The Metis: Cornerstone of Canadian Confederation; The "List of Rights" of Riel's Provisional Government 1870]; II) "Separate and Unequal" [Bill C-9: the James Bay Agreement; The COPE Settlement: a Blueprint for Internment]; III) Towards Co-Equality: Integration vs. Assimilation [Rights of Historic National Minorities; The Metis and Multiculturalism; The Need for a Founding Nations Conference; Declaration of Rights].

Daniels (continued)

1981 *Native People and the Constitution of Canada: The Report of the Metis and Non-Status Indian Constitutional Review Commission. Ottawa: Mutual Press.*

Report on the findings of regional hearings during which Metis and Non-Status Native individuals, groups and representatives of Native organizations presented views on Constitutional matters affecting them (H.W. Daniels, Commissioner). The report also incorporates research undertaken into specific constitutional issues, for example, the concern for special representation in political institutions, the issue of special status of Native people in the constitution, and the matter of Metis land claims in western Canada. Contents include: 1) The Native Collectivities; 2) Native Rights in Canada; 3) Native People and the Polity; 4) Culture and Communications; 5) Metis Land Claims, and; 6) Native People in the Economy. The Report concludes with a summary of recommendations. Appendices include: 1) Proposed Amendments to the Native Rights Provisions of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, and; 2) The Commission and Participants. Appendix 2 records that about 200 people from Northern Ontario attended the public hearing in Sault Ste. Marie in October 1980.

Flanagan, Thomas

1983 *The Case Against Metis Aboriginal Rights. Canadian Public Policy – Analyse de Politiques 9(3):314-325.*

Flanagan is an outspoken opponent to the inclusion of Metis within the Constitutional definition of "Aboriginal." He argues that Metis aboriginal rights are a historical mistake conceived out of political expediency in 1870 to pacify the insurgents in Red River. Flanagan asserts that Metis do not meet the criteria of aboriginal status as defined in Canadian jurisprudence: Metis were "from the start part of the commercial economy of the fur trade" (p.321), they were not nomadic nor did their ancestors "occupy a specific territory over which they assert aboriginal title" (p.320).

1985 *Metis Aboriginal Rights: Some Historical and Contemporary Problems. In The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights. Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long, Eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (pp. 230-245).*

Again, Flanagan openly argues against Metis Aboriginal rights, presenting a legal analysis of the difficulties in categorizing the Metis as an aboriginal people as entrenched in sections 25 and 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Flanagan argues that the origin of Metis aboriginal rights are dubious in that logically Metis cannot claim original possession of the soil, the defining criteria for Aboriginal rights in Canadian law. Flanagan further argues that to speak of Aboriginal title being passed on to the Metis through inheritance from the Indians, even though the Metis way of life was very different from that of the Indian, is a "racist misunderstanding" of aboriginal title and contravenes liberal democracy. Flanagan is considered a leading authority on Riel and is the author of the somewhat controversial book: *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (1983).

McMahon, Don and Fred Martin

1997 The Metis and 91(24): Is Inclusion the Issue? Research Report on CD-ROM: *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.* Ottawa: Libraxus Inc.

The fundamental thesis of this report is that there are in Canada a variety of self-defining Metis communities, and that inclusion in section 91(24) may be of limited use in advancing the various goals of these communities. People other than those at Red River who are also considered Metis, include communities in southern and northern Ontario which had emerged by the middle of the 19th century with European-Indian heritage. Members of such communities sought either the issuance of scrip on the model employed in Western Canada or equal treatment with Indians by way of the taking of treaty and the creation of reserves.

Morse, Bradford W. and John Giokas

1997 Do the Metis fall within Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*? Research Report on CD-ROM: *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.* Ottawa: Libraxus Inc.

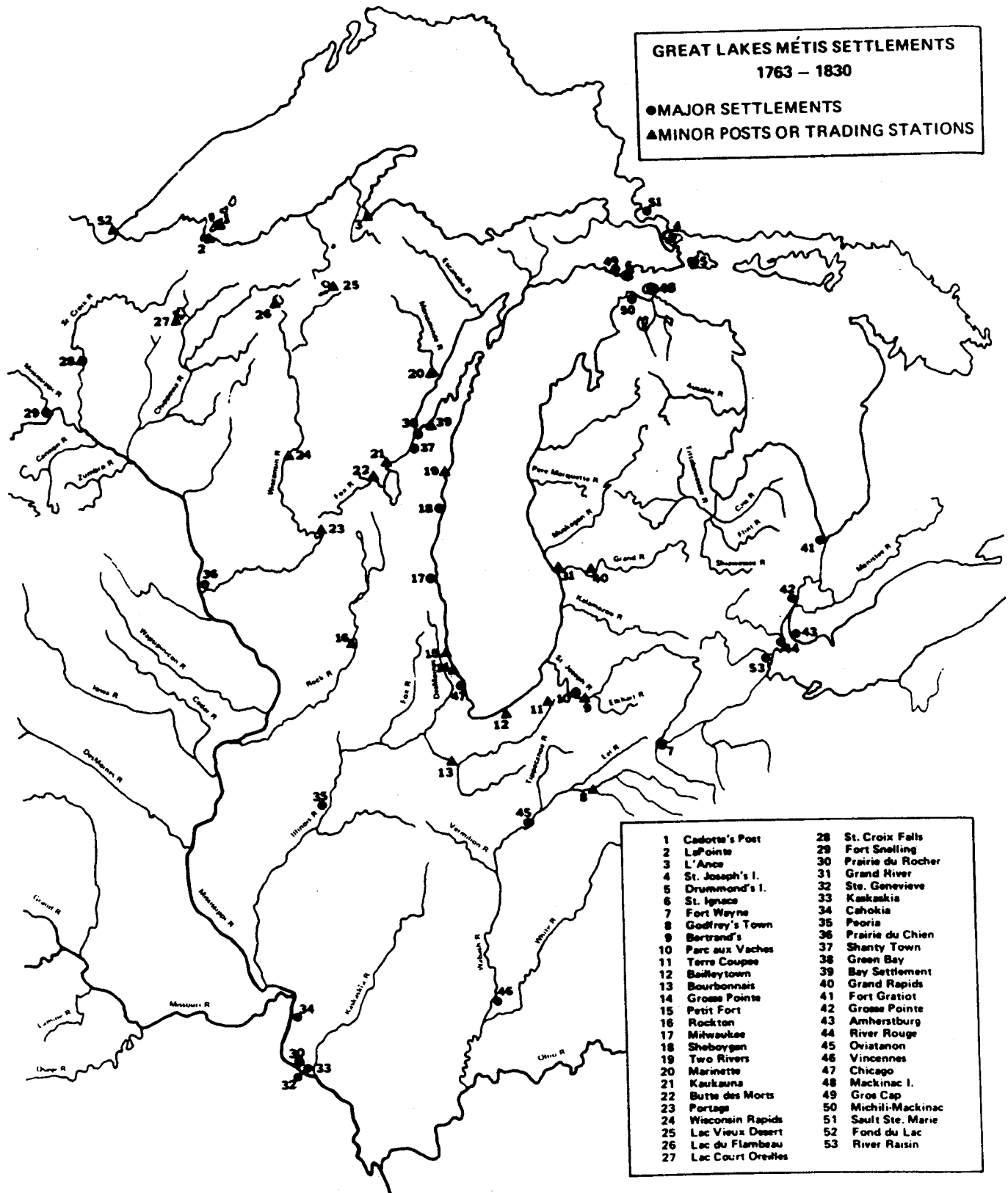
A presentation of arguments pointing to and recommendations for the inclusion of the Metis within the category of constitutional 'Indians' in section 91(24). The ramifications of section 91(24) inclusion are also addressed.

Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA)

1981 OMNSIA's Commission of Inquiry Report. *Special Editions 9(4).*

This issue of *Special Editions* is an interim report of the Commission of Inquiry into Native people in Ontario and the Constitution of Canada, and on its activities and deliberations to date. In particular, the report transcribes hearings held during a four-day Grand Assembly at Garden River Reserve.

APPENDIX A: MAP OF GREAT LAKES METIS SETTLEMENTS, 1763-1830
 (Source: Peterson 1978:44)



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1981 *Technical Study 4: The Effects of Education on the Native Behaviour in the Urban Labour Market*. Ottawa: Canadian Task Force on Labour market Development.

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1987 Metis Identity: A Personal Perspective. *Native Studies Review* 3(2):7-15.

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1983 The Nature of Metis Claims. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3(1):183-196.

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1988 Dispossession or Adaptation: Migration and Persistence of the Red River Metis, 1835-1890. *Historical Papers*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

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