

THE CANADIANS AND THE MÉTIS: THE RE-CREATION  
OF MANITOBA, 1858-1872.

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

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WINNIPEG, MANITOBA  
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**THE CANADIANS AND THE METIS:  
THE RE-CREATION OF MANITOBA, 1858-1872**

**BY**

**FREDERICK JOHN SHORE**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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"Can anything good come out of Canada?"

Unknown inhabitant of Red River, 1860's.



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## ABSTRACT

The modern history of the Canadian West began prior to 1860 when local peoples created a political, economic and social framework for themselves within the old Hudson's Bay Company territory. The early 1870's saw the re-creation of the North-West into the image of Ontario. The problem for the new Canadians arriving in what they perceived as an extension of Ontario was that the Métis had previously laid claim to the territory as their national homeland. The actions of the first arrivals from Ontario in the 1860's politicized the nascent Métis bourgeoisie who organized to form their own local government. The Métis then forced the negotiation of the Manitoba Act containing terms favourable to themselves and the other Half-Breed peoples living around the Forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. Métis success subsequently caused the politicizers to resort to violent methods after 1870 to regain Ontario's control over the area with the execution of Thomas Scott providing the motivation for such actions.

The Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF) of 1870, the Canadian Party's answer to Métis political acumen, was nothing more or less than armed settlers invading "their" colony to wrest control of the land and its politics from the Métis. The actions of the RREF represented a will to violence not unlike that which had created the "Bleeding Kansas" scenario earlier

in the United States of America. The ensuing history of Winnipeg in the early 1870's, shows how the West was won for Ontario by these early Canadian immigrants and their counterparts, the Red River Expeditionary Force. It also demonstrates how the political unity of the Métis was destroyed. Inadvertent politicization failed and the continuation of the informal process was the subsequent intimidation of the Métis in Red River using the Ontario volunteers as the tool to remove Métis influence and to allow the Canadians to establish their empire in Rupert's Land.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The author would also like to thank the workers in the various libraries and archives who were consulted and who helped at all stages of the project. Included here are the staffs of the University of Manitoba Libraries and Archives, the archivists of the National Archives in Ottawa, the very friendly and helpful people at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and the other Archives consulted, all of whom were helpful in spite of what must have seemed to be bizarre requests from an impatient, jet-lagged, graduate student.

Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

Lastly the author wishes to thank his family for their support throughout the lengthy process of the preparation of the thesis. Without their help, love and encouragement it is doubtful that the project could ever have been brought to a successful conclusion. To my wife, Lucy, belongs my deepest thanks. I owe her a debt which I can never repay.

Needless to say any errors herein are mine and mine alone and I take full responsibility for them.

Fred J. Shore  
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

April 22, 1991

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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Rupert's Land in the 1850's was on the periphery of empire. Stretching for miles into the heartland of the Continent it was the private preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company. Therein lay a problem since the Company's tenure was by no means absolute as there were others who envisioned the North-West as the future home of immigrant farmers and industry. In addition, there were aboriginal claimants for the territory. Despite the conflicting claims, however, it seemed that in the inexorable advance of empire, fur traders would have to give way before the march of progress. Under whose flag and with whose progress the advance would take place, remained to be seen.

In the late 1850's and early 1860's new arrivals came to trouble the hard-won balance of fur trader, Indian, Métis and English Half-Breed.<sup>1</sup> The new immigrants represented a form of empire heretofore unknown in the North-West and though they were small in numbers their influence was great. Acting out their ambitions and the desires of their Ontario homeland the Canadian newcomers inadvertently threatened one particular group of people in Rupert's Land: the Métis. The threats, which took the appearance of attacks on the culture and

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<sup>1</sup> The term "English Half-Breed" will be used to refer to those persons who were descendants of native mothers and Hudson's Bay Company employees. Other terms are Country-Born, Scottish Half-Breeds and Rupertslanders. The term "Half-Breed" will be capitalized wherever it is used by the author, otherwise it will be spelt as it was in the original quoted document.

established values of Red River, were compounded by the realization that the Canadians could also become the rulers of the area once transfer had occurred. Effectively politicized by such threats, the Métis reacted to a point where they could take action to protect themselves. The result was the birth of a Province, Manitoba, which reflected in its early stages the image of Métis and North-Western culture. The Canadians, thwarted in their first attempt at dominance, determined to first intimidate and finally, with Canada's help, to dispossess those who had foiled their ambitions.

The problem in 1870, was not that the Honourable Company wished to divest itself of its territory but, rather, what form the new regime that would replace it would assume. Would it be Canadian, fashioned in the image of Ontario or in that of Quebec? Would it even be British? Would the local inhabitants play a major role in the new scheme of things or would they be relegated to the dustbin of history? Anything was possible. The reality was that the actions of the over-anxious Canadians would serve to arouse the Métis to resist the advance of Canada and to force on the new Dominion a negotiated settlement less in keeping with Canadian desires than with Métis needs. The Manitoba Act could have been the end of the affair save that the Canadians could not tolerate the new order and the success of their admitted foes. They, therefore, determined to intimidate the Métis community in the North-West and in the process to regain for themselves their preferred

pre-eminent role. As a result, Canada's advance into Rupert's Land, spearheaded by an informal process of politicization, was to be followed by an informal process of intimidation which would remove the Métis as active partners in the social, economic and political life of the North-West and, in so doing, re-create Manitoba in the image of Ontario.

Not all the players ensconced on the scene in the 1850's in Rupert's Land were inclined to be national players or were even capable of being such. The Métis<sup>2</sup> were the only group prior to Canada's arrival in the area who could fill such a role. The others were too closely allied with the fur trade Company or too loosely connected to contemplate any national activity of their own.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the Canadians and the Métis were left unchallenged as the major players in any future national destiny of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) territories around Red River. The Canadians were to be the politicizers, intimidators, and dispossessors of the Métis. The Métis, for their part, would be busily involved with their national growth. The usual perception of them as indolent hunters blithely wandering the open prairies is not in keeping with their perception of their national interests. George H.

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<sup>2</sup> Capitals will be used for Métis since they comprise a specific national group. Canadians, as used in Chapters One and Two, refers to the early Canadian colonists in Rupert's Land.

<sup>3</sup> Chester Martin, "The First 'New Province' of the Dominion," Canadian Historical Review, 1, 4 (1920): 354-378, p. 366.

Sprenger, writing in 1972, accurately portrayed the usual view of the Métis.

In short, according to the views of Anglo-Saxon explorers, missionaries, residents of the Old Northwest, and eminent historians of Western Canada, the Métis were indolent, thoughtless, improvident, unrestrained in their desires, restless, clannish, vain and irresponsible. They despised agriculture and their efforts at farming were always destructive of the soil. Their love of open spaces and the freedom of the hunt prevented them from becoming sensible and steady farmers. In addition, their irrational preference for the chase was in part responsible for the slow development of agriculture in the Red River Settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, the Métis saw themselves as a Nation in their own right complete with national interests even to the exclusion of Indian claims to the contrary.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, they laid claim to a definitive homeland extending in a "great triangle from Pembina to St. Boniface and west up the Assiniboine" an indefinite distance.<sup>6</sup> The Métis, prior to the late 1850's, were actually involved in what became a major Canadian theme, nation building. As a result, the pivotal point for both the Canadian and Métis Nations would be the Confederation

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<sup>4</sup> George Herman Sprenger, "An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Métis Society, 1810-1870" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 58. This quote is an apt summary of the usual interpretations of Métis interests and cultural development.

<sup>5</sup> Marcel Giraud, The Métis in the Canadian West, 2 volumes, trans. by George Woodcock, (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1986, Originally Published 1945), 1: 425.

<sup>6</sup> W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 2d ed. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 63.

of Manitoba in 1870. The struggle that ensued over the Manitoba Act was at heart a "struggle for cultural dominance"<sup>7</sup> with all the attendant religious, linguistic, racial and political components which such a struggle entails.

What should be kept in mind is that there was no conspiracy on the part of the Canadians in Rupert's Land prior to 1870 to politicize and then to divest the Métis of the fruits of their political labours. In other words, the Canadians did not have a pre-arranged plan in mind when they arrived in the North-West. They were, however, predisposed to act in a certain manner because of the cultural baggage they brought with them from Ontario. The Canadians came west with certain expectations -- though not necessarily a plan -- about the kind of society that would be created after the transfer. In effect, their actions in the North-West were inadvertent and not pre-determined and as such were part of the process by which Canada assumed control over Rupert's Land. In retrospect, what was involved was an informal process by which the Canadian newcomers around the Forks of the Red River developed a pattern of action which can best be described as politicization and intimidation. It is the latter informal processes which the Canadians engaged in which will be dealt with in the following chapters. The more formal

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<sup>7</sup> J. Edgar Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," in Prairie Perspectives, ed. David Gagan (Toronto, Ontario: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1970), p. 46.

process of dispossession has already been dealt with since it was, in the words of its author, "the more irresistible one."<sup>8</sup> But who were the Canadians actually involved in the acquisition of Ontario's new territory.

The major actors in the informal/formal scenario have often been referred to as the "Canadian Party." The group was not as Doug Ooram sees it, solidly standing between Canada and the Métis<sup>9</sup> nor exactly as W.L. Morton describes it, a Party most often best defined as John Christian Schultz and whoever was allied with him at any particular time.<sup>10</sup> Although, in practice the Canadian Party was everything that Ooram described, it was also something more which was not readily recognizable. Its members were "individuals . . . disposed to accept the values and perspectives [which imperialism] embodied because these appeared meaningful in terms of their own experiences and convictions."<sup>11</sup> In practice the Canadian Party was Schultz and his co-workers; it was, in addition, a thorn in the side of official Canadian attempts to win the

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<sup>8</sup> Douglas N. Sprague, Canada And The Métis, 1869-1885 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988), p. X.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas Ooram, "Conspiracy and Treason: The Red River Resistance From An Expansionist Perspective," Prairie Forum, 3, 2 (1978): 157-174, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Carl Berger, The Sense Of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 12.



West for Canada. It was also an expression of a normal activity within the confines of the British Empire where expansion occurred most often from experiences on the periphery.<sup>12</sup> Such experiences were flexible as to forms of control depending on local circumstances. The operative concept was an informal expansion of empire as the most suitable means of achieving the desired result, the extension of imperial boundaries. Such a process, of course, did not deny a more formal method of expansion if deemed necessary. The preferred method, however, was to let the "commercial and capital penetration [lead] to political cooperation and hegemony."<sup>13</sup> That such a British imperial preference admirably suited the expanders of empire in Rupert's Land was no accident. British experience was founded on the premise that what was best for the metropolis was trade. Couched in glowing terms reminiscent of a biblical call to arms the traders went forward, strong in their belief that God had so commanded them to act. As Carl Berger commented in The Sense of Power:

It was God's command that the Anglo-Saxon go forth and bring truth to the world . . . and . . . when the furtherance of liberty, the Gospel, and progress was impeded by either an inferior race or a lower civilization, the resulting conflict and war

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<sup>12</sup> John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," in Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy, W.R. Louis, ed. (New York, New York: Franklin Watts, 1976), pp. 54, 57, 64.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

would be neither inglorious nor morally wrong.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore all indications were that Canada, herself a colony of Britain's, would prefer a similar pattern of expansion when she decided to expand into the North-West. She would desire and work hard to obtain a colony which was

. . . a homogenous European based colony . . . Western European and middle Nineteenth Century in view, acquisitive, authoritarian, conservative and in which the native was ignored and denied a place in social, economic and political life.<sup>15</sup>

It should not be surprising that a more formal process of expansion would follow the unexpected native success exemplified by the existence of the Manitoba Act of 1870 or that an informal process of expansion had been attempted first. "Informal if possible, formal if necessary"<sup>16</sup> were the watchwords of empire in the late nineteenth century and Canada's representatives in Rupert's Land were living proof of the dictum. To the Métis, the other major players on the scene, however, it appeared to be an invasion engineered by a movement of people from Ontario possessed of a different outlook on life. That the invasion was the result of impersonal forces eventually proved to be small comfort to the

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<sup>14</sup> Berger, Sense of Power, p. 251.

<sup>15</sup> Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914 (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Gallagher and Robinson, "Imperialism of Free Trade," p. 57.

Métis after 1870.<sup>17</sup>

An obviously pivotal event such as the clash of Métis and Canadians in the North-West around 1870 has attracted the attention of many historians. Commencing at practically the same time as the events themselves, historians, diarists and chroniclers, and, not least of all, apologists for one side or the other, have tried to explain or disguise the events attendant upon the birth of Manitoba and the demise of the Métis. For the sake of brevity, the literature can be divided into three divisions: contemporary imprints, major early works and recent works.

The earliest or "contemporary imprints" can best be described as works which were printed and published after 1870 and prior to 1900. Many of them were apologies aimed at defending one particular side or the other of the 1869-1870 controversy. A good example of one such work is R.G. Macbeth's The Making of the Canadian West: Being the Reminiscences of an Eyewitness, published in 1898. Macbeth, a declared supporter of the Canadian Party, maintained that the Métis were the major cause of trouble since they were so immature as a people. Macbeth's perception of the events of 1857-1870 was focused around

. . . Riel and his men . . . starting to fight the shadow of events which might never come, even though those shadows seemed to their kindled imaginations

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<sup>17</sup> Aileen D. Ross, "French and English Canadian Contacts and Institutional Change," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 20 (1954): p. 282.

to be portents of due disaster, heading in their direction.<sup>18</sup>

Where blame could be assigned it was heaped on the shoulders of those who erred in using blunt tactics to actually take control of the territory for Canada. As Macbeth himself said, ". . . if the Honorable William MacDougall [sic] had returned to Ottawa, . . . and if his deputies and agents within the new territory had been more discreet, we might have been spared some of the more deplorable scenes that followed."<sup>19</sup> Condemnatory references to Dennis, Snow, Cameron and others associated with the McDougall party and to the subsequent atrocities committed by Riel and the Métis, especially the wanton murder of Thomas Scott, are abundant while any hint of wrongdoing on the part of the Canadians already present in the territory at the time of transfer is absent. No sense of the relationship between the early Canadians and the Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF) is evident and Métis failure to persevere after 1870 is posited on inherent faults in the Métis character and not on intimidation fostered by Ontario's representatives in the North-West. Macbeth, an apologist for the Canadian Party and a defender of its role in the remaking of Manitoba in the image of Ontario, fails to accurately account for Métis dispersal after 1870.

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<sup>18</sup> R.G. Macbeth, The Making Of the Canadian West: Being the Reminiscences Of An Eye-Witness (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1898), p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

Another participant-historian was Alexander Begg who kept a daily journal describing the activities of practically everyone in the Red River area during the period in question. Concerned with the minutiae of life in the Settlement, Begg concentrated on the process of transfer and on the post 1870 experience. Because of his personal involvement in the events, he was unable to see the larger picture which included Schultz and his party, their supporters and the RREF as the major force in the process of Métis failure to persevere. Although he wrote several books dealing with Manitoba's early development, he never accurately described the process to which he was a witness.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, his involvement with McDougall's abortive attempt to secure the territory for Canada prejudices his account. One useful observation which Begg noted was that the English Half-Breeds appeared to be more concerned with the legalities of Métis actions than they were with any national aspirations of their own.<sup>21</sup> Although Begg's narrative is useful for insights into the overall picture which develops around the events of 1869-1870, he is too closely tied to the events to be truly objective.

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<sup>20</sup> One of the books written by Begg is, The Creation of Manitoba. The bibliographical entries for Begg's other works are available under Begg, Alexander in the Bibliography.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander Begg, The Creation of Manitoba; or a History of the Red River Troubles (Toronto, Ontario: A.H. Hovey, 1871), p. 97.

In fact, most of the contemporary imprints, if not all of them, suffer from such problems. The individuals who wrote them either were trying to defend their own particular cause or were attacking the opposition in order to make themselves and their narrative the one and only true version of the events. Collectively, they are valuable in that they can be used to determine attitudes and to provide a better grasp of the events described, but only if it is kept in mind that they fail to explain why the Métis were unsuccessful in making the Manitoba Act work for them after 1870.

After the turn of the century, a new wave of apologists and professionals entered the fray. One was Auguste-Henri de Trémaudan in his L'Histoire de la nation Métisse. He maintained that Canada should not have interfered with the Métis and Riel after 1870. Had Canada not done so, de Trémaudan believed that Manitoba and Saskatchewan would have become French provinces, similar in outlook to Quebec. However, the Métis had been put down and the Francophone element in Canada had suffered as a result. In fact, the entire process had been a political disagreement over what were basically, in de Trémaudan's eyes, linguistic differences.<sup>22</sup> As close as he was to the major Métis sources for the period, it is unfortunate that he never made the connection between the early Cana-

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<sup>22</sup> Auguste-Henri de Trémaudan, L'Histoire de la Nation Métisse, trans. by Elizabeth Maguet, Hold High Your Heads; History of the Métis Nation in Western Canada (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, 1982), p. X.

dians, the RREF and the failure of the Métis in Red River to maintain a viable presence after 1872. For other historians, however, the problem associated with 1869-1870 and its aftermath was more a case of religious interference in the affairs of state.

For one such historian, Chester Martin, writing in the early twentieth century, the reason for the emeute was easily explained.

Neither the Roman Catholic clergy nor the primitive people beneath their control at the Red River could be expected to welcome Canadian domination without safeguards. The Métis, suspicious and unenlightened, were easily moved to something more than passive resistance beneath the vainglorious leadership of Louis Riel -- a resistance which on more than one occasion passed beyond control and finally degenerated into wanton arrogance and bloodshed. The brains of the movement, however, were not those of Louis Riel; and it would not be unjust perhaps either to the French Métis or to their guardians in all that was well-ordained and sustained in the Riel Insurrection, to regard the Métis as the secular arm of the Church at Red River.<sup>23</sup>

Church influence dictated Métis political activity, implying that such a backward people could never be capable of organizing anything so complex as the events which produced the Manitoba Act. Such an interpretation ignores much that should be explained and serves to confuse the issues by trying to put all the blame onto one single source. Religion was involved but to imply that the Catholic Church engineered the events of 1869-1870 for its purposes, using the Métis as their

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<sup>23</sup> Martin, "The First 'New Province'," p. 367.

willing dupes, denies all the obvious capabilities of the Métis as an active Nation involved in the management of its own destiny. Eventually, Martin's work fails to deal with Canadian involvement in the process of Métis destruction before and after 1870.

As a complement to Martin's interpretation there is the work of the Reverend Adrien Gabriel Morice, undeniably a defender of the role played by the Catholic Church in the West. Morice implies that if the Church had been left alone the Métis would have been more successful in achieving a proper place in Western society. The underlying precept is that the Métis were unable to achieve anything on their own without the guidance of their betters. Due to Métis backwardness, Riel's intransigence and outside interference and duplicity based on religious intolerance the Church failed in its mission. In fact, a statement by Morice, early in the work cited below is a constantly repeated refrain, implying that all the other participants were far from truthful in their explanations of the events of 1869-1870.

Everyone knows the trite saying that history is a conspiracy against truth. We doubt if there is a period in the whole past of man in America to which that remark can be more appropriately applied.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Rev. Adrien Gabriel Morice, History of The Catholic Church in Western Canada From Lake Superior to the Pacific, 1659-1895, 2 vols. (Toronto, Ontario: The Musson Book Company, 1910), 2: 1.



For Morice, the Church was an innocent bystander working hard to save souls but religious intolerance and political lawlessness ruined both it and the Métis. He is close to discovering the extent of Canadian involvement in the removal of the Métis from the benefits of the Manitoba Act but he fails to make the connection between Canadian intimidation and Métis failure to persevere after 1870.

Another interpretation which tries to find the reason for Métis failure within the makeup of the Métis Nation itself is provided by Marcel Giraud in his monumental work published in 1945. As far as Giraud is concerned the Métis were cheated by Canada and by some of the Canadians but only because they were not sufficiently evolved along the path to modern settlement and because of their fondness for the hunt.<sup>25</sup> In other words, the Métis as a collective entity were primitives moving but slowly to modern styles of government and economic endeavour and, as a result, they were unprepared to handle the stress entailed in the events surrounding the birth of Manitoba. Giraud's interpretation, despite its racist assumptions, however, is useful for information concerning Métis culture. Unfortunately, despite its length, Giraud's text does not connect the various groups of Canadians involved in the Métis dispersal and he fails to see the relationship between the early Canadians, the RREF and the Métis.

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<sup>25</sup> A major underlying theme in Giraud, The Métis, op. cit.

Later historians in the "major early works" period contributed little to detract from the earliest apologetics. George Francis Gilman Stanley, in several works dealing with Riel and the Métis, expounded on the theory that the problems of the Métis were those of the frontier; a primitive people being met and overcome by a more civilized force.<sup>26</sup> In Stanley's eyes, few Métis "were equipped by education or experience to compete with the whites, or to share with them the political responsibilities of citizenship."<sup>27</sup> In addition, Stanley laid most of the blame for Métis failure after 1870, directly on their reluctance to embrace the blessings of civilization. In his words, the Métis were a backward people who

. . . might slowly draw closer to the cultural patterns of the whites, but the movement towards the white culture was slow and lingering, particularly on the part of those of French origin who clung tenaciously to the old ways.<sup>28</sup>

In concentrating on the frontier thesis, Stanley misses Canadian reluctance to share anything, let alone political power, with the Métis. Most importantly, his failure to

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<sup>26</sup> George F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. VII.

<sup>27</sup> George F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel: Patriot or Rebel? Historical Booklet 2 (Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Historical Association, 1970), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> G.F.G. Stanley, "Confederation 1870: A Métis Achievement," in A.S. Lussier and D.B. Sealey, The Other Natives: The-Les Métis, 3 vols., (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Métis Press, 1978), 1: 63-86, p. 76.

recognize Canadian willingness to use almost any means to prevent the Métis from having any real involvement in the future of Manitoba, prevents him from seeing the true nature of Canadian actions before and after 1870.

W.L. Morton, writing some years later, refutes Stanley's argument but fails to see the Canadians as anything other than beneficial for the development of the West. As he put it: ". . . with the great Ontario immigration of the 1870's and 1880's Manitoba became a land of steady ways."<sup>29</sup> The Settlement was admittedly under attack by Schultz and his immediate supporters but Canada would eventually eliminate such rough methods as she continued to build the Canadian Nation. Using Begg's diary and other relevant papers, W.L. Morton described Red River as something more than the preserve of a fur trading company and its pagan, barbarian, and savage partners.<sup>30</sup> As Morton saw it, by 1869 Red River had

. . . had a government, courts, churches and schools for nearly fifty years. It had become a civilized society, largely of mixed white and Indian blood, it is true, but civilized by every test except that of self-government; and that test in no forced sense of the term it could also meet. Red River was not a frontier,<sup>31</sup> but an island of civilization in the wilderness.

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<sup>29</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. VIII.

<sup>30</sup> These terms are used to represent what those involved at the time perceived to be characteristic of the Indian. Such terms are now seen as stereotypical and pejorative.

<sup>31</sup> W.L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 (Toronto, Ontario: The Champlain Society, 34, 1956), p. 2.

Morton, using Begg's ideas, sees the problem that developed in the late 1860's as the Métis seeking some form of guarantee for their "individual political rights . . . and also safeguards for the perpetuation in the new era of their distinct position of a community within a community."<sup>32</sup> Begg was, in fact, "sympathetic in varying degrees with all the parties concerned except one, the Canadian Party led by Doctor John Christian Schultz."<sup>33</sup> Inevitably, because Morton is too forgiving of Canadian faults, he fails to deal successfully with the process of intimidation and its connection to the early Canadians which removed the Métis as equal partners in the development of Manitoba.

Of course, few authors could avoid dealing with the personality of Riel. For most, he was the major mover in the events of 1869-1870. According to Stanley he was inexperienced, vain and intolerant; to Begg he was an honest man cruelly misused by fate; for Morton he was impetuous and unstable. Perhaps the most charitable characterization of Riel was written by Douglas Hill in 1967 when he wrote that the Métis leader

. . . seems to have been . . . an honest man with an honest cause, clever but by no means a tactical genius, making serious blunders under stress,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. XIII.

fighting a losing battle as best he could.<sup>34</sup>

Whatever the concerns over Riel's sanity, character, tactics or political position, the fact remains that Riel did not act alone. He was a leader of his people and they were the ones who determined how far they could or would go in determining their own fate. What most of the above authors have missed is that the Métis as a corporate entity reacted to Canadian irritation prior to 1869 and successfully negotiated the terms of the Manitoba Act. Riel did not act by himself despite the proclivity of some authors to call 1870 the "First Riel Rebellion."<sup>35</sup> What most also miss is the connection between the early and later Canadians. In other words, the narratives discussed to date which describe the process involved in the creation of Manitoba fall short of the mark. They also fail to connect the two periods, pre 1869 and post 1870. More recent works have tried to come to grips with the problem but have also failed to address the situation with appropriate depth.

In a search for new ways to interpret and explain the events of 1869-1870, recent authors, here classified under the title "recent works," have begun to look in areas untouched by their predecessors but have developed little beyond feeble criticisms concerning the internal processes of

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<sup>34</sup> Douglas Hill, The Opening of the Canadian West (London, England: William Heinemann Limited, 1967), p. 76.

<sup>35</sup> For example, Stanley in Birth of Western Canada.

transformation. One such individual is Frits Pannekoek, who in several exercises<sup>36</sup> described the period in question as one rent by civil war founded in the racial and sectarian antagonisms inherent in the territory prior to 1870. In Pannekoek's interpretation it soon became apparent

. . . that the first Riel resistance was in part caused and certainly exacerbated not by racial and religious antagonisms introduced by the Canadians, but rather by a sectarian and racial conflict with roots deep in Red River's past.<sup>37</sup>

Later Pannekoek would go on to extend his viewpoint to include the social concerns of the Métis elite as they faced the Canadians just prior to and after 1870. At times he saw the St. Boniface merchant elite worried about their internal grain markets falling before the energetic Canadians.<sup>38</sup> At other times he saw the problem as one where an older Catholic merchant elite feared displacement in a new Protestant order.<sup>39</sup> He even wondered whether the resistance was "nothing more than a hysterical reaction by the Métis to the religious railings of the Canadians and their English Half-Breed

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<sup>36</sup> For a complete list, see the Bibliography under Pannekoek, Frits.

<sup>37</sup> Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-1870," Canadian Historical Review, 57, 2 (1976), p. 134. He later reiterates this view in more detail on p. 147 of the same article.

<sup>38</sup> Frits Pannekoek, "Some Comments on the Social Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869," in Riel and the Métis: Riel Mini-Conference Papers, A.S. Lussier, ed. (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1979), p. 76.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

supporters."<sup>40</sup> What Pannekoek missed were the connections between the Canadians of the 1850's and 1860's and the RREF, volunteers and new immigrants who arrived after 1870. Other historians, searching for new ways to understand the birth of Manitoba have looked elsewhere. Some, like Morris Zaslow, saw the Red River area as part of Canada's northern development.

Zaslow, in The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914, notes that the local inhabitants of the Settlement Belt in the period before 1870 had developed

. . . a group collectivity, coupled with a sense of community based on attitudes of mutual tolerance, of refraining from kindling animosities that might embitter future good relations among groups.<sup>41</sup>

What caused the breakdown of Red River inhabitants' mutual tolerance were the attacks on the locals by individuals from outside who were bent on remaking the area in their own cultural image. However, Zaslow's interest is in the colonizing attitudes of Canada and he is mostly concerned with the larger picture of Canadian north-western development than he is with the transformation of Manitoba. His purpose is not to examine the finer details of how Canada came to obtain and control the North-West, the first cog in her great northern resource machine. More importantly, Zaslow is not clear about how the activities of the Canadians on the periphery of empire contributed to the failure of the Métis to persevere after

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Zaslow, Opening, p. 6.

1870. However, his concern that others were manipulating or at the least suggesting political directions to the Métis is shared by others.

Douglas Owram, in an article, "Conspiracy and Treason: The Red River Resistance From An Expansionist Perspective," published in 1978, tends to see the problem of external interference in terms of "foreign elements [which] had manipulated an ignorant segment of the populace in order to gain their own nefarious ends."<sup>42</sup> The possibility that the Métis were reacting to a real threat never enters his mind. The rebellion, as he calls it, was not the Canadians' fault nor was it a direct result of aggressive Canadian, (Ontarian) expansionist activity.<sup>43</sup> Owram perceives the Church, the Fenians and other outsiders manipulating Métis political actions for their own somewhat nebulous purposes. Such an ethnocentric viewpoint denies any Métis capabilities in determining their own destiny. Despite the fact that ethnocentrism was the very essence of the Canadian attitude towards the North-West and the peoples it contained, Owram misses the implications of such an attitude. In particular, he fails to deal with the intimidation process of 1870-1872. Owram's viewpoint is similar to that of Henry Youle-Hind, who in the late 1850's, had depicted the Red River Settlement as a parody

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<sup>42</sup> Owram, "Conspiracy," p. 162.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 158-159.



of proper colonization where the real development of the region was yet to come.<sup>44</sup> Hind's vision, like Owram's, encompassed a world created on a slate wiped clean of any and all local influences. Although Owram is close to discovering the connection between early Canadians, Ontario expansionists and the RREF he fails to do so and is more concerned with the later failure of Ontario to hold on to the West in the face of Canadian intransigence.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, even when local peoples acted in a manner which closely emulated that of their Ontario counterparts, Owram denies them a national existence.

Another individual who, like Owram, denies that the Métis were a nation is Gerhard J. Ens, who refuses nationhood to the Métis people because not all of their leaders supported Riel at all times.<sup>46</sup> Such a denial, coupled with Ens' attention to merely one area of Métis economic activity as the major determinant in the 1870 period, makes his interpretation less than satisfactory. However, unlike Owram, Ens is not even close to seeing the relationship between the Canadians in the North-West, the RREF and the intimidation and removal of the

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<sup>44</sup> Sprague, Canada And The Métis, p. 23.

<sup>45</sup> Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

<sup>46</sup> Gerhard J. Ens, "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River métis: The Parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Andrew's" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1989), Various pages. Interestingly, but not surprising in light of his interpretation of the Métis, Ens does not use a capital letter in referring to the Métis.

Métis from the scene after 1870.

Since the Métis were present in Red River before 1870 and for a short time after their dispersal to the Prairies, their rapid failure to persist as settlers needs to be explained. Did they tire of learning civilization and simply wend their weary way into the vast spaces of the "Great Lone Land"<sup>47</sup> or were they forced out of what they had historically claimed as their national homeland? If the latter was the case then the cause probably does not lie in the character of the Métis themselves and the explanation for the phenomena of displacement must lie elsewhere. More satisfactory in dealing with the subject is Douglas N. Sprague. His statement regarding Métis failure to persist is worth repeating.

In the theme of Canada and the Métis, there was less noble intention than filled the public ear, and more dishonesty than ever caught the public eye. The presumption of benevolence is not appropriately replaced by one of consistent malevolence, but the exodus of the Métis from their original homeland and their difficulties in resettlement is more explicable by processes of formal and informal discouragement emanating from Canada than by the alleged preference of the Métis for the wandering life of homeless hunters.<sup>48</sup>

Sprague has placed most of the blame for Métis dispersal squarely on the forces of Canadian expansion. Ultimately, however, his critique is weakened by exclusive preoccupation

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<sup>47</sup> W.F. Butler, The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America (London, England: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1872).

<sup>48</sup> Sprague, Canada And The Métis, p. 184.

with the more formal process and merely hints at the informal means by which local Canadian representatives played a role in the displacement of the Métis. Therefore, the more fully adequate answer to the question of ultimate Métis dispossession must lie in a combination of the informal and formal processes developing concurrently in the context of an expanding imperial frontier. While Sprague is concerned with the more formal process of dispossession and seeks to understand why a persistent population of Métis failed to maintain a viable presence in Red River after 1870 and, more importantly, why it failed to establish a new homeland elsewhere,<sup>49</sup> the analysis in the subsequent pages will concentrate on the details of the informal process by which failure to persevere came about.

One "recent work" which came close to a satisfactory examination for the 1870-1872 period is Neil Ronaghan's, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870-1872," a Doctoral thesis written for the University of Manitoba in 1986. In three massive volumes, Ronaghan exhibited a disjointed series of unanalyzed data dealing with nearly every aspect of the informal process of Métis dispersal. As a source for the period in question his work is enormously valuable but the lack of analysis hampers the historiographical utility of the work.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. IX.

Neither Ronaghan nor any of his precursors has fully explained the Métis failure to persist in Manitoba after 1870, primarily because all fail to establish the connection between the early Canadian immigrants to the North-West, the RREF and the process of intimidation and eventual Métis dispersal. In order to correct the fault in the historiography, it will be necessary to determine exactly who the early and later Canadians were, what they would become, and what role they would play before and after 1870. It will also be necessary to examine their social, economic and political associations in Red River, and in the larger world outside of the North-West, especially in Ontario. What should appear from such an examination is a clear picture of the Canadians as politicizers, intimidators and dispossessors of the Métis and as the re-creators of Manitoba.

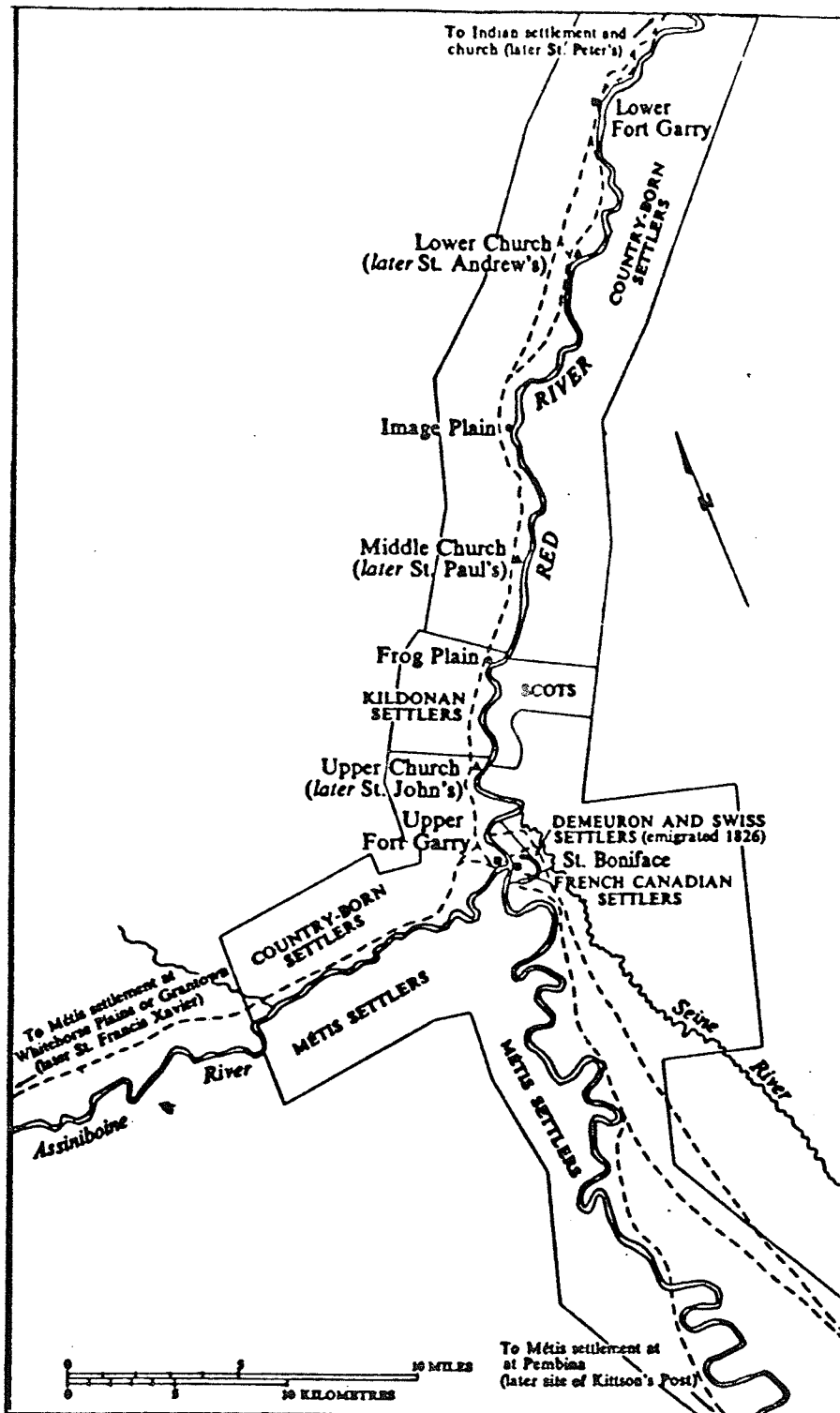
CHAPTER TWO

CANADIAN COLONISTS OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1858-1869

The Red River Settlement in the early nineteenth century (Map 2-1, Page 28)<sup>1</sup> was a community established on the fur trade and occupied in developing its own particular institutions. In the rapidly changing world around the Forks in the 1860's, the Métis and the Canadians, not inherently antagonistic at first, soon became so. Inevitably, any analysis of the reasons for Métis/Canadian conflict must deal with the question of motivation. Did the membership of the two peoples act from the basis of class conflict or national aspiration? Since it would appear that the Métis and the Canadians sometimes behaved with class factors in mind and at other times with national interests as the driving force, it is only in the development of the narrative of their ongoing relationship that the solution to the problem will be found. Conflict came about, in the first place, because the two major players in the North-West were both vying for the same thing: the right to become the ruling force in what was soon to become a new centre of empire. The impending arrival of Canada and the power promised by the transfer was enough to stir up feelings which could easily get out of control and it is the interplay of Canadian and Métis objectives which would change

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of all maps, figures and tables, each will be numbered in order of appearance in each Chapter. This Map is Map #2-1, i.e. Chapter 2-Map 1, Page n. Map 2-1 is taken from Lewis G. Thomas, ed., The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto, Ontario: 1975), p. 39.



Map 2-1: The Red River Settlement Area, circa 1835.

forever the face of the fur trade country. More importantly, it was the irritation provided by the Canadians which would bring the Métis to a point where they would act in a politically forceful manner sooner than they might have, had they been left to develop without the Canadian presence. As for Métis readiness to assume a ruling role in the area, the proof of their abilities would have to wait for their successful execution of the negotiations involved in preparing for the Manitoba Act. However, in order to understand what the process of politicization involved it will be necessary to examine the composition of the Canadians and the Métis.

The Métis of the nineteenth century in the Red River Settlement Belt can be divided into three main groups or classes: the winterers, the farmer/traders, and the elite or entrepreneur class. These divisions, although not definitive in all cases, apply to the largest part of the Métis people and can serve as an accurate description of them as they entered the 1850's. However, whether all classes of the Métis accommodated the same national and class aspirations remains to be seen.

The greatest number of individuals in the Nation, as the Métis themselves referred to their community, was to be found in the winterer classification. These people usually resided in one locale over the winter, normally wherever their work left them in the fall. They were involved in hunting or working on cart brigades, canoe brigades, for York Boat



companies or in some other occupation during the summer months. The winterers who did live in the Settlement Belt were employees or contract labourers for the HBC or worked for other Métis.<sup>2</sup> They were, however, the largest number of individuals in the Nation and their leaders usually came from the other classes of the Métis peoples.

The farmer/trader class were usually found around the Red River Settlement Belt, particularly in St. Boniface, St. Vital and St. Norbert, where they were the acknowledged leaders of the Nation, well known for their enterprising qualities.<sup>3</sup> They were educated and profoundly interested in economic ventures. In fact, they were a true middle class striving to break away from the mercantilist system of the fur trade albeit still closely allied to it by necessity.<sup>4</sup> There were even some among them whose capabilities would not have been out of place in the more capitalistic eastern parts of North America.<sup>5</sup> These latter were those who composed the

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<sup>2</sup> Giraud, The Métis, op. cit. This is perhaps the best source for a description of the Métis and the groupings which made up the Nation but it should be used in conjunction with newer works. Two of these are: Mailhot, P.R. and Sprague, D.N., "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Métis, 1870-1885," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 17, 2 (1985): 1-30, and Sprague, D.N. and Frye, R.P., The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, 1983).

<sup>3</sup> Giraud, The Métis, 1, p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

elite class of Métis, the entrepreneurs. The major strength of the Nation, however, remained almost invisible. The Métis practised a form of government which few, save themselves, really understood.

Asked to describe Métis Government in 1874 the Reverend Ritchot replied that

. . . the old custom of the country was that when any difficulty arose in which it was necessary to take up arms, the inhabitants used to organize of their own accord, after the manner in which they organized for the hunting in the prairies.<sup>6</sup>

The reference to the hunt as an institutional system of government held implications which have not always been appreciated for what they were. In fact, the hunt and the riverlot habitations of the Métis were the two most powerful tools in forging their national and class consciousness before 1850.<sup>7</sup> The riverlot homes gave the Métis stability and closeness, while the hunt system gave them a stable government when they needed it.

Based on the concept of consensus democracy, Métis government was essentially a crisis-oriented system which came into existence and then disappeared once the crisis which

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<sup>6</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territories in 1869-1870, (Ottawa, Ontario: Journals of the House of Commons, 1874), 8, App. 6, p. 69, Testimony of Father Ritchot.

<sup>7</sup> E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson, eds., London Correspondence Inward From Eden Colville, 1849-1852, intro. by W.L. Morton, (London, England: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 19, 1956), p. XXXVI.

spawned it was over.<sup>8</sup> It contained exact divisions between civil and military authority with the civil power predominating.<sup>9</sup> Not readily understood by their neighbours, Métis government could be activated easily and once the necessary decisions were made, policy could be put into place quickly and efficiently.

One area of concern regarding the Red River Métis in the 1860's was that they were not as unified as one would be lead to believe by individuals such as Gerhard J. Ens.<sup>10</sup> Such lack of unity was natural since most nations rarely demonstrate total solidarity on questions which involve matters as serious as those facing the Métis. It was obvious that many Métis leaders were not in agreement with the majority of the people who took action in 1869-1870 and there are many explanations for such a lack of unity, not the least of which were the social and economic antagonisms which competition in the business world around the Settlement Belt engendered.<sup>11</sup> The age difference between some of the more conservative elements and the younger, more ambitious, farmer/traders might have

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<sup>8</sup> de Trémaudan, L'Histoire, pp. 13-14. Also described in more detail in Giraud, The Métis, pp. 143-144, 196.

<sup>9</sup> Philipe R. Mailhot, "Ritchot's Resistance: Abbé Noël Joseph Ritchot and the Creation and Transformation of Manitoba" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1986), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Ens, "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class."

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

been important. The interference in the community of the Canadians who attempted and often succeeded in gaining support among some contingents of the local Métis population might well have been a factor.<sup>12</sup> More probably, Métis divisiveness might have had its roots in the approach various individuals had to matters, both legal and financial. Again, the problem of class orientation versus national aspiration presents itself, especially among those who were in opposition to the Rielites in 1869.<sup>13</sup>

It appears that many of the Métis who registered their land holdings under HBC lease arrangements<sup>14</sup> often did not side with the Rielites, for example William Dease, Pascal Breland, Joseph Genthon and William Hallett.<sup>15</sup> The fact that some of the latter individuals were, as Douglas Sprague calls them, "dupes"<sup>16</sup> of Schultz and the Canadian Party, does not help solve the difficulty inherent in the lack of unanimity among the Métis leadership. The problem, however, is not as serious as it would at first appear. These individuals should not be viewed as traitors, as some Métis historians and

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<sup>12</sup> Douglas Sprague mentions this as a possibility in Sprague and Frye, Genealogy, already cited.

<sup>13</sup> Frits Pannekoek holds to this view in works previously cited.

<sup>14</sup> Mailhot and Sprague, "Persistent Settlers," p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Sprague, Canada And The Métis, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

apologists have maintained, but, simply as individuals who chose another way to prepare for their entry into a new and untried regime. In essence, they were acting from class-based interests and the fact that the regime being proposed for the North-West was founded on the principles of representative democracy and its institutions was not lost on them. It was, in their opinion, wise to be safe and, like all good capitalists, they made sure that every potential avenue for advancement was open to them. It is also apparent that they were not prepared to take drastic steps to gain an advantage, as the risk was not as great in their case as it was for their less-favoured counterparts. It would seem that the Métis who did not support the Rielites were not in the majority and, although they proved at times to be troublesome, they were mostly unable to influence the course of events. Of greater import is that, in the face of later violent Canadian activities against their Nation, they chose either to observe neutrality or to take a minor supporting role on the Rielites' side in the latter months of 1869 and the early months of 1870.<sup>17</sup> They were also, like many of the English Half-Breeds, apprehensive but not sufficiently aroused to take decisive action of the nature proposed by the other Métis in 1869.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Macbeth, Making of the West, pp. 52-53.

<sup>18</sup> Fred E. Bartlett, "William McTavish: The Last Governor of Assiniboia" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 224.

Not liked at the time for what they did or did not do, they were perhaps older and wiser or, at the least, more conservative in their ways than the younger men who were the backbone of the Provisional Government movement in Red River. As Alexander Begg noted:

Many of the most respected and best established, refused to accept the leadership of Riel, whom they considered a poor and youthful upstart. Another group alternately supported and opposed him . . . The better educated and better off Métis were either dubious of Riel's methods or passively opposed to them.<sup>19</sup>

What about the other major players on the scene during the period? They were the new arrivals in the North-West, the younger, well-educated and middle class representatives of Ontario's interest<sup>20</sup> in the "Great Lone Land." We have already seen why they were referred to as the Canadian Party and it is now necessary to examine them as a group in a more exact manner. More particularly, it is important to discover why Canadians from Ontario were interested in Rupert's Land in the first place.

Perhaps the words of one of the early Canadians can help in understanding the passions that drove Ontario immigrants to the fringes of empire.

For it should be remembered that the Canadian West has little more than begun a great history. We who have lived here always have but heard,  
The tread of pioneers  
Of Empires yet to be

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<sup>19</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> Owsram, Promise, p. 64.

The first low wash of waves where yet  
Shall roll a human sea.<sup>21</sup>

Such phrases may serve to explain great movements of peoples in the romantic sense but they have little to do with the more mundane reasons why the average individual chose to leave home for the "wild frontier." The answer to our question may lie, more in the serious economic situation facing Ontario in the 1860's and the paucity of resources available to a burgeoning population,<sup>22</sup> than in any poetic utterance written in a haze of recollections some fifty years after the event. As David Gagan has noted:

Confederation, with its promise of territorial expansion to create a field for agricultural immigration and commercial enterprise controlled by Ontario, emerged in the 1860's as the panacea for the doldrums of economic decline and demographic stagnation in Canada West.<sup>23</sup>

A new frontier in the North-West held out the best hope for Ontario farmers anxious to retain the older ideas of land-intensive, staples-based agriculture and who were also unwilling "to cope with the changing nature of farming and

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<sup>21</sup> R.G. MacBeth, The Romance of Western Canada, 2d. ed. (Toronto, Ontario: The Ryerson Press, 1920), p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West, Ontario Historical Studies Series, (Toronto, Ontario: Government of Ontario by the University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 7, 71.

<sup>23</sup> David Gagan, "Land, Population, and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West," Canadian Historical Review, 59, 3 (1978): 293-318, p. 293.

rural life in Ontario."<sup>24</sup> As a result of such expansionist thinking, as early as March 5, 1857, the Ontario Counties of Lanark and Renfrew had petitioned the Legislature of Upper Canada to annex the possessions of the HBC.<sup>25</sup> The petition was not the only interest shown in the area in question since the same Legislature was also instrumental in sending 120 officers and ranks of the Canadian Rifles into the territory in 1857 because of the reported threat of American troops at Pembina.<sup>26</sup> Such early rumblings of Ontario's nascent claim to sovereignty over the North-West were not to be the last.

Not to be outdone by the British Scientific Expedition under Captain Palliser, the Legislature of the United Province of Canada outfitted an exploratory expedition under Simon J. Dawson and Henry Youle-Hind, in 1857. When the reports of the Canadian Expeditions were published in 1859 and 1860 respectively,<sup>27</sup> they did not fall on barren soil since most Ontarians already had a well-established idea about why the West was needed by Ontario. When Dawson, in his oral report

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>25</sup> A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1871 (London, England: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), p. 827

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 828.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph James Hargrave, Red River (Montreal, Quebec: John Lovell, 1871), p. 141.



to the Legislature, answered "quite so"<sup>28</sup> to a question about whether the territory was fit for agriculture, he answered the Ontario farming element's most serious concern. Dawson's further statement that the place "might maintain millions"<sup>29</sup> was seen as further proof of the desirability of the North-West as a Canadian hinterland.

With the successful creation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 came the "visions of a great and powerful country stretching from Ocean to Ocean and destined to become one of the dominant powers of the world."<sup>30</sup> Confederation was the political answer for persons of economic bent intent on establishing the Dominion while the Scientific Expeditions provided the farmers with the answer they wanted to hear. But what about Ontario's intellectual and political interests in the North-West?

For Charles Mair, soon to be a Canadian Party member in Red River, "nationalism was considered to be of positive value [and] . . . the spiritual cohesive that would bind a country

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<sup>28</sup> Simon J. Dawson, Report on the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, And Between the Latter Place and the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan (Toronto, Ontario: Lovell, 1859), No pagination.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> George T. Denison, The Struggle For Imperial Unity: Recollections and Experiences (Toronto, Ontario: MacMillan and Company, 1909), p. 9.

until then only united on paper."<sup>31</sup> Other Canadians proposed a more direct approach to the question of ownership of the "Great Lone Land."<sup>32</sup> The Globe, an annexationist newspaper from Toronto, maintained in its editorial pages that the British Government should simply cancel the HBC's Charter and transfer Rupert's Land to Canada outright.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the editor of The Globe eagerly supported Toronto's efforts to open effective communications with the North-West and to extend Upper Canadian interests westward, as well as to make the City (Toronto) the metropolis of a vast new hinterland.<sup>34</sup> Viewed as Canada's outpost after 1860, Red River was unilaterally assigned the latter role by the people who saw the development of the North-West as an absolute necessity for their own expansion. More importantly, it was also suggested that the territory become a centre of Canadian-Britannic civilization.<sup>35</sup> The combination of push and pull factors; romantic utterances, the economic downturn in Canada, North-Western farming prospects, nationalism, Confederation, editorial blandishments and plain imperial vision, implied

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<sup>31</sup> Norman Shrive, Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> Lieutenant Butler's name for the North-West Territory.

<sup>33</sup> Bartlett, "McTavish," p. 123.

<sup>34</sup> J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe: Statesman of Confederation, 1860-1880, 2 vols. (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), 2: 7.

<sup>35</sup> Owram, Promise, p. 76.

that political action to attain the object of Ontario's desire could not be far behind.

On December 4, 1867, the then Canadian Minister of Public Works, William McDougall, a principal advocate of annexation of the North-West,<sup>36</sup> introduced a motion into the House of Commons in Ottawa, the intent of which was to expand the Dominion westward. In his speech supporting the motion, he noted that the time was overdue for adding Rupert's Land to the Dominion so that ". . . the whole expanse from the Atlantic to the Pacific would be peopled with a race the same as ourselves."<sup>37</sup> McDougall went on to say that Canada was "on the eve of securing the grand object for which our government was formed in 1864."<sup>38</sup> The fact that Ontario perceived the North-West as an empty, lonely land, forlornly awaiting the "tread of pioneers, . . . a land of promise, . . . and . . . an Eden on Earth"<sup>39</sup> for those who dared to establish their empire there, adamantly suited the early Canadian immigrants to the North-West. Their hope was that in Rupert's Land, fame and fortune would be their lot. As Charles Mair noted in 1869,

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<sup>36</sup> Bartlett, "McTavish," p. 173.

<sup>37</sup> Sprague, Canada And The Métis, p. 26. Taken from the Library of Parliament Scrapbook and the Ottawa Times, December 4, 1867.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. Quote from William McDougall upon his introducing the transfer arrangement on May 28, 1869.

<sup>39</sup> Dr. John O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It From 1869 to Date With Flash-Lights on the First Riel Rebellion (Toronto, Ontario: The Musson Book Company, 1909), pp. 9, 11.

the coming of the strangers to Rupert's Land "was like the march of the sun, it could not be stopped."<sup>40</sup>

One point which stands out about the early Canadian colonists of Rupert's Land is that they were representative of the usual means exercised in the advance of empire into the periphery, complete with their own perceptions of the probable roles assigned to the local native population. Many authors have recognized that imperialistic movements generally reveal the existence of an assumed superiority, a so-called natural right and duty on the part of one race or social group to dominate others.<sup>41</sup> Most of the early Canadians in Rupert's Land, however, would never have admitted that they represented such an ethnocentric viewpoint. The latter were more interested in farmland and had come to the North-West as a result of the information contained in the reports of the Scientific Expeditions of the late 1850's. A representative few settled around Kildonan but, for the most part, they moved on to what was becoming, in the early 1860's, a growing Canadian settlement at Portage la Prairie and its environs.<sup>42</sup> The others,

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<sup>40</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 117. Taken from the Globe, July 12, 1869. Note that the date is the Orangemen's special holiday and the holiest of days for all those of similar persuasion.

<sup>41</sup> Alexander Allen Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act in Transition, 1870-1896: The Transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian Politico-Cultural Institutions" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969), P. 50. This quote is taken from René Maunier, The Sociology of Colonies, 1: 29-30.

<sup>42</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 103.

mostly business-oriented, tended to collect around the HBC's Fort Garry location. The latter tended to have a fairly good idea of their role in the advance of empire and they soon envisaged themselves as the superior force in the Settlement. Together, the two distinct groups of Canadians, farmers and entrepreneurs, made up the Canadian Party in Rupert's Land.<sup>43</sup>

As Mailhot and Sprague have noted:

There were two distinct elements among the politically active Canadian newcomers. One group, of which Dr. John Schultz was perhaps the best example, gathered about Upper Fort Garry in a shanty town of expectant capitalism, awaiting the transfer of the territory to Canada and anticipating large profits from the influx of newcomers. [These latter were about 30 in number while the others wanted land for farms].<sup>44</sup>

The second group, the farmers, men like John McLean and Roderick McKenzie, settled in locations such as Portage la Prairie and Rat Creek.<sup>45</sup> Others moved into the High Bluff and Poplar Point areas.<sup>46</sup> The only excitement they appear to have stirred up was recorded in the pages of the Nor'Wester on August 30, 1862:

Mr. McLean the Canadian farmer who lately went to Portage to settle assures us he is pleased with the prospects. Though the season was advanced he sowed grain and vegetables and has a promising crop. He thinks the place excellent for farming. Mr. McLean hails from Guelph, Ontario, full of hope with means

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<sup>43</sup> They and their local supporters numbered 333 individuals. See Appendix I.

<sup>44</sup> Mailhot and Sprague, "Persistent Settlers," p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Morton, Manitoba, pp. 111, 135.

and inclination to farm on a large scale.<sup>47</sup>

The Nor'Wester went on to remark that such news was a fore-runner of things to come. McLean, who "bought his new farm from Peter Garrioch and a French Half-Breed named Revere [sic],"<sup>48</sup> was not the only new arrival who took up land. There were many others and, despite their unobtrusiveness, they were numerous enough to warrant at least a mention in the "local news" section of the Nor'Wester. Some of the other Canadians in the farmer group of new arrivals were:

At Portage la Prairie:

Captain Boulton, John McLean, Robert McBain, Wilder Bartlett, James McBain, Dan Sissons, A. Murray, Wm. Farmer, Lawrence Smith, Charles McDonald, John Switzer, H. Williams, Alex. McPherson, W.G. Bird and Alex McLean.

At Poplar Point

George Wylds, D. Taylor, Alex Taylor, George Newcombe and H. Taylor.

At High Bluff

J. Paquin, George Sandison, William Paquin, J. Dillworth, Wm. Dillworth, Robert Adams, J. Paquin, M. McLeod, Archibald McDonald, James Jack, Thos. Scott and James Sanderson

At Headingly

J.B. Morrison, W. Salter, Magnus Brown, N. Morrison, W. Sutherland, Robert Dennison, Joseph Smith, Chas.

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<sup>47</sup> Margaret Jane Bell, "Portage La Prairie From Earliest Times to 1907" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1926), pp. 16-17. Taken from the Nor'Wester, August 30, 1862.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Miller, Thomas Baxter, John Taylor and John McKay.<sup>49</sup>

The other Canadians, the business group, went directly to the Fort Garry settlement area and were not "so much agricultural settlers as men who wished to pluck the early fruit of the occupation of the country by Canada."<sup>50</sup> It is the latter group, using the farmers around Portage as their followers, who became the politicizers of the farmer/trader Métis. In fact, they were quickly recognized as major critics of the HBC's monopoly status, and as speculators.<sup>51</sup> They were also perceived as a small body of men who greatly added to the unrest and lawlessness<sup>52</sup> which seemed to follow in their wake into a land little prepared by a fur trade monopoly for their brand of industrial and agricultural imperial expansion.

Historians have recognized in the small band of Canadians a major force for change in the North-West. Complete with money and ambition and representing a highly competitive economy, their aim was to "take over the West and alter its pattern of simple cultural existence."<sup>53</sup> They were usually

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Some of these, such as the Paquin brothers were not Canadians but soon came to be seen as Canadian supporters.

<sup>50</sup> Arthur S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, 2 (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan, 1938), p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> George F.G. Stanley, "The Western Canadian Mystique," in Prairie Perspectives, David P. Gagan, ed. (Toronto, Ontario: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Morton, History of the West, p. 853

<sup>53</sup> Stanley, "Western Canadian Mystique," p. 13.

led, in a very casual manner, by the most vocal among them, Dr. John Christian Schultz. All in all, although "the Canadian Party was not numerous . . . it was noisy."<sup>54</sup> What was more important than their actual numbers, however, were the opinions they held about the local inhabitants. One of their number later alluded to his contempt for the original settlers in a letter written to a friend wherein he stated that the likes of disloyal Canadians, the Yankees, the Company (HBC) and the priests had "had a fair field" of it prior to Canada's arrival in the West.<sup>55</sup> In his eyes and in those of his compatriots it was time to change the way the country operated and new leadership of the Canadian stripe was what was needed.

Exactly who were these new Canadian arrivals and their supporters? A brief description, in the words of the Reverend George Young, typical of others like it, explains more about their positions in society than it does much else and even then it does not answer for the whole party.

The personnel [his emphasis] of these prisoners [those Canadians taken by the Métis and held in Fort Garry] stood about as follows: Several were married, with families either in Ontario or the settlement, while others, perhaps the majority, were bachelors; but all alike had come to the country intending to pursue their respective professions or callings. Physicians, druggists, clerks, mechanics and farmers

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<sup>54</sup> R. O. MacFarlane, "A Law-Abiding Rebel: John Christian Schultz," The Manitoba Arts Review, 1, 3 (Spring 1939): 21-26, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> George Denison, Reminiscences of the Red River Rebellion of 1869 (Toronto, Ontario: No Publisher listed, 1873?), CIHM (Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproduction) # 23843, p. 6.



were all represented, as was proven after the days of their captivity ended, when many of them sprang quickly to the front in social and business circles -- some taking up and holding important positions in the community.<sup>56</sup>

Since the people who actually knew them at the time have not accurately described the early Canadians in the North-West and have left for posterity only fleeting glimpses of their actual composition, it is necessary to correct the lack of vital information about the early Canadian colonists of Rupert's Land.

The two factors of "time of arrival" and "Canadian origin" appear to apply to the early Canadians in Red River, and anyone who satisfies these requirements will be considered here to be a member of the Canadian Party. On the other hand, if a local inhabitant, born in Rupert's Land is noted as having supported the Canadians, been an acknowledged member of their party, or is reputedly reported as falling into one or more of the above categories, then he or she will be considered a member of the Canadian Party's "local supporters."<sup>57</sup>

The table provided, (Table 2-1, Page 47), lists the necessary information about Canadian Party "place of

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<sup>56</sup> Rev. George Young, Manitoba Memories: Leaves From My Life in the Prairie Province, 1868-1884 (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1897), p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> The sources for the information used to determine such membership are listed in Appendix I. All Tables and Figures in the Chapter were collated from the Appendix mentioned.

Table 2-1: Place of Origin, Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters, 1857-1870.

LOCALITY	NUMBER	PERCENT
CANADIAN PARTY		
CANADA		
UPPER CANADA	105	31.5
LOWER CANADA	11	3.3
CANADA (OTHER)	5	1.5
TOTAL CANADA	121	36.3
UNITED KINGDOM		
ENGLAND	28	8.4
SCOTLAND	36	10.8
IRELAND	10	3.0
TOTAL UNITED KINGDOM	74	22.2
OTHERS		
UNITED STATES	11	3.3
OTHER	2	0.6
UNKNOWN	23	6.9
TOTAL USA, OTHERS	36	10.8
LOCAL SUPPORTERS		
RUPERT'S LAND		
RED RIVER	87	26.2
NORTH WEST TERR.	15	4.5
(MÉTIS = 34)		
(English Half-Breeds = 68)		
TOTAL RUPERT'S LAND	102	30.7
GRAND TOTAL	333	100.0

origin."<sup>58</sup> It can readily be seen that the greatest part of the Party came from English Canada and that the next largest contingent came from the British Isles by way of Canada. In other words, 55 percent of the Canadians were of British background. If the Rupert's Land non-Métis supporters (there are 34 individuals or 10.2 percent who are Métis) of the Canadians (20 percent) are added in, the overall makeup of the Canadian Party and its local supporters who have a British background equals 75 percent. Since the 10.8 percent who come from other areas (the USA and places unknown), do not exhibit apparent French names, the potential percentage of individuals with non-French sentiments is even higher (85.8 percent). Even without the "others" it is obvious that the Canadian Party and its local supporters, in spite of their varied national origins, represented a majority of individuals with British attitudes to empire. **Figure 2-1, Page 49** makes the relationship between place of origin and attitude even more visible.

Adding the data regarding "national association" extends the identification of the Canadian Party and its local supporters since information indicating to which national group the individual in question professed his or her allegiance should help in determining the basic attitude of the people under examination. (**See Figure 2-2, Page 50**) It should be noted that

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<sup>58</sup> Each table will be first numbered according to the Chapter in which it is located and then to the order in which it appears in that Chapter. e.g. Table 2-1 would be the first Table in Chapter 2. Table 2-6 would be the sixth in the same Chapter.

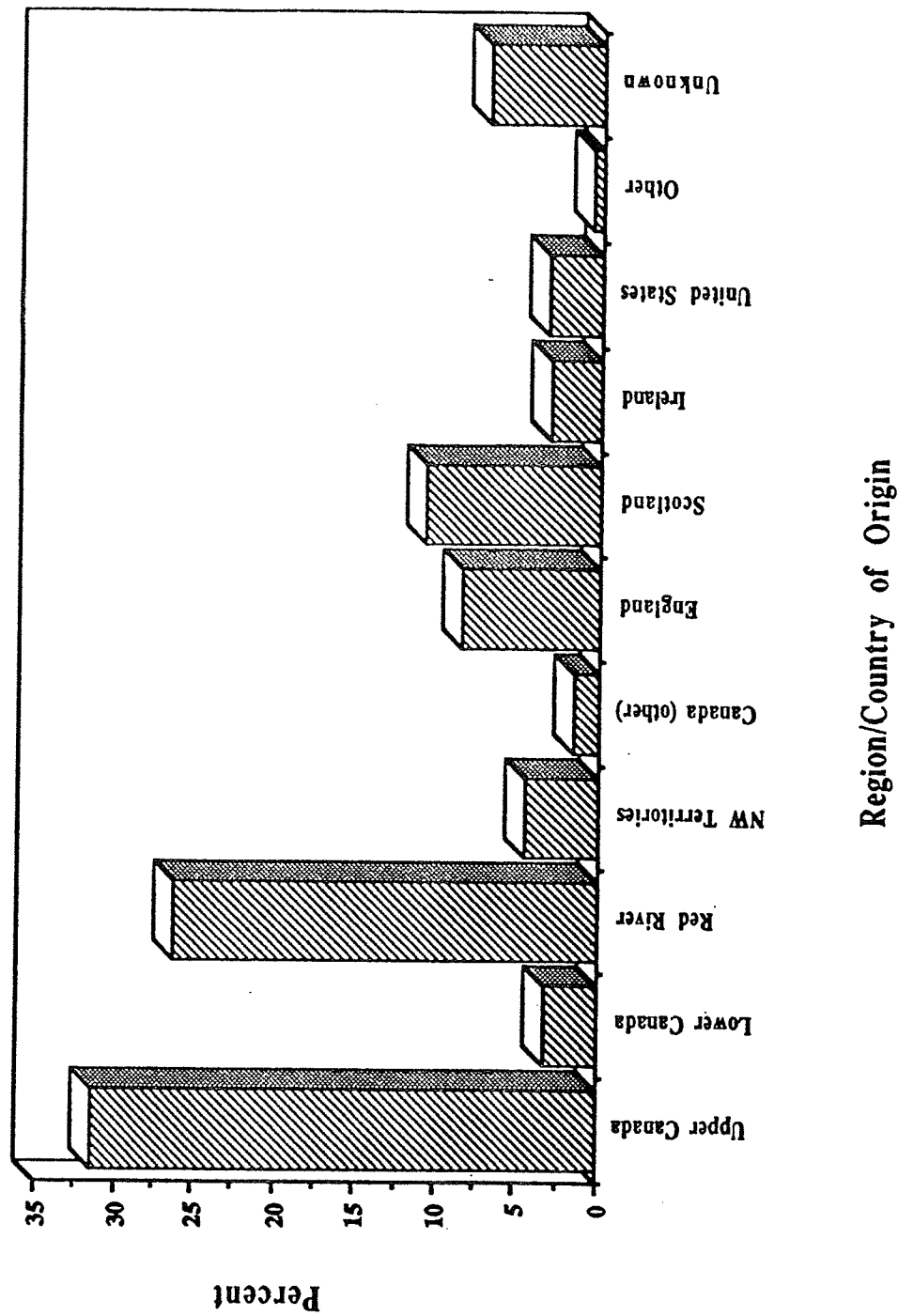


Figure 2-1: Country of Origin, Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters, 1857-1870.

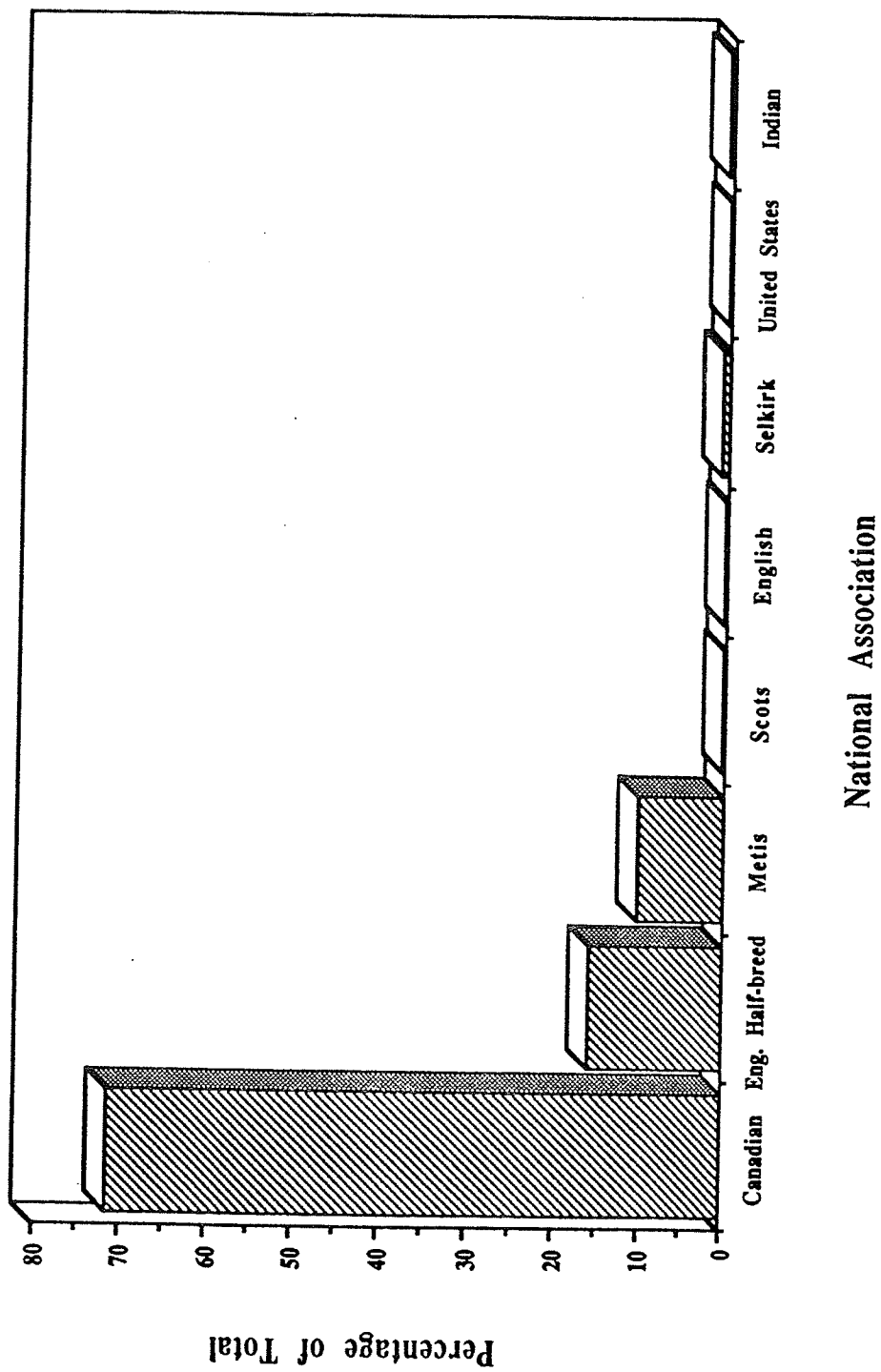


Figure 2-2: National Associations, Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters, 1857-1870.

the information in the figure just mentioned includes those individuals who were married to members of the associated national group or who were known to be friends of that particular group or who had associations with it which extended beyond the ordinary relations which could be expected of daily life in a mixed community. In other words, sufficient evidence is presented in the various sources investigated, to indicate that all of the Canadian Party and a good number of its local supporters could claim to possess a Canadian national association. The other two associations worth mentioning are the English Half-Breeds and Métis elements which can be considered to have Canadian national association as their second choice. Together, these three categories, Canadian, Métis and English Half-Breed, make up 97.6 percent of the national associations of the Canadian Party and its local supporters.

If the "dates of arrival" of the Canadians are included in the identification process, a clearer picture emerges. It appears that the largest contingents of the Canadian Party arrived in Red River between 1860 and 1869 (58.26 percent). Their local supporters who were born in Rupert's Land then account for 29.43 percent of the remainder. What is left is a paltry 9.91 percent who arrived in the late 1850's and 2.4 percent who were new arrivals, late in the game, in 1870. (See Figure 2-3, Page 52).

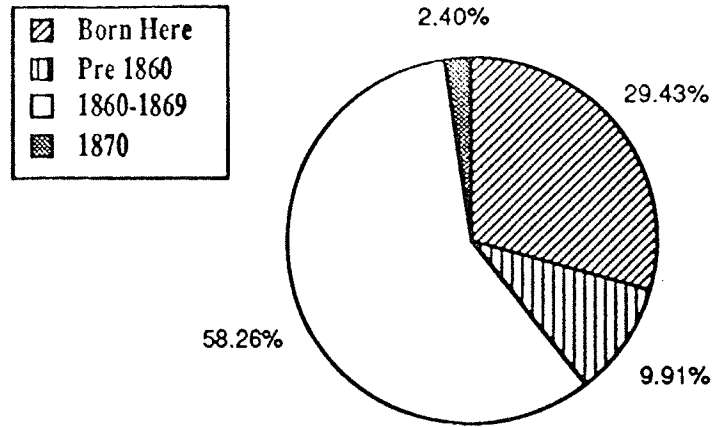


Figure 2-3: Dates of Arrival of Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters in the Red River Area.

Since occupation was an important factor in Canadian activity in Rupert's Land, the occupational backgrounds of the Canadian Party and its local supporters are also pertinent. (See Table 2-2, Page 53). As the table demonstrates, the professions, the trades, the crafts and farming were well represented with farming the preferred choice with 157 individuals involved.

What the information about the Canadian Party indicates is that, of the 250 Canadian newcomers, the majority had a British background, came from Britain by way of Upper Canada or more frequently from Upper Canada to the North-West, were associated nationally with Canada, arrived in the West between 1860 and 1869 and were either farmers, businessmen or skilled workers of some sort. The local supporters of the Canadians

were essentially the same as their Canadian counterparts with the exception of their birthplace. It would appear then that the Canadian Party was in essence Canadian and composed, for the most part, of Ontario-imbued individuals interested in farming or in business. They also appear to have chosen either the area around Portage la Prairie or that around Fort Garry as their preferred residence, dependent upon their purpose in coming to Rupert's Land. However, it is most important to note that the Canadian Party arrived in toto, between the late

**Table 2-2: Occupations of Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters, 1857-1870.**

OCCUPATION	Can.	Local	U.	OCCUPATION	Can.	Local	U.
AUTHOR =	6	0	0	BISHOP =	2	0	0
BLACKSMITH =	4	0	0	BRICKMASON =	1	0	0
BUSINESS =	55	24	3	CARPENTER =	5	2	0
WAGON SHOP =	1	0	0	CIV. SERVANT =	19	0	0
CLERK =	4	1	0	COOPER =	1	0	0
DENTIST =	1	0	0	DOCTOR =	5	0	1
FARMER =	84	67	6	FINANCE =	2	0	0
FREIGHTER =	1	0	0	GUIDE =	0	2	0
GUNSMITH =	1	0	0	HBC =	8	2	1
HARNESS MKR =	2	0	0	HOTELKEEPER =	7	0	0
HUNTER =	0	1	0	LABOURER =	23	0	0
LAWYER =	4	1	0	LT. GOVERNOR =	1	0	0
LUMBERMAN =	1	0	0	MAGISTRATE =	1	0	0
MILLER =	2	0	0	MINISTER =	9	1	0
MISSIONARY =	3	0	0	NEWSPAPERMAN =	10	0	0
PAINTER =	2	0	0	PENSIONER =	8	0	0
PHOTOGRAPHER =	2	0	0	POET =	1	0	0
POLICEMAN =	1	0	0	POLITICIAN =	28	32	2
RAILWAYS =	2	0	0	RANCHER =	1	0	0
REAL ESTATE =	8	0	0	SHOEMAKER =	1	0	0
SOLDIER =	8	0	0	SURVEYOR =	8	0	0
TEACHER =	2	2	0	TRADER =	3	10	0
VOYAGEUR =	0	1	0	WINTERER =	0	3	0
UNKNOWN =	14	2	11				

GRAND TOTAL = 531. Note: Most individuals held more than one position. (Can. = Canada, U. = Unknown).



1850's and 1870, just in time to act as the politicizers of the Métis. More importantly, the Canadians and their supporters were sufficiently endowed with British imperial attitudes of superiority to be difficult persons when it came to dealing with what were in their eyes, at least, inferior native peoples.

Another characteristic that the Canadian Party and its local supporters have in common is their particular involvement in the events of 1869-1870. For the most part, they were arrested and detained by the military arm of the Métis Nation. The imprisonment and allied loss of property and income later led most of them to seek compensation from Canada although not all of their claims were granted. Of the 333 Canadian Party members and their local supporters, only 55 (14.67 percent) were neither prisoners of the Métis nor claimants for "rebellion losses." As for the balance, 118 (31.47 per cent) were prisoners, 160 (42.67 percent) were claimants and, included in these latter two groups, 42 (or 11.2 percent) were both prisoners and claimants. What is most surprising is that 278 Canadians and their supporters, (or 83.48 percent) were directly involved in actions against the Métis during the time that the Provisional Government was in power. It would seem, therefore, that almost all of the Canadian Party were direct opponents of the Métis during the 1869-1870 period and that their local supporters acted in a like manner. (See Figure 2-4, Page 57).

When information regarding political success is added to what is known about the group being examined, the picture becomes even clearer. It would appear that the Canadians were overly well represented in elected and appointed positions in government, both before and after 1870. A total of 281 appointed and elected positions were held by the 333 persons involved. (See Figure 2-5, Page 58 and Table 2-3, Page 59). The data<sup>59</sup> indicate that the Canadian Party and its local supporters were the elite representatives of their class and, as such, were fully prepared to become active members of the new ruling class. Their largest success appears to have been in the Federal and Provincial areas, while they appear to have been least successful in the arena of municipal politics in Winnipeg. HBC elected/appointed positions and similar Provincial Government representation also appear to have been, not surprisingly, low in comparison to that of their Provincial and Federal components. It would seem that as an elite ruling class their success lay in Manitoban and Federal politics which they tended to dominate. Whatever else can be said about their success as politicians, it would appear that the Canadian Party and its local supporters were less successful in 1870 in local Winnipeg/Manitoba politics than they could have hoped and such a lack of achievement could partially

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<sup>59</sup> These totals do not represent separate individuals since several persons held more than one position in different jurisdictions at the same time. Several people also held more than one position in the same jurisdiction at the same time.

explain their desire to remove the Métis as a political, economic and social force in the period 1870-1875. It must also be noted that most of their Federal political success lay in the arena of appointed positions and one could question whether such success was merely a reward for their actions in acquiring the North-West for Ontario/Canada.

Another indication of Canadian Party/local supporter elite status is their representation in professional, religious and social associations. (See Table 2-4, Page 60). Ninety-one individuals, or 27.3 percent, would seem to be a rather high representation in such organizations. Their favoured association would appear to have been the Masonic Lodge with over 53 memberships accounted for. (See Table 2-5, Page 61). Only one membership in the Orange Lodge is recorded but it is probable that there were many more members of the Fraternity among them. Since exact Orange Lodge membership cannot be ascertained, the single case indicated will have to be overlooked. However, it would be surprising if only one of the 333 cases known was a Member of the Orange Lodge. Perhaps Orangeism applies only to those Canadians who arrived in Red River after 1870. On the other hand, since the Order established itself officially only after 1870, there were no records available for the earlier period. It is apparent, however, that the Métis, at least, used the term "orangeiste" to refer to most of the Canadian Party. In the eyes of the Métis, the same orange brush tarred all the

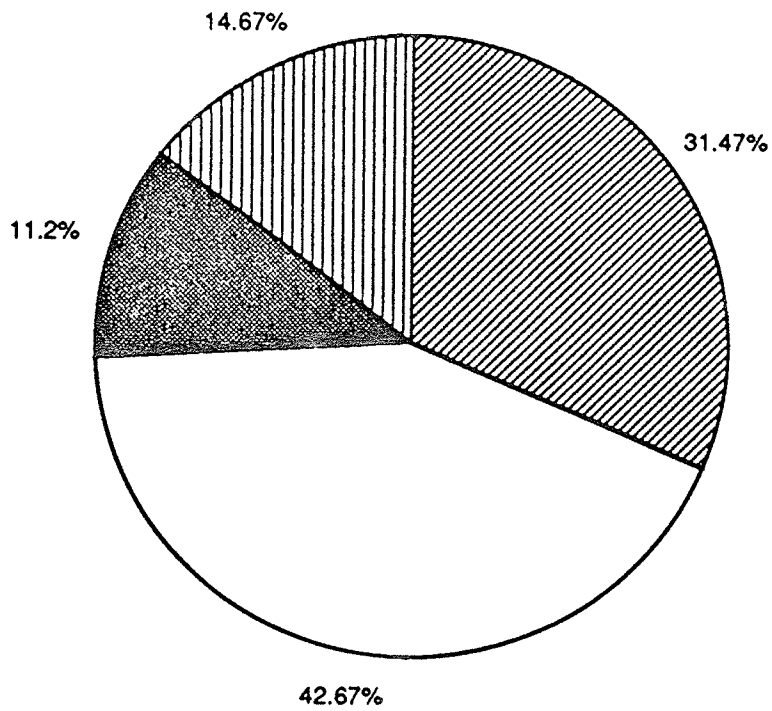
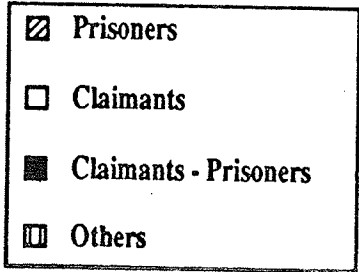


Figure 2-4: Prisoners and Claimants for Rebellion Losses, Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters, 1869-1870.

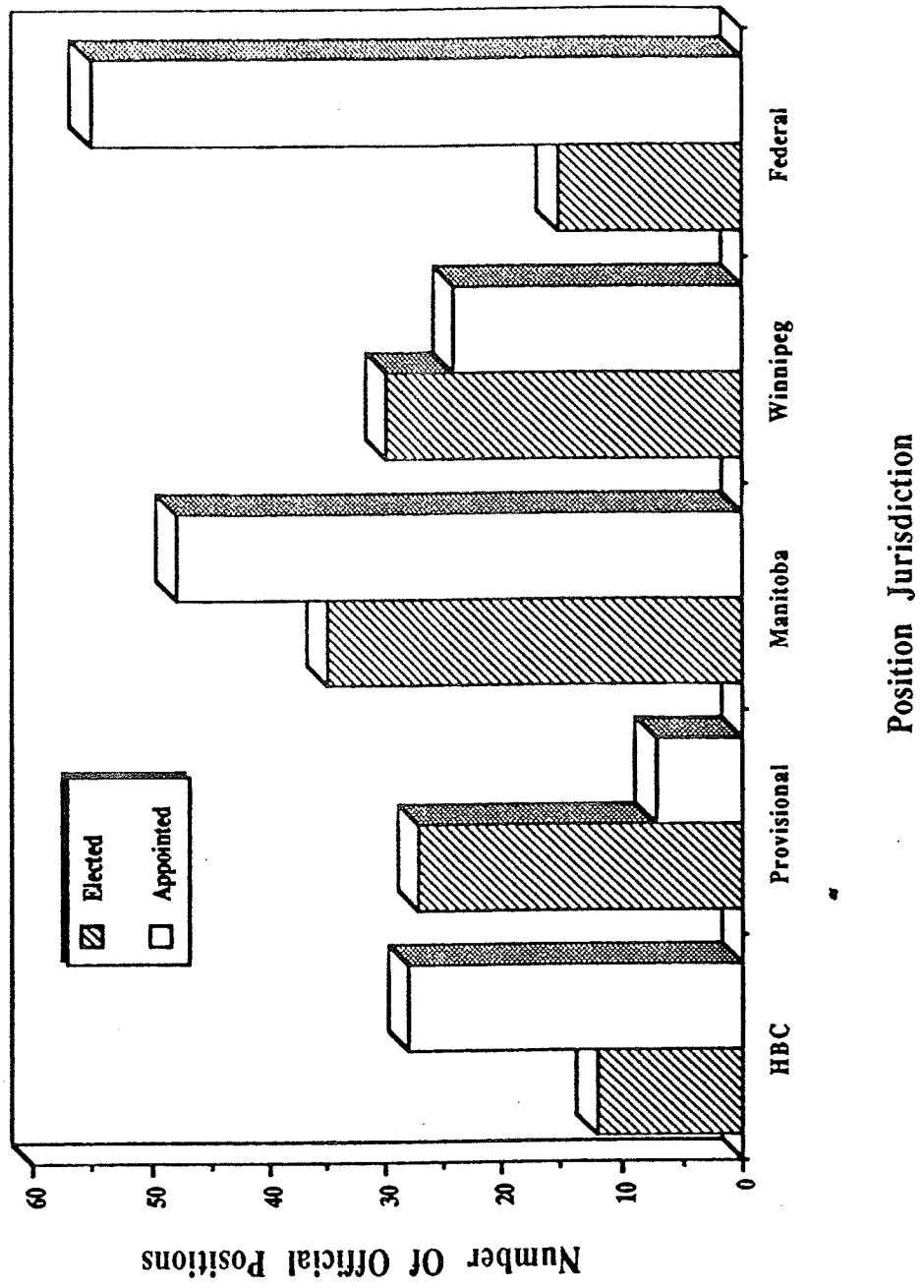


Figure 2-5: Election/Appointment Totals for Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters.

**Table 2-3: Canadian Party and Local Supporter Political Success.**

CANADIAN PARTY		
HBC Elected	=	4
HBC Appointed	=	13
Provisional Gov't Elected	=	9
Provisional Gov't Appointed	=	5
Manitoba Elected	=	12
Manitoba Appointed	=	15
Municipal Elected	=	10
Municipal Appointed	=	12
Federal Elected	=	5
Federal Appointed	=	26
LOCAL SUPPORTERS		
HBC Elected	=	4
HBC Appointed	=	5
Provisional Gov't Elected	=	16
Provisional Gov't Appointed	=	2
Manitoba Elected	=	11
Manitoba Appointed	=	8
Municipal Elected	=	3
Municipal Appointed	=	2
Federal Elected	=	0
Federal Appointed	=	5

Canadians whether they were members of the Lodge or not. In our case, given the paucity of Orange records the exact status of Canadian Party Orange membership before 1870 may never be known.

The picture that emerges of the Canadian Party and its local supporters, is much clearer than the brief glimpses provided by George Young and others. The Party and its supporters would appear to have been Canadian for the most part, from Upper Canada, interested in business and farming, predominantly allied with Canada as represented by Ontario,

solidly imbued with the British experience, and arriving in

Table 2-4: Professional, Social and Economic Association membership, Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters.

No Association Membership	=	242	72.7%
Membership	=	91	27.3%
MEMBERSHIP BREAKDOWN			
CANADIAN	=	70	
LOCALS	=	19	
UNKNOWN	=	2	TOTAL = 91
TOTAL	=	333	100.0%

NOTE: Some individuals hold more than one membership.

the North-West somewhere between 1860 and 1869. It would also appear that they were directly involved in the agitation against the Métis and suffered for such resistance by becoming prisoners of the Métis people. As a result, most of them would also later claim, not always successfully, for rebellion losses from Canada. Finally, they appear to be strongly representative of the elite classes as their political successes and elite association membership totals indicate. All in all, it would appear that the Canadian Party was something more than John Christian Schultz and those who followed him at any particular time, although he was their acknowledged leader, even when it came to making claims for rebellion losses. As Alexander Begg noted:

Dr. John Christian Schultz claimed \$65,065

for losses, \$10,000 of which was for imprisonment and expatriation. [Combined totals for all Canadian Party members were:]

Damages	=	\$108,224.76	
Imprisonment	=	\$105,029.50	
Loss of Property	=	\$101,632.19	
Forced Emigration	=	\$21,374.50	
<b>Total</b>	<b>=</b>	<b>\$333,260.95</b>	<sup>60</sup>

**Table 2-5: Organizations Favoured by Canadian Party and Its Local Supporters.**

Masonic Lodge Membership:	Canadians = 38
	Locals = 14
	Unknown = 1
	TOTAL = 53
Professional Association:	Canadians = 35
	Locals = 3
	Unknown = 1
	TOTAL = 39
Orange Lodge Membership:	Canadians = 1
	Locals = 0
	Unknown = 0
	TOTAL = 1
Other Association Membership:	Canadians = 27
	Locals = 4
	Unknown = 0
	TOTAL = 31
NOTE: Some individuals hold more than one membership.	

Ambitious claims, to say the least, given the average economic

<sup>60</sup> Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 2 vols., (Toronto, Ontario: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1894), 2: 59.



conditions prevalent in the Red River Settlement in 1870.

As a final point in the identification of the Canadian Party and its local supporters, it would appear from the tionships inherent in their makeup. Besides the official and private personal relations which existed between McDougall, Mair, Schultz and the other leaders, there were also several family relationships. Colonel J.S. Dennis and Stewart Mulkins, uncle and nephew, were one example of such familial ties.<sup>61</sup>

The identification of the Canadians and their local supporters described above, yields a clear picture of "who they were" from the available data. "What they did" in the North-West as representatives of Canada/Ontario in the period 1858-1869 is the next problem that must be dealt with in order to understand their pivotal role in the events surrounding the birth of Manitoba in 1870.

Two facts emerge when Métis/Canadian relations in the 1860's are examined: they were not mutually antagonistic in the beginning and they were acutely belligerent by late 1869. Since no evidence exists of a sudden change in Métis/Canadian relationships during the 1860's, the process must have been incremental. Furthermore, because most of the Canadians arrived after 1860 and before 1870, it is they who must have been responsible for the Canadian side of the changed

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<sup>61</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 187-188, A.G. Archibald to J.A. Macdonald, December 13, 1871. Mulkins was Colonel Dennis' nephew.

relationship. The "noisy" Canadians and their local supporters, therefore, must have acted in such a manner as to threaten the Métis and gradually bring them to the perception that a crisis was imminent, since any continuous and incremental threat to themselves would eventually cause them to take action. It is possible, then, that the Métis were slowly politicized by the Canadians and their local supporters to the point where they were ready, by late 1869, to act decisively. On the other hand, had the Canadians been less vociferous in word and deed, it is probable that the effective transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada could have been achieved without Métis resistance. Additionally, the poor image of the Canadians resident in the country since 1859 has usually been posited as the major factor which contributed to the feelings of uneasiness heralded by Canada's interest in the area.<sup>62</sup> What has not been described is the slowly incremental sense of threat which eventually triggered crisis recognition among the Métis. Unavoidably, it would seem that the key factor in the development of Métis/Canadian relations was the irritation supplied by the Canadian Party in the Settlement; the act of politicization referred to previously. But what exactly did the Canadians and their supporters do that antagonized the Métis and how did the latter react to such threats?

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<sup>62</sup> Mailhot, "Ritchot's Resistance," p. 14.

Hardly had the first few Canadian colonists arrived in Red River (9 percent of the Canadian Party)<sup>63</sup> in the late 1850's, when they proceeded to mount a campaign against the HBC. Their attacks on the Council of Assiniboia and the Company's Courts as well as the Company in general would eventually cause much dissatisfaction in the community at large.<sup>64</sup> Although they were few in number, the earliest Canadians presaged an attitude towards local institutions which would grow in the decade to come. More importantly, the assault on the HBC's government was a direct threat against the farmer/trader Métis since, in many cases, the Company was useful to their personal economic growth,<sup>65</sup> even though they often chafed under its monopoly. As W.L. Morton has noted, the Canadians took

. . . up the attack of the free traders of 1845-1849 on the legality of the Government of Assiniboia; they raised . . . the question of the extinction of the Indian title, . . . they denied the validity of the Company's charter . . . they so challenged all the fundamentals of the old order in Red River as to give the impression that they were trying to bring about anarchy.<sup>66</sup>

The end result was that Red River's inhabitants quickly became aware of the potential of the Canadians to foment future difficulties. Prolonged assault on the HBC during the 1860's,

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<sup>63</sup> See Figure 2-3.

<sup>64</sup> Nor'Wester, Friday, February 15, 1861.

<sup>65</sup> Morton, History of the West, p. 862.

<sup>66</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 111.

started by the earliest arrivals and carried on by the other 58 percent who arrived between 1860 and late 1869,<sup>67</sup> was the first indication that Métis/Canadian antagonism was possible. As Louis Schmidt remarked to Louis Riel in the early 1860's; "On commençait à parler politique, même parmi nos gens."<sup>68</sup> At the same time, Schmidt indicated what the locals thought of Canadian aspirations:

Les desseins du Canada devinrent bientôt manifestes. Il voulait s'introduire dans le pays comme dans une terre déserte, sans plus s'occuper du peuple qui l'habitait que s'il n'existait pas.<sup>69</sup>

However, attacking the HBC was not the last nor the least damaging of the Canadians' actions in the 1860's.

The same early Canadian arrivals were responsible for introducing the Nor'Wester into the Red River Settlement. Two of them, William Buckingham and William Coldwell, started the paper with presses and type imported from Ontario in 1859.<sup>70</sup> The first number of the paper came out on December 12th, 1859 and it was apparent that Buckingham had brought his experience with the Canadian Press to the venture. Coldwell, who had been a shorthand reporter in the East, carried on alone after

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<sup>67</sup> See Figure 2-3.

<sup>68</sup> Donatien Frémont, Les Secrétaires de Louis Riel: Louis Schmidt, Henry Jackson, Phillipe Garnot (Quebec City, Quebec: Les Editions Chantéclair, 1953), p. 24.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Careless, Brown, p. 7.

Buckingham left the North-West in 1860.<sup>71</sup> James Ross bought out Buckingham's share and, with Coldwell, managed the paper's affairs until 1864 when John Christian Schultz bought out Ross. Coldwell himself left the paper in 1865 and Schultz remained the sole proprietor until 1868 when he turned the paper over to Doctor Walter Bown, a dentist friend from Ontario.<sup>72</sup> The change in editorial control over the decade corresponded with a marked increase in Métis awareness that the Canadians were not benign. Buckingham, Coldwell and even Ross were not overly threatening, despite their attacks on the HBC, but they "did as much as anyone to prepare the seed bed for the events that were to shape the destiny of the colony in the years ahead."<sup>73</sup> However, the Nor'Wester, in the hands of Schultz after 1864 and Bown after 1868, was a decided factor in the slow incremental growth of Métis politicization.

Despite the fluctuations in the paper's career it was intended more as a professional-looking advertisement for the North-West designed for distribution in Ontario, than as a journalistic venture destined to pay for itself from Red River subscriptions. The idea of bringing the press to the West when over half the population was French, much of it illiterate,

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 146.

<sup>73</sup> George F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, 1963), p. 45.

was, to say the least, unusual.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the Nor'Wester became the official voice of the Canadian Party, absorbed with its mandate to promote self-government in Assiniboia and union with Canada.<sup>75</sup>

Although the paper suffered from increasing money difficulties during the years of Schultz's proprietorship,<sup>76</sup> it still managed to imply, sometimes rather brazenly, that it spoke for a greater majority in the North-West than actually was the case.<sup>77</sup> During Walter Bown's tenure which began on July 31, 1868, the Nor'Wester became simply "stupid, childish, vindictive, unfair, unreliable [and] . . . a propaganda sheet."<sup>78</sup> However, as a Canadian institution, the Nor'Wester was a steady source of irritation and threat to the Métis from 1859 to 1869. Although it had begun more or less inoffensively, it soon came to represent all that the Métis found offensive in the Canadians. As the voice of the Canadians, the paper was a major contributor during the 1860's to the process

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<sup>74</sup> Trémaudan, L'Histoire, p. 53.

<sup>75</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 110.

<sup>76</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, 1858-1887, Box 15, James Ross to J.C. Schultz, Spectator Office, Hamilton, Ontario, January 10, 1865. It is doubtful that James Ross received all of the money from Schultz for the purchase of the Paper. It appears that Coldwell, acting as Ross's agent in February of 1865 was at that time still demanding payment and threatening suit for an outstanding amount of £75 at 10% which was long overdue.

<sup>77</sup> Bartlett, "William McTavish," p. 127.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

of politicization.

Walter Bown, the Nor'Wester's last editor, epitomized the incremental nature of the Nor'Wester as a vehicle for politicization. He was the brother of Doctor J.Y. Bown, Member of Parliament (MP) for North Brant, and he had come to Red River in 1863 from St. Paul. He appeared, on the surface at least, to keep up the practice of dentistry but soon became heavily involved with Schultz and his many non-medical enterprises. Rollen P. Meade, another Canadian, was Bown's editor in 1868.<sup>79</sup> What Buckingham and Coldwell had presaged, Schultz, Meade and especially Bown expressed in full: the Métis were to be overwhelmed and dispossessed by Ontario.<sup>80</sup> Joseph James Hargrave, a contemporary of the period, effectively summarized the role of the Nor'Wester

. . . as an instrument for promoting the private objects of its successive proprietors. The spirit of persistent opposition in its columns towards the Government of the Colony, latent at times but always existing, is a feature the absence of which would have been preferable to its presence.<sup>81</sup>

The meteor shower which had emblazoned the heavens in a red and lurid light the night of the Nor'Wester's birth on December 12, 1859 augured well.<sup>82</sup> The paper, as the organ of

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<sup>79</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 164. Meade was a Canadian who figured later as one of Schultz's "mob." Begg also described him as the first house painter in Winnipeg.

<sup>80</sup> Nor'Wester, August 24, 1869.

<sup>81</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 146.

<sup>82</sup> Nor'Wester, Wednesday, December 28, 1859.

the Canadian Party, was to provide strong and strident voice to Canadian promises of what was in store for the North-West when Ontario would come into her own. That its threatening stance was recognized by the Métis leadership is not always apparent. However, at least one Métis leader, Louis Riel, was aware of what the English newspapers were saying about the Settlement and its peoples:

Ce monsieur [Charles Mair], canadien anglais, est, dit-on, doué du talent de faire des vers; si c'est le cas je lui conseillerais fort de cultiver ce talent, car par là au moins ses écrits auraient le mérite de la rime puisqu'ils n'ont pas toujours celui du bons sens.<sup>83</sup>

The interaction of the Canadians, their local supporters and the Métis during the 1860's has been well-documented by individuals like Begg, de Trémaudan, Giraud, Stanley, Morton and others, especially for the 1858-1869 period. Such activities as the inauguration of a Reading Club started by the Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1861,<sup>84</sup> the Colonial and Continental Church Society organized around the same time,<sup>85</sup> the Fort Garry Cricket Club, started in 1861<sup>86</sup> with William Sinclair, a former President of the Brockville, Ontario,

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<sup>83</sup> G.F.G. Stanley, gen. ed., The Collected Writings of Louis Riel/ Les Ecrits Complets de Louis Riel, 5 vols., (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1985), 1: 13. Riel in a letter to the editor of the Le Nouveau Monde dated February 1, 1869.

<sup>84</sup> Nor'Wester, Thursday, August 15, 1861.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., Wednesday, February 19, 1862.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., Saturday, June 1 1861.



Cricket Club as one of its founding members,<sup>87</sup> the founding of the North West Cricket Club in 1864 with Canadian and English Half-Breed members,<sup>88</sup> the introduction of a Drama Society involving the leading lights of the Canadian Party and some of their local supporters in the early 1860's,<sup>89</sup> the Institute of Rupert's Land in 1862,<sup>90</sup> the Red River Library Club and the Church Missionary Society Local Branch in 1862,<sup>91</sup> a Board of Trade in 1864,<sup>92</sup> and finally a Masonic Lodge in Winnipeg in 1864,<sup>93</sup> can be seen as contributing to the overall sense of threat the Métis felt. Not surprisingly, the first Masons in Red River were Doctor John Schultz and Charles Curtis, a blacksmith from Sturgeon Creek.<sup>94</sup> At the founding meeting of Northern Light Lodge on Tuesday, November 8,

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<sup>87</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 373.

<sup>88</sup> Nor'Wester, Saturday, October 1, 1864.

<sup>89</sup> Irene Craig, "Grease Paint On the Prairies," Historical And Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 3, (1947): 38-53, pp. 39-40.

<sup>90</sup> Nor'Wester, Wednesday, January 22, 1862. Also in Hargrave, Red River, p. 220 and Nor'Wester, Tuesday, April 26, 1864.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., Wednesday, April 2, 1862.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., Tuesday, April 26, 1864.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., Monday, January 18, 1864.

<sup>94</sup> Robert E. Emmet, "One Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Manitoba," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, 31, 1974-1975: 53-58, p. 53.

1864,<sup>95</sup> other Canadians and their local supporters were represented.

Dr. Schultz	William Inkster
William Coldwell	Mr. Sheal [sic]
Mr. Hall	Mr. Curtiss
Dr. Bird	Rev. W. Taylor
Mr. Morgan	Archdeacon Hunter, Chaplain. <sup>96</sup>

Later, A.G.B. Bannatyne, William Inkster and others would join and carry on until 1869 when they would cease all operations.<sup>97</sup> Hector McKenzie who become the Secretary in 1866 remained in that position until the demise of the Lodge in 1869.<sup>98</sup> Taken individually, the institutions established by the Canadians and their local supporters were inoffensive. However, they were normally restricted to non-Métis membership and were founded on cultural principles different from those practised by the Métis. As such they were incremental examples of Canadian unwillingness to allow Métis participation in the new North-West. As a result, the Canadians' institutions could be perceived as an increasing threat to the Red River Métis.

Underlining increasing Canadian involvement in the territory was the fact that the new arrivals tended to congregate

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<sup>95</sup> Nor'Wester, Wednesday, November 2, 1864.

<sup>96</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 346.

<sup>97</sup> Emmet, "One Hundred Years," p. 53. Hargrave in Red River, and the Nor'Wester both report that the first official meeting was on November 11, 1864.

<sup>98</sup> Nor'Wester, Saturday, January 27, 1866.

in what they termed the "Town of Winnipeg"<sup>99</sup> located around the Forks. Winnipeg's creation gave added credence to Canadian claims that they were building a new West in spite of the claims or worries of the local population.

A further example of Canadian cohesiveness and their willingness to reject Métis involvement in the future of the area, was the constantly increasing acknowledgement of John Schultz as the centre of their movement. Individuals such as Herbert L. Sabine, who quickly established a personal and business relationship with Schultz in 1862 while he was serving as a surveyor for the HBC,<sup>100</sup> epitomized the steady stream of Canadians who gathered around Schultz. Other Canadians like Thomas Spence, who had plans to gain political honours for himself by bringing Red River into Confederation, were additionally worrisome because they seemed ready to take almost any means available to achieve union with Canada.<sup>101</sup> It was Schultz, however, who was to bear the brunt of Métis concerns.

John Christian Schultz, who arrived in Red River in 1859, was a direct threat to the Métis and anything but innocuous.

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<sup>99</sup> The Nor'Wester masthead, shortly after it started publication under Schultz's hand, began to advertise that it was published in the "Town of Winnipeg."

<sup>100</sup> H.E. Beresford, "Early Surveys in Manitoba," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 9, (1954): 6-15, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Morton, A History, p. 864. Spence attempted to establish his own Republic near Portage in the late 1860's.

His person, the Royal Hotel and later his store rapidly became gathering points for other Canadian immigrants and, more importantly, for the Canadian officials who gravitated to him shortly after their arrival in the Settlement in the later 1860's.<sup>102</sup> Schultz proved to be "grasping by nature and utterly unscrupulous [and] he followed a policy which was not simply personal but mean."<sup>103</sup> As one of several new doctors who arrived from the East after 1859,<sup>104</sup> he seemed more interested in personal advancement by non-medical means and it appeared that some of his patients suffered more from the effects of his ministrations than they did from the illnesses that first caused them to call on his services.<sup>105</sup> As the 1860's passed, the locals and especially the Métis came to fear him "with a wholesome dread . . . [and he became] known as a man very impatient of restraint and in many ways dif-

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<sup>102</sup> Frémont. Les Secrétaires, p. 28.

<sup>103</sup> Morton, A History, p. 863.

<sup>104</sup> Ross Mitchell, "Early Doctors of Red River and Manitoba," Historical And Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 4, (1947- 1948): 37-47, pp. 41-44. Schultz was one of the first to come. He was followed by Dr. James S. Lynch who came with Snow in 1868; Dr. John Harrison O'Donnell in 1869; Dr. A.G. Jackes with McDougall's Party; Dr. Alfred Codd who came with the RREF as surgeon at the Osborne barracks; and Dr. E. Benson who came in 1874 and was Coroner and Chairman of the School Board.

<sup>105</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, 1858-1887, Box 15, Joseph Monkman to J.C. Schultz, March 14, 1866. Schultz had operated on an unknown woman and all the fluid had drained from her eye as a result.

difficult to handle.<sup>106</sup> As Alexander Begg, a contemporary of his noted:

the man who was the head of the party [Schultz] was in direct communication with the Government at Ottawa, and also that he was received as an influential man at the seat of Government, whenever he visited it (which he did frequently.) [Begg's comment] It was the boast also of his party in the North-West that they could and would as it were, 'Rule the roast'[sic].<sup>107</sup>

Schultz, as the focus of Canadian claims to the right to rule the territory, was a powerful threat to Métis interests.

However, there were certain specific grievances the Métis recognized and which they eventually reacted to which must be examined. In general, Métis complaints about the Canadians followed the same pattern as the assaults on the authority of the HBC and the role played by the Nor'Wester and the other Canadian developments in Red River: they began shortly after the arrival of the first Canadians and gradually increased in seriousness during the 1860's. One specific issue which gradually politicized the Métis was the Canadian inclination to disregard the established laws of Red River.

Previous to 1858, the settlers had managed to keep lawlessness to a minimum by practising mutual tolerance and respect for others and their property.<sup>108</sup> With the Canadians, however, the problems of what Louis Riel Sr. had earlier

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<sup>106</sup> Macbeth, Making Of the West, p. 57.

<sup>107</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 30.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

identified as "land grabbers,"<sup>109</sup> and the rejection of civil and customary law by the Canadians were intertwined. Such attacks were unfortunate for Canada's reputation since the men who maligned and defied the law of the land, styled themselves the Canadian Party.<sup>110</sup> But, HBC law was not the only area attended to by the Canadians.

The Reverend Griffiths Owen Corbett, who had attacked the Catholic Church in the Nor'Wester on July 15, 1861,<sup>111</sup> scandalized the people in 1863 by attempting to abort his maidservant who was pregnant with his child. The incident also involved James Stewart, William Hallett and John Bourke in the repeated jailbreaks which complicated the episode.<sup>112</sup> Such blatant disrespect for the law must have been noticed in the Métis section of the Settlement where it could only encourage the people to be less and less disposed to see anything good in the Canadians.<sup>113</sup> Schultz was also involved, since it was reported in the Nor'Wester that he had been the one who had

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<sup>109</sup> William McCartney Davidson, Louis Riel, 1844-1885: A Biography (Calgary, Alberta: The Albertan Publishing Company, 1955), p. 17.

<sup>110</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> Nor'Wester, Monday, July 15, 1861. Popery was also mentioned in the previous issue.

<sup>112</sup> Morton, Manitoba, pp. 111-120. Corbett had got his maidservant pregnant and then tried to abort her using drugs supplied by Schultz, (See footnote # 115, this Chapter). The trial that resulted was a major event in the area.

<sup>113</sup> Guillaume Charette, La Rebellion de la Rivière Rouge (No publication data available), p. 82.

sold the tincture of ergot of rye to Corbett to facilitate his attempt at aborting Maria Thomas.<sup>114</sup> As Schultz was also the physician who had examined Maria, the apparent conflict of interest must not have gone unnoticed by the Catholic and conservative Métis middle-classes.

When it came to disrespect for the local laws, John Christian Schultz was especially at fault. He had, at least so far as everyone in Red River believed, perjured himself in a lawsuit against his half-brother Henry McKenney over a £300 debt claimed by the latter as part of Schultz's payment for the purchase of the Royal Hotel. It turned out that Schultz had convinced Herbert L. Sabine to claim under oath that the money had already been paid. As a result, Schultz escaped the debt but Governor McTavish of the HBC was so embarrassed by the proceedings that he actually paid the debt out of his own funds.<sup>115</sup> Denying the legality of court proceedings and practising perjury must also have influenced Métis perceptions

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<sup>114</sup> Nor'Wester, Monday, March 30, 1863. Corbett purchased tincture of ergot of rye and wine of ergot of rye from Schultz at the pharmacy which the latter owned. Apparently this was a drug which was used to calm people down and which could also be used in abortion. The testimony by the pregnant woman seems to indicate that Corbett first used the drug for its tranquilizing effects and only later used it for its secondary purpose once the first effect had proved to be "too" successful.

<sup>115</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 391. Also in Neil E. Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration in Manitoba: 1870-1872," 3 vols., (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1987), p. 11. McKenney had transferred the debt to his London agent, Mr. Kew, and McTavish paid the money to him.

of the Canadians. In addition, Schultz did not further the Canadian cause when he repeated the jailbreak offence later in the decade after he was jailed for reneging on another debt.<sup>116</sup> In the latter case as in the former, the help he received from the Canadians and their local supporters in the ensuing jailbreak, was further proof that the Canadians would brook no interference in what they perceived as their rights.

Spaced over the decade, Canadian disrespect for Red River laws indicated to the Métis that the Canadians had little intention of respecting local customs. However, given the behaviour of some of the later Canadian arrivals in 1868-1869 in fomenting strikes and threatening physical violence involving pistols and fists, and kidnapping Canadian Officials,<sup>117</sup> the earlier assaults on the law paled by comparison. Backed up by a slow, incremental rise in Canadian rejection of local traditions and laws, rumours that McDougall and his friends, Dennis, Snow, Mair and Schultz, had taken advantage of the miserable condition of the local population in 1869 by managing and operating the construction of the Snow Road for their own personal benefit,<sup>118</sup> came as no surprise.

One area of local custom and law which suffered con-

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<sup>116</sup> George Dugas, Histoire Véridique des faits Qui Ont Préparé le Mouvement des Métis à la Rivière Rouge en 1869 (Montréal, Québec: Librairie Beauchemin, 1905), p. 12.

<sup>117</sup> Ontario and Manitoba, by a Canadian Who Has Visited Manitoba to Discover the Truth, (1873?), pp. 1-2.

<sup>118</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 16.



tinuously and with ever increasing severity from Canadian attack was the land custom of the Settlement. As the Nor'-Wester reported in 1862:

As a sign of the times we are glad to notice that a spirit of speculation has seized upon our neighbours at Portage la Prairie - A large number of lots of land between Poplar Point and the Portage have been taken up and houses built in anticipation of a Canadian emigration. [They should be offered at a fair price] because millions of acres of the finest soil in the world can be had by merely squatting on them.<sup>119</sup>

The forty or so families which had arrived from the east in the 1860's and had taken up land under HBC land rules were just the tip of the iceberg.<sup>120</sup> Canadian speculators were the more serious side of the land problem, and as has been previously noted, they continued to arrive to take up land, attack local institutions and as a result to threaten the Métis from early 1858 until late 1869.

However, while farmers could be accommodated without great difficulty, speculators who ignored local custom while acquiring vast amounts of land, were not so easy to deal with. As Bannatyne and Colonel Dennis both noted after 1870:

Irritated at this constant thwarting, [in obtaining land from the Indians through liquor sales] the Canadians began announcing that they would soon have another government in Red River that would teach the

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<sup>119</sup> Nor'Wester, August 30, 1862.

<sup>120</sup> Sprague and Frye, Genealogy, p. 24. Since the 1870 census did not list European settlers as Canadians this number was actually very low.

local people a few things about law.<sup>121</sup>

It appeared that loyal Canadian Party members had hoped that by getting quit claims from the Indians their speculative rights to the land would be held up under the new system of Government which they soon expected to be in place.<sup>122</sup> As Governor McTavish of the HBC noted in a letter to Joseph Howe in Ottawa in 1870:

In the new settlement of newly arrived Canadians at Muskrat Creek in 1869 the local Indians were only convinced to let them remain because James McKay spoke to them. Their concern was that settlement would hamper their claim when Canada took over. Ontario Press reported the incident by saying that the HBC was encouraging Indians to make claims on Canada. William McDougall heard about this and complained to the HBC. His attitude on this occasion and others like it led the Métis to think that their claims like those of the Indians would not get a very good hearing when Canada took over the North West.<sup>123</sup>

Louis Riel and, most likely other Métis leaders, were aware of the implications of Canadian land acquisition methods. As Riel reported in 1873:

The persons sent from Ottawa in the winter of 1869-1870 to survey the road from Lake of the Woods, manifested, during their sojourn at Oak Point, a violent hostility against the old inhabitants of Assiniboia. They went so far as to try to obtain possession of the best lands of the St. Albe [sic] [St. Anne?] colony in adding them to an expanse of lands which they pretended to have purchased from

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<sup>121</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, pp. 186-187 for Dennis' testimony and p. 123 for Bannatyne's.

<sup>122</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 89.

<sup>123</sup> Bartlett, "William McTavish," pp. 205-206. Material taken from the draft of a letter, MacTavish to Howe, Fort Garry, May 14, 1870.

the Indians.<sup>124</sup>

After a spate of such incidents around Oak Point where the Canadians and notably Schultz and his cohorts came into extensive acreage by somewhat dubious methods, the Métis became alarmed. The issue was further complicated by McDougall's apparent interest in preventing local Indians and other natives (the Métis ) from pursuing any claim against Canada while, at the same time, protecting the claims of the newly arrived Canadians.<sup>125</sup>

In 1869, the new arrivals from Ontario suffered a lowering of their already low public standing after it was discovered that the clearing process for the Snow Road had been helped along by mysterious "bush fires" which had broken out in the area around the construction site. Reporting to his superiors in 1869, Charles Mair noted that:

The Indians forsake the woods in summer, and the settlers at Point du Chêne protest that they never leave camp-fires burning when cutting timber for their own use. Whatever their origin may be, it is plain enough that stringent measures for protection will have to be taken in order to arrest the agency which threatens the total destruction of the valuable standing timber between Oak Point and the

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<sup>124</sup> A.H. de Trémaudan, "Letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, January 3, 1873," Canadian Historical Review, 7, 2 (June 1926): 137-160, p. 138. Also in Stanley, Collected Writings, Riel to A. Morris, St Vital, January 3, 1873, 1: p. 233.

<sup>125</sup> Bartlett, "McTavish," pp. 205-206, McTavish to Joseph Howe, Fort Garry, May 14, 1870.

Lake of the Woods.<sup>126</sup>

Road crew, Canadians, local supporters and speculation over what the Métis considered to be their land were serious threats to the one group in Red River capable of forcible intervention in Canadian plans.

The survey, which the Métis believed was breaking up their holdings, upsetting their transport routes, depriving them of a sure water supply, and placing roads and bridges across their lands was something else which could not be tolerated.<sup>127</sup> The fact that it was based on a system unfamiliar to the Métis and possibly inimical with their landholding systems was an additional factor in Métis negative perceptions of the Canadian survey. As Guillaume Charette later reported:

L'incident des arpentages avait rallié des Métis autour de Riel et ils s'assemblaient chaque soir. Ils ne s'opposaient pas à la confédération, mais ils ne voulaient pas se voir annexés sans avoir été dument consultés au préalable.<sup>128</sup>

The survey supplied an added threat to the Métis, who were already well-politicized by the increasingly numerous and more serious assaults on their interests which they were experiencing as the 1860's drew to a close. Colonel J. S. Dennis, in

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<sup>126</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, pp. 84-85. Taken from Department of Public Works Files, Ottawa, Series 98, Subject 429, Mair to the Minister of Public Works, May 25, 1869 and June 21, 1869.

<sup>127</sup> Davidson, Louis Riel, p. 28.

<sup>128</sup> Charette, La Rebellion, p. 85.

charge of the Canadian survey team, wrote to William McDougall, Minister of Public Works in Macdonald's Cabinet, to report that the Métis "had gone so far as to threaten violence should the surveys be attempted to be made."<sup>129</sup> Such threats were notable indications that Métis sensibilities were acutely aroused and that they were ready to take action. More than ten years of Canadian activity was beginning to bear fruit.

One specific grievance which the Métis noticed and reacted to was the Canadian inclination to deny the Métis a role in any part of the North-West's future. The principal Canadian cry, repeated at every opportunity for over ten years, implied the superiority of Canadians generally over the Red River settlers. In the words of Alexander Begg:

'You will see what Canada will do when she takes hold of the country.' was a common observation (very vague it is true); [Begg's comment] and it is a well-known fact that the man who professed to be the leader of the Party, openly declared that the half-breeds of Red River would have to give way before Canadians and that the country would never succeed until they were displaced altogether.<sup>130</sup>

Commenting in various public forums that the Métis were "controllable and docile" but unused to civilization and "would not thrive on it" did not do very much to endear the Canadians to the Métis.<sup>131</sup> The latter image allowed the

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<sup>129</sup> Canada, Sessional Papers, vol. 4, #12, 1870, J.S. Dennis to William McDougall, August 21, 1869.

<sup>130</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 21.

<sup>131</sup> Owrarn, Promise, p. 87.

Canadians to dismiss the Métis as political nonentities, while retaining them as a pliant pool of cheap labour.<sup>132</sup> Further comments to the effect that the natives must become "more business-like in their dealings, that they must be more energetic and industrious, or they must fall behind"<sup>133</sup> did not please Métis businessmen whose expertise had been gained in the heady years of the 1840's and 1850's. When Charles Mair commented that the locals were "a harmless obsequious set of men and will, I believe, be very useful here when the country gets filled up," those same "obsequious men" must have had something to say about Mair's observations.<sup>134</sup> Given that Mair and the other Canadians spoke their minds freely on the subject of Métis inferiority at every opportunity, similar statements such as those reported in the public media of the day must also have been current dialogue in the Red River Settlement where they would eventually come to the notice of the Métis and increase their rapidly growing politicization. The acts of "folly and indiscretion attributed"<sup>135</sup> to the Canadians understandably helped Métis planning to reach the level it did in 1869-1870.

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Nor'Wester, April 14, 1860.

<sup>134</sup> Hargrave, Red River, p. 449

<sup>135</sup> PAC, RG6, C2, Vol. 348, Secretary of State for the Provinces, Letterbook for 1869, #1607, Joseph Howe to Grand Vicar Thibeault, December 4, 1869.

The politicization of the Métis began to take on new proportions with the appointment of William McDougall, a known associate of the Canadians, as the Lieutenant-Governor designate for the new Canadian territory. As John H. McTavish noted later:

When the appointment of Governor McDougall was heard of, the feeling of uneasiness began to take a very marked form, and a determination to resist his entry into the country was expressed at meetings held amongst themselves.<sup>136</sup>

By the late 1860's, with the rapidly increasing flow of Canadians to such projects as the Snow Road, combined with the steady flow of farmers and speculators since 1858 (58 percent of Canadian early colonists),<sup>137</sup> Canadian actions had disturbed the Métis so increasingly that direct action was a distinct possibility. The crescendo of politicizing actions in the 1868-1869 period, culminating in McDougall's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, added to the rush of Canadian land claims and the inherent threat posed by the Canadian survey, meant that Métis sensibilities were ready for ignition from the slightest spark. In addition, Métis threats to take action over the surveys and their constant meetings indicated to the Canadians that the Métis could create difficulties during the impending transfer. However, the call to action, and inevitably, to arms, needed something else before the

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<sup>136</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, pp. 1-2. Testimony of John H. McTavish.

<sup>137</sup> See figure 2-3.

consensus to initiate radical action could be assured. McDougall's impending arrival in late 1869 did not have to be the critical moment but, when it was discovered that he carried Canadian military weapons with him as part of his Vice-Regal baggage, the storm broke over the Red River Settlement.

The hiding of 350 Spencer and Peabody rifles in McDougall's private and public belongings,<sup>138</sup> was a pivotal point in the process of Métis politicization. They represented the failure of the local Canadian leaders to become the new rulers of Rupert's Land simply on the basis of their presence on the periphery of the new imperial possession. Since Canadian actions for the past decade had stirred up potential opposition, weapons could be a useful adjunct to the transfer process if anyone decided to resist union with Canada. As Schultz viewed the future in the spring of 1869, an unelected form of Government was preferable then since it would allow for the necessary time in which new Canadian arrivals could force Canadian standards of behaviour to the forefront.<sup>139</sup> The rifles would be useful for giving the Canadians scope to strengthen their supremacy until the "sea of pioneers"

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<sup>138</sup> PAC, RG9 II, B2, Volume 50, File 50, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, General Stores, 1868-1874, Stores Report of Major Peebles, RREF, of goods issued to William McDougall, November 1870.

<sup>139</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, 1858-1887, Box 15, John C. Schultz to Joseph McDougall, April 23, 1869.



arrived. Rifles could also guarantee that people like Schultz would be the rulers in the new Canadian territory. The discovery of the ordnance, however, added to the recent events already described made the Métis generally aware of Canadian plans. In order to forestall the Canadians, they immediately took direct action to protect themselves until such time as they could get some guarantee that their rights and property would be protected. Once the Métis had succeeded, the Canadians realized they would have to try some other means of becoming the predominant force. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the "rifles" incident in some detail in order to understand how it was so pivotal in bringing the Métis to take the steps they did in 1869 and 1870.

As spring came to the Red River Settlement, the atmosphere in the area was becoming increasingly tense. The Métis were meeting constantly and the Canadians, for their part, were even more boastful than usual. It is probable that the Canadians, who were so anxious to annex the North-West to Canada, may also have realized that they might not succeed in the way which they expected. Moreover, they should have been knowledgeable of the Métis' military abilities, especially after ten years residence in the country. Therefore the need for some show of force would be something that they would certainly have planned ahead of time. Given the relationship between McDougall, Schultz, Mair and the other official Canadians in Red River, it would not be surprising that these

individuals had thought about how to achieve their objectives. Since no armed force was planned by Canada, the next best thing would be to create a force there in the country from loyal Canadians. However, for such a plan to succeed, arms were needed. The rifles, therefore, were part of the Lieutenant-Governor's baggage "just in case they might be needed, . . . either by a group of people already in the Settlement or by a group to come later."<sup>140</sup> Needless to say, the Métis were not envisaged as potential users of the weapons once McDougall got them to Red River. But getting them there proved more difficult than anyone imagined in advance.

At the time, Ottawa was under the impression that a significant number of people would move West quickly in 1869. As Macdonald remarked at the time:

It will be a considerable time before the Red River Country is handed over to Canada, but I understand that a good many young men are going there at once in anticipation of the time when the country will become a part of the Dominion.<sup>141</sup>

The impression that hordes of Canadians were bound for Rupert's Land existed because the news of Canada's impending acquisition of the territory was just what land-hungry Ontario farmers were waiting to hear. Had the immigration materialized, as was expected, the rifles would have been useful to McDougall. As it was, he would have to utilize those Canadians

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<sup>140</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: 58.

<sup>141</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 515, Letterbook 12, p. 903, Macdonald to A.C. MacDonnell, June 28, 1869.

who had spent the last ten years getting ready for annexation and, in so doing, inadvertently politicizing the Métis. Additionally, since the Canadian Government was unwilling to send either military or civilian personnel to the West until a Canadian provisional government was in place, no other source of Canadian soldiery was available in 1869 to maintain the peace.<sup>142</sup>

The suggestion that an armed force might be needed had been broached earlier by Schultz in August of 1869, well before McDougall left Ottawa on his mission to Rupert's Land.<sup>143</sup> It would seem that Schultz was aware of possible difficulties with the Métis since one of the Canadians, presumably with Schultz's blessing, had been spying on Métis activities around Saint Norbert for some time. The spy, Walter Hyman, told the Métis family he was boarding with that "a number of Canadians had brought military uniforms with them and that he had one himself."<sup>144</sup> Obviously uniforms would not be of much use without the weapons which usually went with them and Hyman must have known that a supply of arms would be furnished at the proper time. Such disturbing news would have been passed on by the Métis family to the other local Métis

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<sup>142</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 515, Letterbook 12, pp. 955-956, Macdonald to R.G. Haliburton, July 9, 1869.

<sup>143</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, p. 85.

<sup>144</sup> Ronaghan, "The Archibald Administration," 1: 55. Also In Rev. Dugas, Histoire, p. 54. Dugas reports that Hyman spied for Schultz.

and from them to their leaders. Combined with Canadian boasts overheard in the Settlement, such information would have created the crisis situation needed for the Métis to initiate drastic action. As Riel noted later: The Canadians had "boasted that they had arrived before Mr. McDougall as his soldiers and that they were ready to support him by force of arms."<sup>145</sup>

Behind the scenes there were also suggestions that weapons and ammunition might, after all, be needed. Colonel J.S. Dennis, who knew something about the North-West, had earlier recommended that McDougall bring 350 rifles (the exact number later transported) and 30,000 rounds of ammunition with him for use in the Settlement because he, Dennis, suspected that confrontation would occur, especially over the survey.<sup>146</sup> Additionally, Snow, between working on the road and claiming lands around the road site, had managed to inform Ottawa that "the French half breed population are particularly very troublesome and no doubt the sooner a strong force is

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<sup>145</sup> Trémaudan, "Letter of Louis Riel," p. 139. Also in Stanley, Collected Writings, 1: 244.

<sup>146</sup> Colin Read, "The Red River Rebellion and J.S. Dennis, "Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace," Manitoba History, 3 (Spring 1982): 11-20, p. 11. The comment is recorded in the report by Dennis in the 1870 Sessional Papers, previously cited. Dennis should be expected to know since he had military experience with George T. Dennison in 1866.

organized here, the better."<sup>147</sup> As a result, it would appear that the rifles were to be part of McDougall's accoutrements and that the persons who would be needing them, were, for the most part, already resident in Red River. Apparently the politicizers also had military ambitions.

The rifles incident began officially on September 17, 1869 when William McDougall, Lieutenant-Governor Designate for the North-West, submitted a memorandum to Cabinet requesting arms and ammunition for service in the West. Cabinet approved the request on September 22nd and forwarded it through the appropriate channels.<sup>148</sup> The document was received by the Department of Militia and Defence on September 28th and a memorandum to ship the rifles was issued.<sup>149</sup> The shipment then left Kingston by boat on October 1, 1869, destined to catch up with McDougall somewhere along his route.<sup>150</sup> The parcel consisted of 100 Spencer Carbines, 82 sponges, 10 wiping rods, 82 nipple wrenches, 10,000 rounds of Spencer ball ammunition of .50-60 calibre, and 250 Peabody

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<sup>147</sup> PAM, MG3, B2, Red River Disturbances, Northwest Rebellion and Related Papers, John Snow to William McDougall, Winnipeg, September 8, 1869.

<sup>148</sup> PAC, RG2, 1, Volume 17, Privy Council Records, Order-in-Council # 708, September 17, 1869. Also September 22, 1869.

<sup>149</sup> PAC, RG9 II, AI, Volume 13, Department of Militia and Defence, Superintendent of Stores, Permission to ship rifles, September 28, 1869.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., W.P. Philips to Lt. Col. Wiley, October 5, 1869.

Rifles complete with bayonets.<sup>151</sup> (See attached Form # 286, Page 92).<sup>152</sup> It should be noted that the rifles were shipped to the North-West despite the fact that there was a statute which was still in effect in 1869 that did not permit "arms and accoutrements to be taken out of the Province."<sup>153</sup> Moreover, the Form 286 on which the weapons were ordered was unsigned, improperly dated, and, with the exception of the materials listed, a somewhat haphazard version of the forms which were usually issued by the Department of Militia and Defence at the time.<sup>154</sup> There was also the matter of a pencilled note, initialled by McDougall, on the reverse which asks for the form "to be signed and returned to me." It would

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<sup>151</sup> The nipples and wrenches were standard equipment for use in the replacement of percussion cap fittings which wore out quickly on this type of weapon. The other assorted parts were for daily maintenance. The Peabodys could also use Spencer ammunition.

<sup>152</sup> PAC, RG9 II, B2, Volume 50, File 50, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, General Stores, 1868-1874, Stores Report of Major Peebles, RREF, of goods issued to William McDougall, November 1870.

<sup>153</sup> Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Correspondence Relating to the Fenian Invasions (Ottawa: June 14, 1869), Sir Edmund Head to J.E. Wilkins, Quebec, April 25, 1861. Also Head to Governor Morgan same date. Statute referred to is listed under Provincial Act, 22 Victoria, C35, Section 35.

<sup>154</sup> Most forms of the Militia and Defence Department were meticulously prepared and resplendent with all the counter-signing that bureaucracy could envisage. The writing on Form #286 appears to be that of the secretary (unknown) who usually filled out such forms. Given the Department's penchant for sticking to details, one could wonder why this form, of all others, is so poorly completed.

AUTHORITY No. 40

Received out of the Dominion Stores at Ottawa

the undermentioned Articles for the service of the North West Territories viz

ARTICLES.	NUMBER RECEIVED.
<u>Spencer Carbines Complete</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Sponges</u>	<u>82</u>
<u>Wiping rods</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Nipple Wrenches</u>	<u>82</u>
<u>Spencer Ball Ammunition</u> <u>rounds</u>	<u>10,000</u>
<u>Peabody Rifles Complete</u> <u>with Bayonets</u>	<u>250.</u>
	<u>—</u>

Received at Fortnite this      day of      1869

(Signature.)

To the Superintendent of Stores,

Militia Store Branch,  
Ottawa,  
P. of O.

Commanding.

[No. 286.]

Form # 286: Militia and Defence Requisition Form Used for McDougall's Shipment of Spencers and Peabodys.

appear that McDougall did not want the form to go astray. Given the inept manner in which it was completed, the point that it was no longer in McDougall's possession in 1870, and the fact that the Cabinet was the only official body which knew of the rifles' existence, a case could be made that McDougall was trying to keep the existence of the weapons a secret, at least until he had arrived in the North-West and had armed the Canadians. Then, with state-of-the-art Canadian military weapons at his disposal, McDougall could be effective in controlling any expected problems with local inhabitants. (See page 94 for specifications and photographs of Peabody and Spencer Rifles).<sup>155</sup>

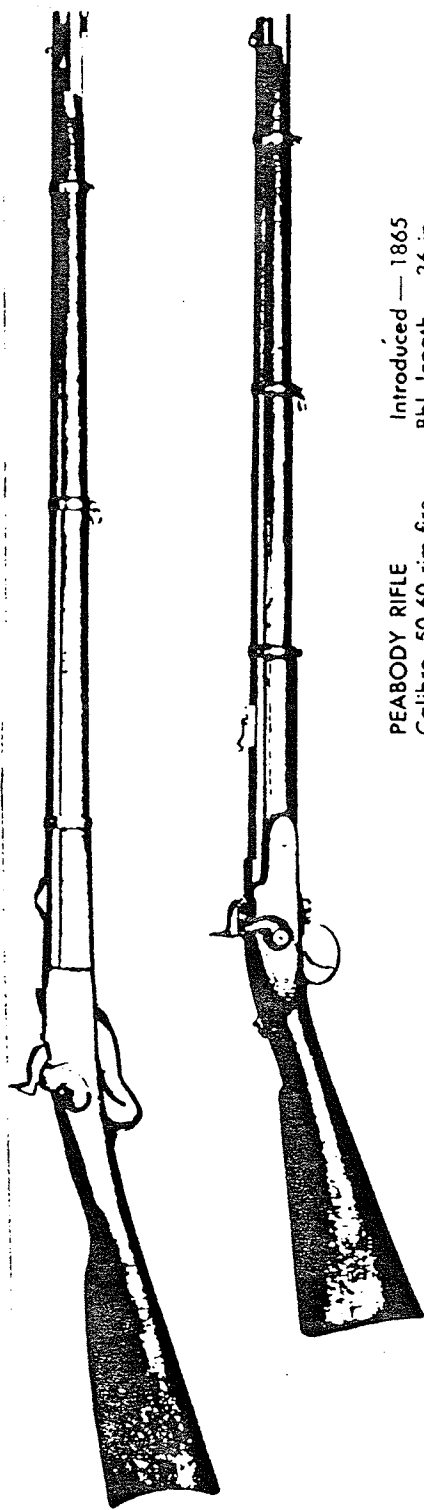
Deliberate malevolent intentions, or at the least, underhanded attempts to sneak the weapons into the North-West, appeared to be the plan devised by Cabinet prior to McDougall's arrival. Subsequent developments, not the least of which was McDougall's later animosity towards the Government after the events of 1869 unfolded, may have dictated a belated attempt to deal with the errant musketry in a more proper if somewhat vengeful fashion.<sup>156</sup> The possibility exists that

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<sup>155</sup> The Military Arms of Canada, Historical Arms Series 1 (West Hill, Ontario: Upper Canada Historical Society, and The National War Museum, Museum Restoration Service, 1963), pp. 30-33.

<sup>156</sup> The document in question, Form # 286, was discovered in RREF files. It would appear that somewhere in the confusion of events after December 1, 1869 this particular form ceased to be under McDougall's control and its existence in 1870 allowed Government, then somewhat perturbed with McDougall, to take steps to guarantee that McDougall alone bore the brunt





PEABODY RIFLE

Calibre .50-60 rim-fire

Characteristics: A single shot

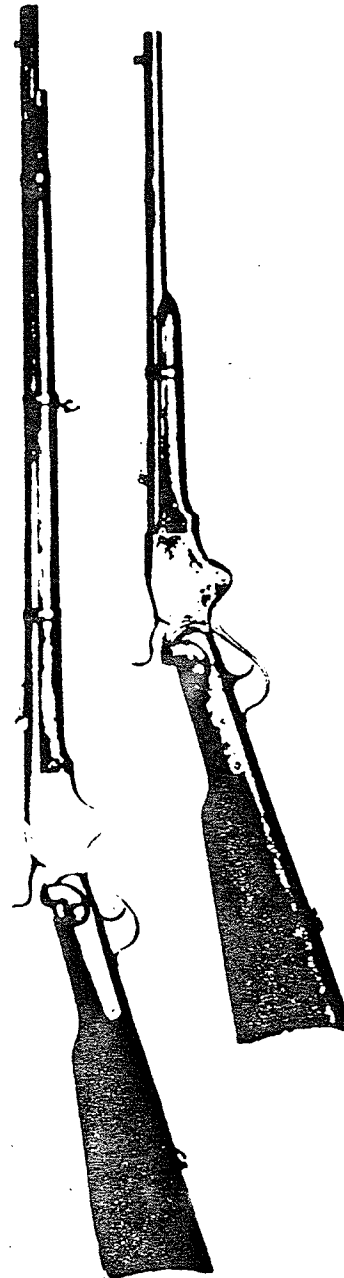
rifle,

Introduced — 1865

Bbl. length — 36 in.

Characteristics: A single shot

breech-loading



SPENCER RIFLE

Calibre 56-50 rim-fire

Characteristics: Seven round magazine located

in the butt.

Introduced — 1860

Bbl. length — 30 in.

Characteristics: Seven round magazine located

in the butt.

Photographs and Specifications of Spencer and Peabody Rifles.

for the decision to take the rifles. It should be kept in mind that Privy Council documents were usually confidential and as a result this particular Form 286 was the only publicly available document referring to the rifles in question.

Macdonald, irked at McDougall's railings against the Government after the latter's ignominious flight from the Northwest, might have decided to lay the blame for the weapons on McDougall's own initiative. Whatever the official reason for the weapons' presence in McDougall's baggage, it was apparent that Macdonald knew of their existence and purpose from the beginning. As the Prime-Minister noted at the time:

He [McDougall] departed in the company of a "large party" with several cases of rifles for equipping a police force to be recruited from the local population.<sup>157</sup>

Macdonald also realized exactly how useful the weapons could be to Canadians on the scene.

It will require considerable management to keep those wild people quiet. In another year the present residents will be altogether swamped by the influx of strangers who will go in with the idea of becoming industrious and peaceable settlers.<sup>158</sup>

Whatever Sir John might have wanted to do about punishing McDougall for his brash statements after 1869, it was apparent that the Cabinet knew about the Spencers and Peabodys and what their purpose was prior to October, 1869. Canada was taking no chances with the "wild people" it intended to acquire with the Rupert's Land purchase.

Of course, rifles, no matter what calibre, would be of no use if the Canadians could not get hold of them before the

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<sup>157</sup> Sprague, Canada and the Métis, p. 34. Taken from PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 13, p. 237, Macdonald to J. Y. Bown, October 14, 1869.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

Métis were able to organize and act. Superior weapons and ample ammunition would ensure the resident Canadians a secure place in the subsequent arrangements for the governing of the Settlement only if the guns were available for use in Red River. With such thoughts as these in mind, McDougall approached the frontier, from the United States,<sup>159</sup> with his cargo of more than 300 Peabodys, Spencers and 10,000 rounds of ammunition.

Unfortunately for McDougall's and the Canadians' ordnance arrangements, the Métis, in early October of 1869, were aware that he was coming and they were keeping a careful watch on the frontier for signs of his arrival and evidence of his party's intentions. When Elzéar Lagimodière managed a quick look into the Lieutenant-Governor's baggage, the news that McDougall was transporting sufficient arms to equip a small army was just as quickly made known to the Métis in Red River.<sup>160</sup> The news proved to be the last manifestation of politicization the Métis would tolerate and they quickly realized that, unless they acted promptly, their ability to take action would be severely compromised by an armed force of Canadians resident in the Settlement. Charles Mair, innocently preoccupied with his honeymoon, met and joined

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<sup>159</sup> It should be remembered that the American Government objected to later RREF materiel being shipped through the United States. Perhaps one experience with errant Canadian military stores was enough.

<sup>160</sup> O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 20.

McDougall in time to find out how serious the Métis could be when he was forced to share in McDougall's chagrin at being blocked from entering the North-West.<sup>161</sup> More importantly, as far as the Métis were concerned, not only was McDougall prevented from entering the Settlement but the potential for an armed Canadian takeover was also laid to rest.

The now famous note from the Métis National Committee addressed to "Monsieur McDougall"<sup>162</sup> that stopped the would-be Lieutenant-Governor just a few miles short of his and the Canadians' objective, was not the last to be heard of the "rifles in cases."<sup>163</sup> They would show up later but only as misplaced flotsam in the hands of the RREF's quartermaster after 1870. However, the Métis plan to frustrate McDougall before he could gain entry with his weaponry was a direct result of the previous politicization of the Métis. Schultz and his cohorts had missed the opportunity to become the armed rulers of Red River because of their actions in the preceding decade. There was, in addition to the threat posed by the rifles, the problem presented by the potential combination of

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<sup>161</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, pp 90-91. Apparently, Mair was using camping and travel equipment paid for by the department of Public Works. Questions about the apparent misuse were answered by Mair in a letter to the then Minister of Public Works in reply to questions about expenses incurred in 1869. Letter dated March 14, 1871.

<sup>162</sup> The note written by Louis Riel and signed by John Bruce as President of the Métis National Committee which forbade McDougall from entering the country.

<sup>163</sup> Trémaudan, "Letter of Louis Riel," p. 140.

an armed Canadian presence and the existence of Fort Garry.

What was paramount for Canadian success in any armed takeover, was the HBC's Fort Garry with its cannon, embrasured walls and, most importantly, its commanding view of the Forks where arms could be used most effectively. That the Fort was necessary in any military plans for the holding of Red River as a political centre had not escaped the notice of the Métis who had lived in its shadow for decades. The fact that certain Canadians were making loud noises about military actions was also seen by the Métis leadership as a sign that the Fort was in imminent danger of falling into hostile hands.<sup>164</sup> Later, Colonel J.S. Dennis would confirm that the Canadians had every intention of taking over Fort Garry, but that hesitation hindered their taking direct and immediate action.<sup>165</sup> Reverend Young, who was actually present in the Settlement at the time and privy to much of what the Canadians were planning, stated that:

Just prior to this capture of Fort Garry by Riel and his following, a number of loyalists had advised its occupancy and defence by themselves, but for

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<sup>164</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: 102.

<sup>165</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 18. Denison indicates that when Lt.Col. J.S. Dennis reached Fort Garry from Pembina in November of 1869 he went directly to Schultz's home first. Schultz saw Dennis' Commission from McDougall and said it was all that was needed. He would organize a force of the surveyors, roadmen and Canadians and take the Fort that night. Dennis did not agree and the result was that the Canadians were rounded up by the Métis and made prisoners.

want of unanimity nothing was then accomplished.<sup>166</sup>

The upshot of the Canadians' hesitation was that the Métis outmanoeuvred them and took Fort Garry for themselves on November 2, 1869. Some members of McDougall's entourage, uncomfortably installed in Pembina, immediately suggested the need for an armed Canadian Force to be organized and dispatched to Red River in order to recapture the Fort.<sup>167</sup> But Ottawa was completely taken by surprise by the extent of the Métis' actions and could not respond immediately to the evidence of Métis military acumen. The rapid, unfolding series of events in Red River did cause Joseph Howe to comment somewhat wryly that the rifles sent with McDougall would prove to be of little use as long as they remained in the United States.<sup>168</sup> However, the Cabinet, of which Howe was an active part, eventually recovered from its initial astonishment and began to consider the problem of Métis success in forcing negotiations with Canada, in a more organized fashion.

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<sup>166</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 108.

<sup>167</sup> Mailhot, "Ritchot's Resistance," pp. 59-60. Taken from PAC, Macdonald papers, pp. 40692-406706, McDougall to Macdonald, November 8, 1869. This suggestion came from Captain Cameron, he of the "glass eye" (Monocle). McDougall then suggests the same thing but he wanted 1500 volunteers with 500 to come immediately through the United States. He also suggested that they could use the rifles which were then in Fort Abercrombie.

<sup>168</sup> United Kingdom, Correspondence Relative to the Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, (London, England: August 1870), p. 11. W.E. Sandford to Joseph Howe, November 18, 1869.

The first major problem for the Canadian Government was the physical difficulty involved in dispatching any force to Red River since boats were essential in order to traverse the wild rivers of Northern Ontario.<sup>169</sup> The second concern was finding enough volunteer soldiery to man the boats and to make up the necessary military force. The latter difficulty was solvable, as Macdonald remarked to McDougall in late November 1869.

Obstructions in your way have excited a good deal of attention among the volunteers, and I have received a good many letters volunteering to go there en masse, and fight your battles . . . but . . . no blood must be shed.<sup>170</sup>

At the same time the Prime-Minister was considering some kind of force to subdue the North-West for use in the spring. In the meantime, political manoeuvres would maintain an unsettled harmony.<sup>171</sup> There was also British reluctance to allow Canada to take the area at the point of a bayonet to be considered. Whatever the reasons for the Canadian Government's sluggish response to the Métis takeover of the Red River Settlement, surprise at the extent of Métis capabilities could be central to the lack of rapid response. Nevertheless, it would seem that the "rifles in cases," had been the final step in the

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<sup>169</sup> PAM, MG3, B9, McVicar Papers, McVicar to Polson, April 3, 1870.

<sup>170</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 516, Letterbook 13, pp. 479-487, Macdonald to William McDougall, November 20, 1869.

<sup>171</sup> Ogram, Promise, p. 92.

politicization of the Métis. Roads were blocked, the Fort was secured, a Métis National Committee was in place and, most importantly, concrete steps were well under way to ensure that Canada would have to negotiate with the North-West prior to her assumption of sovereignty in Rupert's Land.



CHAPTER THREE

CANADIAN AGITATION TO SUBVERT ACCOMMODATION OF THE MÉTIS, 1870

In early 1870, Canadians around the Town of Winnipeg pondered a rather bleak future. Canada would probably acquire the much-needed Western lands but the new rulers would not be the British-imbued individuals who had envisaged themselves in that role. In fact, a Métis-dominated Rupert's Land seemed a distinct possibility. The would-be rulers were now forced to admit that their hopes were disappearing faster than the Western snows under the warm sun of a new spring.

In the meantime the procedures by which Canada would assume sovereignty in the North-West were being worked out without local Canadian input, especially after the failure inherent in the "rifles" incident. The informal and inadvertent process which Canadian ambition had exercised for over ten years, had proven ineffective in satisfying the particular expansionist desires of the Canadian Party. The Federal Government, for its part, was now unwillingly forced to deal with a group which it had previously ignored. However, it was apparent to John A. Macdonald that the most important item on Canada's political agenda in early 1870 was to acquire the North-West with the best terms possible and leave time and a sea of pioneers the task of realigning Western political, social and economic realities.

The problem with the federal solution was that it did not provide an immediate outlet for the frustrated ambitions of the politicizers. Furthermore, Canada was not really able,

given the local and Imperial situations,<sup>1</sup> to accommodate their frustration. The great distances which were involved also put more direct and immediate Canadian plans on hold. British refusal to tolerate armed intervention without negotiation to accomplish what could not be achieved politically, further hindered official Canadian response. However, Canadian hesitancy did not preclude individual Canadians from taking more direct action themselves. The problem was that the Ontario settlers who were to be the backbone of any such movement would not suddenly pack up and leave Ontario in order to confront the Métis, without good reason. As a result, the politicizers languished in a motivational limbo until the news splashed across the newspapers of Ontario that Thomas Scott, a Canadian and an Orange patriot, had been most foully murdered by the Métis on March 4, 1870. Alive, Thomas Scott was just one more Canadian colonist in Rupert's Land whose personal ambitions had been frustrated. Dead, Thomas Scott was a flame to ignite the hearts of Ontario's Orangemen. His death could motivate them to take up arms in order to wrest the North-West from the hands of the "savage" Half-Breeds who had dared to thwart the march of empire.

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<sup>1</sup> The local situation was the Métis occupation of Fort Garry and the negotiations which were already taking place. The Imperial situation revolved around British Colonial Office reluctance to permit force as a means of acquiring the North-West.

Dressed in such glowing terms, Canadian Western imperialism took on an entirely different appearance.<sup>2</sup> The West had been perceived as Canada's colony for some time and the Canadian immigrants had foreseen a dominant role for themselves on the new periphery of empire. The fact that their behaviour had produced the opposite effect of politicizing some of the locals to the point where they became the ruling force, was an unexpected and unfortunate result of their earlier actions. The problem that presented itself to the Canadians after the Métis victory was how to regain their dominant role in the area despite the metropolis' apparent reluctance to use force to dispossess the victors. The solution, was, fortuitously at hand. It lay in using Ontario's patriotism, buoyed up with murderous Orange emotions inflamed by Scott's death and securely wrapped in the British Flag, to regain what had been inadvertently lost. Whatever was to be decided upon, however, would have to be done quickly, since the Métis were becoming ever more successful in determining the future shape of the North-West. It also appeared that more than simple political discussion would be needed to move the Métis from the position they had acquired. An empire was at

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<sup>2</sup> Sub-imperialism, the form of imperialist expansion used, is a term used to describe one of the more popular ways by which empires expanded. Individuals on the frontier, anxious to advance their own particular causes, often forced the Metropolis to annex territory in spite of stringent regulations to the contrary. The subject is dealt with in the text by Robinson and Gallagher, "Imperialism," already cited.

stake and it appeared that it was worth the shedding of blood.

The attitude of the politicizers after the Métis' military success was best expressed by William McDougall as early as November of 1870:

Traitors may conspire; jesuits [sic] may plot; sectional politicians may intrigue, and moribund ministers may hesitate and succumb; but 'westward the star of empire takes it way,' and in spite of all obstacles, the immense wheat-growing and cattle-grazing vallies [sic] and plains of our 'Great West' will soon be subdued and occupied, not by priest-ridden natives addicted to the chase, but by sturdy cultivators of the soil, carrying with them the civilization, the political leadership, which distinguish the colonizing populations of the new world.<sup>3</sup>

McDougall had not changed his viewpoint substantially from what he had envisaged almost one year earlier while he was waiting in Pembina.

With respect to operations from Canada. I assume the Government will not give up the country without a struggle and a severe one. My opinion is that in any event you ought to call for volunteers who wish to emigrate, and to send them here early in the spring. 500 good men via [McDougall's emphasis] St. Paul making a rendezvous [sic] at Georgetown could take the arms at that place and descend the river on rafts and take up a position on either side of the River near the boundary. They could farm or fight as might be required . . . They should then move on the 'enemy's works' . . . The moral effect of such an emigration in the early spring time would, I think, secure a peaceful and bounteous harvest, and I shall be glad to make preparation for the reapers. [My emphasis] But for heaven's sake don't send us any captains of the Royal Artillery with glass eyes. There is not much use for that arm of the service on the Prairies. Breech loading

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<sup>3</sup> William McDougall, The Red River Rebellion. Eight Letters to Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State For the Provinces, etc., In Reply To An Official Pamphlet (Toronto, Ontario: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1870), CIHM # 23644, p. 59.

carabines [sic], horses and McLellan saddles with enterprising Canadian officers of the Col. Dennis' stripe are what we want. (signed).<sup>4</sup>

He could not accept the fact that "three or four thousand semi-savages and serfs of yesterday" could be "entrusted with the Government and destiny of a third of the American Continent."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, McDougall failed to assume any personal responsibility for the current state of affairs and instead blamed the Canadian Cabinet's incompetency for the lack of decisive action in regaining the North-West.

I believe that all our struggles and sacrifices and hopes of the last five or six years are on the eve of failure and disappointment through the blunders and incompetency not to say, the bad faith . . . of a majority of your cabinet. Believing this, I have a plain duty to perform, and shall endeavour, God giving me health and courage, to do it effectually.<sup>6</sup>

The failed Lieutenant-Governor was not the only one considering military means as a solution. As Joseph Howe reported to Macdonald in early 1870:

Mr. McDougall seemed to think . . . that we ought at once to disclose our plans, and inform the world of what we intended to do in the spring. I tried to make him understand that secrecy was an essential element of successful war, and that to publicly threaten those with whom we were negotiating was

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<sup>4</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 102, Correspondence relating to the North West Rebellion, 1869-1870, McDougall to Sir John A. Macdonald, November 8, 1869.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., McDougall to Macdonald, Larose's farm, Pembina, U.S.A., November 13, 1869.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., McDougall to Macdonald, Ottawa, January 20th, 1870.

hardly good policy unless we wished to fail.<sup>7</sup>

It would seem that there were plans to use force to rectify the errors committed by the politicizers but enactment lay in the future and the delay involved was precisely what rankled Schultz and his followers. Violent intervention, immediately or later, appeared to be on the agenda for Rupert's Land in the minds of the Canadians involved, both official and unofficial. The problem, however, was what form of violence to use, how to organize it, when to deploy it, and how to prevent it from becoming official Canadian policy.

For their part the Métis were aware that such a possibility existed. As Louis Schmidt of the Provisional Government understood developments in Canada and the North-West in the spring of 1870:

Canadian volunteers are repugnant to every interest and measure of this people, and instead of securing peace they will, we are confident, destroy the peace which now exists, as well as the hopes of amicable adjustment of the late difficulties . . . (signed), Louis Schmidt, Assistant Secretary of State, Provisional Government, March 1870.<sup>8</sup>

It would appear that the Métis were not about to engage in any major military confrontation with Canada and were, instead, committed to a political solution of their problems. At the same time they had managed to maintain a peaceful

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<sup>7</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 102, pp. 41152-41161, Joseph Howe to John A. Macdonald, January 22, 1870.

<sup>8</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Box 22, Unknown newspaper letter from L. Schmidt undated.

Settlement despite the attempts of the Canadians to foment civil war. As an unknown Canadian remarked at the time:

Just fancy an armed population in its native land, and that during a period of ten months; fancy young men twenty-five years of age, without political experience, or legal training, and withal the leaders of the population, and in reality exercising dictatorial authority, under a military regime. During four consecutive months these men are threatened day and night. Strangers, their bitter enemies, endeavour by every means to overpower them; and notwithstanding all this, one only was killed of those who only awaited the opportunity of killing every one of them. Such a fact will be admitted as exceptional in history, and is clear proof that the Half-breeds of Red River are not a blood-thirsty people.<sup>9</sup>

However, Canadian officials and politicizers had other plans in mind. McDougall, Schultz and the others involved, were considering some form of armed intervention. McDougall's correspondence to Joseph Howe in November of 1869 gave an indication of where his intentions lay.<sup>10</sup> The opinion of the politicizers' Ontario support went even farther. They thought that the army should have been sent in at the first hint of trouble back in October of 1869. As Denison, one of the more influential members of the politicizers' support group noted:

It is a pity this advice was disregarded, for there can be no doubt that the presence of two hundred volunteers in the Settlement last fall would have effectually prevented the insurrection. Example

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<sup>9</sup> Ontario and Manitoba, By A Canadian Who Has Visited Manitoba To Discover the Truth (No Publication Data, 1873), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Begg, Creation, p. 76. ". . . and I thought the farms and cattle of the half-breeds would ultimately be found sufficient to pay any damage they might inflict on public or private property," McDougall to Joseph Howe, November 5, 1869.



might indeed, have been taken from the action of the American Government in Minnesota, who found it necessary to send troops to subdue the unruly spirit of the French half-breeds before the establishment of a territorial legislature.<sup>11</sup>

At the time the Canadians had hoped for the "right" kind of settler, aggressive and armed, to hasten the final stages of transfer in a successful Canadian takeover. Charles Mair expressed such sentiments in language which indicated exactly what he thought the North-West was most in need of in early 1870:

Many Canadian emigrants are on the way and others fully determined to come and we may expect a considerable immigration and of the right class. [Mair's emphasis] The event might be hastened by the introduction of a few thousand emigrants of the right staunch . . . the whole country is now to all intents and purposes ours. [Mair's emphasis].<sup>12</sup>

The call for some type of "armed settler" had been made as early as October 1869. They were needed to settle the land but "with a good rifle among the implements of husbandry in each case."<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately for Canadian aspirations, more mundane affairs intervened. McDougall was forced to ponder, in the months after December 1869, how to return the Great Seal of the proposed Territory to Ottawa, among other prob-

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<sup>11</sup> Denison, Reminiscences, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Sprague, Canada And The Métis, p. 41. Quote is from McDougall.

lems<sup>14</sup> and, more importantly, how to salvage his tarnished reputation. As for the other Canadians, they retreated to Ontario or quietly refrained from attracting Métis attention to themselves, especially after March 4. However, rumours began circulating shortly after Schultz's departure from the North-West with Monkman after February 18, that he would soon be back with armed support to avenge the murder of Scott.<sup>15</sup> The experiences of Texas and Kansas, already well-known to some of the Ontario supporters of the politicizers,<sup>16</sup> were about to become, on a smaller scale, what those two tortured States had been for the Americans.<sup>17</sup> As Denison later exclaimed, "the threat of organizing a scheme of armed emigration had been successfully worked in Texas and Kansas and had been shown to be practicable."<sup>18</sup> In the latter case, the question of political direction had been settled by the introduction into the territory of armed individuals, who under the guise of settlement, had determined the political status of the new States by recourse to bullets instead of

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<sup>14</sup> PAC, RG6, C2, Volume 350, Secretary of State For the Provinces, Letterbook, 1870, J. Howe to McDougall, June 30, 1870.

<sup>15</sup> Begg, History, 2: 23-24.

<sup>16</sup> George T. Denison, Soldiering in Canada: Recollections and Experiences (Toronto, Ontario: George N. Morang and Company, 1900), p. 179.

<sup>17</sup> Ogram, "Conspiracy," p. 172.

<sup>18</sup> Denison, Soldiering, p. 179.

ballots. Politics had been reduced to armed confrontation between opposing groups of pseudo-settlers. Such a "bleeding Kansas" plan suited the North-West, especially in light of Métis success in preventing the politicizers from becoming the dominant power. If armed settlers could restore Canadian predominance, as they had changed the course of events in the South and Mid-West United States, then a "bleeding Rupert's Land" was a distinct possibility in the minds of the politicizers, Denison and their like. In other words, the Kansas model could determine the future direction imperial development would take in the North-West. As for the triumphal arrival of Wolseley, it lay in the future. Of more immediate concern were the means by which the Canadian politicizers could organize themselves in order to sidestep official policy and somehow replace the Métis with the "tried and true loyal element."<sup>19</sup> The method they were about to espouse had much of the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism in it. As the Reverend George Young intoned:

Brave hearts are gather'd to the call.  
Strong arms are pressing round our flag.  
T'avenge a murder'd martyr's fall,  
Nor leave it e'en when 'tis a rag.<sup>20</sup>

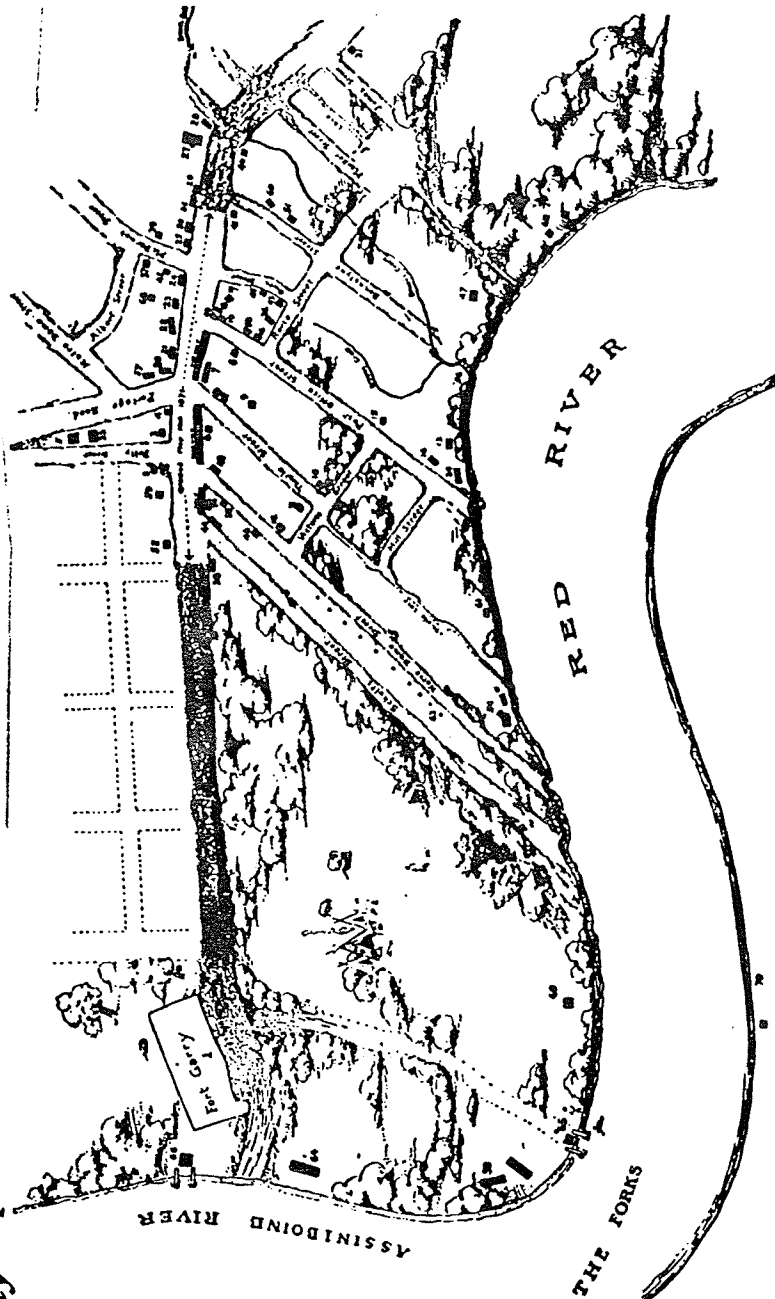
Their plan contained much that was malevolent because it implied the subversion of official plans to negotiate a settlement with the Métis.

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<sup>19</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> J.C. Major, The Red River Expedition (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Unknown Publisher, 1870), CIHM # 23643, p. 3.

# Location and Identity of Buildings in Village of Winnipeg 1872



The above chart shows the 1872 locations of the buildings, public and private, in the village of Winnipeg proper (the centre of which was then, as it is now, the corner of Main Street and Portage Avenue). The sites have been carefully checked and positions verified. They are: 1, Fort Garry; 2, Dominion Lands office; 3, Wm. Dwyer's building; 4, Red Saloon; 5, Holy Trinity church; 6, Brian Devlin's restaurant; 7, Red River Hall or, as it was sometimes called, McDermot's Row; 8, O. Maccham's Hotel; 9, Garrett House; 10, Indian department; 11, Customs House; 12, Roman Catholic convent; 13, Andrew McDermot's windmill; 14, Andrew McDermot's residence; 15, fire hall; 16, Post Office Building; 17, Parliament Building in A. G. B. Bannatyne's residence; 18 and 19, Bannatyne's store and salt warehouse; 20, McKenny Block, the first building erected in the village of Winnipeg; 21, White Saloon, kept by McIlvor and McIntyre; 22, Davis Hotel, formerly kept by George Emmerting; 23, John Higgins' store; 24, F. Gingras' building; 25, W. H. Lyon's; 26, Henry Couty's butcher store; 27, Jell; 28, Archibald Wright's; 29, J. H. Ashdown's; 30, Dr. afterwards Sir John Schultz' drug store; 31, Free Press office; 32, the Good Templar's Hall, in which were the offices of The News Letter, Dr. Schultz' newspaper, and the Manitoba Liberal; 33, Knox church; 34, steamboat landing and small warehouse; 35, flat-boat store on river, near Jervis; 36, office of the government carpenter, The Manitobas; 37, Thos. Lueder's blacksmith shop; 38, Grace church; 39, Wm. Harvey's livery stable; 40, A. B. Brown and Co.'s building; 41, Dr. Curtis J. Bird's building; 42, A. Straag's residence; 43,

John Hackett's bakery; 44, brick block owned by Dr. Schultz; 45, Robert Staller's harness shop; 46, Royal Canadian (later Brouse's) Hotel; 47, old Ross house, residence of William Coldwell, editor of The Manitobas; 48, Lyster Hayward's (auctioneer); 49, W. Palmer Clarke's general store; 50, Alfred Boyd's store; 51, Bernard R. Ross's block; 52, shop shared by Wm. Chambers, gunsmith, and Geo. D. Northgraves, jeweller and watchmaker; 53, "Pride of the West" billiard saloon; 54, W. J. Macaulay's lumber mill, now's

boarding house, and office; 55, old tumble-down corduroy bridge across Brown's Creek, which crossed Main Street at this point; 56, Brown's Creek; 57, Merchants' hotel; 58, immigration sheds; 59, Alex. McMillan's bank; 60, Alex. Begg's soda water factory; 61, Dick and Banning's sawmill; 62, residence of Demcas Sinclair, surveyor; 63, group of residences, including - reading from the river - those of John Johnson, H. Hodges, Thos. Collins, Geo. E. Parkhouse, James Irwin (city waterman), Matthew Davis (black-

smith), Thos. Jeffers (ferryman), Sam Spencer (drover), John Kennedy (registerer), Wm. McGraw, Alex. Dunlop (Free Press employee) and Stewart Mulreep; 64, Hudson's Bay Company steamboat warehouse; 65, ferry from St. Boniface; 66, ferry across Assiniboine; 67, Thistle store; 68, John Higgins' residence; 69, General Hospital (moved from centre of village down to this point about end of 1872); 70, St. Boniface cathedral and college.

—Courtesy Winnipeg Free Press

SOURCE: M.L. Benham, The Manitoba Club: 100 Years, 1874-1974, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: The Manitoba Club, 1974), Frontspsice.

Map 3-1: Town of Winnipeg in the Early 1870's.

While comparisons to Kansas occupied the politicizers, Winnipeg conditions were more or less peaceful after March 4. Canadian buildings and property were under the protection of the Provisional Government. (See Page 112, Map 3-1). Schultz was nowhere to be seen and was, in fact, otherwise preoccupied in escaping to the East. Packages and mail continued to arrive for him as they had since 1860<sup>21</sup> but he had left his Western interests unattended while he laboured to reacquire his preeminent role by arousing Ontario.

Had Schultz had his own way prior to 1870, an unelected form of Government would have allowed people like him to ingratiate themselves with the newly-appointed rulers. In the process, it also would have enabled them to enrich themselves. Such a Government would have permitted "important people like him to be considered for important positions in the management of the affairs of the area."<sup>22</sup> Minor business deals, such as printing contracts for the Diocese of Rupert's Land which paid a mere £5/11/0 were not what he had in mind.<sup>23</sup> The personal

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<sup>21</sup> Nor'Wester, Tuesday, August 28, 1860. This is the first time that Schultz has packages delivered. One package of merchandise arrives on the Anson Northup, Red River, August 18, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> Dale Gibson, Harvey Cameron and Lee Gibson, Attorney For the Frontier: Enos Stutsman (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1983), p. 103. Also in Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, February 24, 1869 (Cambridge England: J. Palmer, 1869), CIHM # 30097, p. 68.

character of the man required much more and it was his nature to appear as a paradox to the people around him. To those who knew him as the "great patriot," he was a "champion of popular rights;" to those who disliked him he was a "selfish and unscrupulous adventurer;"<sup>24</sup> to the Métis he was the "devil unleashed."<sup>25</sup> Whatever people thought of him he remained a most ambitious man. The appointment as Sheriff under McDougall, which, it was rumoured, was his for the taking, would probably not have satisfied him for long.<sup>26</sup> His real purpose was to be instrumental in establishing a community in which the principles of a society he understood to be superior could be predominant. Such a regime would also allow for the satisfaction of his personal ambitions. However, in the spring of 1870 he found himself faced with an intolerable situation. Half-Breed people were establishing a community around Red River in which he had no role to play. Therefore he would turn to "other means" to reacquire the part in the Settlement which he saw as his due. He would also do his best to make it appear that, when the "armed settlers" arrived, it would look like he had organized them and brought them to the North-West to save the country from tyranny.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> Mary V. Jordan, To Louis From Your Sister Who Loves You: Sara Riel (Toronto, Ontario: Griffin House, 1974), p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: 76.

<sup>27</sup> MacFarlane, "Law-Abiding Rebel," p. 21.

It would seem that John Christian Schultz perceived himself as the central connection between Canada First, with dreams of a glorious Western empire, and the politicizers, who still had personal dreams which were much more mundane. In the process of carrying out his ambitions he would succeed in making his arch-enemy, Louis Riel, into an historical figure who would be remembered for decades to come. At the same time, Schultz would guarantee that his personal reputation would not long outlive him.<sup>28</sup>

While William da Gomez Fonseca arranged the transshipment of McDougall's furniture and belongings to Ontario and Mair in Perth pondered the future, all the while petitioning Ottawa to pay off his Western bills, Schultz himself headed directly for Toronto and the man he knew could help in re-establishing Canadian dominance in Rupert's Land.<sup>29</sup> The individual sought by Schultz was George T. Denison, a person who had led a rather checkered career in the Canadian militia. Cursed with an overblown sense of his importance to the Canadian military establishment, Denison had never quite managed to satisfy his personal ambitions.<sup>30</sup> Earlier, in 1864, he had been involved

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<sup>28</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 479.

<sup>29</sup> PAC, RG6, C2, Volume 350, Secretary of State For the Provinces, Letterbook, 1870, Joseph Howe to Charles Mair, June 1, 1870.

<sup>30</sup> A reading of Struggle and Soldiering, already cited, indicates that Denison was not well-liked by other military persons in Canada for the reasons mentioned.

in an attempt to supply the Confederate States of America with arms and ammunition by smuggling them on board his steamer "Georgian." He had also had hopes that this vessel could be useful in ramming and sinking American shipping on the Great Lakes.<sup>31</sup> It would seem that he was an individual who believed in direct action in support of his schemes. In addition, he was not squeamish about using violence to further his ends. His personal views included the idea that Canada could only come to maturity once it had experienced "a rattling war with the United States" . . . a war in which "the men of the North [would] be able to teach the Yankees that we [are] the dominant race."<sup>32</sup> He also thought that "the duty of Canadians to Canada . . . ought properly to be . . . a product of a violent struggle for political existence."<sup>33</sup>

Denison's opinions were the product of his military upbringing and personal inclinations and experiences. He had,

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<sup>31</sup> "The Petition of George Taylor Denison Jr. To The Honorable The House of Assembly Praying Redress In The Matter of the Seizure of the Steamer "Georgian" (Toronto, Ontario: Leader and Patriot Steam Press, 1865), No Pagination. Also in Canada, PAC, Department of the Secretary of State, Correspondence Relating to the Fenian Invasions (Ottawa: June 14, 1869). Denison bought the boat in 1864 and it was seized by Canadian officials in April of that year in Collingwood harbour.

<sup>32</sup> David P. Gagan, "The Relevance of 'Canada First,' Journal Of Canadian Studies, 5, 4, (November 1970): 36-44, p. 38. Quote taken from the Mair Papers, Queens University, Denison to Mair, March 10 and June 8, 1869.

<sup>33</sup> Gagan, "Relevance," p. 39. From the manuscript of The Struggle for Imperial Unity, in PAC, Denison Papers, P. 43.



for some years, been interested in military matters. In 1861 he had been the President of the Upper Canadian Rifle Association which, at the time, had been engaged in a dispute with Colonel Jarvis' Canadian Rifle Association.<sup>34</sup> The dispute, which involved competing jurisdictions, was eventually solved and Jarvis and Denison went on to become good friends.<sup>35</sup> However, such connections meant that he was well-versed in the capabilities and political leanings of the officers who commanded most of the major militia units in Ontario and Quebec. As a Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia himself, he was also privy to the internal workings of the military in Canada, knowledge which would be useful when the time came to organize the composition of the RREF. In addition, Denison's analysis of Canada's difficulties with the Métis were typical of the man. He saw Canada's failure as a combination of: the indifference of Ontario to the plight of McDougall, the HBC acting in collusion with Riel, the hostility of French Catholic priests to Canada, St. Paul's eagerness to annex the Northwest, and (finally and most importantly) the official Government position for the failure which was that the Canadians had

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<sup>34</sup> The same Colonel Jarvis who was later to command the RREF in Winnipeg.

<sup>35</sup> History And Proceedings of the Upper Canadian Rifle Association and the Rules of the Association Together With A List of the Officers For 1861 (Toronto, Ontario: Leader and Patriot Steam Press Printers, 1861), CIHM # 55508, No Pagination.

been overly indiscreet and aggressive at Fort Garry.<sup>36</sup>

For his part, Denison did not think that the Canadians had acted in a reprehensible manner despite the official reason for the failure and he firmly believed that only incompetence and trickery on the part of others had caused the territory to be lost in the first place. His solution for the obstacle presented by the Métis success was simplicity itself: "Canada must have the country - if not by peaceable adjustment in England, then in any way it can be got."<sup>37</sup> If asked, he knew exactly how he would go about rectifying the failure.

Denison's solution included his involvement in a movement, which though few in numbers, was strong in spirit and inclined towards grandiose ideas and racist hostility. Norman Shrive in writing about Charles Mair, an early member of Denison's group, has described it as it was in 1870:

Their Upper Canadian provincialism, their aggressive sense of superiority, their self-indulgent concern for their own unrecognized merit, their inclination towards the melo-dramatic - all are reflected in the action they took almost immediately after the return of Mair and his fellow 'loyalists' to Ontario.<sup>38</sup>

For Denison and his fellow Canada Firsters the death of Scott was seen as a "call to arms" which they were ready to answer.

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<sup>36</sup> Denison, Struggle, pp. 19-20.

<sup>37</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, p. 84. Charles Mair, describing Denison's opinion about the North-West.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

As one of their number, William A. Foster, had romantically intoned:

There are times when the sluggish pulse is quickened into activity; when the heart throbs with sympathy the most intense; when all that is human within us asserts unwonted supremacy . . . Such a time it was [Foster's emphasis] when the news of the butchery of young Scott at Fort Garry fell upon our ears, thrilling every nerve, and crowding the hot blood into our hearts. Humble though his position was - yet he was a Canadian; his mental gifts may have been few - yet he died for us.<sup>39</sup>

In Canada First's eyes, at least, the knowledge that official Canada could not be counted upon to act in the way that the movement wished, implied a need for immediate and drastic action. "The political machine must have a motive power"<sup>40</sup> was a dictum which Denison and the others accepted, and they were quite prepared to be that power if necessary. Additionally, they were not generally recognized as an organized public movement. Their tendency to keep their meetings private and to depend upon personal influence to affect policy changes meant that the only time they were visible publicly was when they were taking a stance on some issue or other. Moreover, in such instances they usually acted as individuals and not as Canada First. Who, then, made up the Canada First movement, what were their objectives and, more importantly, what did they have to do with Schultz and the failed politicizers of

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<sup>39</sup> W.A. Foster, Canada First; Or Our New Nationality, An Address (Toronto, Ontario: Adam, Stevenson and Company, 1871), CIHM # 23717, pp. 32-33.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

the North-West?

Canada First had its beginnings in the association of five young men in the spring of 1868.<sup>41</sup> Their average age was 28, they were all college men, all were born in British North America and three of them were trained in law. They held to the belief that Canada possessed a manifest destiny with respect to the North-West. Their association had begun when George T. Denison met Henry J. Morgan, civil servant and journalist, while Morgan was secretary to William McDougall. Morgan later introduced Denison to the poet Charles Mair who also worked for McDougall. Denison then brought in William A. Foster, a lawyer; Robert Grant Haliburton, a coal mine owner; and Father Dawson, a Catholic priest who did not remain involved in the movement for very long. His sole contribution was a letter which he later wrote introducing Charles Mair to Archbishop Taché in Red River.<sup>42</sup> John Christian Schultz was added in 1869 while on his bi-annual business trip to Ontario. Denison, Haliburton and Foster, "warmly welcomed him into [their] ranks and he became "the sixth member."<sup>43</sup>

John Schultz was invited to join Canada First because he was acknowledged by other members of the group as the "leading

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<sup>41</sup> Berger, Sense Of Power, p. 49. All information in this paragraph on Canada First is taken from this source.

<sup>42</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: 73-74.

<sup>43</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 15.

man in the North-West"<sup>44</sup> and because of the recommendations of Mair and McDougall who both knew him prior to 1869. Later members of Canada First would be George Kingsmill, the editor of the Toronto Daily Telegraph, James D. Edgar, Doctor William Caniff, Richard Graeham, Hugh Scott (Thomas Scott's brother), and Joseph McDougall (William McDougall's brother). These men would bring the total numbers in the group to twelve, and thereafter they styled themselves the "twelve apostles."<sup>45</sup> Two other persons were associated with them some time afterwards: Thomas Walmsley and George M. Rae.<sup>46</sup> The group itself, however, was not publicly known as the Canada First movement until much later.

On the surface, they appeared to be young men who met regularly to discuss literature and politics and to consume rather large quantities of port and brandy.<sup>47</sup> They kept their plans to themselves and counted on their connections in government and society to promulgate the policies they determined were necessary for the advancement of Ontario and their particular brand of imperialism. In essence, they were

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, p. 107 in footnote. The name, Canada First, did not come into use until their work for the North-West was almost over. J.D. Edgar suggested the name later and it stuck. Recorded in Denison, Struggle, pp. 49-50.

<sup>46</sup> Denison, Struggle, pp. 19-20.

<sup>47</sup> The admission of their drinking habits is mentioned by Mair, Denison and most of the others involved. Shrive and Denison works, already cited, are examples of these.

admitted Canadian expansionists whose superior attitude towards the "lesser" races implied that they would tolerate little or no opposition from what they perceived as militant Half-Breeds. One among them, Denison, was already experienced at using violent methods to further his causes, and it could be expected that he would do so again.

The movement's vision inevitably included the North-West which the members of the group saw as ultimately necessary if Canada was to have anything other than a brief existence as a nation state. In fact, Charles Mair saw Portage la Prairie as the door,

the narrow entrance through which [would] flow the unspeakable blessings of free Government and civilization [into] the larger and lovelier Canada the path of empire and the garden of the world." [Mair as quoted in the Weekly Globe, June 4, 1869].<sup>48</sup>

Another member of Canada First, Haliburton, remarked that he was

. . . very glad to hear such good accounts of the resources and fertility of the great North-West. When filled up with a loyal population and a prosperous one, I have every confidence that in time it would prove a great source of strength to the Dominion and together we men of the North will be able to teach the Yankees that we will be as our ancestors always have been, the dominant race. We must send up Canadians to take possession of the country but roads must be built at once.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Berger, Sense Of Power, p. 56. Taken from the Mair Papers, Denison to Mair, April 22, 1869.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Denison to Mair, March 10, 1869.

Charles Mair, as the first connection between Schultz and the movement, tended to ignore any negative comments about the latter individual and instead saw him as the "avant-coureur" and agent in Red River of his own theories, those of the Minister of Public Works, McDougall, and of the Canadian Government itself.<sup>50</sup> Mair also demonstrated in his own Western experiences the power that the relationships inherent in the movement and its social and political connections could have in arranging things to suit themselves.<sup>51</sup> Young, visionary, ethnocentric, and imbued with an active sense of real-politik, the members of the Canada First Movement in 1870 acted on the kind of imperial thinking inclined to make them arch-enemies of the Métis.

Canada First's rescue of Ontario and politicizer ambitions began shortly after the February 1870 disbanding of Canadian supporters in Red River. Canadian failure to take the Fort away from the Métis left Schultz and his comrades with no other alternative but to seek the force necessary to achieve their ends, in Ontario. Given the mostly venal explanations for Canadian animosities toward the Métis, not much could be expected from Ontario. However, the death of

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<sup>50</sup> F.N. Shrive, "Poet and Politics: Charles Mair at Red River," Canadian Literature, 17 (Summer 1963): 6-21, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. William Foster arranged with Brown of The Globe for Mair to be a correspondent and advocate of the Western policy which Brown had in common with McDougall and the members of Canada First.

Scott changed everything. His martyrdom was something which could be played like a well-tuned instrument by those who were sufficiently aware of the possibilities inherent in such political actions. As Schultz travelled East with Joseph Monkman and George Duncan McVicar and Mair with J.J. Setter, Colonel Denison set the stage for the "refugees" impending arrival in Toronto.<sup>52</sup> Meetings were organized and, by the time Schultz arrived in Ontario on March 31, 1870, indignation gatherings were already taking place. They were planned to be public, well-attended and of a decidedly violent nature, with the avowed purpose of stirring up sufficient sentiment to permit the assembling of "armed settlers" for a definitive strike on the Métis.<sup>53</sup> Canada First organized these meetings by using its extensive connections in the Orange Order, the militia and the federal and local governments. The movement's long-term goal was to equip and ship to the West a force composed of the right kind of people who would remove the stain of Métis success from the escutcheon of Ontario's expansionist ambitions. The movement's actions would inevitably collide with official Canadian reluctance to act in such a violent manner, despite unpublicized Government plans for just such a solution.

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<sup>52</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 247.

<sup>53</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 22.



The challenge in April of 1870, was how to change the popular view of Canadian expansionists in Ontario. The people of Ontario generally shared the official view that the Canadians were largely to blame for their own misfortunes and that they had wrongly advised McDougall who, in turn, had acted in a most indiscreet manner.<sup>54</sup> In fact, the general apathy toward Canadian losses in Rupert's Land placed Denison in a quandary until the death of Scott was announced and, as luck would have it, the news of Schultz's and the other refugees' arrival in Ontario on March 31st. On April 2nd a meeting was held among a select few from Canada First to plan for Schultz's imminent arrival in Toronto. Denison became very angry at the meeting when the official position was presented as an explanation for the failure of the transfer. He proceeded to change the goal of the meeting (originally set to organize a reception for the refugees), to permit the planning of an open indignation meeting in Toronto.<sup>55</sup> Denison later admitted that from the 2nd to the 6th of April, 1870, he was "busily engaged in asking our friends to attend the meeting," planned for April 7th at St. Lawrence's Hall in Toronto. Eventually, Canada First would claim that 10,000 people would show up which would result in the meeting being forced out

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<sup>54</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 134-139.

<sup>55</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 31. Alexander McNabb, Toronto Police Magistrate, issued the first warrant for the arrest of the North-West delegates, Ritchot and Scott. He was related to John McNabb, a participant at this secret meeting.

of the overcrowded hall into the nearby Market Square. After April 7th and the spread of other meetings, "public feeling was aroused, and we then knew that we would have Ontario at our backs."<sup>56</sup>

Officially the April 7th meeting was organized, as Reverend Young recalled:

To urge upon the Government the importance of prompt action for the relief of the loyal Canadians suffering from the tyranny of Riel . . . to press upon the Government the necessity of immediate and decisive action to suppress the insurrection in Red River, and annex the country to Canada.<sup>57</sup>

It was held amid a backdrop of ever increasing agitation by Canada First which was designed to convince Macdonald's Cabinet to take their lead from the public outcry. Even Hugh Scott became involved in the attempt to influence Government to take a more radical stance.

Toronto, April 6, 1870.

Sir.

As there are those in your cabinet who still doubt the correctness of my brother's execution I feel it my duty to inform you that I have received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Young Wesleyan [sic] Methodist minister at Fort Garry and who was with my brother to the last giving full particulars of the atrocious murder. I have had the letter published in the Toronto papers which I hope will set at rest all doubting on the matter.

It is of no use for me at this time to give expression to my feelings on the subject. Suffice it to say that my brother was a very quiet and inoffensive young man, but yet where principle and loyalty to his Queen and Country was at stake a thoroughly brave and loyal man, for this cause he lost his life and for this cause I trust your Government will leave nothing undone to meet

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-27.

<sup>57</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, pp. 145-146.

[sic] out the punishment due these rebels and murderers. If not his blood I shall require at their hands. Your humble and loyal servant, Hugh Scott, 38 Temperance St. Toronto. (Signed).<sup>58</sup>

Previous to the April 7th indignation meeting, there was another behind-the-scenes meeting between Colonel Durie, Commander of the Military Forces in Toronto, and Denison.<sup>59</sup> Canada First had heard of Georges-Etienne Cartier's and Archbishop Taché's impending arrival in Toronto and the planned Guard of Honour called up to greet them. Lieutenant-Colonel Boxall, of the 10th Royal Regiment, claimed, when asked to form this Guard, that he had other business that evening in the vicinity of the Train Station where Cartier and Taché were to arrive that made it impossible for him to be on duty in uniform. It would seem that Boxall had plans to be a participant in the demonstration devised by Canada First to greet Cartier and Taché's arrival by train in Toronto. Once Boxall had informed Denison of the proposed Honour Guard, the latter then went to Colonel Durie and threatened to take possession of the Armoury that very night and to have ten men for every one that Durie could muster. Denison intimated that

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<sup>58</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 102, Correspondence relating to the North West Rebellion, 1869-1870, Hugh Scott to John A. Macdonald, Toronto, April 6, 1870. It should be noted that Hugh Scott later became insane. See Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 139. Is it possible that this was caused by anguish over Thomas' death or did mental problems run in the family? It should be remembered that Thomas acted in a somewhat irrational manner while a prisoner of the Métis.

<sup>59</sup> Denison, Struggle, pp. 35-37.

if "anyone in Toronto wanted to fight it out, [he was] ready to fight it out in the streets."<sup>60</sup> Faced with such a flagrant denial of duty, Durie answered that what Denison was threatening sounded very much like revolution. In turn, Denison replied that he was quite aware of what he was threatening and "that a half-continent is at stake, and it is a stake worth fighting for."<sup>61</sup>

The ensuing indignation meeting, with the active and often violent support of the Orange Order,<sup>62</sup> took place as planned. At the gathering, Denison made sure that his ideas about potential expansion into the North-West were put forward.<sup>63</sup> One of his compatriots, Toronto Mayor S.B. Harmon, addressed the crowd in stirring tones:

Those gallant men who stood up for British supremacy in Red River . . . would live in History, and be handed down side by side with those who led the gallant charge at Balaclava to uphold the dignity of Britain against the greatest odds that could be brought against them . . . the same power which had been able to make itself felt at Lucknow and Delhi would be sufficient to put down that miserable creature who attempts to usurp authority at Fort Garry, and establish again the supremacy and glory

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> A particularly violent group of the Orange Order, the Young Britons, were at Denison's disposal. They are described in Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1882, (Toronto, Ontario; University of Toronto Press, 1980).

<sup>63</sup> Denison was insisting on punishment for the rebels and no suggestion of amnesty for anyone or else an armed immigration would occur. In Denison, Struggle, pp. 35-37, and Toronto Telegraph, July 23, 1870.

of the British flag . . . with a strong trust in Him who said 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.'<sup>64</sup>

After John James Setter, another Red River "refugee" had demanded punishment for Riel and Charles Mair had followed with a lacklustre eulogy about the North-West, Schultz spoke with more forceful words, explaining that:

It was from Ontario this movement to add Red River to the Dominion commenced; it was in Ontario this expression of indignation was expressed; and it was to Ontario the Territory properly belonged.<sup>65</sup>

Canada First was adamant that the mood of the crowd would reflect its own.

Schultz, Foster, Denison and the other Canada First members met privately on April 7th, after the meeting, and again on the 8th, to decide how to utilize the newly-fired mood of Ontario.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, Schultz and Doctor Lynch, who had joined the latter in Toronto on April 6, 1870, were presented with engraved shotguns at the April 7th indignation meeting. Joseph Monkman, who was present with Schultz, was left to ponder how to get a number of clay pipes, entrusted to him as gifts for the Indians, back to the North-West.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 134-139.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Box 22, Scrapbook, Notes and Newspaper Clippings, 1870. Note that Monkman, a Half-Breed, received pipes intended for someone else while Schultz and Lynch were given somewhat better gifts. Even in gratitude the Canadians were still aware of the "proper" role for the "lesser races."

In the meantime, the Canadian Cabinet, worried over what such vociferous anti-French feelings would do for Tory votes in Quebec, tried its best to keep the violence factor under control. Denison, after a private talk with Sir John Young, later Lord Lisgar, decided to use the McNabb connection to force the arrest of Scott and Ritchot. The plan, as it was conceived, was to get Alexander McNabb a relative of John McNabb and a close supporter of Denison's, to issue an arrest warrant for the delegates from Red River, using Alexander's position as a Toronto police Magistrate to facilitate the paperwork.<sup>68</sup> As a result, Denison indirectly precipitated the resumption of the negotiations which would later result in the Manitoba Act.<sup>69</sup>

It appeared that Canada First, faced with seemingly insurmountable difficulties, had not quite managed to carry out its agenda. Having failed to stop the delegates from being received, albeit half-heartedly by Government in the first place, the members had then turned to Sir John Young, the Governor-General, but that imperial official was also unwilling to satisfy them. They apparently convinced Hugh Scott to swear out a warrant before Magistrate McNabb against the delegates who were promptly arrested but just as quickly

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<sup>68</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 31. Magistrate Alexander McNabb was related to John McNabb a close supporter of Denison's.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-37. Delegates arrest reported in the Globe, April 7, 1870.

released. The warrant ploy was then tried again, and again it failed to achieve its objective. By late April of 1870, thwarted at every turn by official reticence, Canada First became convinced that the only way to regain lost glories in the North-West lay in the sending of a punitive expedition to the West as soon as possible. Since Canada was already planning some kind of force to "show the Flag" in her soon-to-be newly-acquired domain, it seemed possible that the purpose and composition of the proposed force could be subverted to achieve Canada First's objectives.<sup>70</sup> At the same time they began to recommend to official Canada that Lieutenant-Colonel Garnet Wolseley, a close confidant of George T. Denison's, was the only person suitable to command.<sup>71</sup>

It later appeared that Wolseley and Denison were meeting privately on a regular basis, both before and after Wolseley's appointment as Commander.<sup>72</sup> In fact, it was during one of these clandestine meetings that Denison declined to accompany Wolseley and offered instead to remain behind to "guard the rear" since he, Denison, expected official treachery from Ottawa.<sup>73</sup> The original Commander proposed by Cabinet had

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<sup>70</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, pp. 111-112. Also in Denison, Struggle, pp. 37-38.

<sup>71</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 33.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Denison, Soldiering, pp. 174, 176, 179.

probably been Colonel Robertson-Ross<sup>74</sup> but the agitation of Canada First succeeded and Wolseley was duly appointed to command the RREF.<sup>75</sup> The movement successfully used its connections in Toronto society, the militia (through Denison) and the spate of indignation meetings which were still occurring throughout Ontario to achieve the desired result.

Rumours abounded that the RREF itself might be recalled as soon as it arrived in Red River, or worse still, as far as Denison was concerned, it might even be recalled before reaching Red River. It was also conceivable that the Force would not be necessary, given the status of the negotiations underway between Red River delegates and the Federal Government. Whatever the source of the rumours, they rankled the members of Canada First. As Denison later noted, a motion was passed at the time, which dealt directly with the threat of recall:

Resolved, [By Schultz] in view of the proposed amnesty to Riel, and withdrawal of the expedition, this meeting declares: That the Dominion must and shall have the North-West Territory in fact, [his italics] as well as in name, and if our government, through weakness or treachery, can not or will not protect our citizens in it and recall[s] our volunteers, it will then become the duty of the people of Ontario, to organize a scheme of armed emigration, [his italics], in order that those Canadians who have been driven from their homes may be reinstated, and that with the many who desire to

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<sup>74</sup> At the time he was Officer Commanding the Militia in Canada.

<sup>75</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 320. Also quoted in Denison, Struggle, and the Ottawa Times of April 7, 1870.



settle in new fields, they may have a sure guarantee against the repetition of such outrages as have disgraced our country in the past; that the majesty of the law may be vindicated against all criminals, no matter by whom instigated or by whom protected; and that we may never again see the flag of our ancestors trampled in the dust, or a foreign emblem flaunting itself in any part of our broad Dominion.<sup>76</sup>

The news about the possible recall of the RREF, combined with McDougall's comment that the French element in the North-West was about to be given "full reign" in the new Province, further served to stir up already rampant Canada First agitation.<sup>77</sup> The Cabinet's original intention, according to McDougall who was no longer privy to Cabinet decisions, had been not to send out any force but, when compelled to do so by the public outcry from Ontario, it had then decided to send an expedition but to recall it as soon as possible.<sup>78</sup> Such a course might have been the official plan but it took a very different turn once news of a possible recall of the RREF became known to Canada First.

With the RREF well on its way by early May, an unfortunate slip of the tongue in front of Robert Grant Haliburton of the Canada First movement by Sir John Young, then Governor-General of Canada, changed any plans the Canadian Government

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<sup>76</sup> George T. Denison, "Sir John Schultz and the Canada First Party," The Canadian Magazine, 8, 1 (November 1896): 16-23, pp. 20-21.

<sup>77</sup> McDougall, Red River Rebellion, p. 49.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

may have had about bringing the Force back to Ontario. Young's casual remark that the Cabinet intended to order the troops to return before they could get to the West and to issue an amnesty for all concerned in the events of the past winter, resulted in Haliburton sending a "timely telegram" to Denison who immediately took steps to prevent such an occurrence.<sup>79</sup>

The resulting meetings that were called in and around Toronto had one simple message for Cabinet: keep the troops in Red River or armed settlers would take their place. As Denison later recalled:

The threat of organizing a scheme of armed emigration must have opened the eyes of them both, [Cartier and Macdonald] for a similar scheme had been successfully worked in Texas and Kansas and had been shown to be practicable. [My emphasis] I was then, and have been ever since, very thankful that I refused the tempting offers of both Colonel Wolseley and the Hon. George Brown, and remained at home to help to guard the rear, where I expected the real attack would come.<sup>80</sup>

The doubt that the Government would carry through with the force and its objectives was something which rankled Denison and did much to explain why a man who had sought every opportunity to exercise his military prowess did not accompany the RREF and Wolseley. As Denison himself explained it:

I should have liked immensely to have taken part in the expedition, but we were doubtful of the good faith of the Government, on account of the great influence of Sir George Cartier and the French

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<sup>79</sup> Henry James Morgan, ed., The Canadian Men And Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1898), p. 423.

<sup>80</sup> Denison, Soldiering, pp. 175-179.

Canadian Party, and the decided feeling which they had shown in favour of the rebels. We feared very much that there would be intrigues to betray or delay the expedition. I was confident that Colonel Wolseley's real difficulty would be in his rear, and not in front of him, and therefore I was determined to remain at home to guard the rear.<sup>81</sup>

In support of his decision to "guard the rear," Denison and the other Canada First members wrote letters, suggesting to the officers of the RREF whom they knew and trusted, that they take steps to interfere with any messengers which might be sent to delay the Force or to recall it.<sup>82</sup> It would appear that obedience to military orders was only to be adhered to so long as it suited the movement and did not hinder their particular plans. Canada First wanted its supporters in the RREF to have the opportunity to carry out the vengeance mission that they had assigned, especially in light of the Federal Government's apparent unwillingness to militarily remove the Métis from power in Red River. As one of the British Regular Officers involved in the Expedition later remarked:

The fitting out of General Wolseley's expedition, ordered in deference to public opinion among the English-speaking colonists, was delayed by the many official means which a government possesses, in the hope that the rebellion might be overcome by the smoother influences of diplomacy. And had not Sir Garnet Wolseley been a man in a thousand, whose energy and influence over his troops were marvellous, it was, I was told in Toronto, deliberately arranged that the new and talented Governor Archi-

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<sup>81</sup> Denison, Struggle, p. 34.

<sup>82</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: 328. Also in Denison, Soldiering, pp. 175-179, and Struggle, p. 34.

bald, should arrive by a different route through the United States, and succeed by velvet words ere the ruder remedy of bayonets should have a trial. The troops, however, beat the diplomatists by a neck.<sup>83</sup>

Since the movement did not trust Cabinet and especially Georges-Etienne Cartier to follow through with the Expedition, it began to arrange for reinforcements for the troops who were already on their way to Red River. Using Mair and Schultz as the connection, they began to agitate for an organization which was to be called the "The North-West Emigration Aid Society."<sup>84</sup> The association was formed, in Denison's words, because the movement needed:

To keep our party free from politics, and to cover our work, [so] we decided to have an organisation, called the North-West Emigration Aid Society, which we could use to give out statements to the public and to arrange for meetings etc., to push on our work.<sup>85</sup>

"The issue at stake in Red River was no less monumental than the conflict of free soil versus slavery, for it also hinged on . . . what institutions were to be . . . stamped upon the . . . West."<sup>86</sup> The Kansas scenario was being or-

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<sup>83</sup> Captain F. Duncan, Royal Artillery, Canada In 1871; Or Our Empire in The West, Lecture Delivered at the Russell Institution, London, England, January 22, 1872 (London, England: W. Mitchell and Company, 1872), CIHM # 7106, p. 24.

<sup>84</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. XXXI. Also in Owsram, Promise, p. 110, Footnote 38.

<sup>85</sup> Denison, Struggle, pp. 49-50.

<sup>86</sup> Berger, Sense Of Power, p. 57. The Kansas theme is also mentioned in Denison Soldiering, p. 179 and Struggle, p. 43.

ganized as the negotiations with the Métis were concluding and the troops were closing in on Red River. "Canada First had managed . . . to provide the political justification for an expeditionary force, [and to sustain] throughout May, June and July, Ontario's desire for revenge which justified the punitive mentality of Colonel Garnet Wolseley's troops."<sup>87</sup> Given its connections to the politicizers and its newly-established connections to the RREF and its Commander, it was not surprising that the members of Canada First were now preparing for a another wave of "armed settlers." The first attempt to acquire the west had proved futile and "other" methods would have to take over the drive for empire. These means would ensure Ontario's position in the North-West by guaranteeing that the right class of settler would follow the troops.

In fact, even as the RREF struggled through the bush and swamps of northern Lake Superior, Schultz and the other Canada Firsters were hard at work on the scheme to promote emigration to the North-West. Mair was in Lanark County, lecturing and organizing emigration as fast as he could arrange it. The Globe also became involved when it printed an advertisement on July 19, 1870, offering the opportunity for glorious adventure to those Ontarians who would decide to go West. The address which was enclosed and from which more information could be obtained was also conveniently located close to

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<sup>87</sup> Gagan, "Relevance," p. 38.

Mair's old home in Perth, Lanark County.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, J.D. Edgar, at the inaugural meeting of the North-West Emigration Aid Society stated that:

It was [our] duty to insure that the West was settled, by force if necessary, by a population liberal and intelligent, and in sympathy with the cultural traditions of Anglo Saxon, Protestant Ontario.<sup>89</sup>

In addition there were plans underway to collaborate with a newspaper in Red River once the troops and the volunteers had managed to settle there.<sup>90</sup> Not wishing to be outdone by the rest of the movement, William McDougall had joined the North-West Emigration Aid Society to help with its activities.<sup>91</sup> His objective, like that of the others, was to settle the North-West rapidly in order to make it British, both in racial character and institutions.<sup>92</sup> Canada First was far ahead of official Canada since the Order-in-Council that allowed Settlers-In-Advance-Of-Survey was not to be promulgated until

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<sup>88</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 280. Taken from The Globe, July 19, 1870.

<sup>89</sup> Gagan, "Relevance," p. 38. Also in The Globe, August 4, 1870. Statement of J.D. Edgar in his inaugural address to the NWEAS.

<sup>90</sup> Davidson, Louis Riel, Mentioned in several places. Davidson makes the connection between the NWEAS and the Manitoba News-Letter, run by Schultz and Stewart Mulvey, an RREF ensign.

<sup>91</sup> Second Circular of the North-West Emigration Society, Executive Committee (Toronto, Ontario: Ontario Hall, May 1871), p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Berger, Sense Of Power, p. 66.

May 26, 1871.<sup>93</sup> The fact remained, however, that in 1870 there were not enough Canadians in Red River to effectively displace the Métis, let alone ensure Canadian success in establishing the kind of institutions which Canada First thought necessary.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, the North-West Emigration Aid Society was to be used to supplement naturally-occurring Ontario emigration in tandem with the armed settlers already present in the RREF and to do so as quickly as possible. Canada First was unwilling to see the Métis succeed a second time as they had with the Manitoba Act. At the same time they were also seeking other avenues by which to guarantee success. Two of these were the establishment of institutions which the politicizers and Canada First extolled as the best means for permanently etching an Ontario image on the North-West: the Orange Lodge and the Masonic Fraternity.

The Orange Lodge was the largest organization in Canada during the 1860's with over one third of the adult male

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<sup>93</sup> PAC, RG2, Series I, Volume 47, Privy Council Minutes, May 26, 1871. Marks the first time Macdonald was back after one of his 'famous' bouts with alcohol. PAC, Ibid., Minutes, May 24 to June 13, 1871. The term "Settlers-In-Advance-of-Survey" is from Sprague, Canada and the Métis.

<sup>94</sup> W.D. Scott, "Immigration And Population," in Canada And Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions, vol. 7, Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press For the Publishers' Association of Canada, 1913), p. 519. Including the troops, it appeared that the Canadians were outnumbered by the Métis and other original settlers by almost ten to one in 1870.

Protestant population enrolled in its ranks.<sup>95</sup> At the time, Conservative Cabinets usually included some Orangemen who provided the link with the critical vote contained within the Orange Lodges themselves.<sup>96</sup> The particular Loyal Orange Lodge (LOL) introduced to Red River in 1870, unlike the rest of the Canadian Lodges in 1870, was established in the North-West by Canadians themselves rather than by immigrants from the United Kingdom as had been the case with the majority of Lodges up to that time.<sup>97</sup> Canada First had guaranteed the Orange presence in Manitoba by ensuring that Orangemen were well-represented among the Canadian volunteers who made up the RREF. In fact, an Ontario Orange leader, anxious to avenge Scott's death, had even offered Macdonald the services of four hundred Orangemen to take Fort Garry and, in the process, to shoot Riel.<sup>98</sup>

Despite official reluctance to avail themselves of this somewhat bloodthirsty offer, Orangemen were involved as part of the Force on its way to Red River. There they would begin their Orange activities within a fortnight of their arrival in the West and, within two years, would be able to boast of

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<sup>95</sup> C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>98</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Pp. 24729-24730, A. Wanser to Macdonald, April 14, 1870.



over two hundred active members and to reckon that the Lodge established in Red River was one of the biggest in the Dominion.<sup>99</sup> Their Oath of Initiation, current in 1869, was a good indication of their views of the people they were about to meet. It mentioned that no Orangeman could ever be a Catholic nor could he ever marry a Catholic or Papist or allow his children to be educated as Catholics and that he would forever be inimical to any enemy of Her Majesty.<sup>100</sup> They could never be particularly peaceful neighbours of the Catholic Métis. Nonetheless, through the instigation of Private Thomas Hickey of the RREF who happened to have LOL Warrant Number 1307 on his person, the volunteers proceeded to initiate Loyal Orange Lodge Number 1307 on September 18, 1870 on board Jessie McKenney's steamboat docked at Fort Garry.<sup>101</sup> John Christian Schultz, who was also reputed to be an Orangeman,<sup>102</sup> along with the members of the First Orange Lodge in Red River then proceeded to put into action the ideals which were held so

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<sup>99</sup> Morice, History of The Catholic Church, 2: 64.

<sup>100</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 120.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 58. A Warrant from an established Lodge was needed in order for any new Lodge to be initiated. The same applied to the Masons. The presence of the Warrant also indicated that the existence of the Lodge was planned for in advance.

<sup>102</sup> No evidence exists of Schultz's involvement as a member of the Lodge. However, he is usually described as an Orangeman by those who knew him at the time and it would be surprising if he was not an active member.

seriously by that body of men.<sup>103</sup> By 1888 there would be 24 Lodges in Manitoba and the Orange Lodge as a Manitoba institution would be well and truly established.<sup>104</sup> They would be there to care for others like themselves and to ensure that their philosophy was as firmly imprinted in the North-West as it was in Ontario. As the Annual Report of LOL 1307 for 1871 stated:

Already we are accomplishing a great amount of good for some of our Brethren from Ontario coming here, as we procured for them employment and pointed out for them the best lands and provided relief for others when penniless. We have surprised a great number of our Brethren coming here who never dreamed of such a thing as an Orange lodge in this priest-ridden country, but when they came and found sometimes a hundred members in our Lodge room it cheered their Orange hearts.<sup>105</sup>

Orangemen were also engaged in establishing a fund to erect an edifice in memory of Thomas Scott and, towards this end, had collected money from the entire Dominion. At the same time "the Order progressed as an essential accompaniment of the Protestant vanguard that secured the North-West for the

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<sup>103</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 58. Other members of LOL 1307 were; William Hickey, Albert Vanderwoort, Johnston Cooper, Robert Hinton, R.B. Albertson, W.D. Derry, William Fargey, William McKee, Robert Cullham, and Stewart Mulvey.

<sup>104</sup> R.S. Pennefather, The Orange And The Black: Documents in the History of the Orange Order, Ontario and The West, 1890-1940 (Toronto, Ontario: Orange And Black Publications, 1984), p. 13.

<sup>105</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 58. Annual report of LOL 1307 to Grand Lodge, Toronto, February 1871.

Dominion."<sup>106</sup> By 1890 there would be 50 lodges including one in Hartney, Manitoba, named after one of the original founders of LOL 1307, Stewart Mulvey.<sup>107</sup> "One flag, one language, one school, equal rights for all, special privileges for none;"<sup>108</sup> these were the watchwords with which the Orangemen greeted the peoples of the North-West. As a bulwark of colonial Protestantism<sup>109</sup> the Orange Lodge was a fact of life which was not benign in its view of the Métis peoples around Red River. Orangemen would not tolerate any form of social, economic or political activity which was not in keeping with their own political and social alignments.<sup>110</sup> To them, "the tenets and structure of Catholicism were threats, [to be] seen as the epitome of disloyalty and moral laxity."<sup>111</sup> Add their ethnocentrism and bigotry to the fact that they saw in the Métis the very people who had murdered poor Scott and it was easy to see that the future of Manitoba race relations was not promising.

The Masons, not as vitriolic in their pretensions as the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> HartCam Museum, Hartney Manitoba, Private Correspondence with Joanne Maffenbeier, Teacher and Resident of Hartney, Manitoba. Also from the Minute Book of Mulvey Lodge, Loyal Orange Lodge, # 1613, in the HartCam Museum, Hartney.

<sup>108</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 144.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

Orange Lodges, were still nearly as dangerous for the Métis because they represented the same cultural perceptions as the Orangemen. They had formed a network of over 246 active Masonic Lodges in Canada by 1870.<sup>112</sup> The particular Lodge that was established in Manitoba in 1870, at first named the Winnipeg Lodge, would later become known as Prince Rupert's Lodge # 240. As the Masons remembered the founders of Lodge #240 in 1975 they were:

[November 21, 1870] Robert Stewart Patterson, Chaplain to the forces; William Nassau Kennedy - Lieutenant; Mathew Coyne - Sergeant-Major; E. Armstrong - Quartermaster; D.M. Walker - Lieutenant; A.R. McDonald - Surgeon; James F.B. Morrice - Paymaster; Henry T. Champion and Norman J. Dingman (who later returned to the East) [Author's emphasis]. [All the above were members of the RREF]. [There was also] Lodge Manitoban #244, started up in 1871 [and] later changed to Lisgar, and Ancient Landmark, #288, started in 1872.<sup>113</sup>

The fact that the Masons saw themselves as leading the advance of Ontario into the "boundless" Prairies was most succinctly put by one of their number in 1871 when he rose to say that:

He was glad to be there because he could now see . . . a tract of country, infinitely more fair and beautiful than anything he had conceived could have existed in this Northern Land; [and he] hoped soon to know that these boundless prairies would be occupied by the sturdy, skilled, industrious, and

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<sup>112</sup> H. McEvoy, ed., The Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory (Toronto, Ontario: Robertson and Cook, Publishers, 1869), CIHM # 9142, pp. 709-712.

<sup>113</sup> Emmet, "One Hundred Years," p. 54.

upright Canadian farmers.<sup>114</sup>

Freemasonry was to have a major role to play among the institutions which Ontario brought to Manitoba to help remake the area into the image of Ontario. In its ranks were the elite of the new Province. They were there not only as Masons in their own right but to take advantage of the spirit of leadership which the Masons had traditionally held over the lower classes.<sup>115</sup> The elite were also aware that the power of the Orange Lodges and their Anglo-Saxon membership was often utilized by the Masons and upper-class Orangemen to secure control over the political framework of local society.<sup>116</sup> As the Orange Magazine, The Sentinel, reported on July 18, 1907: "It is important to remember that the sentiment of the west is identical with that of Ontario. The Western Provinces are young Ontarios."<sup>117</sup>

Masonic Temples and Orange Lodges in Red River, founded by the Ontarians chosen by Denison and his friends and associates, were only a small part of the aggravation that the Métis had to face after July 1870. The farmer/traders and the winterers might have won the first round with the Manitoba

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<sup>114</sup> William Douglas, Freemasonry in Manitoba; 1864-1925 (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Research Committee of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba A.F. and A.M., 1925), p. 71.

<sup>115</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 111.

<sup>116</sup> Hereward Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase (Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), p. 5.

<sup>117</sup> The Sentinel, July 18, 1907, p.1.

Act, but the next round remained to be fought. In the ensuing conflict, the members of the RREF would play the role of young Ontario soldiers destined to become the intimidators of the Métis and the avengers of the blood of Thomas Scott.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1870:

"SETTLERS IN BLUE SERGE"

It has long been assumed by too many historians that the Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF) of 1870 was a peace-keeping exercise dispatched to the North-West to assert Canadian sovereignty. It has further been assumed that most of the soldiers involved remained behind in the Red River Settlement area to become the foundations of a Western farming community. Such assumptions persist because they contain certain basic elements of truth. As early representatives of Canada's Armed Forces, the Expedition holds an honoured place in the annals of the Canadian military and, despite the apparent contradictions between its admitted public role and its more vindictive side, it has resisted a more than superficial examination of its composition and motives. The assumptions in themselves have usually been deemed to be sufficient when the need arose to describe the first Canadian troops in Manitoba. Even on the surface, however, it has not always been obvious what the RREF's real purposes were.

Members of the Wolseley Expedition did not develop good relations with the Métis peoples around Red River, but the resulting mutual dislike has often been explained as the result of the animosity of a few of their number for the murderers of Thomas Scott. In addition, their rowdy behaviour could be seen as an inevitable part of the frontier experience. After all, most soldiers stationed in frontier garrisons were not usually the most sensitive of men. What is most intriguing about them, however, is the fact that their



actions in coming to the North-West appear to have been guided by something other than peace-keeping. In other words, the members of Wolseley's military contingent did not have just one purpose in coming to Rupert's Land: some of them wanted to seek farms, some wanted to experience the adventure inherent in the exercise and others wanted to avenge Scott. A closer examination of the RREF should give us a clearer idea of who they were, why they came to the North-West, and what became of them in the process.

The beginnings of the Expedition are clouded in a haze of confusing and contradictory statements by various Cabinet members about its date of composition and intended purpose. Apparently, the idea of using military power to control the Métis was something which was discussed early in the process of transferring Rupert's Land to Canada. Early in January of 1870 John A. Macdonald remarked that the Canadians had

done their utmost to destroy our chance of an amicable settlement with those wild people, and now the probability is that our Commissioners will fail and that we must be left to the exhibition of force next spring.<sup>1</sup>

Whether the force that was contemplated at that early date bore any resemblance to the troops who were eventually sent West is not at all clear. What is apparent is that a decision to send an Expedition was taken well in advance of the execution of Scott and, therefore, the RREF should not be seen

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 134. Taken from PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 516, Macdonald to John Rose, January 3, 1870.

as a reaction merely to that unfortunate event. Furthermore, if the purpose had been to subdue the Métis militarily, it would have been specifically recruited, commissioned and sent West as soon as possible in order to carry out that particular mission. There was always, however, the nagging problem of Métis military prowess to take into consideration. The possibility of Métis resistance, as well as any long, drawn-out civil war which might result, would be the kind of development which Whitehall would tend to view with severe disapproval. Macdonald summarized his worries about the expedition's composition and purpose in an 1870 letter to Sir John Rose.

It may therefore be politic that the Expeditionary Force should be composed of regular troops altogether . . . accompanied by Canadian volunteers it would be a warlike demonstration and might make resistance. It will never do to leave the future government of the country to the mercy of these impulsive half-breeds and our object should be to get a force into the country as peaceably as possible. Once there they can easily be replaced by a Canadian Force.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the problems with the makeup of the troops, it is clear that an official decision was eventually taken to send out a peace-keeping force and to ignore the punitive inclinations which Ontario so eagerly sought. To ensure that the resultant Expedition did not get out of hand and massacre the locals, it was also decided that British troops were to be

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<sup>2</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 517, Letterbook 14, pp. 41-50, Macdonald to John Rose, March 11, 1870.

sent with it. Alexander Begg noted at the time, that there was a contradiction in the official and unofficial purposes of the RREF.

[The] presence of the Imperial troops became necessary to ensure that the force did not become a punitive expedition from Ontario. [However], the whole tone and temper of the expedition, indeed, from the commanding officer down, was hostile to the Métis and punitive in intent.<sup>3</sup>

As events developed, the contradictory purposes of Wolseley's expedition surfaced almost as soon as the word was released that a force was being contemplated: Was it to be a peace-keeping exercise or a punitive expedition? The resulting intrusion into its official purpose was a direct result of the public outcry and backroom machinations stirred up by the people of the Canada First movement and their politicizer co-workers in April 1870.<sup>4</sup> The difficulty between obeying official orders and giving in to personal inclinations, inherent in the RREF as a result of Canada First's interference, was further exacerbated by the immense distances that separated those who gave the orders from those who had to carry them out. Any possible resolution of the contradiction in purpose did not benefit from the public stance of those officers who were in favour of the punitive role. As Sir Redvers Buller indicated in a letter to his sister: "It did so disgust one, . . . to have come all this way for the band to play 'God Save

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<sup>3</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter Three.

the Queen."<sup>5</sup>

As a military unit, the RREF was similar to other Expeditionary Forces needed from time to time to quell some disturbance or other on the far-flung reaches of the Empire. One major difference was the inclusion of Canadian volunteers, included to impress the Americans and to control the overexuberant Canadians. The British contingent was composed of seven companies of the First Battalion of the 60th Rifles, twenty men of the Royal Artillery with seven of their four-pounder mountain guns, twenty men of the Royal Engineers and a smattering of the Hospital and Service Corps totalling four hundred souls in all.<sup>6</sup> However, the role of the British troops was to be pivotal, if shortlived. Their officers, with the exception of Lieutenant Butler who later authored a work about the Prairies,<sup>7</sup> did not remain long enough in Canada to be of any great importance in future Western events. For the record, the names of some of the British Officers were:

Commander:	Garnet Wolseley.
Colonel:	Fielden.
Captains:	Butler (not the author), Calderon, Dundas, Northey, Wallace, Ward, and Young.
Lieutenants:	Bingham, Hon. Burstall, Coulson, Davies, Frazer, Innes, Mitchell, Robinson, St. Maur, Hon. K. Turnour, and Wood.
Ensigns:	Archer, Holbech, and Riddell.
Adjutant:	Marsham.

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<sup>5</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, pp. 115-116. Taken from a letter, Sir Redvers Buller to Henrietta Buller, August 24, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 176. Also in the books which Alexander Begg wrote dealing with this period.

<sup>7</sup> The Great Lone Land, previously cited.

Ass't Surgeon: Doctor Oliver.  
Quarter Master: Toole.

Included with the Regiment were Lieutenant Alleyne, Royal Artillery; Lieutenant Heneage, Royal Engineers; Captain McCalmont, 9th Lancers; and Lieutenant Butler, 69th Regiment (Author of The Great Lone Land).<sup>8</sup>

Also present in the Expedition were 1000 volunteers raised in Ontario and Quebec, and designated as the 1st Ontario Battalion of Rifles and 2nd Quebec Battalion of Rifles, respectively.<sup>9</sup> Together with the 400 British Regulars, they made up the First RREF in its entirety.<sup>10</sup> But who were the officers and men of the Expeditionary Force? How did they come to be selected for service? And, what were the factors that defined them as a unit? An examination of how these particular men came to be members of the Red River Expeditions in the first place should begin the process of identification.

All of the officers and other ranks had been hand-picked for service in the North-West. The Military Districts in the East had selected and submitted lists of officers and men recommended for service in the North-West. The District lists were then sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel P. Jarvis at

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<sup>8</sup> Alexander Begg, Ten Years In Winnipeg. A Narration of the Principle Events in the History of the City of Winnipeg From The Year A.D. 1870 to the Year A.D. 1879 Inclusive (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Times Printing and Publishing House, 1879), CIHM # 30058, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> This total is taken from the Appendices which will be dealt with in detail later in this Chapter.

<sup>10</sup> There were Five Expeditions, 1870-1877. See Appendices II and III.

Militia Headquarters, Ottawa. Jarvis subsequently picked those officers and men whom he wanted from the submitted lists. His selections were then sent to Colonel Patrick Robertson-Ross, Adjutant General of Militia, who forwarded them to the Minister of Militia, who, in turn, brought them before Cabinet where the final list of officers was approved and posted in the Gazette.<sup>11</sup> (See Figure 4-1, Page 154).

The whole process of troop selection was fraught with the possibility of interference, especially at the Headquarters level. An examination of The Register of Officers for the period from 1867 to 1870 indicates that the officers posted to Headquarters in Ottawa during that period were as follows:

Patrick Robertson-Ross, Adjutant-General

Louis Adolphe Cassault  
Charles F. Houghton  
James D. Irving  
Henry V. Villiers<sup>12</sup>

Robert Britton Denison  
James G. Irvine  
Samuel P. Jarvis

Of the above, Jarvis, Cassault and Villiers were later to serve in the RREF while Robert Britton Denison was directly related to George T. Denison, the major force in Canada First and one individual who was determined to make the Expedition into a punitive mission against the Métis.<sup>13</sup> As the lists of

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<sup>11</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Red River Force, Organization of Red River Force 1870-1871, Organization File.

<sup>12</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 4, Volume 1, Militia and Defence, Registers and Lists of Officers 1867-1922, P. 1.

<sup>13</sup> See previous Chapter.

*Lt. Col. Jarvis' Copy*



Militia General Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS.

Ottawa, 12th May, 1870.

GENERAL ORDERS, (17).

No. 1.

ACTIVE MILITIA.

The formation, to date from 1st instant, of two Battalions of Riflemen, from existing corps of Active Militia, for service in the "North West" is hereby authorized, to be styled respectively, the First (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen, and the Second (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen, and the appointments thereto are as follows, viz:

1st (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen.

- To be Lieutenant Colonel: Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Peters Jarvis.
  - To be Major: Major Griffiths Wainwright.
  - To be Captains: Major Thomas Scott. Major Thomas Macklem. Major William Macaulay Herchmer. Captain William Smith. Captain Alexander R. Macdonald. Captain and Adjutant Henry Cooke. Captain Daniel Hunter McMillan.
  - To be Lieutenants: Captain and Adjutant Donald A. MacDonall. Captain David M. Walker. Captain and Adjutant William N. Kennedy. Captain Andrew McBride. Captain and Adjutant William J. McMurry. Captain Samuel Bruce Harman. Lieutenant James Benson.
  - To be Ensigns: Captain and Adjutant A. J. L. Peebles. Lieutenant Stewart Mulvey. Lieutenant Josiah Jones Bell. Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton. Lieutenant John Biggar. Lieutenant William Hill Nash. Ensign Hugh John Macdonald.
  - To be Paymaster: Captain J. F. B. Morrice.
  - To be Adjutant, with the Rank of Captain: Captain William James Baber Parsons.
  - To be Quarter Master: Quarter Master Edward Armstrong.
  - To be Surgeon: Surgeon Alfred Codd, M. D.
- 2nd (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen.
- To be Lieutenant Colonel: Lieutenant Colonel Louis Adolphe Casault.
  - To be Major: Major Acheson G. Irvine.
  - To be Captains: Lieutenant Colonel L. C. A. L. de Bellefeuille. Major Allan Macdonald. Major Jacques La Branche. Captain Samuel Macdonald. Captain Jean Baptiste Amyot. Captain John Fraser. Captain William John Barrett.
  - To be Lieutenants: Captain Josephus W. Vaughan. Captain John Price Fletcher. Captain Edward T. H. F. Patterson. Captain Maurice E. B. Duchesnay.

- Captain Henri Bouthillier.
  - Captain Leonidas de Salaberry.
  - Lieutenant Oscar Prevost.
- To be Ensigns: Captain Ed. S. Bernard. Captain John Allan. Lieutenant George Simard. Lieutenant Gabriel Louis Des George. Ensign Alphonse de Montemach Henri D'Eschamblault.
- Ensign William Wilmount Ross.
  - Ensign Alphonse Tétu.
- To be Paymaster: Lieutenant C. Auguste Laran.
- To be Adjutant, with the Rank of Captain: Major F. D. Gagnier.
- To be Quarter Master: Riding Master F. Villiers.
- To be Surgeon: F. L. A. Neilson, Esquire.

STAFF.

The following Staff appointments in connection with the Militia Corps for service in the North West are hereby made, viz: To be Assistant Brigade Major: Major James F. McLeod. To be Assistant Control Officer: Captain A. Peebles. To be Orderly Officer to the Officer in Command of Expeditionary Force: Lieutenant Frederick Charles Denison.

MEMORANDUM.—All the Officers appointed to the Force for Service in the "North West" will continue, while on that service, to retain the appointments in the Militia, with the rank and precedence therein, heretofore held by them.

No. 2.

The Officers and men of the Militia Force embodied for service in the North West, as soon as they are attested and enrolled, are hereby placed under the command of the Lieutenant General Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Canada.

No. 3.

The undernamed Officers are hereby appointed to perform the duties of those Staff Officers who are serving with the Corps organized for service in the North West, while so employed: Lt-Colonel A. Patterson, Brigade Major, 5th Brigade Division, No. 3 Military District, to act as Deputy Adjutant General of No. 3 Military District, during the absence of Lieutenant Colonel Jarvis, in command of a Battalion. Captain and Adjutant Hyter Reed, 14th Battalion, to act as Brigade Major, 6th Brigade Division, while Lt-Colonel Patterson is acting as Deputy Adjutant General of Militia. Lt-Colonel Audet, 4th Battalion, to act as Brigade Major, 6th Brigade Division, No. 6 Military District, during the absence on service with a Battalion, of Lieutenant-Colonel de Bellefeuille. Lieut-Colonel Panet, 9th Battalion, to act as Deputy Adjutant General of No. 7 Military District, during the absence of Lieut-Colonel Casault, in command of a Battalion. By Command of His Excellency the Governor General. P. ROBERTSON-ROSS, Colonel, Adjutant General of Militia, Canada.

OTTAWA.—Printed by GEORGE EDOUARD DESSARATS, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty

Figure 4-1: Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel P. Jarvis's Copy of the Official Gazette, May 12, 1870.

applications from the various Military Districts arrived at Headquarters in March and April of 1870 after the news of Scott's death became public knowledge,<sup>14</sup> Headquarters Staff busied themselves with the selection process. Of course, there is no proof that there was any direct connection between the Canada First Movement and the Headquarters Staff but, given the relationships evident between Jarvis and the Denisons (George T. and Robert B.), it would not be surprising that influence was brought to bear on the selection process itself. Operations at the Headquarters level lent themselves to what is euphemistically termed the "old boy's network:" Everyone knew everyone else and conversations in private could easily become the basis for public policy. It is probably through the Headquarters connection that Canada First was able to guarantee that a sufficiency of the right kind of settler was incorporated into the ranks of the volunteers, especially through the fraternal connections of the Denisons. In fact, George T. and Robert B. Denison probably had something to do with arranging a posting for Frederick C. Denison, another Denison family member, as an Orderly Officer in the 1st Battalion. Presumably he would be their personal guarantee that everything went as planned.

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<sup>14</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Vol. 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, Applications, Bounty Lands 1872-1873, Courts Martial, etc, 1870-1873.



One of the selections, however, proved unfortunate for the individual involved. Captain Francis B. Parsons, who was later to be discharged as insane, was actually refused a promotion in December of 1869 by Colonel Robertson-Ross but, despite the setback, he was then chosen to serve with the RREF by Jarvis.<sup>15</sup> In retrospect, it would have been better for Parsons if had he been promoted and kept in the East instead of being sent West. Nevertheless, his request was typical of the mass of petitions that arrived in Ottawa seeking a place in the volunteers. Letters from the various Districts and their Commanders came in steadily all through the Spring of 1870 literally begging, in some cases, for a posting.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Military Districts submitted lists of officers and men from their commands to become part of the Force. Most of the District lists are overwritten with notations, check marks and question marks, indicating that some form of selection process was used after the list was submitted.<sup>17</sup> Since the lists were sent to Headquarters, it must have been there that the final selection was made and that process would have involved the Staff already mentioned: Jarvis (George T.

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<sup>15</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 1, Volume 516, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Adjutant General's Office Correspondence, Robertson-Ross to George B. Parsons, December 13, 1869.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., Robertson-Ross, Adjutant-General, Militia, to Lt.Col. Taylor, Military District # 1, December 13, 1869.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Adjutant General's Office Correspondence and Headquarters Files, December 1869 to May 1870.

Denison's friend)<sup>18</sup>, Robert B. Denison (his brother), and the other senior officers, with the exception of Robertson-Ross who appears to have simply forwarded their selections to Cabinet for approval. It would have been strangely out of character if George T. Denison, a capable schemer, had not taken full advantage of such an obvious set of connections and had not interfered in the selection process.

In the matter of the personal requests, some of the officers even went so far as to list their previous military experiences, especially where they had to do with the suppression of rebels. George Wainwright's letter is typical of many like it.

PS. I may mention that altho' [sic] without experience in the Field, I have been under fire in a small half-naval action -taking a little fort from the Nicaraguan people in the Mesquitos Territory affair and under poor dear Sir William Peel (then a Commander) [Wainwright's emphasis] - some 22 years ago when Sir William paid me the compliment of telling me that I appeared to be enjoying myself pretty well.<sup>19</sup>

Other letters, besides containing glowing paeans of personal abilities and suitability to the task at hand, offered the services of others to aid in the successful completion of the

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<sup>18</sup> History and Proceedings, no pagination. Friendship between the two officers is indicated here and in Denison, Soldiering, and Struggle, various locations.

<sup>19</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, George Wainwright to Lt. Col. Jarvis April 15, 1870. Wainwright later served in the Force. In the same letter he mentions that he is fluent in French.

North-Western objective.<sup>20</sup> Among the standard types of requests, certain ones stand out, in that the individuals involved later proved to be notorious in the North-West for one reason or the other. William F. Buchanan, for example, who later was to threaten Riel's family, was recommended to serve as a Paymaster or Quarter Master in one of the letters and eventually, he was posted to the Expedition as a Quarter Master Sergeant.<sup>21</sup> In fact, he was one of the soldiers involved in moving the RREF West and was in Collingwood as early as May 6, 1870 arranging for transport.<sup>22</sup> Some of the other letters received by Jarvis came from individuals who had just returned from the North-West as "refugees" and who were now looking for a chance to return in a new capacity.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> PAC, RG6, C2, Volume 350, Secretary of State For the Provinces, Letterbook, 1870, J. Howe to John Denny, Russell House Ottawa, April 19, 1870. He offered the services of 100 Saugun Indians as boat and packmen.

<sup>21</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Applications, From Lt.Col. (Illegible), Deputy Adjutant-General, Military District # 4, to Adjutant-General of Militia, Brockville, April 20, 1870. Buchanan is one of the people who invaded Riel's house in 1871. He was reputed to be the leader of the group. He was also a friend and confidant of Schultz's at the time.

<sup>22</sup> PAC, RG9, II F 3, Volume 1, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, Monthly Statements, General Accounts, 1870-1871, Voucher for Government Works in Fort William, May 6, 1870, signed by William F. Buchanan. Passage requested for 45 voyageurs, by 2nd class from Collingwood to Thunder Bay.

<sup>23</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Applications, William J. Allen to Lt.Col. Jarvis, Deputy Adjutant General Military District No. 3, April 21, 1870. In this letter William John Allen admits he has been in the West for the last 11 months.

Inevitably, the selections were decided upon and the organizational framework of the volunteer section of the Expeditionary Force was completed. As the Commander of the Militia, Colonel Robertson-Ross, reported to the Minister of Defence in April 1870, the Force was to be composed of

. . . 2 Battalions of 7 companies each of 50 non-commissioned Officers and men with one Captain and one Lieutenant to each company, to serve for at least one year and not for more than two. Staff should be 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Adjutant with the rank of Captain, 1 Paymaster, 1 Quarter Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Sergeant-Major, 1 Quarter Master Sergeant, 1 Hospital Sergeant, 1 Armourer Sergeant, 1 Paymaster Clerk, to make each battalion 375 men, including Officers, Staff Sergeants, Non-Commissioned Officers and men.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, two depot companies were set up to facilitate the movement of supplies for each Battalion. They were stationed, at first, in Quebec City for the 2nd Quebec Rifles and in Toronto for the 1st Ontario Rifles. Later, once the RREF was underway, they would be permanently moved to Collingwood.<sup>25</sup> The cost of the Expedition to the Canadian Government was \$14,342.61 a month for the payroll accounts for all officers

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<sup>24</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Rolls, States, Etc., Red River Force, 1870-1871, Organization of Red River Force, 1870-1871, Memorandum from Colonel P. Robertson-Ross to Minister of Militia and Defence, Ottawa April 15, 1870.

<sup>25</sup> PAC, RG2, II, Volume 2943, Privy Council Office Records, April 19, 1870 to June 22, 1870, Report and Recommendation of Colonel P. Robertson-Ross Adjutant General, to Privy Council May 20, 1870. Each Depot Company was to have 50 ranks with a Lieutenant and Ensign to fill out the numbers.

and ranks.<sup>26</sup> The latter figure, confirmed by the Paymaster in late 1870,<sup>27</sup> would partly account for the total amount of \$744,094.45 disposed of by Canada for all RREF accounts, as of March 1, 1871.<sup>28</sup> At such a high price it could be expected that Canada would get her money's worth from the service provided by the soldiers who served under Wolseley. However, before examining the quality of the service eventually rendered, it is necessary to determine exactly who the expensive settlers in blue serge actually were.

As Joseph Howe explained the official purpose of the troops to Archbishop Taché towards the end of May 1870:

The force now on its way to Manitoba by the Thunder Bay route, is commanded by an Imperial Officer, under the direct control of General Lindsay, [British Officer, Commanding British and Canadian Troops in Canada] and embraces a considerable number of the troops of her Majesty. It goes as an expedition of peace, to establish on a secure basis the authority of the Queen, and to restore confidence amongst all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, whose minds must have been much disturbed by recent events.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> PAC, RG9, II A, Volume 527, Minister of Militia And Defence, Adjutant General's Office, Letterbook of Deputy Minister, George Futvoye, Ottawa May 4, 1870 to Paymaster Alger, Toronto. \$7084.00 was for the Officers, leaving \$7,258.61 for the other ranks.

<sup>27</sup> PAC, RG9, II F 3, Volume 2, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, Expenditures of Supply Officer, 1873-1874, J.F.B. Morice, Paymaster Accounts for 1870, 1st Battalion Ontario Rifles.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., General Accounts, 1871, Account as of March 1, 1871.

<sup>29</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, p. 31. Joseph Howe to Taché, May 27, 1870.

If anyone in Red River was looking forward to the soldiers' arrival, it was certainly not the Métis, whose opinion of the Canadians was already well-known. As for the RREF itself, it was a poorly-equipped Expedition that was expected to traverse the great distance between Collingwood<sup>30</sup> and the Town of Winnipeg, minus most of the basic materiel necessary for a field campaign.<sup>31</sup> Among the equipment which was lacking were tents, not available as most of the force prepared to leave Western Ontario for the North-West.<sup>32</sup> Lacking shelter from the weather, the troops were guaranteed a long, cold voyage before they could reach their objective.

Despite the rather appalling lack of proper preparations suggested by the lack of materiel, the Commanding Officer apparently took the time to admire the beauties of the land he was passing through.

Notwithstanding the severity of its long winter, nature has been so bountiful to it in the fertility

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<sup>30</sup> Last railhead and harbour before the route to the North-West by way of Canada.

<sup>31</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 50, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, General Stores Reports, 1868-1874. Receipt from Captain Larue of 2nd Quebec Battalion of Rifles, Depot Company, Number 8, August 4, 1870. Each man received a grey overcoat, blue serge jacket, trousers and other clothing issue, a green rifle tunic, one Snider Short Rifle and bayonet, 3000 rounds of ammunition, and 500 rounds of blank ammunition. No use has ever been suggested for the latter.

<sup>32</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 50, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, General Stores, 1868-1874. Captain George Hughes to Commanding Officer, 1st Ontario Rifles, Thunder Bay, June 8, 1870. (The Fenian Invasion of 1866 should have left some proper equipment in stores for use in 1870, but such was not apparently the case).

of its soil, that it only wants a population and a railway connection with the sea-coast, to make it at no distant period the granary for our empire. [My emphasis].<sup>33</sup>

Besides the view, Wolseley was aware of the patronage system which Canadian politics had developed in the few short years since Confederation:<sup>34</sup> "When money is to be spent in Canada, the opportunity is seldom lost for furthering party objects."<sup>35</sup> Seemingly, the system itself easily explained the whereabouts of the mislaid tents. More importantly, however, Wolseley was aware that many people in Ontario, even some of those in Government, saw his small contingent as the only means left to control the Métis. He would, therefore, have known that his official purpose, showing the flag, was not what the greater part of Ontario intended he should eventually do.<sup>36</sup> Wolseley could not, however, know that his was to be the first of several such Expeditions which would arrive in

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<sup>33</sup> "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," Blackwood's Magazine, 108 (1870) and January to June 1871: Parts I, II, and Conclusion, p. 181. The author is usually acknowledged to be Wolseley himself. He probably wished to remain anonymous because of his negative statements about the civil government which were frowned upon by British Military authorities and the civil power itself.

<sup>34</sup> The system was in place long before Confederation and the contention can be made that it is an accepted fact of life in Canadian Politics to this day.

<sup>35</sup> "Narrative," pp. 56-57. Apparently Wolseley's personal arrangements for supplies were deliberately set aside in favour of arrangements made by politicians in support of their clients.

<sup>36</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 101A, pp. 40423-40433, Minute of Council, February 4, 1870.

the North-West over the next few years.

In all, there were to be five Expeditions: the RREF, August 24, 1870 to May, 1871; The Second Expedition of Volunteers in 1871 (renamed the Provisional Battalions of Rifles and Artillery); the Third Expedition in 1872; and two smaller replacement Forces, the Fourth and Fifth Expeditions in 1874 and 1876, respectively. Wosleley could also not know that the Forces would end their existence in August of 1877, and be replaced later by other Canadian militia units.<sup>37</sup>

In the meantime, the First Expeditionary Force had its work arranged for it. It was stationed, while in Manitoba, at Upper and Lower Fort Garry until the Osborne Barracks were completed in 1872.<sup>38</sup> The original plan, set in motion before the "Recall Crisis" in April of 1870 when it had seemed that the troops were to be recalled before they could arrive in the North-West,<sup>39</sup> had not justified the construction of permanent barracks. Apparently, the RREF was to remain on duty for only one year and then it was to return to Toronto to be disbanded.<sup>40</sup> However, events such as the Fenian Crisis in 1871

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<sup>37</sup> PAC, RG9, II B4, Volume 16, Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records. Adjutant General's Office and Headquarters, 1867-1922. Register and Lists of Officers, 1867-1922, Register of Service, Red River Rebellion, 1870-1877.

<sup>38</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 166.

<sup>39</sup> See previous Chapter.

<sup>40</sup> PAC, RG9, II F 3, Volume 1, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, General Accounts, 1871, Lt.-Col. S.P. Jarvis to Adjutant General of Militia, March 23, 1871. May of 1871 was supposedly the end of the force as most of the men except for



caused a change in plans and a Second Expedition was organized from the disbanded veterans of the First Expedition and two serving companies of the same unit whose tour of duty was extended.<sup>41</sup> The Second Force volunteers were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scott (no relation to the executed Scott) while they were on their way West. Once in Red River, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne-Smith took over Command of all militia units in Manitoba from Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel P. Jarvis, Wolseley's replacement, who was already in Red River. In fact, Jarvis, the same person involved in the selection process at Headquarters, had been the actual Commander for most of the First Expedition's tour of duty since Wolseley had spent just four days in total in Red River in August of 1870.<sup>42</sup> Jarvis' presence as Second-in-Command, further stresses the importance of the Headquarters Staff involvement in the selection process. The Second Expedition which had begun its recruiting on October 12, 1871, was on duty at Fort Garry by November 18, 1871.<sup>43</sup> As a result, the RREF in 1871

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80 were to be returned to Toronto.

<sup>41</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 519, Letterbook 16, p. 342, Macdonald to J.J. Burrows, August 17, 1871.

<sup>42</sup> Charles Stacey, "The Military Aspects of Canada's Winning of the West, 1870-1885," Canadian Historical Review, 21, 1 (March 1940): 1-24, p. 14. Wolseley remained in Red River from August 24 to August 28, 1870.

<sup>43</sup> C.F. Hamilton, "Defence, 1812-1912," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Canada And Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions, vol. 7 (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press for the Publisher's Association of Canada, 1913): 379-468, p. 424.

numbered just 291 Non-Commissioned Officers and ranks and 18 Officers, including the Expedition Commander, Lt.-Col. Osborne-Smith.<sup>44</sup> Later, when the 1st and 2nd Battalions were renamed the Provisional Battalions of Rifles and Artillery, Major Acheson G. Irvine took over as Battalion Commander in order to allow Osborne-Smith to assume the rank of Officer Commanding, Canadian Military District Number Ten.<sup>45</sup> The officers of the Second Force were:

Battalion Commander; Major Acheson G. Irvine.  
Captains; John P. Fletcher, William M. Herchmer, Allan McDonald, Thomas Scott.  
Lieutenants; William Nassau Kennedy, Oscar Prevost, Hayter Reed, George Simard.  
Ensigns; Herman Martineau, William H. Nash.  
Surgeon; Alfred Codd.

Included were Captain and Paymaster J.F.B. Morrice; Captain and Adjutant, C.F.D. Gagnier; and Quartermaster Edward Armstrong.<sup>46</sup>

In 1871, most Canadians in the Settlement, like the Reverend George Young, tended to view the Second Expedition as a reinforcement which was sent West so that the RREF would be able to deal with any "threats of raiders or insurrectionists that might require attention."<sup>47</sup> Later, Cabinet would come to the conclusion that the cost of maintaining troops in the

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<sup>44</sup> PAM, MG6, B5, Military District No. 10, Provisional Battalion of Canadian Light Infantry and Artillery, Journal of the Provisional Battalion of Rifles, 1871.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. District #10 included the Province of Manitoba and its environs at the time.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 226.

North-West was prohibitive and would decide to recall everyone involved and to disband them completely. However, in April of 1872, the Dominion Government reversed its previous decision and renewed the Expedition's mandate for one more year<sup>48</sup> resulting in a further 184 Riflemen and 25 Artillerymen from the Garrison of Artillery at Quebec City being added to the nominal rolls. The Third Expedition arrived at Fort Garry on October 18, 1872,<sup>49</sup> and the new officers who joined at the time were: Ensigns John Allen, George W. Street, W. Constantine and Joseph Taillefer, and Lieutenant S. Bruce Harman as Orderly Officer to the Commanding Officer.<sup>50</sup> Starting with the Third Expedition, all volunteers who went West were clad in the traditional scarlet tunic of British imperial soldiers.<sup>51</sup> Earlier Expeditions had been uniformed in blue serge and the more normal scarlet tunics were undeniably a welcome sight in the area, if for no other reason than they were the usual expected of troops on Her Majesty's Service. Interes-

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<sup>48</sup> PAM, Lieutenant Governor's Collection, Dispatch # 226, Secretary of State for the Provinces to Archibald, April 3, 1872.

<sup>49</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 1, Volume 519, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Contracts Branch, Letterbook August 1872 to April 1873, N. Powell, Lt.Col. Deputy Adjutant General, to Lt.Col. Irvine Fort Garry, October 18, 1872.

<sup>50</sup> PAM, MG6, B5, Military District No. 10, Provisional Battalion of Canadian Light Infantry and Artillery, Journal of the Provisional Battalion of Rifles at Fort Garry, 1871. File for September 1872.

<sup>51</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years In Winnipeg, p. 72.

tingly enough, the Third Expedition was different in another way in that the approximately 100 Officers and men needed as replacements in 1873 were recruited from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.<sup>52</sup> Whereas the first three Expeditions were accompanied by a good deal of fanfare, the Fourth and Fifth Expeditions went West with none of the excitement that had accompanied the first three. The last two Forces were made up from men recruited in the North-West and the East and were signed on in 1874 and 1876 respectively. The final duty date for all the Expeditions was August 6, 1877, the date upon which the RREF and its successors, the Provisional Battalions, were officially and finally disbanded.<sup>53</sup>

The First RREF was a learning experience for the Canadian Militia. Almost all of the printed forms needed to record guard reports, stores requirements, nominal rolls, sick lists, court-martials, discipline records, leave records and the other myriad forms required by an army in the field, were unavailable in 1870. Officers and ranks, who happened to have the necessary knowledge, drew the forms that were needed by hand and, until 1871, hand-drawn forms were the only ones

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<sup>52</sup> PAM, MG6, B5, Military District No. 10, Provisional Battalion of Canadian Light Infantry and Artillery, Journal of the Provisional Battalion of Rifles at Fort Garry, 1871. File for July 6, 1873.

<sup>53</sup> Frank A. Milligan, "The Lieutenant-Governorship in Manitoba, 1870-1882" (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948), p. 160.

available.<sup>54</sup> From the mass of errors made drawing up and filling in homemade forms, it is apparent that the learning process was tedious and a further indication of the lack of preparation from which the troops suffered.

Additionally, it appeared that the Canadians in Red River were the only ones called on as suppliers, since the only bills and receipts that survive in the files of the RREF were from such individuals.<sup>55</sup> James Harris, who drew water for the troops from October 28th to December 1, 1870, is a typical example of a service contract from the period. Receipts for goods supplied by Bannatyne amounting to £36/12/10 on November 30, 1870 and by Schultz for £49/2/5 between September 20th and the end of October 1870, are good examples of supply contracts.<sup>56</sup> Given the unofficial purpose of the RREF and its composition, it would not be surprising that an unwritten order had been issued to the effect that the Expedition should

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<sup>54</sup> An examination of PAC, RG9, Department of Militia and Defence Records, 1867-1922, Post-Confederation Records, indicates that printed forms only became available late in 1871. Good examples of hand-printed forms are in the nominal roll lists in PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Nominal Rolls, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870-1871.

<sup>55</sup> PAC, RG9, II F3, Volume 3, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, Transportation Records, 1870-1871. Other examples of Canadian suppliers listed are; Edmund Lorenzo Barber, Magnus Brown, W.H. Lyon, Robert Cockburn, Mrs. David Marr Walker, Robert Bescoby, Mrs. Mary Wainwright, P.R. Young, Mrs. Mary Jane Hall, Mrs. E.J. Codd, Miss K. Carman, and Charles Mair.

<sup>56</sup> PAC, RG9, II B, Volume 1, Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, 1867-1922, Red River Force Accounts, 1870, Various accounts in 1870.

deal only with Canadians when supplies or services were required. With the patronage system in use at the time, political considerations would also have dictated such a course of action. There were other peculiarities about the RREF which also need to be mentioned.

The RREF, despite its military nature,<sup>57</sup> was required to provide policing services for the Red River area. The intrusion into the arena of the civil power was necessitated by the lack of volunteers for a locally recruited force of police. As one unknown contemporary of the events noted: "Previous to the hoisting of the flag with the word "Canada" on it, [Schultz's Flag which he flew over his store prior to 1870] the service of two policemen was sufficient and seldom called for."<sup>58</sup> Perhaps the locals did not think that police were necessary, or perhaps they were never really asked if they wished to be part of such an organization. However, the use of the soldiers as police in Winnipeg would appear to fit the unofficial purpose of the Canadian volunteers and their politicizer leaders in spite of the suspicions of the Métis, especially in light of the events in which the volunteers would later become involved. For the record, those RREF

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<sup>57</sup> The division between civil and military powers is jealously guarded in the British system. The use of soldiers as civilian police is an outstanding exception to this practice.

<sup>58</sup> Ontario and Manitoba, By a Canadian Who Has Visited Manitoba to Discover the Truth, (No publication data available, 1873), p. 15.

members who were seconded to the police were:

William Calloway	Timothy Carroll
James Cross	Edwin Doidge
Michael Fox	Leon Hivet
George Kerr	Elijah Ketts
Neil McCarthy	John Melanson
William Miller	H. Montgomery
William Montgomery	George Nicol
Andrew Persy	John Patterson
Robert Power	John Stevenson
Maxime Villebrun <sup>59</sup>	

However, acting as the civilian police contingent was not the only curious aspect of the Expedition.

Colonel Jarvis had both his wife<sup>60</sup> and a servant billeted with him in December of 1870 despite the rather primitive conditions which were the usual lot for most of the men under his command.<sup>61</sup> As is usual in such cases, the Officers tended to have better quarters than the men.<sup>62</sup> In one particular case, however, better living conditions did not prove beneficial. Captain F.B. Parsons, Adjutant to the 1st Ontario

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<sup>59</sup> Begg, History, 2: 30.

<sup>60</sup> Other Officer's wives who were with the Expedition were; Mrs. Wainwright, Mrs. D.M Walker, Mrs. L.W. Herchmer, Mrs. William Nassau Kennedy and Mrs. Mary Jane Hall. Others would arrive later. PAC, RG9, II F3, Volume 3, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, Transportation Records, 1870-1871.

<sup>61</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 34, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Fuel, Light, Forage and Guard Reports, 1870-1873. Red River Force, 1st Ontario Rifles Ration Return, December 1870.

<sup>62</sup> According to the Stores Reports, Officers were either billeted in the Forts in former HBC officer's quarters, or in private billets in the Town of Winnipeg. PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 35, Militia and Defence, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Miscellaneous, Red River Force, 1870-1873.

Rifles, went insane and was found to be incapable by a Medical Board on October 27, 1870.<sup>63</sup> He was subsequently sent to the Mental Hospital in Kingston in his wife's care.<sup>64</sup> Other soldiers made the best of what they had and some even prospered from the experience. Two of them, Privates Gardiner and Dawson, took up the contract to build Grace Church for the Reverend George Young.<sup>65</sup> How they managed to act as carpenters and fulfil their military duties is not explained by either the Reverend or the two soldiers involved. Others were not as lucky as the two carpenter/soldiers. One of the unlucky ones was Quarter Master Sergeant Massey who died in April of 1871 of undisclosed causes.<sup>66</sup> Other soldiers became involved in the practice of political patronage, an exercise that Wolseley would later roundly condemn in his "anonymous" magazine article.<sup>67</sup> One soldier, Molyneux St. John, was paid \$200 at the request of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald for

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<sup>63</sup> PAC, G9, II B1, Volume 516, Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, Adjutant General's Office, Correspondence, Letterbook, Robertson-Ross to Minister of Militia and Defence, October 27, 1870.

<sup>64</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Miscellaneous, Red River force, 1870-1873, Memo from Lt.Col. Jarvis, March 14, 1871, Fort Garry.

<sup>65</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 203.

<sup>66</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Hospital Returns, Red River force, 1870-1873. Memo from Adjutant General P. Robertson-Ross, Colonel and Adjutant General of Militia, Ottawa April 21, 1871.

<sup>67</sup> "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," previously cited.



"information" about the lands of Manitoba.<sup>68</sup> Additionally, RREF members Acheson Irvine, Abraham Cowley, Thomas Howard and Henri Bouthillier, all of them Officers, were signatories to Treaty One in 1871.<sup>69</sup> In another surprising move, Captain Thomas Howard, despite the restrictions against military personnel standing for election to Public Office, became a member of the first Manitoba Legislature.<sup>70</sup> All in all, the RREF wasted no time in accommodating itself to life in the North-West.

The Force did not, however, possess the healthiest of physical specimens among its numbers, especially since they were basically civilians and not regular army personnel. One of the 1870 hospital returns indicates that illnesses and injuries were a common problem. The incidence of gonorrhoea and other venereal diseases further demonstrates high levels of sexual activity. (See Table 4-1, Page 173). Given the nature of the above illnesses and injuries, it can be deduced that the members of the RREF were inclined to drink too much, were prone to venereal infections of different kinds and, at

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<sup>68</sup> PAC, RG6, Volume 352, Secretary of State for the Provinces, Letterbook, 1871, A.E. Meredith to Archibald, May 30 1871.

<sup>69</sup> Copy of Treaty One, August 3, 1871. Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, Ottawa. The use of soldiers in this instance is surprising given that the area was replete with individuals with much more extensive experience with Native peoples.

<sup>70</sup> In Begg, Journal, Ten Years, and in Young, Manitoba Memories, and in the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1870.

least in one case, suffered from the effects of gunshot wounds. Although the totals only account for a few months service by a thousand men,<sup>71</sup> it is still obvious that

**Table 4-1: Illness/Injury Totals, RREF, August 1870 to early 1871.<sup>72</sup>**

RHEUMATISM = 16	BRONCHITIS = 7
SPRAINS = 5	DT'S = 12
GONORRHOEA = 40	CONTUSIONS = 2
VENEREAL (OTHER) = 12	KIDNEY = 1
ABSCCESS = 5	ECZEMA = 3
EPILEPSY = 4	LACERATIONS = 5
ERYSIPELAS = 6	HAEMORRHOIDS = 5
NEURALGIA = 3	DEBILITY = 1
PLEURISY = 5	SCALE = 3
DYSPEPSIA = 1	DIARRHOEA = 5
BILIOUSNESS = 1	DISSIPATION = 7
CATARRH = 5	STRAINED (HERNIA) = 1
TONSILLITIS = 1	FRACTURED RIB = 1
JAUNDICE = 1	PNEUMONIA = 2
GUN SHOT WOUND = 1	CONJUNCTIVITIS = 2
SWELLED TESTICLE = 1	LIVER TORPIDITY = 2
MENTAL ABERRATION = 1	OTHER = 10

the most common physical complaints were those associated with alcohol (DT's, dissipation, liver torpidity) and sexual activity (gonorrhoea, other venereal). If the incidence of liquor and sex-related illness is any indicator of the RREF's spare-time activities, it would seem that they could not have been the most welcome of visitors that the conservative Settlement around Red River had ever entertained. But, what

<sup>71</sup> This number is taken from the enlistments records used to develop Appendices II and III.

<sup>72</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Red River Force, Hospital Returns, 1870-1874. These reports are for the period commencing August 24, 1870 and for the first three months of 1871.

about the Regulars in the First Expedition? What did they do that decided their place in the history of the events of 1870?

It was left to nature to provide the fanfare for the RREF's triumphal entry into Fort Garry on August 24, 1870. By all accounts, the weather had chosen that particular morning to deluge the area around the Forks with a torrential rain. The downpour must have played havoc with Colonel Wolseley's intention to push on after daybreak in order to give the defenders of Fort Garry a "surprise party."<sup>73</sup> The first "skirmishers" who entered the empty Fort returned, according to Wolseley,

bringing word that it (THE FORT) [his emphasis] was evacuated, and the gates left open. This was at first a sad disappointment to the soldiers, who, having gone through so much toil in order to put down the rebellion, longed to be avenged upon its authors.<sup>74</sup>

The sense of frustration felt by the British troops must have been considerable, indeed.<sup>75</sup> As one of their officers reported to his sister:

the expedition [was] an utter farce . . . a political job of that 'scoundrel' Cartier's that might be redeemed if they were to hang a few priests up here. It did so disgust one, . . . to have come all this way for the band to play 'God Save the Queen.'<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, pp. 108, 184.

<sup>74</sup> "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," p. 177.

<sup>75</sup> Only British Regular troops were involved in the 'assault' on Fort Garry on August 24, 1870.

<sup>76</sup> Shrive, Charles Mair, pp. 115-116. In a letter from Sir Redvers Buller to Henrietta Buller (his sister) August 24, 1870.

After the Royal Anthem and the obligatory three cheers, "the danger of the great plains being lost to Canada was almost at an end."<sup>77</sup> The troops, who had arrived in "line of skirmish"<sup>78</sup> with bayonets fixed and cannon unlimbered, and who had arrested several people on their way to the Fort, did not look very much like the peace-keeping force they were supposed to be.<sup>79</sup> The fact that the local saloons were not kept closed, as they had been by the Provisional Government, was another indication that the men were not there just to show the Flag. What is more telling is that the soldiers proceeded to over-indulge themselves, which action their officers did nothing to prevent. A declaration of Martial Law, which would have mitigated the worse effects of the soldiers' drinking and rioting, was something which Wolseley, a professed advocate of "law and order," refused to enact.<sup>80</sup> As one officer of the British contingent reported: "Wild scene[s] of drunkenness and debauchery . . . followed the arrival of the troops in Winnipeg."<sup>81</sup> The RREF which was sent West, according to its Commander, for the avowed purpose "of crushing out rebellion

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<sup>77</sup> Stacey, "Military Aspects," p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> A military formation where the troops advance, spread out to avoid heavy casualties from concentrated enemy fire. It would only be used when resistance is expected and the men involved would be ready to respond in kind. In other words, this type of formation is a hostile act and would not be expected from a "peace-keeping" force.

<sup>79</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," pp. 337-338.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>81</sup> Butler, The Great Lone Land, p. 192.

there,"<sup>82</sup> had done just that despite the empty Fort and the victorious troops deserved a celebration. As for the leaders of the "banditti," as Wolseley styled them, they had fled at the first approach of the settlers in blue serge:

The leaders of the Banditti, who recently opposed her Majesty's loyal subjects in the Red River settlement, having fled as you advanced upon the Fort, leaving their guns and a large quantity of arms and ammunition behind them, the primary object of the expedition has been peaceably accomplished.<sup>83</sup>

It was obvious, however, that the methods of the RREF, which apparently involved "shooting . . . [Riel] . . . like a dog and thinking it no crime,"<sup>84</sup> left something to be desired, at least in the eyes of most of the local inhabitants of Rupert's Land. As R.G. Macbeth, who had earlier helped Schultz to escape from the Métis, noted:

It was well for the rebel leaders that they vanished from the scene. Possibly ninety percent of the volunteers from the East had enlisted to avenge the death of Thomas Scott and had Riel, Lepine or O'Donaghue [sic] been within reach, it is highly probable that in the heat of the hour a lynching would have taken place, than which there are few things more abhorrent to British tradition.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," p. 334.

<sup>83</sup> Captain N. Willoughby Wallace, The Rebellion In The Red River Settlement, 1869-1870; Its Causes and Suppression (Barnstaple, England: Henry T. Cook 1872), CIHM # 30529, pp. 37-39. Part of Colonel Garnet Wolseley's address to his "victorious" troops.

<sup>84</sup> Griffiths Owen Corbett, Reverend, "An Appeal To The Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P., Her Majesty's Prime Minister, Respecting the Suppression of Certain Papers by the Government, The 'Red River Rebellion', and the Illegal Transfer of the North-West Territories to the Canadian Government, 1870" (London, England: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1870), p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> Macbeth, Romance, p. 163.

Having accomplished his part of the mission, Wolseley then took his Regulars and headed back the way he had come. In the words of the Reverend George Young:

The first detachment marched out on the 29th [August] while by September 3rd the entire force of the regular troops had left en route for the east . . . On August 27th, two days before the departure of the 60th Rifles, the brigades of the militia force began to arrive [and] . . . the revival of business . . . soon occurred [with] the incoming of a desirable class of settlers.<sup>86</sup>

The "civil power" eventually showed up "on the evening of September 2, 1870, a little more than six weeks after Manitoba had become a Province."<sup>87</sup> In the interim, between Riel's rather precipitous departure and Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald's somewhat tardy arrival, Wolseley had arbitrarily turned over civilian authority to the one faction in Red River which no longer had any legal standing to accept such a role: the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>88</sup>

Whatever was happening in Red River around August 24, 1870, it had very little to do with peace-keeping. Given that his troops had behaved badly in his presence, (Winnipeg was too small at the time for anything else to have been the case) it is strange that Wolseley was never even reprimanded for his

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<sup>86</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, pp. 191-192.

<sup>87</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: VI. The civil power in question was Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald.

<sup>88</sup> McDougall's reading of his proclamation on December 1, 1870 had removed the HBC as a civil power and as a commercial enterprise it was unique, to say the least, that Wolseley should turn authority over to it. Event described in Macbeth, Romance, p. 163.

omission in not bringing them under military discipline.<sup>89</sup> Riel, for his part, knew exactly what was going on and he tried to warn his fellows that the future did not appear to look very bright:

l'arrivée hostile des troupes va tout le bouleverser et l'on va chercher à vous faire croire que tout cela dépend de ce que nous avons fait. N'écoutez pas ces bruits.<sup>90</sup>

However, the most dangerous part of the First Expedition, insofar as the Métis were concerned, was only due to arrive on August 28, 1870. The troops who had behaved so badly during the first few days of Canada's assumption of power in the North-West were British imperial soldiers and not the Canadian volunteers. If rioting and debauchery was what the Settlement could expect from professionals, then the volunteers were to be feared even more. The unofficial punitive nature of the RREF was becoming more and more obvious as the days passed.

The volunteers, for their part, were ready to take over from the regulars the moment they arrived in the Town of

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<sup>89</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 344-345 passim. "Why did he not use his troops to give to the 'inhabitants of the Red River Settlement' the 'Imperial protection' so explicitly mentioned in the first of his instructions?" Ronaghan maintains that Wolseley should have been Court-Martialled for the behaviour of his troops. He also wonders how he managed to transfer power to the HBC, a defunct Government, when he should have maintained the Civil Power himself until the arrival of Archibald. It would have been too much to ask that he turn power over to Riel, as had been suggested by Macdonald earlier.

<sup>90</sup> Stanley, Collected Writings, 1: 99. Letter to "Chers Amis," August 1870.

Winnipeg four days after Wolseley's capture of an empty Fort Garry. Not all of those who marched so bravely into Winnipeg on August 28, 1870, however, had the same reasons for being in the North-West: Some wanted land for farming while others sought revenge for Scott's death.<sup>91</sup> But what do we really know about the Canadians who served as volunteers in the RREF?

The 1870-1877 Red River Expeditionary Force and its successors, totalled 1705 members overall in all ranks.<sup>92</sup> The number of men involved can be further broken down into 252 French-speaking soldiers and 1453 English-speaking soldiers, respectively. At 14.8 percent, the French speakers were in the minority compared to 85.2 percent for the English.<sup>93</sup> (See **Figure 4-2, Page 180**).<sup>94</sup> Obviously, the Expeditions were not an even balance of French and English components.

The men who were listed on the Nominal Rolls of the RREF came from both British and non-British locations. The provinces or countries of origin for the volunteers are provided

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<sup>91</sup> Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act," p. 53.

<sup>92</sup> This is a total representing all the Five Expeditions, August 28, 1870 to August 6, 1877. Some files list 1706 as the total. This is due to an error, recorded at the time, involving the listing of the same individual twice.

<sup>93</sup> All data included here is compiled from Appendices II and III.

<sup>94</sup> All the data for Figures 5-2 until otherwise indicated are taken from Appendices II, III and IV.



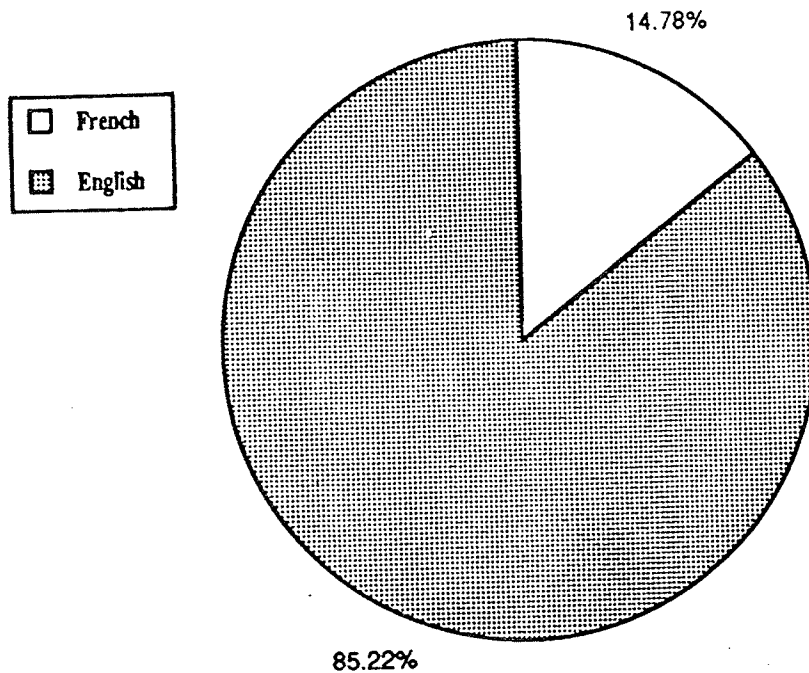


Figure 4-2: RREF percentages, English, French, 1870-1877. in Table 4-2, Page 183 and Table 4-3, Page 183. The relationship inherent in the figures can be better understood by examining Figure 4-3, Page 182. It is apparent that 609 of the Force's overall membership came from the Province of Quebec but only 252 of them were actually French speakers. Apparent-

ly, the selection process recruited 357 English-speaking residents of Quebec and counted them as part of the Quebec (French) contingent. The data would seem to indicate that French Quebecers were not particularly interested in being sent to the North-West as volunteers or they were eliminated at the Headquarters level intervention in the recruitment process. On the other hand, the 826 soldiers from Ontario were the largest contingent in the Force. There were also eleven soldiers from Manitoba, whose place of origin was not clearly indicated. In fact, there did not appear to be anyone enrolled from Manitoba who was actually born in the North-West. Manitoba individuals, therefore, must have been the refugees referred to earlier, who as early as 1870, were claiming Manitoba as home. There were also those few cases, 139 in all, who came from countries as far removed from the North-West as Norway and the European mainland. If the 26 Royal Canadian Rifles' recruits who probably originated from somewhere in Canada are discounted, the latter group drops to 113.

The conclusion that can be reached is that the volunteers were preponderantly Ontario born with an English-speaking background. The paltry 14.8 percent of French speakers indicates either a lack of interest on the part of French Quebecers, or a deliberate policy of exclusion. Given the attitude and relationships inherent in those who made the choices, the latter is a distinct possibility. As for the individuals from Spain and other distant places, how they came

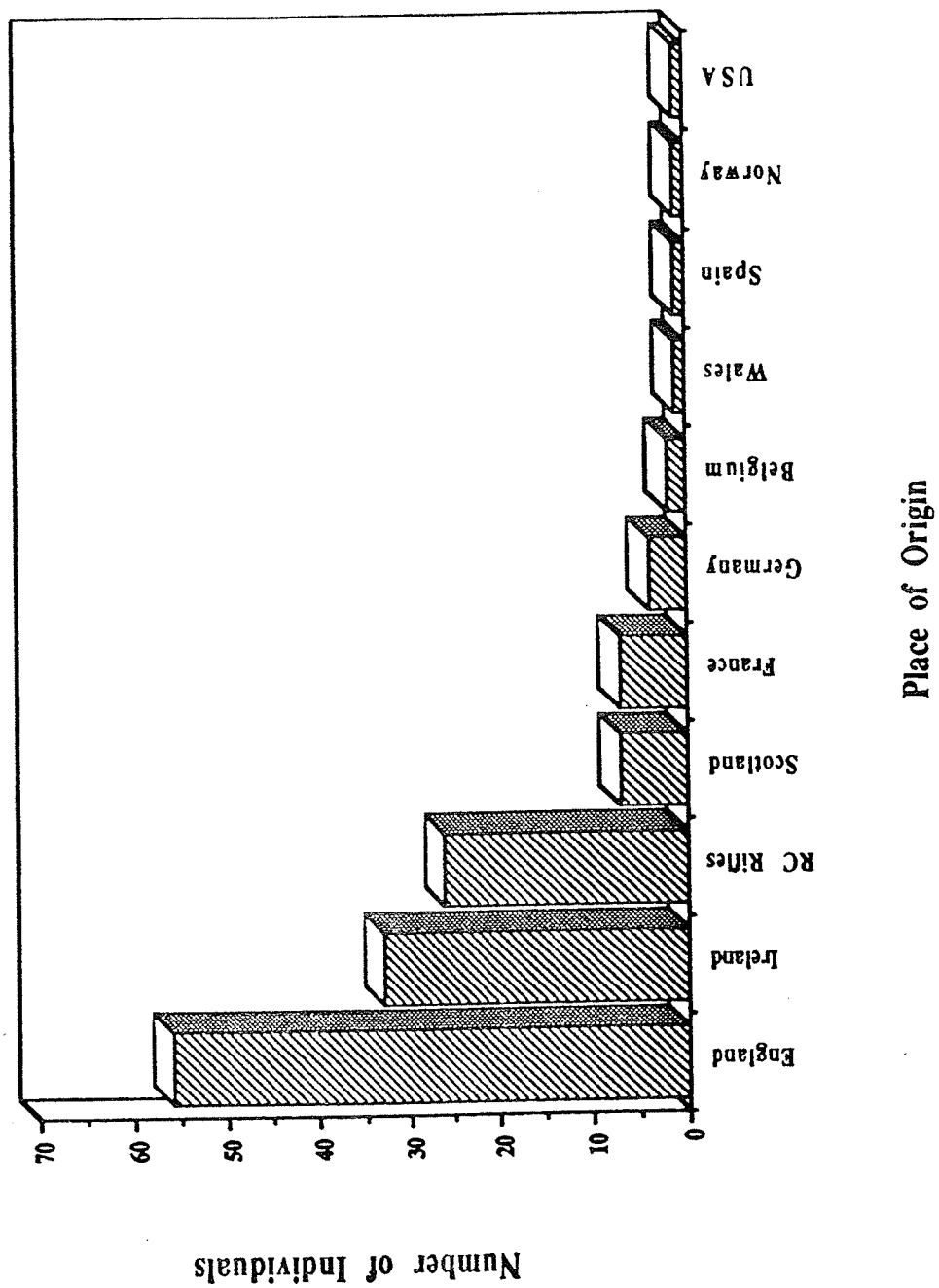


Figure 4-3: Places of Origin, RREF, 1870-1877. (Non-Canadian).

Table 4-2: Place of Origin, RREF, 1870-1877.

Quebec	=	609	35.71%
Ontario	=	826	48.45%
New Brunswick	=	64	3.75%
Nova Scotia	=	51	2.99%
PEI	=	3	0.18%
Newfoundland	=	2	0.12%
Manitoba	=	11	0.65%
Outside Canada	=	139	8.15%
TOTALS	=	1705	100.00%

Table 4-3: Place of Origin, Excluding Canada, RREF, 1870-1877. (\* RC Rifles were located in Quebec but no nationality data is provided for them).

England	=	56	3.30%
Ireland	=	33	1.90%
Scotland	=	7	0.41%
Wales	=	1	0.05%
Germany	=	4	0.23%
Belgium	=	2	0.18%
France	=	7	0.41%
Spain	=	1	0.05%
Norway	=	1	0.05%
USA	=	1	0.05%
RC Rifles *	=	26	1.52%
TOTAL	=	139	8.15%

to be serving in a Canadian Expeditionary Force in Rupert's-Land remains a mystery.

The marital status of the RREF is easier to understand, (See Table 4-4, Page 184) since the troops were predominantly single. If the men were planning to homestead in the North-

West once their tour of duty was completed, which is usually assumed to be the case, then they were deficient in the most important ingredient which later homesteading types possessed: a wife and family. Their bachelorhood, however, would make more sense if their purpose was revenge and not settlement as was previously explained. Furthermore, the fact that only single men were to be chosen for service does not appear to have been a serious impediment for the 7.72 percent of the men who were married or widowers and presumably responsible for dependents. If the desire was to reduce costs in the eventuality of casualties and the attendant need for survivors' pensions, then the presence of the married and widower contingent is unexplainable. If the intent was to pick the

**Table 4-4: Marital Status RREF, 1870-1877.**

STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Single	1569	92.02%
Married	118	6.92%
Widower	14	0.82%
Priest	1	0.06%
Unknown	3	0.18%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1705</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

persons who would best serve the punitive purpose of the Force, then the inclusion of the married men makes sense.

Included in the data on the Expedition is the matter of mortality and how it affected the RREF. Apparently, 17 individuals died while on duty with the Force. The causes of such deaths range from accidental drowning to death by freezing. If the death of one member who was hanged by the civilian power for murder is discounted, then the total number of deaths in service is 16. The breakdown between French and English is as follows: (See Table 4-5, Page 185, Below).

**Table 4-5: Members of the RREF, 1870-1877 who died on duty. (NOTE: The total includes 3 Officers, one soldier hanged by the civilian authorities and one suicide).**

French	=	5
English	=	12
<hr/>		
TOTAL	=	17

Given the preponderance of English speakers in the RREF, and the total number of individuals involved overall, the mortality figures are well within reason. There is apparently a rather high incidence of alcohol abuse involved in some of the deaths but, not surprisingly, mortality involving alcohol corroborates the medical reports examined earlier.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The Registers consulted for mortality data do not always indicate if the death was alcohol-related or not. In some cases, only the date of death is provided and no reason is given as to how or why the individual perished.

The average age of the soldiers involved was approximately 24 years. Included in the numbers to calculate average age were five individuals who were 17, the youngest persons serving in the Force, and a man 50 years of age, and the next oldest who was 49. It should be noted that the latter individuals were also exceptions to the official requirements since the age limits for all volunteers were set between 21 and 45.<sup>96</sup> It appears that age limits, like the marital status rule, could be overlooked in the selection process. In addition, despite the usual assumptions, a good number of the young volunteers had careers other than farming in mind. Many of them chose to substitute<sup>97</sup> or re-enlist in the RREF itself, some of them, more than once. **Table, 4-6, Page 188,** should make the re-enlistment/substitution situation clear. If re-enlistment and/or substituting was the prime preoccupation of 270 individual volunteers, it does not appear, given the other considerations involved, that the Force could do

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<sup>96</sup> PAC, RG9, II B 2, Volume 35, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Rolls, States, Etc., Red River Force, 1870-1871, Organization of Red River Force, 1870-1871, Memorandum from Colonel P. Robertson-Ross to Minister of Militia and Defence, Ottawa April 15, 1870.

<sup>97</sup> A substitute was an individual who agreed to finish out the tour of duty for another who wished to leave the Force. If such substitutions did not take place, then the individual had to remain in the Force or run the risk of being caught and jailed as a deserter if he left without permission. Apparently, many of these substitutions occurred because the individual who was to be the substitute wanted the Bounty Warrant which was usually a condition of assuming the role of substitute. Re-enlistment occurred when a tour of duty was finished and the individual signed up for another tour.

very much toward establishing a settler community in the North-West. Apparently, the RREF was not just an ordinary peace-keeping contingent.

There are also the recorded reasons for discharge which should help extend the examination of the members of the RREF. (See Table 4-7, Page 189). In all, 232 of the 1705 RREF members were discharged for reasons other than the completion of their tour of duty. It seems that 13.6 percent of the total membership of the Five Expeditions left the service early because of extenuating circumstances. Of the latter, a total of 90 deserted while on duty, including 20 French desertions which comprised 7.93 percent of their entire number (252), and 70 English desertions or 4.81 percent of their strength (1453). Obviously more French than English deserted per capita probably due to the fact that the Red River area was becoming more and more English and less and less French during the years that the Force was stationed there. "Discharged for bad conduct" figures are even more telling. Only one French speaker was discharged for the poor behaviour as opposed to 15 English speakers, or .4 percent, of the French contingent compared to 1.03 percent for the English. Given the spread between English and French numbers the latter figure is a bit high for the English speakers. Obviously bad conduct was one area, at least, in which the English volunteers excelled slightly. Factors which complement the above figures are the single English soldier sentenced to a lengthy civilian prison



Table 4-6: Re-enlistment - Substitute Totals, RREF, 1870-1877.

RE-ENLISTMENTS	
Number who Enlisted twice*	170
SUBSTITUTIONS	
Number who Substituted once	68
Number who Substituted twice	4
Number who Substituted four times	1
TOTAL	<u>73</u>
RE-ENLIST AND SUBSTITUTE	
Number who substituted and re-enlisted**	27
TOTAL	<u>27</u>
GRAND TOTAL	270

\* There are also 5 soldiers who re-enlist and then die on duty. \*\* Includes one who re-enlisted/substituted four times and twelve who re-enlisted/substituted twice.

sentence opposed by the single French volunteer sentenced to death for murder. In the categories of "Discharged as medically unfit" and "discharged as unfit," both of which carried the stigma of personal responsibility for the discharge, the French element had 17 "discharged as unfit" (6.75 percent) and no one discharged as "medically unfit." The English element had 31 "discharged as unfit" (2.13 percent) and two "discharged as medically unfit" (.14 percent). Either the French element did not take care of themselves or those who had to judge the appropriate reason for discharging a man as "unfit" were biased towards the English. It should be pointed out that all discharges for reasons other than regular completion of

Table 4-7: Special Discharge Factors, RREF, 1870-1877.

1. Deserted From Duty	French = 20 English = 70	
		TOTAL = 90
2. Discharged For Bad Conduct	French = 1 English = 15	
		TOTAL = 16
3. Sentenced to Civil Prison	French = 0 English = 1	
		TOTAL = 1
4. Hanged By Civil Authorities	French = 1 English = 0	
		TOTAL = 1
5. Discharged As Unfit	French = 17 English = 31	
		TOTAL = 48
6. Discharged as Medically Unfit	French = 0 English = 2	
		TOTAL = 2
7. Invalided	French = 4 English = 51	
		TOTAL = 55
8. Refused To Join	French = 9 English = 8	
		TOTAL = 17
9. Discharged As Insane	French = 0 English = 2	
		TOTAL = 2
GRAND TOTALS	French = 52 English = 180	TOTAL = 232

tour of duty were discharges to a centre located in the East. Declaring someone unfit, for whatever reason, was one sure means of guaranteeing he would not remain behind in the West to swell the ranks of the French element, the Métis.<sup>98</sup> However, when it came to "refusing to join," refusing to sign the induction papers, or simply not reporting for duty in the first instance, both French and English were about even. Once the names of the volunteers had been selected and the individuals informed, French speakers had nine who "refused" while the English had eight. In cases involving the category "invalided" the English side of the RREF was high: 51 English speakers (3.51 percent,) as opposed to four French speakers (1.59 percent) were invalided because of some medical problem that was not self-induced or caused by deliberate negligence. There were also two English discharged as "insane" and no French speakers with mental disorders. With the French having a total of 52 (20.6 percent) of the special discharges compared to 180 (12.39 percent) for the English, the former element appeared to have been far less useful to the Force than the English. But, what about the backgrounds of the men who composed the volunteer force?

It would appear that the 24 year-old volunteers had previous work experience before they took the Queen's shil-

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<sup>98</sup> Where the reasons for discharge indicate either of these two categories, the discharge centre was always located in the East, in Montreal, Kingston or Toronto.

ling. A quick glance at Table 4-8 on Page 191 should indicate that the RREF was, for the most part, composed of men who were either farmers, service industry personnel, skilled/semi-

**Table 4-8: RREF, 1870-1877, Listed Occupations. Note: the 1706 total used in Appendices II and III is the result of a double listing indicated by the records used to compile these Appendices.**

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	%
Skilled Labour	479	28.08%
Labourer	226	13.25%
Service Industry	212	12.43%
Farmer	205	12.02%
Semi-Skilled Labour	181	10.61%
Professional	90	5.28%
Officers	82	4.81%
Yeoman	51	2.99%
Sailor	47	2.75%
Unknown	41	2.40%
None	27	1.58%
Student	17	1.00%
Gentleman	16	0.94%
Voyageur	10	0.59%
Merchant/Dealer/Sales	6	0.35%
Artist	1	0.06%
Sculptor	1	0.06%
Writer	1	0.06%
Reporter	1	0.06%
Priest (R.C.)	1	0.06%
Trapper	1	0.06%
Minister	1	0.06%
Soldier	9	0.53%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1706</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

skilled labourers, or just simple labourers. The balance were scattered across the remaining occupations that the soldiers listed when they were recruited. It would appear that with the exception of the 12.02 percent of the men who were actually farmers, that the rest were not usually the material from

which homesteaders could be made. With 28.08 percent in the skilled labour category, 10.61 percent in the semi-skilled, 13.25 percent in the labourer category, and 12.43 percent involved in the service industry, the RREF was much like its urban, "Young Briton" counterparts in the East: young, single, English, Protestant, urban workers. They were not, by any stretch of the imagination, a group of potential, and more importantly, professional farmers. That they would prove to be less than successful at obtaining farm lots in the Red River area after their tour of duty was over should not be surprising. For the most part, they resembled the backbone of a developed industrial centre more closely than they did the future sinews of a farming community. What is more important, however, is that, even had they wanted to stay and farm or work in the Red River area, as indicated by the land grant they received as bonus for their service, the decision was not necessarily theirs to make. Over 600 of the RREF's complement were discharged by the authorities in the militia, in areas far removed from the Red River and Winnipeg. (See Table 4-9, Page 194) Had the intent been to have them remain as settlers, such an action by the Canadian Government would have been self-defeating. Furthermore, the discharges often occurred outside a time of the year that would be useful for individuals who were expected to become farmers. Discharges in May make sense if one is looking for a farm site, but the discharges that occurred in the late summer, fall and winter months do

not indicate that members of the Force were really designated as "settlers." (See Figure 4-4 at the end of the Chapter, Pages 210-211). The evidence appears to imply that the RREF's punitive intention was its real reason for existence despite what was said to the contrary. In the final analysis, peaceful settlement of the North-West by the Expedition's soldiers is not borne out by the discharge data.

Further to the problem of settlement by the volunteers was the fact that most of them received Bounty Warrants as a reward for their service, but did not choose to redeem them on land in the North-West.<sup>99</sup> However, 278 RREF members did not receive any Bounty Warrant at all, usually because of a failure to fulfil service requirements for one reason or another. (See Table 4-10, Page 195) Given that 1350 members were eligible to receive Warrants and 1428 Warrants were actually issued for service in the North-West, it is obvious that 78 were issued to individuals who received two Warrants or more.

In summary, the RREF could be described as a volunteer force of militia, composed of young men with an average age of 24, 85 percent of whom were English-speaking, generally single and, it would appear, not predisposed to farming but

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<sup>99</sup> Bounty Warrants were the accepted means by which British colonials and military personnel were encouraged to settle on the periphery of empire. The Warrants were worth a specified amount of land, in this case, 160 acres. Despite the official purpose of the Warrants they were often sold to speculators at a very reduced rate.

rather predominantly working-class and usually possessed of  
**Table 4-9: Discharge Localities, RREF, 1870-1877.**

Winnipeg, Manitoba	= 1058
Pembina, Manitoba	= 26
<hr/> Total Manitoba	<hr/> = 1084
Toronto, Ontario	= 250
Kingston, Ontario	= 131
Thunder Bay, Ontario	= 11
Sault St. Marie, Ontario	= 2
Prince Arthur's Landing, Ontario	= 1
Fort Francis, Ontario	= 1
Collingwood, Ontario	= 1
Ottawa, Ontario	= 1
<hr/> Total Ontario	<hr/> = 398
Montreal, Quebec	= 42
Halifax, Nova Scotia	= 1
Unknown Locality	= 181
MANITOBA	= 1084
OUTSIDE MANITOBA	= 622
<hr/> GRAND TOTAL	<hr/> = 1706

one Bounty Warrant each as a bonus for service to the Queen. Given their unofficial purpose they could be a force to be reckoned with. Nonetheless, since it is the First Expedition that is the most important in the process of intimidation, it is necessary to examine these individuals apart from the RREF as a whole.

The First Red River Expeditionary Force numbered 1000 volunteers amongst its ranks.<sup>100</sup> The number who were single, **Table 4-10: Bounty Warrants, RREF, 1870-1877.**

Received one (1) Bounty Warrant	=	1350
Received two (2) Bounty Warrants	=	61
Received Bounty Warrant as a Substitute	=	13
Received three (3) Bounty Warrants	=	3
Received four (4) Bounty Warrants	=	1
TOTAL Bounty Warrants issued	=	1428
TOTAL with <u>NO</u> Bounty Warrant	=	278
GRAND TOTAL (Including those with no Warrants)	=	1706

905, is indicated in **Table 4-11, Page 196**. The oldest members were 40 years old and the youngest were 17, while the average age of the men of the Expedition was 24 years. The two major components of the group were known as the 1st Ontario Battalion of Rifles and the 2nd Quebec Battalion of Rifles. The two Battalions, more or less evenly divided the strength of the unit between them. Their linguistic breakdown was different, however, and indicated a total of 150 French-speaking and 850 English-speaking personnel. (See **Table 4-12, Page 197**). In the main, the French formed part of the 2nd Quebec

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<sup>100</sup> See Appendices II and III. All information used in the Figures which follow are taken from these two sources.



Rifles with only four of their number in the 1st Rifles. Rank divisions were even more obvious since it appears that only 18 of the 65 Officers were French. (See Table 4-13, Page 197). Either the selection process instigated by the Headquarters

**Table 4-11: Marital Status Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Single	905	90.5%
Married	86	8.6%
Widower	8	0.8%
Priest	1	0.1%
TOTALS	1000	100.0%

staff affected the number of French officers selected or the French Officer Corps was uninterested in active service in the RREF. Either way, there were not very many French-speaking officers in a military unit which was expected to deal with a large number of French-speaking Métis. The French factor is further remarkable because of the way in which the troops were distributed while on duty in the North-West. Apparently the predominantly French 2nd Quebec Battalion of Rifles was stationed at the Lower Fort during its tour of duty.<sup>101</sup> Wolseley, who ordered the arrangement shortly after his arrival in Red River, probably had more than simple logistics

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<sup>101</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 351.

in mind. Had he wanted to make use of the linguistic ability of his men to their fullest extent, he would have ordered things the other way around. Placing the French Battalion in **Table 4-12: Battalion Linguistic Breakdown, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

First, Ontario Battalion of Rifles	English = 445	
	French = 4	
	<u>TOTAL = 449</u>	
Second, Quebec Battalion of Rifles	English = 405	
	French = 146	
	<u>TOTAL = 551</u>	
*****		
Total of English Personnel	= 850	
Total of French Personnel	= 150	
	<u>GRAND TOTAL = 1000</u>	

**Table 4-13: Rank Status, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

Officers	English = 47	
	French = 18	
	<u>TOTAL = 65</u>	
Other Ranks	English = 803	
	French = 132	
	<u>TOTAL = 935</u>	
GRAND TOTAL	= 1000	

the Lower Fort, miles away from the French Métis in St. Boniface and St. Norbert, could be seen as leaving the field

around the Forks open for any possible depredations envisaged by the more vengeful members of the 1st Battalion. However, separating the Métis and the French troops was not the only peculiarity noticeable in the deployment of French- and English-speaking volunteers.

Once the RREF had served its time in the West, the destination of the discharged volunteers took on greater significance. If any group already inhabiting the country was to benefit from an increase in numbers due to the disbanding of troops, it was not to be the French element. To provide the Métis with new support would have been to run against the grain of the usual attitude of the Expedition's leadership. In practice, the discharged French-speaking troops were not always given their liberty in Manitoba.<sup>102</sup> (See Table 4-14, Page 199). With only 40 of their members allowed by the militia to disband<sup>103</sup> in the North-West against almost 417 of the English contingent, the French were decidedly outmanoeuvred in the number of individuals given a chance to settle

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<sup>102</sup> PAC, RG9, II F 3, Volume 1, Department of Militia and Defence, Post Confederation Records, Accounts Branch, Red River Force, General Accounts, 1871, Lt.-Col. S.P. Jarvis to Adjutant General of Militia, March 23, 1871. In May of 1871 (the end of the First Expedition) most of the men except 80 were to be returned to Toronto.

<sup>103</sup> Apparently all discharges were controlled by the Militia command. The best evidence is contained in McMicken's reference to Macdonald's ability to control the locality and rate of discharge. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 246, p. 110747, Cipher Telegram, McMicken to Macdonald, September 23, 1872.

in the area. When the above numbers are seen as percentages of the respective components, the differences are even more

**Table 4-14: Discharge Locations, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870. DNFT stands for "Did Not Finish Term." RTJ stands for "Refused to Join".**

FRENCH				ENGLISH			
East	=	110	73.3%	East	=	433	50.9%
West	=	40	26.7%	West	=	417	49.1%
EAST				EAST			
Toronto	=	36		Toronto	=	181	
Kingston	=	19		Kingston	=	100	
Montreal	=	10		Montreal	=	24	
Thunder Bay	=	3		Thunder Bay	=	6	
				Port Arthur	=	1	
				Sault. St. Marie	=	1	
				Ottawa	=	1	
WEST				WEST			
Winnipeg	=	39		Winnipeg	=	392	
Pembina	=	1		Pembina	=	25	
Officers	=	17		Unknown	=	40	
Deserters	=	11		Officers	=	35	
Unknown	=	9		Deserters	=	27	
RTJ	=	4		DNFT	=	15	
DNFT*	=	1		RTJ **	=	2	
<hr/> TOTAL FRENCH = 150				<hr/> TOTAL ENGLISH = 850			

obvious. Almost half the English (49.1 percent) disbanded around Fort Garry while only 26.7 percent of the French were permitted to do likewise. The rest of the French volunteers were sent to various points in the East where it was assumed it would be difficult for them to return to the North-West.

There was also the chance that once they were safely settled in the East they might not wish to return at all. It is apparent that, the French volunteers, present because of Quebec Tory influence in the first place, were not to be encouraged to remain in the Red River area. As for the English who were disbanded in the East, their departure from Fort Garry was seen in the Settlement by some, at least, as a blessing in disguise. As the Red River French newspaper remarked:

Nous ne pouvons dissimuler que ce dernier départ [les soldats anglais] a été vu non sans quelque satisfaction par plusieurs; de fait, c'est le premier plaisir causé par un certain nombre de ces volontaires à une grande partie de la population de ce pays.<sup>104</sup>

If the information on discharge locality is added to the year in which the members of the First Expedition left the Force, the divisions between the French and English become even more evident. (See Table 4-15, Page 201). Given the fact that the French were not usually discharged in the North-West, a preponderant number of English "settlers" were disbanded into the area around the Forks in 1871. The next largest number would disband during the few months of 1870 available and during 1872. Since only 29 volunteers of the First Expedition disbanded in the years after 1872, it would seem safe to conclude that the "right kind of settler" was available by 1871, for any use to which he might be put by those

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<sup>104</sup> Le Métis, Thursday, June 15, 1871.

who needed his services. Since he was not predisposed to farming, it would also seem safe to say that he would probably

**Table 4-15: Year of Discharge, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

1870, 1872	=	262
1871	=	709
<hr/> TOTAL	=	971
1870, 1871, 1872	=	971
1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877	=	29
<hr/> TOTAL	=	1000

end up living in the Town of Winnipeg and would, in fact, become one of the first contingent of Canadian settlers to arrive in that locale. It would appear that, between August 24, 1870 and late 1872, the RREF not only served as soldiers in Manitoba but their English element also served as the first members of the "sea of pioneers" but not as farmers, which the area was to receive. There is more to discover, however.

It should be remembered that every volunteer was eligible to receive a free grant of 160 acres of land upon the successful completion of his tour of duty.<sup>105</sup> In the case of the

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<sup>105</sup> PAC, RG15, Volume 227, Dominion Lands, Summary by N.O. Coté, "Grants of Land Under Manitoba Act, and Militia Bounty Land Orders-in-Council," (Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 1930), pp. 15-18. A summary of all the appropriate Orders-in-Council is listed. In all, 1559 Bounty Warrants were issued at 160 acres apiece for a total of 249,440 acres. Each Warrant did not require residence and was applicable anywhere in the North-West Territories.

First Expedition, the number of individuals who actually kept their Bounty Warrant and entered it on a piece of land was extremely low. Only 173 out of 1000 volunteers or only 17.3 percent, actually used their warrants themselves. (See Table 4-16, Below).

**Table 4-16: Bounty Warrant Retention, First Expedition, 1870.**

Percent who assign Warrants	=	75.8%
Percent who keep available Warrants	=	17.3%
No Warrant (Deserted etc.)	=	6.9%

Assigning Bounty Warrants, rather than entering them themselves, seemed to be what was preferred by the majority of the volunteers. In fact, assigned Warrants became a rather lucrative object of speculative income to those who dealt in such things. Since many of the Warrants issued to the First Expedition were assigned more than once, it appears that the Bounty Warrant never did achieve what it was supposed to do in the first place: settle militia-trained individuals on Crown Land on the frontier. (See Table 4-17, Page 203). The fact is that the Bounty Warrants in question had a rather checkered career. Of the 931 issued to the First Expedition, 901 were entered on quarter-sections in Manitoba; 23 were substituted as Scrip in Manitoba Act land transactions, three were used to claim riverlots, two were used on CPR land sales,

one was kept by Government, and one was never located.<sup>106</sup>

**Table 4-17: Assignments of Bounty Warrants for Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

Warrant assigned once	=	272
Warrant assigned twice	=	273
Warrant assigned three times	=	147
Warrant assigned four times	=	52
Warrant assigned five times	=	12
Warrant assigned six times	=	2
Kept Warrant	=	173
No Warrant (Deserted, etc.)	=	69
<u>TOTAL</u>	=	<u>1000</u>

Of the 69 individuals who did not receive Warrants due to desertion, being declared unfit or not serving long enough to qualify, 24 were French and 45 were English. In addition, 126 French and 805 English received Warrants. Apparently, since Warrant disposition was a personal choice, official bias did not apply here and the numbers of French and English who received and later used or assigned their respective Warrants were in line with the linguistic divisions of the troops. But what about the people to whom the errant Bounty Warrants were assigned? Who were they, where did they live, and why were

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid. According to the appropriate Order-in-Council, this Warrant was still locatable as of 1930.



they interested in RREF Warrants?

Transferring a Bounty Warrant was not a simple exercise. At least three, and more often four, separate steps were needed to process the transfer of each Warrant. Every volunteer had to produce a duly-completed Discharge Certificate (Step 1) which indicated that he was eligible to receive a Bounty Warrant. **(See pp. 212-215, for examples of Discharge and other Certificates mentioned)**. An Interim Military Bounty Warrant Certificate (Step 2) was then issued pending the arrival by mail of the proper form. The latter form, the official Bounty Warrant itself, (Step 3) once duly signed and dated, was assignable or usable for the acquisition of 160 acres of free Crown land anywhere in the North-West Territories, including Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, as they would later be known. As has been demonstrated, most of the Warrants were already assigned, (Step 4) long before the Official Form arrived from the East. The inherent delays in such a system, however, caused great confusion in the Dominion Lands Office in Winnipeg. Literally hundreds of letters were sent from all over the Dominion to Ottawa, somewhat in the manner of the following from a Mr. W.S. Finch of Toronto.

Toronto, July 8, 1872.

To the Hon. The Minister of Militia,

Sir,

I enclose copy of claims as fyled in the office of the secretary [sic] of State for Canada of Volunteer Land Claims in Manitoba as I understand the Warrants are not quite ready. I send claims to your office that they may be issued as soon as convenient as I wish to locate them. Yours truly, W.S. Finch.  
[Enclosed are the names of seven volunteers who have

assigned their Warrants to Finch].<sup>107</sup>

Also filed away amongst all the incoming correspondence were the letters from the volunteers themselves who were applying, in most cases, for Warrants which they had already assigned to a second party.<sup>108</sup> The following, **Table 4-18, Page 206,**<sup>109</sup> should make the identity of the 623 assignees easier to understand.

Apparently the assignees were evenly divided between East and West. However, the major portion of the Warrants were handled by non-French individuals, even in the case of those assignments which were registered in the Province of Quebec. If the convoluted trail which led to assignments held in Scotland, the USA and those recorded as "unknown" are discounted, 553 assignments were handled by English-speaking Canadians. A further breakdown of the assignees is provided in **Table 4-19, Page 207.** Some 231 individuals held the assignments of over half of the available Warrants. Moreover, 13 individuals held a combined total of 372 Warrants. Five of the latter group held 172 of the Warrants. Obviously, the Warrants must have been valuable to have solicited such a

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<sup>107</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Military Bounty Lands Red River Force, 1872-1873, W.S. Finch to Minister of Militia, July 8, 1872.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., Bounty Warrant Applications File, 1870-1873, Letter of Dr. Alfred Codd, M.D., applying for a Bounty Warrant, August 5, 1872.

<sup>109</sup> See Appendix IV. All charts from here to the end of the Chapter are taken from summaries collated from this Appendix.

**Table 4-18: Individuals Holding Assignments for Bounty Warrants, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.**

EAST	ONTARIO			
	Ont. Unspecified	=	105	
	Toronto	=	100	
	Ottawa	=	22	
	Kingston	=	14	
	London	=	5	TOTAL = 246
	QUEBEC			
	Montreal	=	18	
	Quebec City	=	10	
	Que. Unspecified	=	1	TOTAL = 29
WEST	MANITOBA			
	Winnipeg	=	220	
	Man. Unspecified	=	19	
	Boyne River	=	7	TOTAL = 246
	SASKATCHEWAN			
	Unspecified	=	12	TOTAL = 12
	ALBERTA			
Unspecified	=	20	TOTAL = 20	
OTHERS	UNKNOWN	=	57	TOTAL = 57
	UNITED STATES	=	9	TOTAL = 9
	SCOTLAND	=	4	TOTAL = 4
GRAND TOTAL			= 623	

steady demand. In fact, most of the Warrants were re-assigned on an average of 2.1 times each. It even appears that certain groups of individuals traded the assignments to each other and, in the process, the value rose steadily. If the average price started at around \$65.00 per Warrant and rose to over \$100.00 with the last assignment, then profit margins on the trading of assignments alone made them valuable, never mind

Table 4-19: Warrant Totals Assignment, Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870.

Number with one Warrant	=	392
Number with two Warrants	=	89
Number with three Warrants	=	41
Number with four Warrants	=	27
Number with five Warrants	=	20
Number with six Warrants	=	15
Number with seven Warrants	=	7
Number with eight Warrants	=	5
Number with nine Warrants	=	4
Number with ten Warrants	=	2
Number with eleven Warrants	=	3
Number with fourteen Warrants	=	5
Number with fifteen Warrants	=	3
Number with sixteen Warrants	=	2
Number with seventeen Warrants	=	2
Number with nineteen Warrants	=	1
Number with twenty Warrants	=	1
Number with twenty-eight Warrants	=	1
Number with thirty-two Warrants	=	1
Number with forty-four Warrants	=	1
Number with forty-eight Warrants	=	1

the value of the 160 acres each Warrant represented.<sup>110</sup> Some very well-known names appear as assignees. A close look at the orders in which the assignments were traded produces some very interesting relationships. Edwin Comber in Toronto was usually

<sup>110</sup> The amount paid for the assigning of a Bounty Warrant is indicated in those files in the records consulted and already footnoted. It is not available in all cases. The amount varies, but remains somewhere between \$50 and \$100 per Warrant.

**Table 4-20: Particular Bounty Warrant Owners.**

NAME	# OWNED
Henry J.H. Clarke, Att. Gen. of Man.	= 17
Alexander McMicken, son of Gilbert	= 28
Gilbert McMicken, Dom. Land Agent, Wpg.	= 8
William Nassau Kennedy, Officer of the RREF	= 9
Other RREF members, other than those keeping their own Warrants	= 38
James B. Feilde, Tor. Lawyer/Real Estate Agent	= 48
George Stephen of Toronto,	= 44
Mary Herchmer, wife of an RREF Officer	= 7
Anne Theresa McMicken, wife of Gilbert	= 6
Harriet J. Burrows, related to A.C. Burrows	= 2
Mary Kennedy, wife of William Nassau	= 1
Six unknown women (one Warrant each)	= 1

allied with the Honorable James McKay in Red River.<sup>111</sup> Charles Mair, James Cowan, either Gilbert or Alexander McMicken and, finally, Arthur Harvey in Toronto were usually combined in various ways. Hugh Kelly of the RREF, living in Winnipeg, usually started another combination that led from him to Alexander McMicken, to George Rolph, and finally to John S. Aikens in Toronto. Another trail started with Patrick G. Close, went on from Charles T. Hurrell, to John W. Harris, to

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<sup>111</sup> The first name given is the person who first received the Warrant from the Volunteer. Each name thereafter is the next in order in that particular string.

Nathaniel Higginbotham, and finally to Rusk Harris in the East. Another trail began with Allister M. Clarke and produced a litany of other assignees: Alexander McMicken, John Bowman, James B. Feilde, George Stephen, John S. Aikens, John L. Blaikie, Alfred W. Burrows, John C.F. Cochrane and, in the end, usually Dufresne and McGarrity, Grocers and Real Estate Agents, Montreal. All of the trails described invariably led East, with each step in the process raising the ante and the cost of the assignments accordingly. Quite a vast trade was developed in Bounty Warrants that were originally designed as cheap bonuses for soldiers serving on the frontier. In fact, the assignments benefitted only the wealthy in most cases, as barely 175 of them were ever entered by the people they were intended to benefit.

As the medals were handed out to the militia for service in the Red River Expedition of 1870,<sup>112</sup> (See Figure 4-5, Page 216) many a wealthy Eastern speculator must have been thankful that the more practical Bounty Warrant had also been issued to the troops. As for the First Expedition itself, it was destined to be something other than just a simple peace-keeping force dispatched to the North-West as a group of soldier settlers to assert Canadian sovereignty.

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<sup>112</sup> Graham H. Neale and Ross W. Irwin, The Medal Roll of the Red River Campaign of 1870 in Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: The Charlton Press, 1982), p. 4.

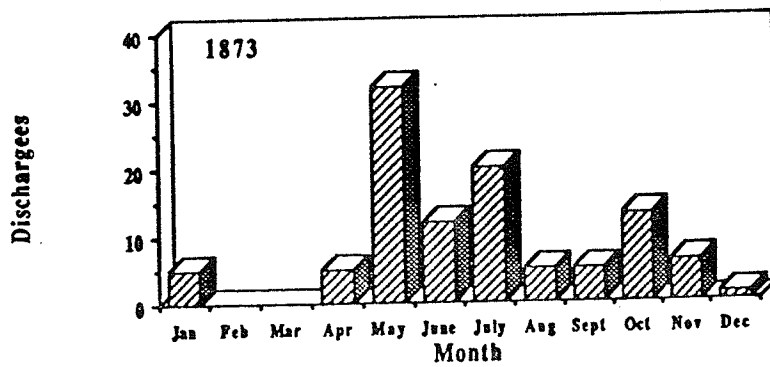
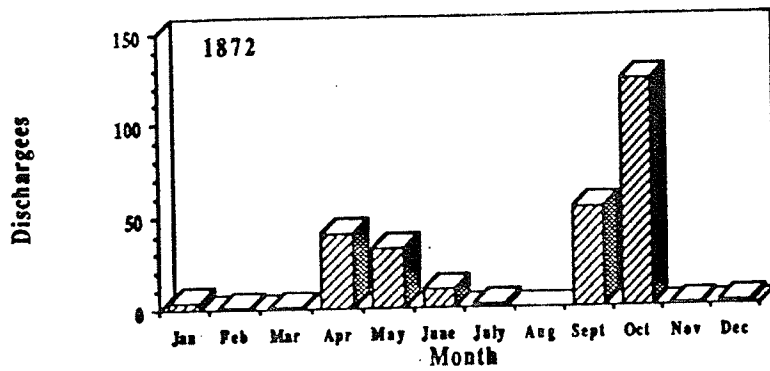
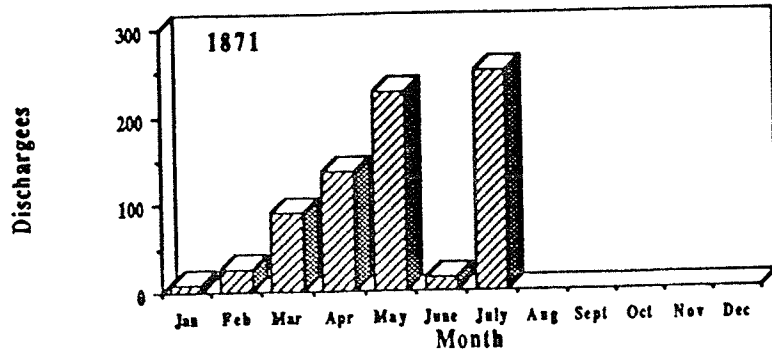
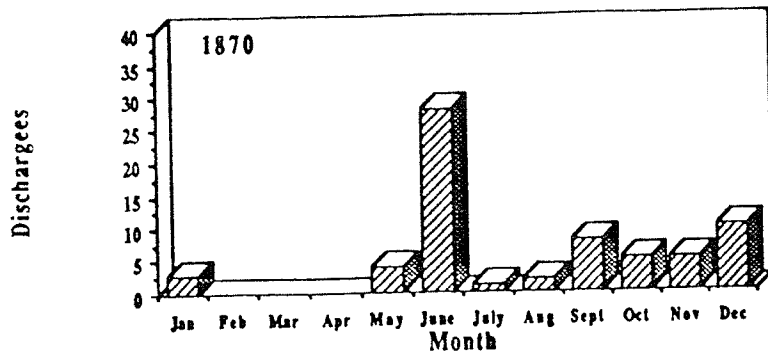


Figure 4-4: Dates of Discharge, RREF, 1870-1873.

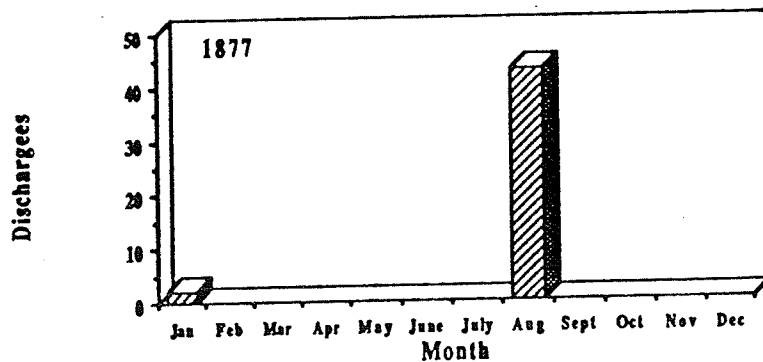
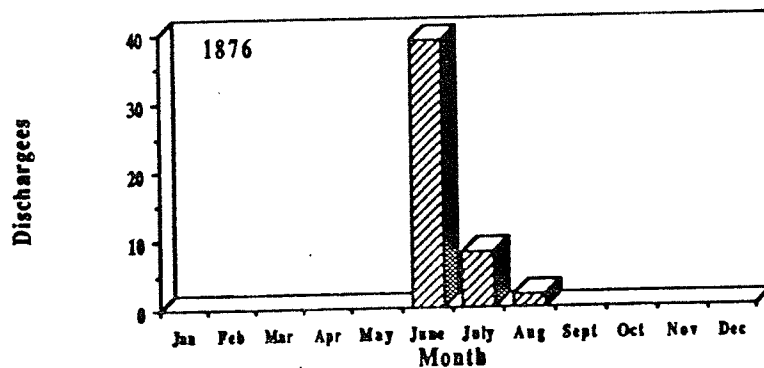
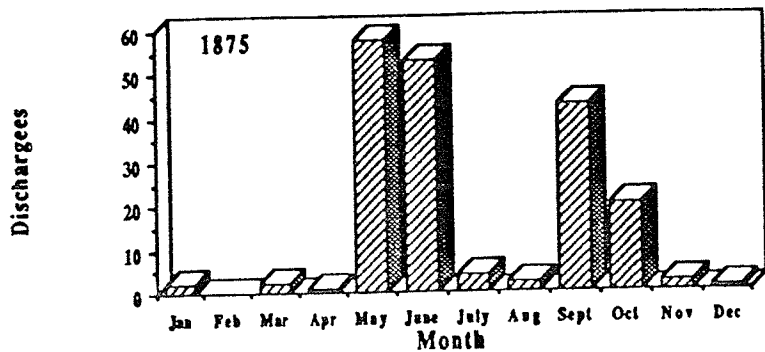
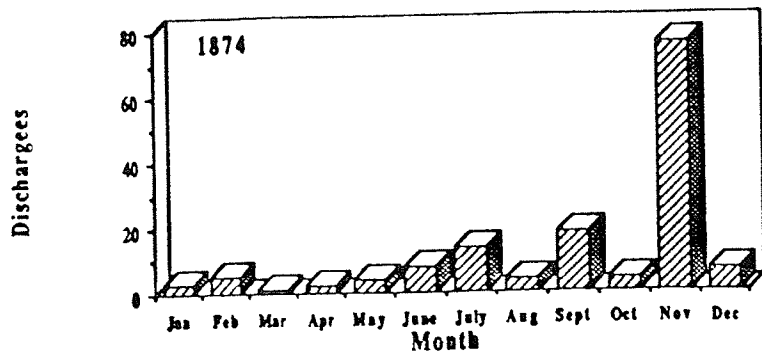


Figure 4-4: Dates of Discharge, RREF, 1874-1877.



A

# PROVISIONAL BATTALION OF RIFLEMEN.

These are to certify that No *495 Sgt J. Dweed* born in the  
*Down* of *Ringsston* in the County of  
*Monteac* was Enlisted at *Ringsston*  
 for the MANITOBA EXPEDITION, on the *14th day October 1871*  
 at the age of *21* years. That he has served in the Expedition to  
 Manitoba for *349* year and *349* days.  
 That he is discharged in consequence of the *expiration of his term of service*

*W. A. M. Major*  
 Commanding Officer.

Dated at *Fort Garry*  
 this *27th* day of *September* 1872.

Discharge of *No. 495 Sgt J. Dweed* confirmed

*W. A. M. Major*  
 Commanding *Det. Troop*  
*Manitoba*

Character and Conduct as reported by Regimental Board.

*Very good*

Example of Discharge Paper.

No. 20

INTERIM CERTIFICATE.

MILITARY BOUNTY WARRANT.

DOMINION LANDS, MANITOBA.



Office of Dominion Lands,

Winnipeg,

March 27<sup>th</sup> 1877

This is to Certify, that *Lieut Col Jarvis of*  
*Kungelton, in the Province*  
*of Ontario*

has filed in this Office **MILITARY BOUNTY WARRANT** Numbered *0455*  
and the same has been located upon the *South East* quarter of Section No. *One*  
in Township *North* Range *Four East* and the said *Lieut Col Jarvis*  
is entitled hereby to enter upon and occupy said Quarter Section pending the issue of a  
Patent to him for the same.

*Alfred Burrows*  
Agent Dominion Lands.

Example of Interim Certificate.



1871

Know all men by these Presents that I, Thomas Tved  
 of the town of Winnipeg in the county of Selkirk in  
 the Province of Manitoba Labourer  
 lately a Volunteer in the provisional Battalion of Riflemen, for and in  
 consideration of the sum of seventy five dollars -----  
 of lawful money of Canada in hand to me paid by Hugh Kelly -----  
 (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged)  
 have granted, bargained, sold, assigned and transferred, and by these presents do grant, bargain,  
 sell, assign and transfer to the said Hugh Kelly -----  
 his heirs and assigns forever, all my estate, right, title, interest,  
 claim and demand, both in law and in equity, of whatever nature or kind, of, in and to all and  
 singular all lands heretofore granted or that may hereafter be granted to me in the Province of  
 Manitoba by virtue of the services heretofore rendered and performed by me in the  
provisional Battalion of Riflemen aforesaid and the discharge hereunto annexed,  
 marked A.

And I hereby, in consideration aforesaid, assign and transfer all my right, title, interest, claim and  
 demand of, in and to the Crown Patent of the said lands unto the said Hugh Kelly --  
 his heirs and assigns,

To HAVE AND TO HOLD the same unto and to the use of the said Hugh Kelly -----  
 together with all and every the  
 benefits and advantages to be derived therefrom.

And for the effectual carrying out of the said assignment and transfer, I do hereby nominate,  
 constitute and appoint the said Hugh Kelly -----  
 my true and lawful attorney, to locate for me and to my use, but in  
 his own name, or if by his heirs or assigns, in his, her, or their own name, all the said lands above-  
 mentioned, and to demand and receive the Patent thereof from the Crown in his, her or their own  
 name, and to give for me and in my name all the necessary receipts, and sign all necessary docu-  
 ments for the obtaining of said Patent, and generally to all the papers and documents necessary  
 for the due carrying out of this transfer.

This, the power to my said attorney being irrevocable, and admitting of no other construc-  
 tion than the transfer of all my right, title and interest to and in the lands aforesaid unto the said  
Hugh Kelly his Heirs and assigns -----  
 for the consideration aforesaid.

*On Witness whereof I the said  
 Thomas Tved have hereunto set my hand  
 and seal at Winnipeg aforesaid this  
 twenty eighth day of September in the  
 year of our Lord one thousand eight  
 hundred and seventy two*  
 signed sealed and delivered  
*in presence of*  
W. B. Shandrew  
J. Handerson  
Thomas Tved

Example of Assignment Forms.

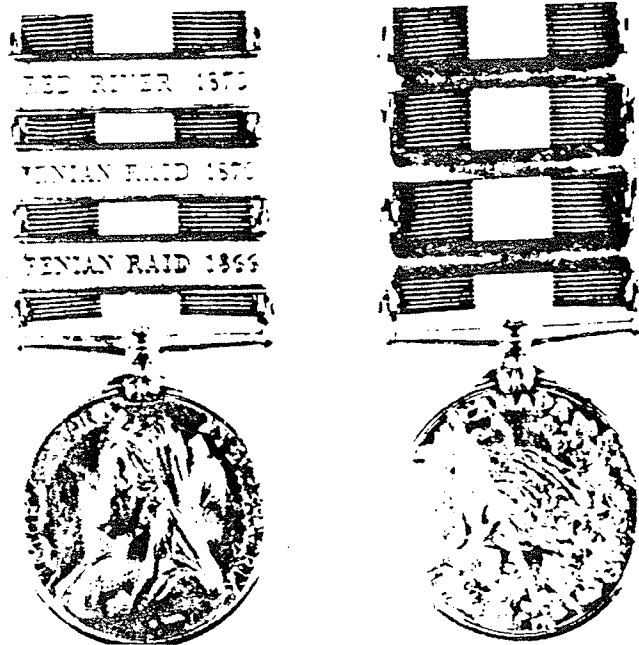


Figure 4-5: General Service Medal, Canada. RREF, 1870-1877.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROCESS OF INTIMIDATION, 1870-1872

The introduction into the Red River Settlement of the RREF, the return of the politicizers, and the establishment of Canadian civil government, took place against a backdrop of social, economic and political change designed to make Canada the sovereign power in the North-West in 1870. The Métis, whose original intention was to take an active part in the new regime, were prevented from exercising their rights under the Manitoba Act and, as a result, were relegated to a secondary and impoverished role by an informal cabal of politicizers, Canada First and their supporters. The process involved the use of the RREF in its unofficial capacity as a vengeance-seeking force while, at the same time, maintaining the charade of its official peace-keeping function. The resultant intimidation of the Métis middle-class and the destruction of Métis social, economic and political life was predictable. Starting in August of 1870 and reaching a peak by the autumn of 1872, Canada First, the politicizers, the RREF volunteers, and a smattering of Ontario immigrants successfully removed the Métis as a political power in Manitoba. Behind the unofficial and informal process of intimidation, the formal expansion of the Canadian system of government ensured that the Métis would never again trouble the periphery of Canada's Western Empire. Unable, in a British imperial system, to conquer and expand, Canada chose the next least objectionable method: a Kansas-style influx of armed settlers whose purpose was to guarantee that the new Province

of Manitoba assumed an Ontario image without the interference of the Métis. In the latter development the militia units of the RREF played a pivotal and forceful part.

As the process of intimidation unfolded, official Canada ignored the obvious lawlessness of the peace-keepers. There was, in fact, an "official reticence" to recognize the actions of the Canadians in Rupert's Land in the early 1870's as intimidation. Refusal to acknowledge the existence of violence directed against the Métis, mirrored on the part of the Canadian Government, what was actually an undeclared and as yet in 1870, an undefined "National Policy" which proclaimed that the North-West was there for the express purposes of the Dominion. It was further apparent that no other national corporate body which did not reflect Ontario-style views would be tolerated in the newest part of the Nation.

Prior to 1870, the militia, so essential in efforts to intimidate and destabilize the Métis, had a tenuous grip on existence at best. Traditionally, Canada had followed a defence policy which looked to England to defend the country in case of war. The militia was, in essence, an expensive redundancy which Canada thought it could well do without. However, the need for political patronage made the volunteer companies a highly useful appendage to the Canadian political system. As a result, the militia was understaffed, ill-



equipped and prone to use as a political tool.<sup>1</sup>

The training system in use in the 1860's was even more ill-managed than the equipment itself; officers were given a maximum of three months and, in most cases, much less, training at special Military Schools set up for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> The Schools disappeared in 1871, but from 1864 to 1870, nearly 6000 certificates were granted.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the popularity of the militia companies was enhanced when it became obvious after 1867, that England was not going to maintain imperial troops in Canada.<sup>4</sup> It was further apparent that there was an overabundance of officers to command the available militia units. In addition, the same officers were, in most cases, the product of a patronage system, their appointments political plums handed out to those who had the right kind of relationship with the party in power. What the militia system produced, therefore, was a top-heavy force with poorly trained officers whose best claim to military experience was a personal relationship with politicians. Inevitably, such individuals could be used by anyone who could demonstrate the proper political acumen, and the latter fact was the greatest weakness of the militia system. Nonetheless, it was the only

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<sup>1</sup> Morton, Canada and War. A theme which is constantly referred to by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, "Defence," p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Nor'Wester, Tuesday, February 14, 1860.

purely Canadian military force which Canada had.

The arrival of the RREF in 1870 with its official and unofficial intentions, provided the politicizers with a second chance to gain the upper hand in Red River politics. As a result, the Canadians were able to act as the focus of a source of power that they had helped to create. In addition, they could proceed against the Métis in order to prevent them from becoming anything other than "a most useful set of people" in the new regime.<sup>5</sup> The failure of the politicizers to achieve success in the years before 1870 would provide them with the motivation to defeat the Métis. The Red River volunteers would provide them with the means. As for Schultz himself, among his other concerns as leader of the politicizers after August of 1870, there was the added apprehension that his extensive rebellion losses would never be paid out. As it happened, he was most pleased in 1871 when the supplementary estimates of the Canadian Government provided the necessary funds to accommodate his financial needs.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime, his life and that of the Town of Winnipeg proceeded at an accelerated pace.

The little hamlet around the junction of the Red and

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<sup>5</sup> Part of Charles Mair's prophetic statement about how useful the Métis would be once the country was filled up with the "right kind of settlers."

<sup>6</sup> Dr. John Schultz, Speech On The Supplementary Estimates, House of Commons, M.P. for Lisgar, Manitoba, Thursday, April 13, 1871. "I may say that this is a point which especially pleases me."

Assiniboine Rivers experienced many dramatic changes after 1870. From a small centre of "expectant capitalism"<sup>7</sup> it grew rapidly into a bustling frontier centre of economic and political power. New arrivals, not the least of whom were the volunteers of the RREF, swelled the ranks of the Canadian presence. In the process, they assumed a dominant role in the area. Edward Armstrong of the RREF replaced John Sutherland as Sheriff when the latter was appointed to the Canadian Senate.<sup>8</sup> Alexander Begg took his voluminous notes and returned East in January of 1870 to take up a position in the Department of Inland Revenue in Ottawa at \$1100 a year.<sup>9</sup> Walter Hyman, who had precipitated the "rifles" incident with his careless talk in St. Norbert, married on the evening of Tuesday, November 14, 1870.<sup>10</sup> The Métis, for their part, carried on with their lives. Pierre Delorme, Riel's cousin by marriage<sup>11</sup> and a former member of the Provisional Government,

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<sup>7</sup> Mailhot, Sprague, "Persistent Settlers," p. 2. Their term for Winnipeg in the late 1860's.

<sup>8</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> PAC, RG2, II, Volume 2942, Privy Council Office Records, January 21, 1870 to April 19, 1870, Report of Alexander Morris, Minister of Inland Revenue to the Privy Council January 29, 1870.

<sup>10</sup> PAM, MG3, B28, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Tuesday, November 14, 1871.

<sup>11</sup> Fred J. Shore, "The Honourable Pierre Delorme, M.P., M.L.A.: 1831-1912," Unpublished manuscript of a paper read before the Métis Symposium, University of Saskatchewan, May 5, 1984. Delorme was Riel's cousin by marriage through the Beauchemin and Lagimodière families.

continued to operate a hotel in his home at Pointe Coupée (Saint Norbert).<sup>12</sup> In a more serious development, G.W. Hill, private secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, shot himself near the Honourable James McKay's home on July 4, 1871.<sup>13</sup> On the media side of affairs, Le Métis first appeared on Saturday May 27, 1871,<sup>14</sup> and it immediately reported that a Mr. Hay, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, had demanded that an inquest be held into the depredations caused by the Métis in 1869-1870. It would seem that Hay, at least, was unwilling to forgive past offenses, real or imagined.<sup>15</sup> His motion was defeated but the spirit of animosity that it represented spread quickly and soon caught Louis Riel in its web. As a result of politicizer enmity, Riel was unable to get his point of view publicized since the only press available to him was located in Winnipeg, much too close to those who would have lynched him on sight.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, other newspapers proliferated in and around Winnipeg. Among them were the Manitoban, the Canadian Party's News Letter and the

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<sup>12</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Wednesday, December 20, 1871.

<sup>13</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 36. Murdoch McLeod, a Canadian Party member, claims that Hill shot himself near Headingly. (Noted in Shrive, Charles Mair, p. 123).

<sup>14</sup> Le Métis, Samedi, 27 Mai 1871. This newspaper was first printed as a prospectus on this date.

<sup>15</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi 8 Juin 1871.

<sup>16</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 519.

Manitoba Liberal, edited by Stewart Mulvey formerly of the RREF who, was (according to Begg), "agin [sic] the government."<sup>17</sup> As it turned out, the News Letter stopped publication altogether with the issue of July 1, 1871, to be replaced by Schultz and Stewart Mulvey with the Manitoba Liberal on July 11, 1871.<sup>18</sup> In addition to newspapers, more than nineteen saloons were operating between the Upper and Lower Forts by May of 1871.<sup>19</sup> The telegraph had also arrived in Winnipeg on November 20, 1871.<sup>20</sup> Against the backdrop of local improvements, personal, private and public, a spirit of violence and meanness directed against the Métis unfolded.

The most virulent verbal attacks came from the News Letter under the direction of Stewart Mulvey, an RREF Ensign and later Winnipeg School Board Trustee. The Métis often referred to his paper as "un journal enragé" and even the Globe in Toronto, was asked to exercise a bit of common sense in reporting all that the News Letter claimed as truth.<sup>21</sup> While the conflict developed between the RREF, the politicizers and the Métis, "rapid and indiscriminate settlement

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<sup>17</sup> Dafoe, "Early Winnipeg Newspapers," p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Begg and Nursesey, Ten Years, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> Gibson, Substantial Justice, p. 68. From an address by Judge Johnson to the Grand Jury in May of 1871.

<sup>20</sup> Begg and Nursesey, Ten Years, p. 48.

<sup>21</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi, Octobre 19 1871.

rather than adjustment [became] the order of the day."<sup>22</sup>

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, who governed from September 2, 1870 to October 1872, tried his best to achieve a balance between the old settlers and the new arrivals.<sup>23</sup> The victory of the former in the first Provincial election ended on a positive note for him<sup>24</sup> since only Thomas Howard and Molyneux St. John of the RREF won positions in the new Legislature.<sup>25</sup> The other victors were representatives of the locally born population. Besides trying to keep the peace between the Schultzites and the locals, Archibald also tried to model the court system after that of Nova Scotia, his native Province. However, his attempts in this direction were later set aside by Alexander Morris, First Chief Justice of Manitoba, in favour of the model used in Ontario<sup>26</sup> since it was thought that the latter system would allow for a closer

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<sup>22</sup> Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, pp. 234-236.

<sup>23</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: XI. Ronaghan contends that Archibald tried his best but that the system was set up against reconciliation.

<sup>24</sup> Jordan, To Louis, p. 30. Taken from Begg's list of Archibald's new Government in 1870 which notes that the majority were either born in the North-West or had arrived there prior to 1869.

<sup>25</sup> O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 60. "Molyneux Singean, (sic) [St. John], First Clerk of the Legislative Assembly and with the Wolseley Expedition was later Usher of the Black Rod in the House of Commons at Ottawa and had been earlier a Lieutenant in the British Army."

<sup>26</sup> Morton, Manitoba, p. 146.

control of the French element in the Province.<sup>27</sup> As a result of such activities, the new Province and its nascent metropolis, Winnipeg, rapidly became all-powerful in the affairs of the North-West. Nevertheless, exactly how the Métis were prevented from sharing in the resulting development is not clear and the nature of the informal process of intimidation must now be examined.

The violence that was unleashed on the Métis population around the Forks in late 1870 was a direct result of the punitive inclinations of the volunteers. Their desire for vengeance was a product of the informal cabal of Canada First, Orangemen and politicizers and the men of the First Expedition were the tools by which Canadian representatives could become paramount in the North-West. Moreover, the new Lieutenant-Governor was well-aware what sentiments animated the troops:

With some (I cannot say how many) [Archibald's comment] of the volunteers who went up, a desire to avenge the murder of Scott was one of the inducements to enlist. Some of them openly stated that they had taken a vow before leaving home to pay off all scores by shooting down any Frenchman that was in any way connected with that event. The great bulk of the French population having been, one way or the other, concerned in the troubles, the feeling gradually grew to be one of intense dislike towards the whole race, which was heartily reciprocated by the French.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Morris, Nova Britannia, p. IX.

<sup>28</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, pp. 139-140. Statement taken from Archibald's evidence.

The "vows" taken by the troops were acted upon almost as soon as the first members of the RREF set foot in Red River. Wolseley, who had a very poor opinion of the local rebels, could have stopped the soldier's violent outbursts but he chose not to interfere. Furthermore, he made his reasons for not taking direct action public:

Few, except those who have had revolutionary experience, can form a just idea of the condition of affairs on the Red River for some days after our arrival. There were no police to maintain order; all those who had during the past winter suffered in body or in property from Riel's tyranny, considered they were justified in avenging themselves upon those who had had any connection with rebel affairs. The reaction from the state of fear and trembling in which all had lived for the preceding ten months was too great for many, and there was some little trouble in keeping them in proper restraint. If military rule had been resorted to, quiet and peace could have been easily maintained; but it was considered essential for political reasons to keep the military element in the background as much as possible, and to make it appear that law and order were maintained there in the same manner as in the other Canadian Provinces.<sup>29</sup>

While his soldiers passed the winter of 1870-1871 "making a nuisance of themselves by persecuting the real and fancied murderers of Thomas Scott," Wolseley himself "went off to become the military hero of late Victorian England and the inspiration for Major General Stanley in the Pirates of Penzance."<sup>30</sup> However, allusions to "nuisances" and romantic visions of red-coated generals righteously defending the

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<sup>29</sup> "Narrative of the Red River Expedition," p. 179.

<sup>30</sup> Morton, Canada and War, p. 16. The Pirates of Penzance is a musical by Gilbert and Sullivan.



honour of England somehow fail to explain the brutal reality of the Métis experience from 1870 to 1872. Khartoum and the valiant Gordon aside,<sup>31</sup> Wolseley and the volunteers in action were closer to forced submission to empire than to the peaceful maintenance of law and order.<sup>32</sup> Riel, as spokesperson for his people, accurately portrayed the reality of RREF behaviour:

Colonel Wolseley, on the same day of the capture of Fort Garry, paid off his men, gave them three days license, thus letting them loose upon our people, whom they abused in their intoxication and disorder, in the most brutal manner . . . that from the 24th day of September to the 17th of October following, there was no protection for life or property from these marauders, over whom their officers, equal to themselves, did not try to exercise control.<sup>33</sup>

Earlier in September Archbishop Taché had heard much the same refrain from Riel.

L'expédition pacifique qui nous fut envoyée pour protéger la Rivière Rouge fait-elle aux yeux du monde son devoir . . . Pourquoi Monsieur Archibald ne procure-t-il pas à tout Métis la même protection

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<sup>31</sup> Wolseley was in command of the British Expeditionary Force sent to the relief of Lord Gordon in Khartoum in the mid 1880's. William Nassau Kennedy, of the RREF, commanded the voyageurs used by Wolseley and contracted smallpox during the Expedition and died in London, England.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Garnet Wolseley, as he was then known, was in command of the relief of Khartoum in Africa, another episode on the "far-flung reaches of empire" where integration had resulted in local resistance to the assigned role expected of the locals by the metropolis.

<sup>33</sup> Stanley, Collected Writings, 1: 116. Memorial by Louis Riel to United States President, Ulysses S. Grant, October 3, 1870.

dont Schultz jouit.<sup>34</sup>

Obviously, "the expedition . . . had become the means by which the Canada First group, and the pride and anger of Protestant Ontario, proposed to wipe out the humiliations of December 1869 and February 1870."<sup>35</sup> How these means were used will soon become apparent.

As the RREF approached Red River on August 24, 1870, François-Xavier Dauphinais, Vice-President of the Provisional Government, François-Xavier Pagée and Pierre Poitras were arrested by the troops with Poitras seriously injured in the process.<sup>36</sup> In addition, Alfred Scott was dragged by his heels in the mud and threats to tar and feather Thomas Bunn were uttered.<sup>37</sup> It appeared that the Regulars were not inclined to be too pacific when it came to dealings with the former members of the Provisional Government. These same soldiers then invaded the local saloons and became extremely intoxicated and violent, which would appear to contradict their official role as peace-keepers. As a British officer noted at the time:

Every other house seems to be a whiskey shop, and

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 1: 104, 106. Riel to Taché, St. Joseph, September 30, 1870.

<sup>35</sup> Morton, Begg's Journal, p. 143. Reference is to the Canadian defeats in Red River during December 1869 and February 1870.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 549, 564.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Thomas Bunn, F.X. Pagée, Pierre Poitras and F.X. Dauphinais were all members of the Provisional Government.

for the first two or three days after our arrival the place seemed turned into a very Pandemonium - Indians, half-breeds, and whites, in all stages of intoxication, fighting and quarrelling in the streets with drawn knives, and lying prostrate on the prairie in all directions, like the killed and wounded after a sharp skirmish. Fortunately the stock of whiskey was limited, and was quickly consumed, so that these drunken orgies soon came to a natural end.<sup>38</sup>

Another British Officer reported much the same scenario:

Half naked Indians mad with spirits of all kinds . . . fighting with drawn knives; drunken voyageurs and half-breeds struggling and rolling in the mud; public houses of notorious rebels sacked . . . [all] aggravated by the fact that Wolseley had no civil authority whatsoever.<sup>39</sup>

Such behaviour presaged little that was good for the local population but the arrival of the volunteers after August 28, 1870 saw the commencement of the real violence against the Métis.

Hardly had the volunteers arrived when a small bridge over the Assiniboine near the Forks was cut around August 30th while the guards were absent.<sup>40</sup> The only possible explanation was that, either it was pure mischief, or it was intended to cut off a major route of access from or escape to the Fort Garry area. At the same time a man named Ryder Larsen, who was wanted for murder, surrendered on September 1st to Colonel

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<sup>38</sup> Huyshe, Red River Expedition, p. 222. Huyshe was a British Regular Army Officer.

<sup>39</sup> Wallace, Rebellion in the Red River, p. 31.

<sup>40</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 353.

Wolseley but the latter took no action.<sup>41</sup> Later the same day, Father Kavanagh, a Catholic Priest who worked around the White Horse Plains was shot at, presumably by volunteers. Again, nothing was done to determine who was responsible.<sup>42</sup> Near the same area, at Baie St. Paul, a Métis named Wabishka Morin was assaulted. At the same time, fences were torn down, private goods were stolen and lives were threatened. The prime suspects in each incident were the members of the volunteer Force.<sup>43</sup> Even The Globe, in distant Toronto, was aware that lives were being threatened in Red River.<sup>44</sup> The press in St. Paul in the United States was even more specific about what was going on in the Settlement. A "reign of terror" was taking place and according to the Daily Pioneer in St. Paul, "its purpose [was to drive] out by threats or actual violence all the French half-breed population, all American citizens, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Governor [sic] Archibald."<sup>45</sup>

However, the major confrontation between volunteers and Métis in September of 1870 was the drowning of Elzéar Goulet in the Red River on September 13, 1870. As R. G. MacBeth

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> The Globe, September 27, 1870.

<sup>45</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, October 6, 1870.

explained it:<sup>46</sup> "Goulet had words with some men in a saloon, they chased him and he drowned although it was not likely they would have done him any serious harm."<sup>47</sup> It is curious that anyone would go to such extremes to escape from people who were friendly. Although MacBeth might have thought that the volunteers intended no harm, Goulet, on the other hand, saw things differently. In any case, the ensuing investigation brought out one fact which was known to everyone in Red River at the time, namely, that "several among Goulet's pursuers were soldiers, members of the Canadian volunteer force."<sup>48</sup> Chasing civilians and throwing rocks at them when they jumped into the river to escape was hardly what should have been expected from the members of a peace-keeping force. That no punishment resulted from the incident further worried the locals, in that it appeared that the volunteers could act with impunity whenever they chose. Joseph Royal posed the problem in a manner which left little to the imagination: "Quelle protection espérer d'un gouvernement dont les propres soldats sont les premiers à moquer de la loi et de son autorité?"<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Author of The Making of the Canadian West, previously cited.

<sup>47</sup> Macbeth, Making of the West, p. 90.

<sup>48</sup> Milligan, "The Lieutenant-Governorship," p. 59. Milligan indicates that two of the soldiers involved were Privates named Saunders and Madigan. Also noted in Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 412.

<sup>49</sup> PAM, Lieutenant-Governor's Collection, Joseph Royal to Archibald, February 23, 1871.

In fact, Archibald soon realized that he could not guarantee the safety of any person whom the volunteers did not approve.<sup>50</sup> The Toronto Telegraph, in reporting the drunkenness, fights and assaults in and around Winnipeg at the time, mentioned in passing that "Riel with all his faults [had] kept up an excellent police force."<sup>51</sup> The violence must have been horrific if the Telegraph, so closely attached to the Canada First movement, commended Riel for having been able to keep the peace. Even the local Red River newspapers reported on the violence that was rapidly becoming endemic to the Settlement, such as the case of an Indian woman being stabbed to death near Fort Garry and volunteers being suspected of the crime.<sup>52</sup> In the Settlement itself, rumours were rampant to the effect that the newcomers were boasting that they would soon drive the Half-Breeds from the country or keep them to become the "cart-drivers" of the new immigrants.<sup>53</sup>

Even the politicizers became involved. Schultz returned to Red River on the morning of September 6, 1870 and promptly invaded the home of Thomas Spence, the editor of the New Nation, terrifying his wife and family with pistols and horse whips. In the ensuing melee, Schultz, besides physically

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<sup>50</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 1: VIII.

<sup>51</sup> Telegraph, Toronto, September 16, 1870.

<sup>52</sup> New Nation, September 3, 1870.

<sup>53</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, 1874. Evidence of Archbishop A. Taché.

assaulting Spence with his whip, also took an important piece of the New Nation's press which rendered that newspaper hors de combat for some time.<sup>54</sup> After Schultz stole the lever from the New Nation's press, the only newspaper able to operate until October 15th was the News Letter, Schultz's own paper.<sup>55</sup> He was obviously shrewd enough to mix vengeance with commercial success in equal proportions whenever possible. Because of such actions, the Métis started to avoid Winnipeg in fear of the physical assaults which were becoming common in that locality. Archibald even had to cross over to St. Boniface to meet Métis leaders since they were afraid to enter Winnipeg.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, when the last of the British troops left on September 10th, the Canadians became even more violent and Archibald was helpless in controlling them.<sup>57</sup>

It is evident that the military discipline of the volunteers ranged from ineffective to non-existent. Most soldiers tend to be rowdy but, in the cases being examined, the punishments they received encouraged violence more than discipline. For example, Private F. Lascombe was sentenced to four days at hard labour for being absent without leave while

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<sup>54</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 396.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>56</sup> Bowles, "Adams George Archibald," p. 79. "We suspect that the inability of some to attend the Levee the previous day was that they were afraid to cross to Fort Garry for fear of reprisals in view of their past activities." (McDougall).

<sup>57</sup> Davidson, Louis Riel, pp. 94-95.

on sick call and returning drunk to camp but his sentence was quickly cancelled.<sup>58</sup> His was not the only such case and the impression was left with the volunteers that their behaviour was not about to be severely checked.

At the same time, nothing ever seemed to be done to properly investigate volunteer complicity in violent crimes committed in the neighbourhood of the Fort. When James Ross' unfinished house was burned to the ground, it was the general opinion that the volunteers were to blame but no steps were taken to determine the truth.<sup>59</sup> As a result, similar incidents multiplied. The News Letter reported on September 17th that Edmund Tanner, suspected of being a Métis sympathizer, was chased and threatened the day before.<sup>60</sup> The News Letter had also recounted earlier in September that Lance Corporal George Rolph had been knifed by Private D. Marshall in the course of a fight in the barracks.<sup>61</sup> Apparently, not all of the actions of the volunteers were directed against their avowed enemies. In essence, however, it soon appeared to the locals that the volunteers were a violent group of men, not amenable to control even if such had been the intent of their

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<sup>58</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1870-1873, September 14, 1870.

<sup>59</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 500 passim.

<sup>60</sup> News Letter, September 17, 1870.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



officers. Further examples of their lack of discipline abound. Private James Hayes of the 1st Ontario Rifles was sentenced to eight days hard labour after "being drunk and riotous in camp, resisting arrest and offering violence to the escort."<sup>62</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis, the Commander, subsequently complained about the leniency of the sentence but the only augmentation the Court Martial would impose was a ten shilling fine in addition to time served. Another soldier, facing a similar charge of drunkenness and rioting, was first sentenced to five days at hard labour but the second Court Martial that heard his case found him not guilty due to the improper procedures followed by the first Court.<sup>63</sup> Other volunteers were even luckier in that their sentences were only a few days "confined to barracks" for similar offenses.<sup>64</sup> The will to control the volunteers appeared to be lacking in most of the officers of the First Expedition.

The nocturnal activities of the volunteers were not always the usual drinking escapades for which soldiers are famous. Several of them entered Andrew McDermott's home at eleven o'clock one night in late September, attacked and

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<sup>62</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1870-1873, September 19, 1870.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., September 21, 1870. Private George Fulthorpe, 1st Ontario Rifles, Absent Without Leave (AWOL) overnight, 7 days "confined to barracks."

severely beat some of the servants and threatened two young girls in the process. When confronted by the household for their behaviour, they threatened to burn down the home if the authorities became involved.<sup>65</sup> The same American newspaper that reported this incident also recounted how Bishop Taché was threatened, nuns were insulted, Catholic institutions were targeted for arson and priests were shot at.<sup>66</sup> As the first month of the RREF's presence in Red River drew to a close, the "reign of terror" that would be noted by the press in St. Paul, Minnesota later in October of 1870, appeared to be regular fare on the streets of Winnipeg.<sup>67</sup>

The fall of 1870 proceeded apace as did the violence against the Métis and anyone who was thought to be a supporter of their cause. The Toronto Telegraph announced in early October of 1870 that soldier vigilante squads were being formed to raid the houses of certain Half-Breeds.<sup>68</sup> Some of the soldiers, however, were unable to take part in these activities. One of them drowned on October 5th on the way back from the Lower Fort.<sup>69</sup> Other volunteers, on a mission to Fort Ellice, stopped off to shave the head of a Cree Chief after

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<sup>65</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, September 1870. Also in Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 500 passim.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., October 6, 1870.

<sup>68</sup> Telegraph, Toronto, October 4, 1870.

<sup>69</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 500 passim.

they had got him drunk.<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, back in the Settlement, the volunteers were going around threatening to "kill Big Taché," something which was not designed to help in the development of proper relationships with the Métis.<sup>71</sup>

At the same time, the troops continued to have difficulties with some of their superiors. A group of volunteers on a scouting mission stole some brandy which they were transporting and became quite drunk. The resulting punishments were again of the lesser variety in that only one soldier had to spend time in jail while the rest had to pay for the liquor they had consumed.<sup>72</sup> Shortly afterwards, James Farquaharson, Schultz's father-in-law, reportedly attacked and brutally beat a Métis named Cyr.<sup>73</sup> Early in the next month, November 1870, Privates Evans, Bulger and Jones were charged with "disorderly conduct in the house of Theresa Leclerc." They were subsequently discharged for lack of evidence.<sup>74</sup> However, it is possible, given the overall atmosphere of violence, that witnesses were too frightened to give evidence. Whatever the

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<sup>70</sup> News Letter, October 8, 1870.

<sup>71</sup> Morice, History, 2: 65-66.

<sup>72</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1870-1873, October 13, 1870. Sergeant Hamilton, Corporals O'Neil and Percy stole 5 bottles of brandy valued at \$8.00.

<sup>73</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, October 15, 1870.

<sup>74</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 34, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, Guard Reports, 1870-1873, 1st Ontario Rifles, Guard Report of November 3, 1870.

reason for the lack of prosecution, the Red River Settlement received one more proof that the soldiers considered themselves beyond the reach of the law.

The St. Paul Daily Pioneer continued to report peace-keeper violence in Red River during November of 1870. A Métis named Landry was knocked down, kicked, beaten and dragged about one hundred feet and it was later reported that the original intention had been to hang him as a supporter of the Provisional Government.<sup>75</sup> Romain Neault had also been accorded the same treatment by some 12 to 15 volunteers a little earlier on November 5, 1870 and, later, another Métis named Rivard suffered similar indignities.<sup>76</sup> Apparently, troops were also stopping certain Métis on the streets and staring at them with the intention of memorizing their features so that they could be attended to at a later date.<sup>77</sup> As if physical threats, violence and intimidation were not enough, the local organ of the politicizers, the News Letter, began to attack the Catholic Church around December 10, 1870.<sup>78</sup> The troops, for their part, continued with their drunkenness and

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<sup>75</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, November 8, 1870.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Manitoban, December 10, 1870. The issue of the News Letter in question is not extant and is reputed to be the October 1, 1870, issue # 6, Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 466.

lack of military discipline.<sup>79</sup>

On December 16th, David Tait and two fellow workers, supposedly Métis supporters, were dragged from their buggy and assaulted. Two soldiers' hats were found afterwards and the volunteers were duly implicated.<sup>80</sup> Immediately after this incident, another Métis supporter lost his haystacks due to a series of suspicious fires for which the volunteers were again blamed.<sup>81</sup> Later in December, James Tanner was killed after his horse was spooked by unknown individuals. The fact that he had just given a speech at an election meeting in which he had attacked Schultz immediately brought out the suspicion that he had been inadvertently killed by soldier workers attached to Schultz's campaign.<sup>82</sup> Such violent actions seriously intimidated the Métis and their supporters. Eventually the year 1870 ended, but not before one last outburst of violence occurred.

The emeute was occasioned by Schultz's defeat at the hands of Donald A. Smith in the first Provincial elections in

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<sup>79</sup> The records of the Court Martial Files for the RREF, contained in PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, 1870-1873, contain numerous reports for September to December 1870 in which the presence of alcohol, disobedience and violence play a major role. The penalties handed out are also much less severe than those which were meted out later in the Force's history.

<sup>80</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 500 passim.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

Manitoba. Assaults, threats and alcohol figured largely in the demonstrations which the Schultzites put on for the residents of the Settlement.<sup>83</sup> It appeared by the end of 1870 that if any individual had supported the Métis or was perceived to be a supporter of theirs, that person could count on being the target of soldier animosity. It also appeared that the volunteers were completely free to do serious injury to anyone they disliked. Since most of their non-military activities took place in and around Winnipeg, the last four months of 1870 also taught the Métis a valuable lesson: Winnipeg was not safe for them, even when they ventured there in numbers. Additionally, it was apparent that the authorities were incapable of controlling the soldiers or, at worst, unwilling to do so. Since many of the volunteers would soon be discharged into the area around Winnipeg<sup>84</sup>, 1871 promised to be a much more dangerous year for the Métis of Red River since the veterans would soon be removed from even the weak control of the military authorities.

1871 opened as 1870 had closed, with violent attacks on several Métis individuals. Toussaint Voudrie and Joseph McDougall were assaulted and battered by volunteers Patrick

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 556. Also reported in the Manitoban, December 31, 1870. Schultz was defeated by a margin of 7 votes.

<sup>84</sup> See previous Chapter.

Momsey (Morrissey?),<sup>85</sup> Richard Wilson, David Hamilton and Robert Jamieson on January 4, 1871.<sup>86</sup> Although the latter two were not officially indicted, they were involved in the dispute which led to the beatings. For their part in the affair, Wilson and Momsey were fined \$40.00 each and had to pay court costs of \$7.50.<sup>87</sup> Others from the RREF who were involved but never charged were Corporal James Hayes, Corporal O'Neil and Private Hamilton.<sup>88</sup> Apparently the soldiers had passed by Voudrie's house and, in the course of events, decided to proposition the women inside. Voudrie reacted by kicking them out and was almost beaten to death protecting the women when the volunteers returned later with reinforcements.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> The name is not the same as that given in the Government records investigated. It is a probable misspelling.

<sup>86</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1870-1873, Mounted Constabulary Force Report January 16, 1871.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., Applications, Bounty Lands 1872-1873, Courts Martial, etc, 1870-1873, Civil Court Papers, Winnipeg Hearing, January 16, 1871.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., Military Bounty Lands Red River Force, 1872-1873, Copy of Assault and Battery Conviction added to Military Courts Martial Returns for January 1871. Conviction was by Justices of the Peace A.G.B. Bannatyne and Andrew McDermott, January 14, 1871. The Guard Report for January 10, 1871 includes Privates Humphrey, Morrissey, Wilson, Hamilton, Jameson, James Hayes, Corporal O'Neal and another Hamilton, No. 330 all up on charges.

<sup>89</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, January 4, 1871.

Voudrie was still luckier than Hugh F. "Bob" O'Lone, former member of the Provisional Government, who was killed by a blow to the head from a revolver in early January.<sup>90</sup> Not as unlucky as O'Lone was Maurice Lowman, a Métis supporter, whose house was destroyed by fire on the night of January 11, 1871.<sup>91</sup> In addition to such attacks, rumours abounded in the Settlement that attempts were being made to poison Riel.<sup>92</sup> However, not all of the rumours in Red River proved to be detrimental to the Métis. Efforts to recall the volunteers were being considered in Ottawa and, since these impinged directly on the unofficial purpose of the RREF, the members of Canada First in the East were concerned. As George T. Denison remarked later:

The plea [is] of some emergency down here, [Ottawa] either false report of Fenian Raid or something of that kind as an excuse for bringing them all back and not disbanding them in Manitoba -- I do not think they will be allowed to stay as the French Gov't papers [sic] utterances for recall may be taken as what the Gov't intends to do . . . Keep the Ontario boys well posted as to how the Gov't papers are referring to them - it is of importance that they should thoroughly appreciate how little they have to expect from a French rebel Minister of Militia and a Gov't under French influence. The officers need not toady there for the sake of advancement. They are marked men and their true course is to be true to their own race, and their own people. I hope sincerely you will succeed for the common [sic], we will want one to tell how

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., March 7, 1871.

<sup>91</sup> Manitoban, January 14, 1871.

<sup>92</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 394. Also in PAM, Riel Papers, Joseph Dubuc to Riel, January 12, 1871. Apparently the rumour was that William Dease had paid an Indian to poison Riel.



things are very badly.<sup>93</sup>

Schultz failed to win a Commons seat but he was more successful at admonishing the troops since they subsequently redoubled their efforts at intimidation. On February 4th, they threatened to tear down John McTavish's house. They also physically attacked Joseph Dubuc<sup>94</sup> and threatened Joseph Royal.<sup>95</sup> Then, later in February, an ugly incident of mutiny occurred. Robert Mulligan and John Howman of the 4th Company of the 1st Ontario Rifles were broken out of jail by over 100 volunteers who disagreed with the punishment meted out to them by their officers.<sup>96</sup> While the Guard was attempting to restore order in the melee which ensued, another soldier, under arrest for being drunk on piquet duty, got hold of a pistol and fired into the crowd of soldiers, narrowly missing Colonel Jarvis, and striking Private Joe Thompson instead. As a result of the mutinous disaster, only two soldiers were

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<sup>93</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, 1858-1887, Box 15, G.T. Denison to J.C. Schultz, Toronto January 28, 1871.

<sup>94</sup> Joseph Dubuc, Joseph Royal and Marc-Amable Girard were protégés of Archbishop Taché's brought out by him from Quebec to strengthen the French cause in the North-West. Even Taché, it would appear, did not think the Métis very capable of the successful utilization of modern government methods.

<sup>95</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 561. Mctavish was associated with the HBC and the latter two were know associates of Taché's.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 577. Also reported in the Manitoba News Letter and in the PAC, Court Martial Files, Red River Force, 1870-1873, previously referred to.

charged: Private George Lee for "being concerned in an outrage in barracks"<sup>97</sup> and Corporal John Stephenson, the soldier who shot Joe Thompson, with being "drunk on duty." They were reduced to the ranks and sentenced to serve 30 and 42 days hard labour, respectively, but they never served their sentences.<sup>98</sup> Given that the volunteers were upset with Jarvis because of his unwillingness to let them do as they wished, it was surprising that such lenient sentences were levied in the first place. As it was, the defendants were let off rather leniently, perhaps because punishing them would have hampered their usefulness against the Métis. What was more telling, however, was that the implications of a soldier revolt in the Town of Winnipeg and the attack on Jarvis were basically ignored by the authorities involved. It should have been obvious to anyone present at the time that the RREF was, in fact, out of control and it appeared that even the officers of the Expedition were not safe from the assaults of their own men. To the soldiers themselves, it seemed that they could literally get away with anything they wanted. The RREF as a peace-keeping force was rapidly degenerating into an army under the control of those whose expressed purpose had always

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<sup>97</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Return of Defaulters, Red River Force, 1870-1873. Guard Report and Defaulters Lists for February 1871, 1st Ontario Rifles. The charge was eventually dropped and Lee and Stephenson never served time for the offenses.

<sup>98</sup> The Globe, March 7, 1871.

been to remove the Métis from the scene. In the process the Force was becoming the major source of lawlessness in the Red River Settlement.

The soldiers' ability to wage indiscriminate combat with whomever they wished continued over the winter of 1871. On February 23rd they attempted to burn down the offices and presses of the Manitoban.<sup>99</sup> It appeared that they did not appreciate the editorial bent of the newspaper and so wished to remove it from opposition to the policies of their leaders. In the heat of the Federal election campaign then in progress, orders came down from the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis, to the effect that all officers and ranks were to be confined to barracks on Election Day, February 27th.<sup>100</sup> The order was not well-received in all quarters, since the politicizers were counting on volunteer support to manage their election at the polls.<sup>101</sup> On March 3rd, once the results of the campaign were public, a procession planned to "celebrate a certain election to the House of Commons" was sug-

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<sup>99</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, March 14, 1871. Incident reported in a letter from St. Boniface, received by the newspaper.

<sup>100</sup> PAM, MG6, B2, Ontario Rifles, Battalion Order Book, No. 5 Company, 13 February to 22 July 1871.

<sup>101</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 394. In Footnote Number 54, Fred Denison to G. T. Denison on March 15, 1871. The secret ballot was not yet in use in Canada and public voting could often be influenced by the right kind of persuasion, usually some form of hardwood stick vigorously used.

gested as being "off limits" to the men of the RREF.<sup>102</sup> Obviously, although he could not order the men away from a simple expression of joy as he could an election,<sup>103</sup> Jarvis was taking no chances with the overbullient members of his Command. However, he could only request that the men refrain from participation, "as it would not be in the best interest of the good name of the troops and the character of the battalion as soldiers."<sup>104</sup> It is not known how many of the volunteers followed his suggestion but it is significant that the News Letter did not publish the next day, March 4th, the first anniversary of Scott's death. The usual reason given for this lapse of journalistic obligation was because the entire crew "were drunk."<sup>105</sup> It would seem likely that the procession and the resulting party had gone well with both the troops and the politicizers suffering from the effects of too much drink and in no shape to be very active on such an important day. They had recovered by March 8th, however, and on that day several of them met two Métis men on the river ice near Fort

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid. The procession was in honour of John C. Schultz's election to the House of Commons.

<sup>103</sup> It was standing military policy to confine the military to barracks whenever an election was in the polling stages. Military personnel were not supposed to engage in politics as this was the sole imperative of the Civil Power.

<sup>104</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 394.

<sup>105</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Saturday, March 4, 1871. "No News Letter [sic] today -- all drunk."

Garry and threatened to beat them. Fortunately, the two hapless Métis escaped by running away.<sup>106</sup>

The constant abuse which the Métis suffered at the hands of the volunteers caused them to look for some way out of their dilemma. One wrote the St. Paul Daily Pioneer in the United States to state that "our people cannot visit Winnipeg without being insulted, if not personally abused, by the soldier mob. They defy all law and authority, civil and military."<sup>107</sup> It was not just in Winnipeg, however, that the RREF were acting out their punitive and unofficial intentions against the Métis.<sup>108</sup> While visiting a hotel in Pembina, André Neault was attacked by some volunteers but managed to escape by running outside and crossing the nearby Border. The soldiers then chased him, caught up to him, bayoneted him and left him for dead.<sup>109</sup> He survived the experience but no one heard any more about the attack. The fifteen volunteers who were involved were never brought up on charges and the issue remained just one more proof of volunteer animosity towards the Métis. It was also added evidence to the troops that they were essentially free to act as they saw fit. Back in Win-

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<sup>106</sup> Le Nouveau Monde, April 3, 1871.

<sup>107</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, March 14, 1871. From a French letter sent to the paper on February 20, 1871.

<sup>108</sup> There was a Company of the First Expedition stationed at Pembina, on the border. It numbered about 40 ranks and the necessary number of Officers.

<sup>109</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, March 14, 1871.

nipeg, other members of the Force, tired of battling with the Métis, engaged in fighting matches with all and sundry during the local horse races.<sup>110</sup>

As the months continued into spring, the apprehensions of the Métis and their leaders grew. The volunteers, who had originally signed up for one year, were due to be released from military service in May of 1871. The attendant influx of veterans into the Settlement was dreaded by the elements that were their usual targets. In fact, Joseph Dubuc saw the most critical moment coming in May of 1871 when the largest number of "Ontario bandits"<sup>111</sup> were due to be disbanded. Given the Métis experience with the volunteers while they were under military discipline, it is understandable that there was general anxiety among the inhabitants of St. Boniface, St. Norbert and St. Vital at the prospect of having to deal with hundreds of disbanded volunteers. The Métis, however, were not the only ones beginning to feel the stress of dealing with these same individuals.

Sergeant Alfred de C. Harvey<sup>112</sup> of the 1st Ontario Rifles complained bitterly about a lack of cooperation from the men under his charge while he was being tried by Court Martial for

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<sup>110</sup> PAM, MG14, C23, Box 3/6, Journal of C.N. Bell, Entry for March 18, 1871.

<sup>111</sup> PAM, Riel Papers, MG3 D1, p. 8, Dubuc to Riel, April 12, 1871.

<sup>112</sup> the "de C." in the name is not explained in the Registers and Nominal Rolls consulted.

"disturbing the peace in barracks when on duty as an Orderly Sergeant." He also attempted to escape the charges against him by putting forward some rather peculiar evidence:

I would respectfully ask the Court to take into consideration the many difficulties I have had to encounter in the discharge of my duty by the opposition of many whom I have been obliged to come in contact.<sup>113</sup>

Apparently, he had experienced serious difficulties in persuading the volunteers to obey the rules laid down for them and, while under the influence of alcohol, had attempted to use somewhat ruder methods to convince them otherwise.<sup>114</sup> He was not alone in that other Non-Commissioned Officers were having similar difficulties. Colour-Sergeant Volume reported that a private, one Joseph H. Ferguson, had assisted other prisoners in detention to escape and to resist arrest.<sup>115</sup> It would seem that the constant resort to violence by the volunteers was beginning to tell in all the facets of their daily lives.

On April 19, Frederick Bird, the M.L.A. for Portage la Prairie, was kicked and pushed into the mud because supporters

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<sup>113</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1871-1873, April 15, 1871. Sergeant Hervey had been on the Civil Police Force just before the incident under investigation.

<sup>114</sup> PAM, Journal of C.N. Bell. Entry for April 15, 1871. Bell reports that Harvey was drunk and fighting with other volunteers in the Barracks.

<sup>115</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Court Martials, Red River Force, 1871-1873, April 18, 1871.

of Schultz and the News Letter had not liked the way he had voted in the Legislative Assembly.<sup>116</sup> In the same letter describing the humiliation of Bird, John James Setter also referred to the ongoing need to boot "smooth Archy," (Lieutenant-Governor Archibald) out of office. The politicizers' dislike for Adams G. Archibald was growing apace as they became more and more capable of maintaining the intimidation of the Métis and anyone else who opposed them. At the same time, the Canadians were worried by rumours such as the one that had "that Arch Demon O'Donoghue" murdering Schultz while the latter was on one of his business trips into the USA.<sup>117</sup> However, the rumour was just that, and Schultz would continue to be the nemesis of the Métis for some time to come. In fact, in late April of 1871, he was preparing for the imminent release of his volunteer supporters from their bondage in the RREF. With such men at his back in Winnipeg, the need for the RREF as a vehicle of intimidation would become much less important to the politicizers and their Ontario supporters.

The pace of volunteer activity against the Métis increased as May of 1871 approached. On April 22nd, effigies of Riel, paid for by Schultz himself, were burned at a

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<sup>116</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Box 15, Personal Correspondence, 1858-1887, John James Setter to Schultz, April 19, 1871.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. "Arch Demon" was Setter's little joke about William B. O'Donoghue, the Fenian member of the Provisional Government.



demonstration organized in part by Stewart Mulvey.<sup>118</sup> After May 1st, fights broke out in Winnipeg between the volunteers and local Half-Breeds. On the first there was a general melee,<sup>119</sup> followed by another major disturbance and fight on May 4th in the Davis House Hotel which involved Thomas Bunn and a large group of volunteers.<sup>120</sup> Also on May 4th, one of the volunteers was arrested and charged with "brutally abusing a woman" in Winnipeg.<sup>121</sup> The woman, Marie Rivière (LaRivière?), was raped but aside from referring the case to the Civil Powers who did nothing, Jarvis simply confined the soldier to barracks. The soldier involved, subsequently escaped custody on the 6th and was promptly charged with that offense and for being drunk. Later in the month he was brought into barracks by the piquet -- drunk. As he was being put in cells for his latest offense, he struck another soldier and was again charged. However, despite a month-long record of misconduct, little was done to Private Evans except to confine him to barracks for a few

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<sup>118</sup> Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 396. Taken from a letter by Taché to Masson written on April 22, 1871, noted in Footnote #24.

<sup>119</sup> PAM, C.N. Bell Journal, Entry for May 1, 1871.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., Entry for May 4, 1871.

<sup>121</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, 1st Ontario Battalion Monthly Return of Defaulters for May 1871. Also in the Guard Report, PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 34, Report of May 4, 1871, the woman's name is mentioned as Mary Riviere (sic).

days.<sup>122</sup> Such behaviour must have been what Archbishop Taché was referring to when he mentioned that "the list would be long were I to enumerate everything reprehensible done with impunity since the transfer."<sup>123</sup> What was most bothersome, however, was that over 400 of these volunteers were about to be unleashed on the Settlement and there was little hope that anyone could control them and their violence.<sup>124</sup>

The lawlessness continued with the public whipping of a Métis named Bourassa by a group of volunteers. Apparently, they had come upon one of their own who had started a fight with Bourassa which was not going well and they intervened in order to rescue the unfortunate volunteer.<sup>125</sup> Later, on May 24th near Fort Garry, two Métis were assaulted and severely beaten by soldiers.<sup>126</sup> Even James Wickes Taylor, the American Consul in Red River, was attacked by a drunken soldier and later reported that "outrages upon the French population are

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Applications, Bounty Lands 1872-1873, Courts Martial, etc, 1870-1873. Private Evans is referred to the Civil Power but nothing comes of this. In essence, he never stood trial for a brutal sexual assault.

<sup>123</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, pp. 47-48.

<sup>124</sup> PAC, RG6, Volume 352, Secretary of State for the Provinces, Letterbook, 1871, J. Howe to Archibald, May 8, 1871. Howe mentions that half of the Force will be disbanded in the West. See also the previous Chapter for the exact number of English volunteers who remained in the North-West.

<sup>125</sup> La Minerve, July 18, 1871. The fight in question took place on May 25, 1871.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

of daily occurrence."<sup>127</sup> As in many other similar cases "no measures to arrest and punish" the attackers were ever taken.<sup>128</sup> However, he was not the only non-Métis attacked. On May 23rd an Indian man was assaulted and beaten and his daughter and wife, "outraged."<sup>129</sup> No charges were ever laid in the case despite one of the women actually identifying one of her attackers. Around the same time a Mr. McLeod and his wife were accosted by several volunteers and McLeod's wife was almost taken. However, since the man was armed, nothing happened.<sup>130</sup> Nor were all the losers in the fights Métis. On May 29th, the drummer boy from the 1st Ontario Rifles was "badly hurt in a fight with a half-breed."<sup>131</sup> However, May 1871 ended as it had begun, with violent acts still the favourite occupation of the volunteers. On May 30th, a large battle broke out between some 50 or 60 Métis and volunteers near the Davis House Hotel and in the process neither side won

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<sup>127</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 3: 602-603. Taken from New York Times, June 12, 1871 and J.W. Taylor Papers, USNARS, T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Dennis, June 6, 1871.

<sup>128</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 2: 407. Taken from Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, May 18, 1871.

<sup>129</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, June 9, 1871. Outrage is a word used during the period which usually refers to sexual assault or rape.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Monday May 29 1871.

a decisive victory.<sup>132</sup> Alexander Begg's description of the melée is noteworthy.

[In front of Davis' House] . . . a disgraceful affair occurred . . . which . . . was about the last open expression of ill-feeling between the volunteers and French Half-breeds. Ambroise Lépine's brother and some others got into a dispute with some volunteers while drinking in the Davis' House. It ended in blows and Lepine [sic] and friends were ejected into the street. A miniature battle took place then - volunteers and friends against half-breeds. Sticks, chairs, boots, bottles, and chunks of hard mud were used. Injuries occurred. Lepine [sic] had his head cut open by a fence board.<sup>133</sup>

Barely noticed amidst the violence of the street fights and the more personal individual assaults, rapes and murders, the first glimmerings of Canada's formal policy designed to make the North-West into a colony for the purposes of the Dominion took place in Ottawa. On April 25 and May 26, 1871, two Orders-In-Council were passed which allowed open settlement on the lands of the North-West in advance of survey.<sup>134</sup> The intimidation process, not officially recognized by the Canadian Government, was successfully pushing the Métis away from the centre of power and influence in the North-West and at the same time providing a safe milieu in which to propagate

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<sup>132</sup> Daily Pioneer, Saint Paul, June 21, 1871. Also mentioned in Manitoban, June 3, 1871.

<sup>133</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 33.

<sup>134</sup> See Sprague, Canada and the Métis. Sprague refers to the latter Order-in-Council by the title of "Settlers-in-Advance-of-Survey." This order was to be the mainstay in the formal process of dispossession which displaced the Métis from any benefits gained under the Manitoba Act, especially Sections 31 and 32.

an effective system of dispossession. With the Métis too intimidated to enter Winnipeg, the Canadian Government could take steps to repair the damage done by the Manitoba Act to Canada's plans for a western empire. As this first step in the formal process of the dispossession of the Métis took place, the informal process of intimidation continued unabated in and around Winnipeg.

On June 2nd, Schultz returned from one of his many trips to the East and within hours of his arrival John James Setter, a Magistrate, signed a warrant for the arrest of Louis Riel on a charge of murder.<sup>135</sup> Such continual harassment of the Métis leader prevented him from returning home and taking up the leadership of the people during the ongoing violence directed at them. In the meantime, Ensign Stewart Mulvey, who had been involved with the News Letter and was about to become the editor of the Manitoba Liberal which succeeded it, was allowed to take leave in the Town of Winnipeg while awaiting the expiration of his term of service with the RREF.<sup>136</sup> How he had managed to keep up with his military duties and still act as a close advisor and helper of Schultz's prior to his taking leave, was anybody's guess. The punitive purpose of the volunteers obviously held a predominant place in the prin-

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<sup>135</sup> Jordan, To Louis, p. 42. Also in PAM, Riel Papers, Dubuc to Riel, June 2, 1871.

<sup>136</sup> PAM, MG6, B2, Ontario Rifles, Battalion Order Book, No. 5 Company, 13 February to 22 July 1871, Orders, Fort Garry, 7 June 1871.

ciples of most of the officers and men of the RREF and they must have believed that military duties should not hinder the performance of multiple acts of violence on members of the civilian population. In the meantime, another clash was brewing between the Canadians and the Métis in a community far-removed from Winnipeg.

In early June of 1871, Duncan Urquhart Campbell, brother of Donald Campbell, RREF, quietly set up a small homestead. His small farm and house were built in an area of Manitoba which he and others like him had renamed "The Boyne Settlement."<sup>137</sup> The Orange Lodge which they instituted shortly after their arrival, would continue to function until the mid-1930's.<sup>138</sup> The Métis people who lived there in 1871, called the place "Rivière aux Ilets de Bois" and were unfortunately absent on the summer hunt when the Canadians arrived. The few Métis who were around, however, did warn the Canadians away but the latter refused to listen.<sup>139</sup> These particular Canadian settlers were all from the Expeditionary Force: Peter Campbell, Donald Campbell, George Sexsmith and three other unknown RREF veterans. Furthermore, they had all made use of Bounty

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<sup>137</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Sunday June 18, 1871. So named, in honour of the battle of the Boyne where King William of Orange, original Royal Patron of the Orange Lodge, led the English to victory.

<sup>138</sup> Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 60.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

Warrants to claim 160 acres apiece in the area.<sup>140</sup> Along with Charles Stewart, owner of two Bounty Warrants, and Duncan Urquhart Campbell, neither of whom was an RREF member, they formed a core of Canadian individuals located in a community that was usually occupied by a group of Métis winterers.<sup>141</sup> Reaction to the occupation was swift, if ineffective. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald described the Métis response as one in which the they

. . . seemed to think, that property, race, and creed were all to be trodden under foot, unless they took care of it themselves. They met in their parishes on the Assiniboine and Red River, and determined to march to the settlement and drive off the intruders.<sup>142</sup>

Even as the threat of a Fenian invasion loomed over the new Province, the Métis turned some of their power to the defence of the area without tangible effect.<sup>143</sup> Given their military skills, so evident in 1869, their lack of success in defending an outpost of the Métis homeland is curious, to say the least. It would seem that the reason for Métis failure had something to do with the new realities of 1871.

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<sup>140</sup> Apparently the Bounty Warrants they used were bought from other sources since none of them had kept their original certificates. See Appendices II-IV.

<sup>141</sup> The information dealing with the RREF and the Boyne Settlement is contained in Appendix IV in the previous Chapter.

<sup>142</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, p. 140. Taken from Archibald's testimony.

<sup>143</sup> Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 225.

The absence of proper surveys and a land law allowed simple staking to be used as the means to claim land after 1870 and the May 26th, 1871 Order-In-Council did not appear to provide the Métis with much chance for success in any argument that would develop over the soil of the prairies.<sup>144</sup> Why the Métis never routed the few Canadians on the Boyne River is obvious. Their most influential leader was in flight and unable to enter the area, let alone act in an effective manner in order to restore lost Métis lands. Of greater import, the balance of the Métis around the Settlement were beginning to respond to eighteen months of continuous abuse; simply put, they were demoralized and unable to respond as they would have two years earlier. In the final analysis, the military strength of the Métis Nation, the winterers, were off on their annual summer occupations and, by the time they returned in the fall, the Canadians were too well established in the Boyne Settlement. Furthermore, the RREF "settlers in blue serge" were supported by the sanction of the new Order-In-Council. The combination of legal support for the Canadians, intimidation, a lack of leadership and the absence of the winterers proved to be too much for the Métis.

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<sup>144</sup> The Order-In-Council stated that in the event of an argument between old settlers and "actual settlers" over a disputed claim in an area which had not yet been surveyed, the land agent was to favour the claim of the "actual" settler. (Usually the settler from Ontario).



The Boyne Incident was a microcosm of what was occurring up and down the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Abuse, threats and an overwhelming force were pushing the Métis away from their traditional lands, occupations and sources of power. The Métis, as the "object[s] of scorn, contumely and contempt" were being effectively displaced from power and it was "many of [the] Canadians [who were] most responsible."<sup>145</sup> As Le Métis noted in September 1871; "une section de la population pouvait à peine paraître sur le grand chemin sans se voir molester."<sup>146</sup> Unable to appear on the streets of the new Capital of the Province without risking serious injury, the Métis community around the Forks simply turned inward and waited for justice to be done. All that they could expect though, was a continuation of the violence and threats that by now were familiar occurrences.

In late August of 1871, news filtered through the Red River area that W.B. O'Donoghue, a former member of the Provisional Government, was organizing a Fenian army in Minnesota in preparation for an invasion of Manitoba. The Dominion Government, wary after the Fenian invasions in 1866, ordered the creation of special militia units in Manitoba which would later become known as the "Fenian Raid Companies." Altogether there were twelve such companies formed:

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<sup>145</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 61, pp. 24934-24941, McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871.

<sup>146</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi Sept 7 1871.

Troop of Cavalry: St. Boniface, Joseph Royal,  
Provisional (Prov.) Captain.

South St Andrews: Lisgar County (Known as Lisgar  
Rifles), John C. Schultz, Prov.  
Capt.; Edward H.G.G. Hay, Lieut.;  
H.S. Beddome, Prov. Ensign (Ens.).

Mapleton Rifle Co.: William J. Piton\*, Captain; Donald  
Gunn, Prov. Lieut.; Thomas Norquay,  
Prov. Ens.

Winnipeg Rifle Co.: W.N. Kennedy\*, Capt.; Stewart  
Mulvey\*, Capt.; George H. Kellond\*;  
Prov. Lieut.; Martin Burnell, Prov.  
Ensign.

Poplar Point Rifle Co.: George Newcomb, Capt.; Henry  
Wilton\*, Prov. Lieut.; David Taylor  
Sr., Prov. Ensign

Field Artillery: W.N. Kennedy\*, Capt.,; William  
Norris, Lieutenant.

Portage Rifle Co.: George Davis, Prov. Capt.; John  
Norquay, Prov. Lieut.; George  
Garrioch, Prov. Ensign.

Kildonan Rifle Co.: John F. Bain, Capt.; Hon. John  
Sutherland, Prov. Lieut.; James  
Clouston, Prov. Ens.

St. Boniface Rifle Co.: Joseph Dubuc, Prov. Capt.

St. Charles Rifle Co.: H.J. Clarke, Prov. Capt.

Unnamed Rifle Co.: Alphonse Alfred Clement Larivière,  
Capt.

Headingly Cavalry Co.: William A. Farmer, Prov. Capt.;  
John Taylor, Prov. Lieut.; A.C.  
Clouston, Prov. Cornet. <sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> PAM, MG4, D7, Canada, Militia and Defence, Correspondence, General Orders, Order-in-Council, 1864-1899, Militia General Orders, Headquarters, Ottawa, September 1, 1871. The unnamed Rifle Company was never organized and no location is provided. Those names marked with "\*" indicate a member of the RREF. W.N. Kennedy later moved from the Winnipeg Company to the Artillery Company.

All the officers who served in these companies were either graduates of the Officer Training Schools mentioned previously, members of the RREF, or civilian appointees with temporary Commissions. The latter were designated Provisional Officers in the Official Register and their Commissions were cancelled on March 27, 1872 in the cases of those who had not previously resigned.<sup>148</sup> In other words, the Fenian Raid Companies were meant to be temporary arrangements designed to defend the Province in case of a Fenian attack. Furthermore, they were not meant to exist in perpetuity unless they underwent proper training and became regular militia units. The official plan was that they would be augmented by various companies of the RREF which were also to be used in the Fenian crisis. All in all, the Fenian Defence Force was numerous enough but not well-commanded and, with few exceptions, not very well-behaved.

One of the few companies which managed to keep its mind on the task assigned to it, was Captain Louis Frasse de Plainval's RREF Company, stationed at the Lower Fort.<sup>149</sup> (The officers and men of the latter unit were all French spea-

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<sup>148</sup> PAC, Register of Officers, 1867-1922, previously cited.

<sup>149</sup> The other companies are mentioned as behaving poorly or incompetently. No comment is registered about the Lower Fort company and it is assumed that they were dutiful since it is doubtful that the Canadians would have missed an opportunity to castigate the French had things been otherwise.

kers.<sup>150</sup>) On the other hand, Captain Stewart Mulvey's company, composed of politicizers and RREF volunteers, were not so dutiful, as will be demonstrated.<sup>151</sup> In fact, except for Captain Bedson's RREF Company,<sup>152</sup> Captain William Nassau Kennedy's Artillery Company,<sup>153</sup> and de Plainval's Company, it can be shown that most of the units involved in the Fenian Raid were either patently useless or downright mutinous.

The most striking incident which marked the Fenian crisis was the handshake which the Lieutenant-Governor, Adams G. Archibald, shared with the Captain of the St. Boniface Métis Brigade, Louis Riel.<sup>154</sup> Anxious for the safety of the Province under his care, Archibald was willing to accept expert military help wherever he could find it. In the Métis Brigade, he had a unit which had proven itself less than two years previously. Archibald had gone to St. Boniface to perform his gubernatorial duties because the area around the Fort was occupied by the volunteers, veterans and politicizers and was not a safe place for Riel and the other Métis leaders to

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<sup>150</sup> PAC, RG9, II F7, Red River Paylist Accounts, 1870-1877, Captain Plainval's Fenian Raid Company, October 7 to 10, 1871.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., Fenian Raid Company of Stewart Mulvey as Captain, October 6 to 10, 1871.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., Fenian Raid Company of North St. Andrew's from October 7, to October 13, 1871.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., Fenian Raid Company, Captain W.N. Kennedy, October 3 to 25, 1871.

<sup>154</sup> Begg, History, 2: 71.

visit. Specifically, Archibald was worried that a "stray bullet" from one of the Canadians would kill Riel.<sup>155</sup>

Among the men that Archibald worried might cause trouble were Stewart Mulvey, Robert Cunningham and Lieutenant John F. Bain. These men, officers of what Gilbert McMicken termed the "home guard,"<sup>156</sup> were stationed in and around Fort Garry. Their presence indicated that the politicizers and their supporters were armed and ready for trouble.<sup>157</sup> Whether it would be the Fenians or the Métis they would oppose would depend on the circumstances as they saw them developing.

Apparently, the first intention of the Governor had been to accommodate all the forces available to him in Fort Garry. However, once the other politicizer Fenian Raid Companies discovered his plan they threatened to lay down their arms rather than obey the order to prepare the Fort to receive the "disloyal" members of the Métis Brigade.<sup>158</sup> Lieutenant E.H.G.G. Hay, the same person who had suggested a Legislative Inquest to investigate Métis depredations during 1869-1870,

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<sup>155</sup> Canada, Report of the Select Committee, p. 140. Archibald's evidence, given in October 1871.

<sup>156</sup> See the next footnote.

<sup>157</sup> Gilbert McMicken, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba: Account By One Who Knew Its Secret History," The Historical And Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction Number 32 (1887-1888), p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 3: 732. Taken from Robert Hill, Manitoba: History of Its Early Settlement, Development and Resources (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1890), p. 346.

was one of the officers who, along with Stewart Mulvey, was instrumental in making the Canadians' point of view known to the Governor.<sup>159</sup> Their mutinous behaviour was immediately followed by another threat of mutiny on the part of the men under Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine's command which had been searching for the Fenians south of Winnipeg. When Irvine's mixture of RREF volunteers and Fenian Raid Company militia heard that Riel and the Métis were gathered near the Forks, they immediately wanted to massacre the lot of them. They were also perturbed by the news of Archibald's handshake with Riel and there was "great indignation at the Governor for his conduct."<sup>160</sup> Irvine was able to control them but, in the process, they managed to get themselves recognized for what they really were, an "armed mob."<sup>161</sup> The incessant violence, so prevalent since the arrival of the RREF and the return of the politicizer leaders, could not even be put aside during a time when the country was in imminent danger of foreign invasion. Furthermore, it appeared that some of the politicizers had conceived significant unofficial uses for the Fenian Raid Companies.

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Tuesday October 10, 1871.

<sup>161</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 3: 745-746. The event occurred on October 10, 1871.

Three Fenian Raid Companies did not disband immediately after the threat of invasion passed in October 1871: the South St. Andrews Company (The Lisgar Rifles), the Mapleton Rifles and the Poplar Point Rifles.<sup>162</sup> Normally their continued existence would have been welcomed by the Canadian Department of Militia, save for the fact that the three units did not follow the rules set down for the operation of Independent Rifle Companies. In fact, Schultz, in command of the "Lisgar Rifles" as he called them, kept his men and their arms together and under his control<sup>163</sup> and they continued to operate until 1875 when the company was finally taken off the militia lists. The reason provided at the time was that it was no longer training on a regular basis.<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, Captain Schultz never attended any training courses for officers but nevertheless kept his military title for many years.<sup>165</sup> He also had some difficulty with the designation of the company, since the real Lisgar Rifles, which had been in existence

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<sup>162</sup> South St. Andrews was under the command of Captain John Schultz, Mapleton under Captain George H. Newcomb, and Poplar Point under Captain Piton.

<sup>163</sup> PAC, RG9, II F 6, Volume 2, Militia and Defence, Independent Companies of Militia, Nominal Rolls and Paylists, File for South St. Andrew's Independent Company, 1871-1872. This file contains a voucher paid out to Lieutenant E.G.H.H.G. Hay for the care and storage of arms.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> PAC, Register of Officers, 1867-1922, previously cited. Schultz was added to this list in 1870 and was struck off in 1874.

since April 12, 1867 in Prescott, Ontario, refused to surrender the name.<sup>166</sup> Schultz's, Newcomb's and Piton's Companies exercised only infrequently and they appeared to be the only Fenian Raid Companies which continued to exist without training. The others either disbanded or drilled regularly and later became regular militia rifle companies.<sup>167</sup> What exactly occupied the three errant companies from 1871 to 1874 is difficult to say but, in October of 1873, two Dominion surveyors removing old survey markers found a rather large cache of ammunition hidden near Mapleton.<sup>168</sup> Although it was never proven that the munitions were the property of any of the three companies, it is within the realm of possibility that Schultz and the politicizers wished to have their own personal army available, armed and ready for service, hence the hidden supplies. Furthermore, since the RREF was being

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<sup>166</sup> PAC, RG9, II B4, Volume I, Militia and Defence, Registers and Lists of Officers, 1867-1922, Lists of Active Militia of Canada, Volume 6, p. 321, Lisgar Rifles, Prescott, Ontario. Schultz had a close relationship with Sir John Young, Lord Lisgar, through his connections with Denison and the Canada First Movement. This probably explains why he was so adamant about the name.

<sup>167</sup> PAC, RG9, F 3, Volume 4, Red River Force Accounts, 1871, Drill Instruction Accounts for Lisgar, Mapleton and Poplar Point Rifle Companies, July 1873. One Fenian Company which did exist on a regular basis was the Winnipeg Rifle Company which later became the basis for the 90th Winnipeg Rifles.

<sup>168</sup> Percy Eaton, "An Early Manitoba Diary," Historical And Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 3 (1947): 25-37, p. 26. The diary referred to is that of J. W. Harris, an RREF member.



reduced in size after 1871 and the Métis were still present around Winnipeg, it was that much more important to have an alternative to the disbanded soldiers and the still active volunteers. The presence of three militia units, their weapons and ammunition, under the command of the leader of the politicizers, would be useful to discharged RREF volunteers who would be unarmed after their departure from the army.

Whether these three Fenian Raid Companies ever acted as a private army is hard to determine.<sup>169</sup> Their greatest usefulness could have been their very existence, coupled with the fact that they were under the command of men known to be inimical to one part of the local population. Schultz was astute enough to realize the psychological value of a group of armed veterans whose usual recourse to violence was well-known. Nevertheless, whatever the future intended for the three companies, the fact remains that they and the other volunteers and politicizers that made up the Fenian Defence Force in 1871 mutinied on two occasions and, both times, the reason had to do with the Métis. Apparently, the punitive purpose was still operative before, during and after the abortive Fenian Raid of 1871.

Hardly had the excitement caused by the Fenians subsided

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<sup>169</sup> Alexander Begg, in almost every book he authored at the time, seems to think that Schultz and some of the soldiers spent quite a bit of time riding around the countryside on some unknown mission. Given Schultz's behaviour up to this point, his use of a Militia unit as a private army would be in keeping with his usual attitude towards such things.

when the volunteers returned to their usual pursuits. One of their number managed to take all the money from a Métis in a poker game and, when the soldier was subsequently arrested under order of Attorney-General Clarke, his compatriots promptly broke him out of jail.<sup>170</sup> Clarke, who was perceived as "over severe and unjust towards the volunteers," apparently needed a revolver to protect himself from their attentions after his charge against the soldier. The Manitoba Liberal, Mulvey's paper, attacked him for brandishing his pistol, but Clarke's defence was that "he was in danger at the hands of the mob" and had acted accordingly.<sup>171</sup> As a result, Clarke's name was added to the list of persons that the volunteers did not approve. Later, during the treason trial of three Métis charged during the Fenian Raid, the soldier mob threatened to hang the Attorney-General on sight.<sup>172</sup> However, he was not the only one to be so treated since the troops also promised Judge Johnson that the same thing would happen to him if he did not find the three Métis guilty of treason.<sup>173</sup> In the meantime the volunteers and politicizers had not forgotten Archibald's "horrendous" behaviour in having shaken the hand of the man

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<sup>170</sup> O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 52.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Gibson, Substantial Justice, p. 87. Also in Begg and Nurse, Ten Years, pp. 23-24, and O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, pp. 52-53.

<sup>173</sup> Begg, History, 2: 96.

who had murdered Thomas Scott.

On Wednesday, October 25, 1871, the "fanatics of the Liberal" held an indignation meeting to protest the Governor's odious behaviour during the recent crisis.<sup>174</sup> They promised to hold similar meetings all over the province but, if the attendance at the one they held in Winnipeg was any indication, people were starting to tire of the strident complaints of the politicizers and their supporters.<sup>175</sup> Since meetings were not producing the required result, the Canadians returned to their usual methods.

On the evening of December 8, 1871, an armed party of Canadians invaded Louis Riel's home in St. Vital. Le Métis reported the event as occurring on

. . . December 8, 1871, when a party of armed men, led by one William Buchanan, raided Riel's house in St. Vital, claiming to hold warrants for his arrest. Riel was away, and the raiders could only threaten the women of the household and vow bitterly that the Métis leader would be killed before the night had ended.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi October 26 1871.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., Jeudi November 9 1871. After the one which failed in Winnipeg, there was one in the house of John Taylor at Headingly on Saturday, November 3, 1871. No others are reported.

<sup>176</sup> PAM, Lieutenant-Governor's Papers, Pierre Parenteau et al to Archibald, December 9, 1871.

Riel, who was absent helping to set up the Saint Jean Baptiste Association,<sup>177</sup> escaped injury. The armed mob, for its part, consisted of the usual disbanded soldiers, volunteers and politicizers. Among their number were: James Farquaharson, Schultz's father-in-law; Stewart Mulkins, a politicizer; William Buchanan, son of an M.P. and veteran of the RREF; and William Davison, RREF and saloon keeper. They were augmented by ten other armed and disbanded soldiers. They apparently entered the house, held pistols to the heads of the women they found there, and demanded to know where Riel was. When they received no answer, they threatened the women again and after thirty minutes or so left the house and returned to Winnipeg, disguised to prevent recognition. However, their identities were soon public knowledge. The Métis in the neighbourhood responded by immediately arming themselves and it is possible that had the Canadians stayed any longer, blood would have been shed.<sup>178</sup> As it was, some of the raiders were arrested and charged but they were just as quickly broken out of jail by their friends, aided and abetted by Francis Evans Cornish,

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<sup>177</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi Decembre 14, 1871, et Jeudi Decembre 21, 1871. The association was designed to counter the predominance of the English element from Canada in the institutions of the Province.

<sup>178</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, December 13, 1871. Also in PAM, Riel Collection, # 212, Dubuc to Riel, December 1871.

later to be the first Mayor of Winnipeg.<sup>179</sup> Frustrated at not being able to lay their hands on Riel, the volunteers, the veterans and the politicizers, could only wait for the next best opportunity. In the meantime, they continued their violence against the Métis and their supporters. As the people in the North-West saw things, however, the violence was worse than ever. "Even the English say the country is in worse condition than it ever has been," wrote Dubuc to Riel in late 1871.<sup>180</sup>

What is most curious, however, is why the balance of the Métis leadership did not take open violent action against their tormentors. Perhaps the answer lies in the Métis committal to the legality of the Manitoba Act and what it represented, namely, law and order. In the words of the French newspaper edited by Joseph Royal:

Il devrait pourtant être assez fort pour punir les coupables, [Riel house invaders] quels qu'ils soient, qui vont en pleine nuit envahir une maison et menacer du pistolet les femmes qui s'y trouvent. Il y a des troupes dans le fort; et s'ils n'y a pas assez. les trois quarts de la population du pays l'aidera à faire respecter la loi et à protéger ceux qui ont besoin de l'être. Il y a assez longtemps que les étrangers nous insultent, viennent s'établir sur nos terres et se rire de nous; est-ce qu'on peut, est-ce que c'est possible de toujours endurer?<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., pp. 113879 and 113886, Alexander Morris to Macdonald, November 14, 1872.

<sup>180</sup> PAM, Riel Collection, # 73, Dubuc to Riel, December 1871.

<sup>181</sup> Le Métis, January 27, 1872.

The Métis were waiting for the authorities to see to it that the law of the land prevailed and, as a result, they would not act on their own to remove the cause of their troubles. Literally, it was not their responsibility to do so and they had great difficulty understanding why it was taking the authorities so long to act.

The first few months of 1872 were relatively peaceful. That, or those who were keeping tallies on the number of assaults endured by the Métis, tired of the task. Nonetheless, Le Métis reported on March 2, 1872 that there had been five murders since 1869, committed "par les gens du part d'Ontario" not counting the recent murder of Guillmette in the USA.<sup>182</sup> However, the violence did appear to be letting up or, the targets, the Métis, were doing their best to avoid being caught by the politicizers and their followers. The other possibility is that assaults were continuing but not as many were being reported, as doing so had accomplished little in bringing about prosecutions. Furthermore, reporting violence committed by the Canadians usually provoked more serious violence in return and such actions mitigated against reporting the violent acts in the first place. Evidently, intimidation was successful even if it was not readily apparent to all who were involved.

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., Saturday, March 2, 1872. Guillmette was the man who apparently gave Thomas Scott his "coup de grâce" with a pistol shot to the head after Scott's execution on March 4, 1870.

On April 24th, a small crowd of twelve persons again burned Riel and Archibald in effigy on the streets of downtown Winnipeg. The leaders were Stewart Mulvey, Robert Cunningham, the local correspondent for the Globe, and one member of the House of Commons, John Christian Schultz.<sup>183</sup> Le Métis, which reported the event, concluded that the leaders of the effigy-burning were the chief source of all the local problems for the last eighteen months. However, the lack of support at the demonstration organized by Schultz and his co-workers indicated that backing for the violent side of politicizer anger against the Métis was beginning to wane. There was also an increased awareness on the part of some of the Métis that justice could be achieved.

On Wednesday May 1, 1872, Maxime Lépine, Pierre Leveille and André Neault entered Fort Garry to see the Lieutenant-Governor and were accosted by a soldier named William Rodgers who advanced on Mr. Nault and said, according to the latter:

qu'il ne retournera pas chez lui. Nous sommes un bon nombre de soldats qui entourons le magasin, lui dit-il, et vous ne vous échapperez pas. [said in English].<sup>184</sup>

It appeared that there were about twelve soldiers in the immediate vicinity and, when the three Métis complained to Captain Thomas Scott, Scott ordered Rodgers arrested. The Métis then had to run the gauntlet of the aroused volunteers

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<sup>183</sup> Le Métis, Wednesday, April 24, 1872.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., Wednesday, May 1, 1872.

in order to escape but the three of them returned the next day to lay charges against Rodgers and the others before Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne-Smith. As a result of these charges, the guilty soldier was sentenced to 30 days in cells.<sup>185</sup> However, the example provided by the sentence did not prove to be as efficacious as it should have been. On August 14th, eleven soldiers returning from the "brasserie de Smith et Galbraith" in St. Boniface, attacked the home of Madame Goulet and when they were opposed by four Métis who were in the house at the time, a wild melee broke out and damage was done to persons and property. As a result of the assault, the soldiers responsible had to pay for all the damages, were sentenced to jail, and the tavern where the incident started was permanently put "off limits" to all members of the RREF.<sup>186</sup> Hardly had this latest act of violence been concluded, however, when Sergeant Powers, an older Chelsea Pensioner and long-time supporter of Schultz's, was arrested for having used his revolver on an Indian in Winnipeg.<sup>187</sup> The politicizers and their supporters were not inclined to learn from experience and the punishment of one did not always reflect itself in the behaviour of the others.

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., Wednesday, August 14, 1872.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., Wednesday, August 21, 1872.



Nevertheless, the news of such occurrences and the fact that the disbanded soldiers were invariably inclined to violence was slowly filtering through to Ottawa. Additionally, the politicizers and their Ontario cohorts were extending their reach. In mid-August 1872, George T. Denison with the help of Colonel John Dyde of the local militia had engineered the defeat of Georges-Etienne Cartier in his Montreal riding. Aided by a noisy mob, Denison's arrangements effectively removed a major source of Cabinet support for the Métis.<sup>188</sup> In the North-West, later in August, soon to be Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris wrote to Macdonald that he needed more reinforcements for the RREF since the veterans would not re-enlist and the ones who disbanded in Winnipeg were "so violent."<sup>189</sup> On September 4, 1872 Moise Normand and Joseph St. Germain were badly beaten while trying to cross a bridge over the Assiniboine. One of the soldiers who subsequently chased them off the bridge after their beating, did so with a drawn knife in his hand.<sup>190</sup> Gradually, however, a new official attitude was developing and the authorities were no longer willing to tolerate the continuation of violence perpetrated

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<sup>188</sup> Denison, Soldiering, p. 186. Denison describes how the removal of Cartier was effected. Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," p. 863 also describes the event. It was also covered in the Montreal Gazette, August 20 and 27, 1872 and in La Minerve, August 22, 1872.

<sup>189</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 252, pp. 113804-113806, A. Morris to Macdonald, August 1872.

<sup>190</sup> Le Métis, Wednesday, September 4, 1872.

by the politicizers and their RREF supporters, especially when it involved more than just the Métis.

The final act that caused official attitudes to the endemic violence in Red River to change permanently was the election day riot of September 19, 1872. The incident began when A.E. Wilson entered the Selkirk electoral campaign at the last minute. Candidates who withdrew to facilitate his victory were Francis Evans Cornish, Joseph Genton, Stewart Mulvey and John Sutherland. The opposing candidate was Donald A. Smith.<sup>191</sup> On election day, around 3:00 P.M.,<sup>192</sup> a group of 50 or so Wilson supporters, led by Stewart Mulvey, crossed over to St. Boniface. They headed directly to Mrs. Goulet's house where the poll was being held and promptly stole the poll book.<sup>193</sup> The Métis resisted and shots were fired but the end result was that the Wilsonites were obliged to retreat in disarray to the ferry over the Red River. However, Gilbert McMicken had cut the rope which controlled the ferry and the attackers ultimately had to swim to safety or face the aroused Métis. Fortunately for them, they were rescued by a steamer which happened to come along, after which rescue they proceeded to

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<sup>191</sup> Le Métis, Wednesday, September 18, 1872.

<sup>192</sup> PAM, Diaries of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, Entry for Thursday September 19, 1872. "Election today - all quiet till about 3 P.M. when fighting and rioting generally began till 10 P.M."

<sup>193</sup> Gibson, Substantial Justice, p. 97. They identify the thief as John Ingram, the same man who later beat up Joseph Dubuc and, later again, was Chief of Police in Winnipeg.

Winnipeg. Once there, they rioted and the troops were called out with bayonets fixed<sup>194</sup> to disperse the mob. Later in the evening, Mulvey and a crew of other disbanded soldiers and politicizers, attacked the offices of the Manitoban and Le Métis, which they wrecked. The soldiers were again called out and the rest of the evening remained tranquil with the exception of a few random shots that were fired.<sup>195</sup>

During the riot several local businesses were broken into and goods were stolen and damaged. One of the more serious incidents, however, was the theft of one cask (52 gallons) of gin, and three casks (52 gallons each) of brandy.<sup>196</sup> The reason for the extension of the riot until later in the evening is evident: The subsequent consumption of a goodly portion of the purloined liquor greatly helped to maintain the excitement of the mob. In the face of an inebriated, violent crowd, however, the soldiers behaved well. As the Commander of Militia noted in his annual report:

The soldier-like bearing and discipline displayed by the Battalion on a recent occasion when called out in aid of the civil power to quell a riot at the time of the elections, in face of an attempt, too, to seduce the men from their duty, proved it to be a corps upon which the Government and the country

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<sup>194</sup> PAM, MG6, B5, Military District No. 10, Provisional Battalion of Canadian Light Infantry and Artillery, Journal of the Provisional Battalion of Rifles, 1871.

<sup>195</sup> Ronaghan, "Archibald Administration," 3: 852.

<sup>196</sup> PAM, Alexander Morris Papers, Lieutenant-Governor's Collection, Christian H. Klatz petition to Dominion Government, October 21, 1872.

can rely.<sup>197</sup>

Evidently, there had been a change in the composition and behaviour of the members of the RREF. The violent element, however, had not had its final say in the matter of the election. Cornish, John Ingram (later Police Chief of Winnipeg)<sup>198</sup> and Mulvey, backed up by a contingent of politicizer supporters, later attacked and severely beat Joseph Dubuc who was involved in the prosecution of the election day rioters. As a result, Ingram had to leave town for a while but the message had finally got through to the authorities that something had to be done. Perhaps the strongest warning about uncontrolled soldier violence came from Gilbert McMicken in a letter to John A. Macdonald:

[Ingram] . . . struck him [Joseph Dubuc] a blow knocking him down and kicking him savagely in the head and face. Subsequently witnesses tried to bring an indictment against Dubuc's attacker. In that they succeeded but the scamp is said to have left by the boat on Friday evening . . . we now have a very turbulent lot of scoundrels in and about the town . . . Schultz, Lynch, Cornish, Mulvey and Davis can at any time they please plunge us into the wildest disorder . . . The Half Breeds across the river are very much excited . . . a very little would stir them up to a thorough sacking of the domiciles of these parties - in fact it is not at all unlikely to occur as they know that the better disposed class here would do nothing to prevent them . . . Believe . . . the condition of society here just now is such as warrants serious apprehension and demands serious consideration in reference to repressive measures

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<sup>197</sup> Dominion of Canada, Colonel Robertson-Ross, Report on the North-West Provinces and Territories of the Dominion (Ottawa, 1872), CIHM # 30258, p. 8.

<sup>198</sup> Le Métis, October 12, 1872.

and the security of the public peace.<sup>199</sup>

As for Schultz, he was out of town on business and only returned to Winnipeg the day after the riot.<sup>200</sup> His horses had tired and he had been forced to pass the evening of September 19th at John Tait's house in Headingly.<sup>201</sup> Nonetheless, he seemed to be well-informed about what had happened; so much so that he later told Lieutenant-Governor Archibald not to arrest any of the rioters.<sup>202</sup> Whether Schultz's absence during the election was an indication that he was trying to improve his image with an ambitious eye on bigger and better posts in the future, or whether he was trying to protect his relations with the rioters by helping them after their arrest, is hard to determine. The fact remains, however, that he could not so easily disengage himself from the violence that he had organized for the last two and half years. A comment passed on the September 19th riot in Le Métis summed up local opinion of Schultz and his methods.

Il parait que les électeurs de Lisgar discutent

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<sup>199</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 246, pp. 110752-110758, G. McMicken to Macdonald, October 13, 1872. McMicken was the former Secret Service agent for Canada and a close personal friend of Macdonald's.

<sup>200</sup> PAM, MG2, C25, #10, Donald Gunn Papers, John C. Schultz to Donald Gunn, September 20, 1872.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. It is noteworthy that Schultz wrote the letter to Donald Gunn, who presumably would know about the riot. It is almost as if Schultz wanted some record to exist which indicated he was out of town and not involved in the riot.

<sup>202</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, September 25, 1872.

admirablement à coups de poing. Cela décide les question [sic] plus promptement. Rien n'est concluant comme un oeil poché.<sup>203</sup>

A tangible decrease in direct violence against the Métis occurred after the end of 1872. The latter development is not to say, however, that all violent incidents against the Métis and their leaders ceased. There is always the very real possibility that incidents against the Métis transpired but were not reported. In addition, a new pattern of assault on Métis persistence depended more on the new Canadian land regulations than on an informal process of intimidation. One violent incident which was reported concerned Riel and Lépine. On January 3, 1873, Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine were forced to flee from Schultz and some of his friends after Riel was discovered by them in a hotel in St. Paul, Minnesota. Eventually, the two Métis leaders had to leave St. Paul because of the threat posed by Schultz's presence in that city.<sup>204</sup> Back in Winnipeg, other acts of violence continued to happen from time to time. On Thursday June 18, 1874, two soldiers, one of whom was Joseph Michaud, a former stone cutter, murdered James R. Brown, a disbanded volunteer, on the open prairie near Winnipeg and "dreadfully mutilated" the body.<sup>205</sup> Michaud was later hanged on August 26, 1874 by the civil power

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<sup>203</sup> Le Métis, Wednesday, September 19 1872.

<sup>204</sup> Trémaudan, "Letter of Louis Riel," pp. 137-160.

<sup>205</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 100.

for the murder.<sup>206</sup> Like him, others finally reaped the reward they had sown by their earlier activities. John Ingram, the man who was guilty of assault on Joseph Dubuc in 1872, was fired from his job as Police Chief since he was, in the words of Alexander Begg, "a rowdy and used his position to put over criminal activity on his part."<sup>207</sup> Francis Evans Cornish, who was serving as a federal employee of the Justice Department, was also fired for his part in an election day riot in 1876.<sup>208</sup> Apparently, Cornish, W.B. Thibodeau, J.R. Cameron and G.B. Elliot entered the house of Mr. Huggard<sup>209</sup>, where the poll books were being kept, and stole them. Only Cornish and Thibodeau had to pay fines and court costs for the exercise since the other two could never be found.<sup>210</sup> However, the method they used was the same as had been employed in the election riot of 1872. As one contemporary Winnipegger remembered the event: "They used to knock over the lamp, bang over the chimney and in the dark and soot-filled room make off

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<sup>206</sup> Eaton, "An Early Manitoba Diary," p. 27.

<sup>207</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 135.

<sup>208</sup> PAM, MG12, B2, Ketcheson Collection, Alexander Morris Papers, Minister of Justice to Morris, December 6, 1875.

<sup>209</sup> Frank H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, 3 vols. (Montreal, Quebec: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913), 2: 631-632. Richard T. Huggard was Cornish's law partner.

<sup>210</sup> Begg and Nursey, Ten Years, p. 134.

with the poll book."<sup>211</sup> During all of these events the police in Winnipeg did not prove very adept. Fortunately for them the violence decreased by 1873. The Manitoban's remarks on police abilities are noteworthy:

We have seen the whole police force when it was at its largest, not only threatened , but chased like prairie chickens by a crowd of Wolseley's heroes, and their gaol broken open and their prisoners taken out without having the courage even to lodge a complaint.<sup>212</sup>

The respite which began in late 1872 could have another explanation. The authorities were becoming tired of the constant state of violence which existed and perhaps thought that it was time to bring the "reign of terror" to a close. However, stopping the assaults was not something that they could achieve in a few weeks or months. There was also the problem of the Eastern support maintained by the politicizers and their followers that had to be dealt with carefully. Only a severe crisis of violence or an attack on the state itself would allow Canadian and Manitoban authorities the leeway to act with impunity against the violent factions in the North-West and to succeed without too many negative political repercussions. However, 1872 did not appear to be as violent a year as 1871 had been, with the possible exception of the election riot in September. The latter event, however, was a

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<sup>211</sup> Eaton, "An Early Manitoba Diary," p. 28. Cornish and Thibodeau were arrested on January 3, 1876.

<sup>212</sup> The Manitoban, October 4, 1873.



direct attack on the state and on the general populace, not just on the Métis and their supporters.

Having become accustomed to violence, the people in Winnipeg who resorted to it at all times could no longer distinguish their targets. Conversely, the punitive purpose of the RREF was mostly achieved. By early 1873 the Métis were leaving the area around the Forks and those who were left would soon be completely occupied by the morass that was to be Canadian Land Policy. In other words, the violence of the politicizers, the disbanded soldiers and their other supporters, had achieved what Denison and Schultz had set out to do, remove the Métis as a power in Red River. In and of itself the violence was the main reason why the Red River area was no longer home to the Métis and combined with other reasons, left them little choice but to look elsewhere for safety. Since that violence was now becoming indiscriminate, it was time to halt it before it destroyed the North-West itself. Nonetheless, romanticizing the role of brutality in the acquisition of peripheries, as the following passage from Butler's Great Lone Land demonstrates, does not explain why the authorities were reticent in recognizing intimidation for what it was and doing something about it.

The early settlers in a Western country are not by any means persons much given to the study of abstract justice, still less to its practice; and it is as well, perhaps, that they should not be. They have rough work to do, and they generally do it roughly. The very fact of their coming out so far into the wilderness implies the other fact of their not being able to dwell quietly and peaceably

at home. They are, as it were, the advanced pioneers of civilization who make smooth the way of the coming race. Obstacles of any kind are their particular detestation - if it is a tree, cut it down; if it is a savage, shoot it down; if it is half-breed, force it down [My emphasis]. That is about their creed, and it must be said they act up to their convictions.<sup>213</sup>

Such explanations glorify frontier antagonisms between indigenous peoples and the forces of empire. The reality is that the Métis, the indigenous peoples involved, were forced down by the representatives of Ontario. In the process, a tacit approval was granted by the metropolis, since intimidation was beneficial for the purposes of the Dominion. However, exactly who was involved in "official reticence," remains to be seen and in order to understand the process it will be necessary to briefly re-examine the conduct of the Canadians.

Military punishments in 1870, for minor offenses such as being drunk in barracks or being drunk on duty, were limited to small fines and, at the most, to several days in cells.<sup>214</sup> Court Martial offenses earned slightly stiffer penalties, but they were not in line with the usual level of sentences customary at the time in other British military units. For example, a volunteer could be sentenced to seven days at hard labour and a fine of \$2.00 for being "drunk on duty" on July

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<sup>213</sup> Butler, The Great Lone Land, p. 40.

<sup>214</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Returns of Defaulters, Red River Force, 1870-1873.

4, 1870.<sup>215</sup> Later, once the troops had established themselves in Fort Garry, a pattern emerged: (See Table 5-1, Page 286). The most severe sentence appears to be either the 14 days in cells or the 168 hours (seven days) at hard labour. Compared with early 1873 penalties, these are extremely lenient punishments. A soldier who was assessed three days "confined to barracks" for being drunk on duty and using insulting language to the guard in 1870 would have received a £1 fine and 42 days at hard labour in February of 1873. Private John Gray, who received the latter sentence, was not as fortunate as the volunteer from 1870.<sup>216</sup> Other penalties from early 1873 included 42 days at hard labour and 14 days in solitary confinement for escaping from cells; 42 days at hard labour and 14 days in solitary for being drunk on duty; 14 days at hard labour for being drunk in barracks; and 42 days at hard labour with 28 days in solitary for escaping from punishment.<sup>217</sup> Even more severe were the numbers of individuals punished by Court Martial which practically trebles when 1870 and 1873 are compared.<sup>218</sup> When defaulters<sup>219</sup> are added into the

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid., Court Martials Red River Force, 1870-1873, July 4, 1870.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., Court Martial Returns, Printed Forms, February to December, 1873.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., The fact that the RREF was only on duty for four months in 1870, end of August to end of December, has been taken into account.

Table 5-1: Monthly averages of penalties assigned, RREF,  
1870.<sup>220</sup>

October	
Confined to Barracks	= 1 @ 3 days
Reprimanded	= 1
Hard labour	= 1 @ 1 day
Fined	= 1 @ \$1.00
November	
Reprimanded	= 25
Confined to Barracks	= 8 @ 3 days; 11 @ 7 days; 1 @ 10 days; 6 @ 14 days.
Hard Labour	= 1 @ 16 hrs.; 6 @ 72 hrs.; 7 @ 168 hrs.
Fined	= 2 @ 1.00; 4 @ \$2.00; 14 @ 1 day's pay; 4 @ 2 day's pay; 2 @ 3 day's pay; 1 @ 4 day's pay.
Court Martialled	= 4
Sent to Cells	= 1 @ 14 days.
Fatigues	= 8
December	
Reprimanded	= 9
Confined to Barracks	= 1 @ 2 days; 4 @ 3 days; 9 @ 7 days; 3 @ 14 days.
Hard Labour	= 3 @ 72 hrs.; 1 @ 168 hrs.
Fined	= 4 @ 1 day's pay; 8 @ 2 day's pay; 1 @ 5 day's pay.
Reduced to the Ranks	= 6
Court Martialled	= 3
Fatigues	= 3
Sent to Cells	= 2 @ 7 days.

<sup>219</sup> Defaulters were normally punished by what is termed "Company Punishment." This is a sentence assigned by the Company Officer and carried out at the Company level. Court Martial offenses are much more serious and involve much harsher penalties, carried out at the Regimental or Battalion level.

<sup>220</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 34, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, Guard Reports, 1870-1871.

Table 5-2: Comparison of similar periods, Defaulters, RREF, 1870, 1873.<sup>221</sup>

OFFENCE		1870	1873
Disobedience	=	29	144
Drunk/Disorderly	=	56	470
Fighting/Disturbance	=	13	165
Poor Conduct	=	17	124
Absent Without Leave	=	99	500
Insolence	=	14	114
Police/Civilians Involved	=	29	112
Theft	=	3	19
Mutiny	=	0	2

computation the results are much the same. (See Table 5-2, Above).

Furthermore, penalties assessed in 1871 are similar to those from the 1870 period. (See Table 5-3, Page 288). What appears from all these comparisons is that the penalties assigned to court martial and defaulter cases from 1870 to late 1872, are not as severe as those assigned from 1873 onwards.<sup>222</sup> It also appears that there is little increase in

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Returns of Defaulters, Red River Force, 1870-1873.

<sup>222</sup> An examination of the files used to assess the comparisons already given indicated that the severity of sentences increased slightly after 1873.

the severity of penalties issued over the period when intimidation was occurring, namely from August 24, 1870 until late 1872. Furthermore, the excuse that the RREF was a new experience for the Canadian military and that mistakes could be expected while the Force was learning, cannot be used. If there was an ability to recognize the level of violence pro-

**Table 5-3: Defaulter and Punishment Totals, RREF, February 1871.**<sup>223</sup>

Hard labour	=	None.
Confined to Barracks	=	3 @ 14 days; 1 @ 21 days; 3 @ 7 days; 1 @ 10 days.
Court Martialled	=	3
Reprimanded	=	5
Fatigues	=	6
Fined	=	2 @ 2 day's pay; 2 @ 1 day's pay; 3 @ cash fines of \$2.00.
Civil Prison	=	1 for theft of stores.

duced by the volunteers in 1872, then the same capability existed in 1870 and 1871. Armies do not usually take very long to discover that recruits need strict discipline. Canada also had the added example of many years of British experience with soldiery to fall back on. Therefore, it would appear that another reason operated to prevent a reduction in the violence

<sup>223</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 34, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Red River Force, Guard Reports, 1870-1871, Month of February, 1871.

instigated by the RREF. That reason was the official reticence practised by some of the officers of the Force itself.

Had it been the lowest-ranking officer who realized that the troops needed to be controlled, then a valid excuse might exist for the lack of action by the RREF. However, it was the highest-ranking officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis, who recognized the need for stronger measures. In September of 1870, shortly after the RREF volunteers had arrived in Manitoba, Color-Sergeant William Balmer was "reduced to the ranks" for being drunk on duty. He then escaped from custody and was subsequently found drunk in a saloon in Winnipeg while under arrest. For the second offense no penalty was assessed at his court martial. Jarvis complained to the officers of the court that "the first penalty (reduction in rank) goes without saying, but that lack of penalty on the second and more serious charge is too lenient [my emphasis] a sentence."<sup>224</sup> Again in December 1870, another high-ranking officer, Major Wainwright, Commander of the 1st Battalion of Ontario Rifles, requested that a Court Martial review the assigned penalty of Private John A. Martin, charged with being "absent without leave" from December 2nd to the 6th, 1870. The sentence of 14 days at hard labour was not severe enough in Wainwright's opinion, since he had previously sentenced the man to a total

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid., Volume 33, Courts Martial Red River Force, 1870-1873, Court Martial file of Color-Sergeant William Balmer, September 2, 1870.

of more than 168 days of fines, pay stoppages, and fatigues, and that

. . . this had produced little change. It is of little avail for a Commanding Officer to send a man to a Regimental Court Martial if that Court limits itself to little more than the C.O. [Commanding Officer] can himself award. Courts Martial become a mere farce if Officers are too tender-hearted to render them the media of just severity.<sup>225</sup>

The officers in question subsequently reviewed the case but in the revision they adhered to the original sentence.

In January of 1871, the same kind of situation occurred except that it was Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis who was the complainant. The case involved excessive leniency in the Court Martial of Private George Wollard for "being drunk on duty when acting as Main Guard."<sup>226</sup> Jarvis' complaint centered around the fact that the punishment issued by the Court Martial, 42 days at hard labour, could just as easily have been given by an officer as company punishment without the need for convening a Court Martial. In an addendum to the Court transcript, Jarvis noted that:

The Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding wishes to call the attention of the Officers composing Courts Martial to the leniency hitherto shown in the sentences awarded to prisoners tried and convicted by Regimental Courts Martial since the troops came to Manitoba. When a prisoner is ordered for trial by Court Martial and is found guilty of the charge or charges preferred against him it is manifestly subversive of discipline to award a less degree of punishment than the Commanding Officer himself could award. It is moreover a slight again [sic] him personally. The

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., December 8, 1870.

<sup>226</sup> See next footnote.



members of the Court Martial incur a heavy responsibility in so acting - Unless a Commanding Officer is supported by his Officers in the maintenance of discipline it is impossible that he can control the force. - The recent misconduct of the men of this Battalion requires severe examples to be made and the Lt. Colonel trusts that the Court will not abstain from the performance of their duty and that they will assert the full power with which they are invested. This paper will be attached to the proceedings of the Court now assembled. [My emphasis]. (Signed), Lt. Col. Jarvis, Commanding Fort Garry, January 9, 1871.<sup>227</sup>

It is evident that official reticence played a major role in subverting the avowed official mission of the RREF to act as a peace-keeping force. Curiously enough, the men stationed at the Lower Fort, who were predominately French,<sup>228</sup> had many fewer defaulter listings and Courts Martial than did the men stationed in Fort Garry,<sup>229</sup> although this might have been because they were more distant from the main venue of temptation in Winnipeg. At least the 2nd Battalion of Quebec Rifles were more disciplined than their Fort Garry counterparts and accusations of leniency and connections to official reticence on their part remain groundless.

Finally, there is the problem of how representative the level of misbehaviour of the RREF was in comparison to other

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<sup>227</sup> PAC, RG9, II B2, Volume 33, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files, Courts Martial, Red River Force, 1871-1873, January 13, 1871.

<sup>228</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>229</sup> PAC, RG9, II F7, Red River Paylist Accounts, 1870-1877, Provisional Battalion, Captain J. Fletcher, No. 4 Company, Paylists, Various years.

Canadian military formations. Since there were only 1000 volunteers in the First Expedition of the RREF and **Table 5-4, Below** represents totals for 30,000 officers and ranks, a comparison with the numbers indicated in **Table 5-2**, demonstrates that the men of the 1st Battalion of the RREF were much more poorly behaved than was the norm.

**Table 5-4: Courts Martial Record of British Troops, Upper Canada, 1838-1840.**<sup>230</sup>

	1838	1839	1840
Mutiny	1	1	0
Desertion	30	56	46
Insubordination	11	34	26
Disobedience	4	10	16
Asleep on duty	4	18	10
Drunk on duty	54	90	36
Disgraceful conduct	25	58	45
Absent without leave	25	61	44
Theft	23	78	60
Habitually drunk	112	280	280
Miscellaneous	69	163	119
Deserters			
Attempted	166	247	174
Apprehended	30	56	46
Successful	136	191	128

Even if the fact that the RREF was a militia force and not regular army is taken into account, First Expedition scores in practically all areas of misbehaviour remain high. The unofficial purpose of the Force was extremely visible if

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<sup>230</sup> J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 230. Based on an effective strength of 30,000 officers and other ranks. The fact that the totals were available and covered much the same crimes as the RREF was guilty of, dictated the choice of the list indicated.

the level of violent behaviour exhibited by most of the officers and ranks from late 1870 to late 1872 is taken into consideration. It would appear, that the military side of official reticence was expressed by the lack of severity in punishing members of the RREF, by the lack of cooperation between Courts Martial and Commanding Officers in assigning proper levels of sentences, and by the numerous examples of improper behaviour which went unpunished, all of which the RREF exhibited up to the end of 1872. It would appear that poor leadership was not a viable excuse.

A statement made by Adams G. Archibald in May of 1871 sums up the reality that was official reticence both in Ottawa and in the North-West.

In reference to the volunteers, they have behaved very badly all through, but there was nothing for me to do but not to see too much [my emphasis] - Jarvis though a nice fellow - and a gentleman, has no control over his men. As a disciplinarian Cazault [sic] is ten times the man.<sup>231</sup>

Despite the fact that almost everyone in Government in Ottawa and in the North-West knew exactly what was taking place in Manitoba, the process of intimidation continued unabated. Hand in hand with this activity went the official reticence of all concerned.

Newspapers made the existence of the violence and the lack of action on the part of the authorities public know-

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid., Volume 187, Letter #77909, Archibald to Macdonald, May 28, 1871.

ledge.

La loi existe dans manitoba; nous avons un gouvernement régulier, il y a des tribunaux; le désordre, les violences, les vengeances, les haines nationales, religieuses et politiques ont par conséquent moins raison que jamais de lever la tête, d'enrégimenter les nouveaux venus et de rendre la province inhabitable pour les citoyens honnêtes, paisables et laborieux.<sup>232</sup>

Le Métis even reported that there had been a tremendous increase in violent incidents from 1870 to 1871 and again from 1871 to 1872.<sup>233</sup> Government obviously knew the extent to which the violence was proliferating but again did nothing to mitigate its effects. However, officials did find the time to create a secret code contained in the letters of introduction of lawyers seeking positions with the Manitoba and Territorial Governments. If the letter ended with "yours very sincerely" then the individual presenting it was worthy of every consideration.<sup>234</sup> Such mundane patronage could easily be arranged but the control of a violent segment of the population was beyond their concern. In fact, one of the few times that an official was remonstrated with, it was a Métis who was involved.

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<sup>232</sup> Le Métis, Jeudi Juin 22, 1871.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., Jeudi Septembre 21 1871, and Mercredi Avril 17, 1872.

<sup>234</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 519, Letterbook 16, p. 19, Macdonald to Archibald, July 12, 1871.

Petty Sessions Judge John Bruce was alleged to have been involved in the 1871 Fenian Raid. When Marc Amable Girard<sup>235</sup> reported on October 24, 1871 that the rumours of Bruce's complicity with the Fenians were justified, Bruce was immediately dismissed from his position.<sup>236</sup> The ability to deal with public officials who were remiss in their duties existed but, it was just not intended to apply to anyone other than the Métis and their supporters. Even though, according to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, Bruce could never have been tried successfully in a court of law, he was nevertheless dismissed and, if nothing else, his dismissal demonstrated a selective attitude towards the maintenance of law and order.<sup>237</sup> The lower standards which applied in such a case, according to Archibald, apparently included only the non-Canadian element in Red River.<sup>238</sup>

The fact also remains that the final act of intimidation to be tolerated by the Government was the election riot of September 19, 1872. The riot also marked the turning point in the ongoing reticence of Canadian officials to halt the spread

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<sup>235</sup> One of three Quebec Frenchmen brought to Manitoba by Taché to help the Métis learn the ways of representative government. The other two were Joseph Royal and Joseph Dubuc.

<sup>236</sup> Gibson, Substantial Justice, p. 86. Taken from PAC, Macdonald Papers, p. 77994, Archibald to Macdonald, November 4, 1871.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid. It was Archibald himself who admitted that the evidence was not good enough to convict in a court of law.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid. Again Archibald made this statement.

of violence around Red River. As Gilbert McMicken reported from Fort Garry at the height of the disturbance: "Grave crisis impending - precautionary measures should immediately be taken."<sup>239</sup> McMicken,<sup>240</sup> who was usually not so panic stricken, succeeded in informing Sir John A. Macdonald that the intimidation process had pervaded into areas where the state could no longer ignore it with impunity. Macdonald promptly authorized McMicken to hire nine more police and further promised that the rate at which the volunteers were being discharged would be reduced.<sup>241</sup> Within a week, Macdonald was writing to Archibald to inform him that the time had come to put an end to the endemic violence of the troops, politicizers and discharges of the RREF. As he further advised the Lieutenant-Governor:

I think it is time that you put an end to this lawless spirit, which, if allowed to spread, may cause infinite mischief. [my emphasis] Get Cornish and Mulvey indicted. [Schultz - treat him] . . . as a friend and supporter.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 246, p. 110747, Cipher Telegram, McMicken to Macdonald, September 23, 1872.

<sup>240</sup> Gilbert McMicken was, previously to his tenure as Dominion Land Agent in Winnipeg, the major force in the Canadian Secret Service. In fact, he was still acting in this manner in Winnipeg and his constant letters to Macdonald detail most of the major events of the 1871-1872 period in Manitoba.

<sup>241</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 246, p. 110747, Cipher Telegram, McMicken to Macdonald, September 23, 1872.

<sup>242</sup> PAM, Ketcheson Collection, Alexander Morris Papers, John A. Macdonald to Archibald, Ottawa October 7, 1872.

Macdonald recommended that, in the case of Stewart Mulvey, a Court of Inquiry be organized to investigate him on the charge of "conduct unbecoming of an officer."<sup>243</sup> The next day, Macdonald was even more specific about how to bring the recalcitrant members of Winnipeg's citizenry under control.

I think that by all means the local Government should see to the apprehension and trial of the ring leaders at the late election riots. [Again on October 11, 1872] . . . I think that it would be well that you should proceed vigorously with your trial of the rioters.<sup>244</sup>

It is noteworthy that John C. Schultz had a valid alibi which excused him from being included on the list of "ringleaders" in the riot.<sup>245</sup> Tired horses, or careful planning, had allowed him to maintain a proper image at the same time as his close advisors and friends were being left open to all the charges that Archibald could settle on them.

As for the Métis, they continued to feel that they had to hide even when they wanted to see the Archbishop in St. Boniface.<sup>246</sup> Riel himself was still unable to approach the area and his friends since "une force majeure m'a séparé de vous."

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> PAC, Macdonald Papers, Volume 521, Letterbook 18, p. 655, Macdonald to Morris, October 8, 1872. Ibid., Macdonald to Morris, October 11, 1872.

<sup>245</sup> PAM, Donald Gunn Papers, John C. Schultz to Donald Gunn, September 20, 1872. Schultz was at John Tait's in Headingly during the riot, because his horses were tired.

<sup>246</sup> Stanley, Collected Writings, 1: 109, Riel to Taché, St. Joseph, September 30, 1870.

La politique arrêtée du gouvernement fédéral ne me laisse rien à attendre de lui pour le present."<sup>247</sup> The Métis were discouraged and no attempt to tell them that things would get better could convince them otherwise, because "ils s'aperçoivent bien clairement du contraire."<sup>248</sup> In effect, it mattered little to the Métis whether the violence they experienced was usual fare in other parts of the Dominion or not. In the context of Red River, violence, as they saw it, was personal and moreover, it was being carried out by the supposed "peacekeepers." Meanwhile, Canada would isolate or co-opt the leaders of the politicizers and intimidators, especially Schultz, and use patronage, government appointments and election support to ensure that the violent element was quietly removed as a "force majeure" in the political life of Manitoba.

The termination of official reticence marked the end of the predominance of the informal processes of expansion in the Red River area. The formal process which had begun with the Manitoba Act itself would slowly evolve and gradually turn the territory to the "purposes of the Dominion" as they had originally been conceived by Macdonald and his supporters. The land problems of the Métis, which can be described as the

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid., pp. 460-461, Lettre aux électeurs du District de Provencher et à mes compatriotes du Manitoba, Worcester, USA, Juin 16, 1875.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 1: 107, Riel to Taché, September 30, 1870.



process of dispossession were, in essence, what would occupy Canadian officials until the early 1880's. Of course, there were the other usual pre-occupations of government in the North-West which would concern the Federal and Provincial authorities. As far as the Métis were concerned, however, the process of intimidation had successfully prevented them from accessing the reigns of power and influence in Manitoba and they were now defenceless before the lawlessness which the Federal Government was about to unleash on them. Unlike the intimidation process, however, dispossession would not involve the use of violence to succeed.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> The topic of Government lawlessness has been dealt with by Douglas Sprague in Canada and the Métis; "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887," Manitoba Law Journal, 10, 4 (1980): 415-441; "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882," Journal of Canadian Studies, 15, 3 (Fall 1980): 74-84.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION:

THE RE-CREATION OF MANITOBA, 1858-1872

The aspirations of the Métis peoples of Rupert's Land were rooted in the mercantilist world of the HBC. Since the start of the nineteenth century the winterers, farmer/traders and entrepreneurs had been developing a nation complete with government, public and private institutions, religion, language and culture. Had there never been outside interference in the affairs of the North-West, the Métis might have established a vibrant centre of commercial, social and political strength on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers because they were, in effect, the most organized force in the area.

The Métis homeland, however, had the great misfortune of lying athwart the territory which was essential for the nation-building activities of the British colonists to the East. Inexorably, older forms of empire would have to give way before the advance of the new. Fur traders would have to surrender their dominance to the agricultural and industrial representatives of Canada. For the Métis middle-classes, the Canadian annexation of the West did not have to be a disaster. They saw a role for themselves in the Canadian nation but they required certain guarantees before they would commit themselves. Had Canada prevented the introduction into the country of certain members of her citizenry before they had a chance to politicize the Métis, perhaps the transfer would have occurred without incident. As it was, the early Canadian immigrants to the North-West inadvertently upset Ottawa's

plans for the peaceful acquisition of the vast lands of the Prairies.

Preoccupied with their personal ambitions, early Canadian arrivals in Rupert's Land contributed to a process of inadvertent Métis politicization. Canadians, possessed of their fair share of the nineteenth-century British superiority complex, slowly and inevitably irritated the Métis population in the Red River Settlement Belt. Anxious to find for themselves a dominant role in the burgeoning new Canadian territory, men like John Christian Schultz and Hector McKenzie politicized a people they never really understood.

For their part, while the Métis were astute enough to realize that they could not prevent the Canadians from taking the West, at the same time they envisaged a dominant role for themselves in their own homeland under a new regime. The problem was that the new arrivals in the Métis' territory had no intention of sharing power with them. The mistake the Canadians made was to imagine that there was little the Métis could do to frustrate Canada's expansionist ambitions and the events of 1858-1872 were the direct result of Canadian underestimation of Métis capabilities.

During the 1860's, the Métis sometimes acted from class-based interests as in the case of those middle class individuals who chose to register their land deals with the HBC, and at other times from national aspirations, illustrated best by the creation of the National Committee in 1869. However,

politicization mainly affected the Métis middle-class, but the threat to the latter impinged on their relations with the winterers and it was the Nation that reacted to the "rifles" and a "National Committee" which took the steps that resulted in the Manitoba Act. Intimidation affected all classes of the Métis and in the destruction of the cohesiveness of the Nation around Red River, the national aspirations of the people were prevented from realization. In the post 1870 period, the Métis of the Settlement Belt did not leave the area around the Forks because they were unable to adapt to the new "civilization;" they were effectively and violently prevented from remaining a viable part of the Province they had created.

"Informal if possible, formal if necessary" is a statement which expresses more than a simple summary of British imperial policy in the late nineteenth-century. Canada, as a British colony, was a clear example of the dictum in practice. Prior to December 1, 1869, the Canadian intent had been to negotiate the purchase of the North-West from the HBC. Once bought and paid for the extension of the Dominion was to become part of the Canadian branch of the British Empire. The locals would be used if useful, ignored if not. There was no need for the bother of a "formal" occupation and it was much less expensive to allow the process to advance as it should, with the commercial interests of the metropolis leading the way. In other words, the early Canadians in Rupert's Land in the 1860's were the leading edge of Canada's intentions for

the North-West. In the case of Rupert's Land "informal" was possible. Nothing, it seemed, could prevent the expansion of the great western dream.

The Métis, however, viewed Canadian expansion in a different light. After ten years of conflict with Canadian bigotry, racism and superiority, the Métis middle-classes were prepared to interrupt the process of annexation and demand terms to protect their interests in the area. Politicized by the Canadian immigrants, the Métis were pushed to action by the final stimulus of politicization -- the discovery of the Spencer and Peabody rifles in McDougall's baggage. Colonel Dennis' suggestion in late 1869 that 350 rifles would be needed, the presence of 333 Canadian Party members and their local supporters and the resulting 350 weapons with McDougall, were more than enough to convince the Métis that the time to act had come. Fearful of a sudden violent takeover by the politicizers, the Métis reacted, formed a National Committee and set in motion the events that culminated in the Manitoba Act of 1870. For her part, Canada had no intention of keeping her side of the bargain.

Canada's difficulty was that an open admission of bad faith would have resulted in civil war with the Métis and the interference of the Imperial Government. The "official" solution to the quandary was simple: Wait for a vigorous Ontario immigration to swamp the Métis and re-establish Canadian predominance. The problem with waiting, however, was

that it did not suit the wounded sensibilities of the politicizers.

Forced to abandon the role they had assumed for themselves, the early Canadian colonists to Rupert's Land, fell back on the support of the radical fringe of Ontario's political world. Reorganizing themselves, the politicizers and Canada First guaranteed that the practical effect of the RREF would be wholesale intimidation. The violence of the volunteers assured the return to power of the politicizers and the newcomers from Ontario after 1870. The Métis, prevented by violence from gaining access to the centre of power were quickly displaced from any real chance for self-government. The wanton activities of the troops eroded the political will of the Métis and this, rather than their ability to adapt to the changes occurring in the West at the time, was the main reason for the subsequent Métis exodus from Red River. Faced with violence, the Métis found the attractions of leaving better than the dangers inherent in staying. Canada, forced to account for her actions to the British Colonial Office, "overlooked" the violence and the intimidation of the Métis. At the same time, the Cabinet organized the first steps in the process of formal dispossession. The two processes combined, formal and informal, eliminated the Métis threat by late 1872.

Not all of those who were engaged in politicization and intimidation prospered from the experience. James Stewart who

had been involved with Schultz from the beginning<sup>1</sup> lived to regret his attachment to the latter. In a bitter letter to Schultz in 1889, Stewart made his sense of disillusionment evident.

It is with no small feeling of satisfaction that I am now no more determined to be the dupe of your worthless promises . . . I think you should have the manliness and the honesty to give reasons for your conduct, but perhaps this would be too much to expect from you. In the course of my lifetime I have often met with men who, by some unaccountable freak of fortune, were raised to stations they were ill-fitted to occupy, who in the moment of their exaltation were even ready to play the sycophant to those above them while at the same time they kicked away the ladder by which they attained their elevation and played the tyrant over those beneath them.<sup>2</sup>

Others, like Eli Welfare, accidentally fell victim to the circumstances involved in the expansion of the Canadian Empire. On the occasion of the memorial service for Georges-Etienne Cartier held at the Legislative Assembly grounds in Winnipeg in September 1873, the cannon which the unfortunate bombardier was manning exploded prematurely, killing him on the spot.<sup>3</sup> For his part, George Duncan MacVicar lived to celebrate the wealth he gained as a direct result of his sojourn in the

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<sup>1</sup> Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, 3: 686. James Stewart was an employee of the HBC's from 1853. He married an English Half-Breed, Robina McKay, and lived in Winnipeg until his death on January 4, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, 1888-1927, Box 16, James Stewart to J.C. Schultz, August 1, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> PAC, RG9, II F2, Letterbook, Department of Militia and Defence, Report to the Privy Council, September 10, 1873.



North-West. As he remarked later to a friend: "It is a fortunate thing that we [his brother and himself] came back to this country for we would be ten years in Canada gaining the position we now hold [here]."<sup>4</sup> Stewart Mulvey fared even better than did Mr. MacVicar. By the mid-1880's, Mulvey was an Alderman of the City of Winnipeg, Secretary Treasurer of the Public School Trustees, Grand Master of the Orange Lodges of Manitoba and Vice-President of the Winnipeg Liberal/Conservative Association.<sup>5</sup>

Schultz himself was the greatest success of them all. He was, at one time or the other, an elected member of the House of Commons, a Senator, an owner of over 210 lots in the City of Winnipeg,<sup>6</sup> a Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, a member of the Executive Council of the North-West Territories, Captain of the Lisgar Rifles, Governor of the Manitoba Medical Board, a member of the Dominion Board of Health, President of the Southwestern

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<sup>4</sup> PAM, MG3, B9, Red River Disturbances, Northwest Rebellion and Related Papers, G.D. MacVicar to Josephine Larwill, Manitoba, November 10, 1870.

<sup>5</sup> John Palmer Robertson, A Political Manual of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (Winnipeg, Manitoba: The Call Printing Company, 1887), p. 171. Stewart Mulvey was born in Sligo, Ireland in 1834 and had come to Ontario at the invitation of Dr. Ryerson.

<sup>6</sup> PAM, Renewable Resources, Lands Branch, Subdivision of Winnipeg, Lot Number 35, Parish of St. John, Point Douglas Common. The total comes from the number of lots which are indicated as being Schultz's or as having been sold by him.

Railway, the Senate Chairman on the Committee of the MacKenzie Basin Resource Study, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and a very wealthy man.<sup>7</sup> In addition, he held the respect of a good portion of the population in the North-West, as Marcus Smith's letter to Schultz in 1894 attests:

It must be gratifying to Mrs. Schultz and yourself to contrast your present position with those troublesome times of your early settlement on the Red River and the progress of the country since; of which you are the veritable father of its political and social freedom. Long may you live to enjoy the comfort and repose with honours so well earned.<sup>8</sup>

As the major driving force behind the politicizers and intimidators, Schultz was a paradox. On the one hand he was the patriot, on the other he was the embodiment of all that was perverse in British imperialism. Sir John Christian Schultz died at the relatively early age of 56 on April 13, 1896 from the effects of pernicious anaemia which had haunted his days since the early 1880's. A later, short biography of the man, could have passed as a eulogy:

He stood as a type of the ideal citizen in his devotion to the general welfare, in the nobility of the principles which governed his life, and in his high and lofty patriotism...[he] was regarded as Canada's most patriotic son...[his] death...in far off Mexico, removes another of that little band of adventurous pioneers who braved the hardships and dangers of the plains in the early 60's to win fortune and position in the unknown wilderness, the Red River country, which was then a name without significance to ninety-nine hundredths of the people

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<sup>7</sup> Schofield, The Story Of Manitoba, 3: 5-10.

<sup>8</sup> PAM, Schultz Papers, Personal Correspondence, Box 16, Marcus Smith to J.C. Schultz, April 2, 1894.

of eastern Canada. Every fibre of his being was wrapped up in his country, and Manitoba never possessed a better friend, Canada a more devoted son, nor the Empire a more loyal subject than John Christian Schultz.<sup>9</sup>

If asked, any Métis could have answered that such high-sounding statements could not possibly refer to the man who had, above all others, been most responsible for the destruction of their Nation.

As for the RREF, it had its momentary fame and then passed into obscurity. Like Schultz, the RREF was not all that it had appeared to be. Possessed of contradictory purposes, peace-keeping and punitive intent, "that small army had [served] no real military function."<sup>10</sup> However, the force did have intimidation value. Therein lay the significance of its mission for the re-creation of Manitoba in the image of Ontario, a mission fulfilled in every particular in just over two years, from August 24, 1870 to September 19, 1872. By 1873, the Métis vision of the New Nation was no more secure than the leadership of its first president.

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<sup>9</sup> Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, already cited.

<sup>10</sup> Donald Swainson, "Canada Annexes the West: Colonial Status Confirmed," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, R. D. Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton, Alberta: Pica Pica Press, University of Alberta, 1985): 120-139, p. 132.

## APPENDIX I

### THE CANADIAN PARTY AND ITS LOCAL SUPPORTERS

1858-1870

The large amount of information available on the Canadian Party and its local supporters is contained in various contemporary sources, both primary and secondary. Since a list of the individuals involved would repeat what has already been done by contemporaries of the events (e.g. Begg, MacBeth, O'Donnell) and modern authors (e.g. Sprague, Frye and Mailhot), no such list is presented.

The selection of individuals who composed the Party and its supporters was made according to criteria previously listed in Chapter II:

The two factors of "time of arrival" and "Canadian origin" appear to apply to the early Canadians in Red River, and anyone who satisfies these requirements will be considered here to be a member of the Canadian Party. On the other hand, if a local inhabitant, born in Rupert's Land is noted as having supported the Canadians, been an acknowledged member of their party, or is reputedly reported as falling into one or more of the above categories, then he or she will be considered a member of the Canadian Party's "local supporters."<sup>1</sup>

The following set of headings was used to establish parameters for Appendix I:

1. Each individual was given a specific number and the name was recorded.
2. Information regarding year of birth and place of birth was recorded. If no information was available, the first year the individual was known

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter II, p. 46.

to be present in British North America was recorded.

3. The same method was followed for year of death and place of death.

4. The date of arrival in Rupert's Land was recorded. If the date was unavailable, the first known date when the individual was present in the North-West was recorded.

5. Information regarding national association was collected from the sources and recorded.

6. Information about the former and present (1870) occupation(s) of the individual were recorded. If none was listed for the pre 1870 period the first known occupation after 1870 was listed. Categories used for occupation were also listed in the order in which they were held. (i.e. 1864 before 1865).

7. Information was collected on Hudson's Bay Company elected and/or appointed positions held by the individual and was then recorded.

8. Other government elected/appointed positions were listed, including Provisional Government, Manitoba Government, City of Winnipeg Government and Federal Government positions. The totals for each person were indicated in separate columns for the elected and appointed positions held.

9. Membership in the Masonic Order, The Orange Order, Professional associations, other associations and Political Parties was collected and recorded for each individual.

10. Rebellion Losses Claimants were recorded as were those individuals who were reported as prisoners of the Métis in 1869-1870.

11. Where a doubt existed about any of the above pieces of information, the most accurate account was used to determine a choice. (i.e. Begg before de Trémaudan).

Once all the data were collected and recorded, they were totalled and analyzed. Sample charts, tables and figures were then made from the results and the latter were used to prepare

the outline for the analysis of the Canadian Party and its local supporters as documented in Chapter II.

The sources used to collect the data are listed below. The complete bibliographic entry for each entry is available in the attached Bibliography.

Alexander Begg's Journal; Ten Years; History of the North-West, 2 volumes; Great Canadian Northwest; Handbook; Creation.

Carl Berger, Sense of Power.

Canadian Dictionary of Biography.

George Bryce, Manitoba; Winnipeg Country.

Rev. G.O. Corbett, "The Red River Rebellion: The Cause Of It."

Donald Creighton, The Young Politician.

G.T. Denison, Soldiering; Reminiscences; Struggle.

J.C. Dent, Canadian Portrait Gallery.

A.H. de Trémaudan, L'Histoire.

Aileen Garland, "The Nor'Wester."

J.J. Hargrave, Red River.

W.J. Healy, Women of Red River.

Henderson's Directory, various years.

R.G. MacBeth, Making; Romance.

Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers.

Manitoba Pageant.

W. McRae, Pioneers and Prominent.

A.G. Mercer, Prominent.

H.J. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women.

D. Morton, Canada and War.

D. Morton & Roy, "Telegrams of the North-West."

W.L. Morton, Manitoba.

Dr. J. O'Donnell, Manitoba.

Doug Owram, Promise of Eden.

PAM, Various sources including biographical files.

F. Pannekoek, "Corbett"; "Anglican Church"; Comments";  
"Demographic".

J.P. Robertson, Political Manual;

Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement.

F.H. Schofield, Manitoba. (Especially Volume III).

N. Shrive, Charles Mair.

D. Sprague and Frye, Genealogy.<sup>2</sup>

D. Sprague and Mailhot, "Persistent".

D. Sprague, Canada and the Métis.

G.F.G. Stanley, Birth; Riel.

Various contemporary Newspapers.

The Vertical Biographical Files in the Manitoba Legislative  
Library.

D. William, Freemasonry; Number Four.

J. Young, Public Men.

Other minor sources (usually where only one bit of data was collected) were consulted and as each piece of information was gathered it was entered in the appropriate space.

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<sup>2</sup> Sprague, Mailhot and Frye were, with Begg, used to determine the original listing of Party/supporter membership.

APPENDIX II\*

THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1870-1877: IDENTITY FILE

\* Note: An underlined ID # indicates a member of the First Expedition, 1870.

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>001</u>	Alexander D.	Pte.	2nd	-	Megantic Q	19	Single
<u>002</u>	Andrew James	Pte	1st	3	Oakville O	25	Single
<u>003</u>	Austin James	Pte	1st	5	Coteau du Lac Q	23	Single
<u>004</u>	Anderson George D.	D Pte	1st	-	Picton O	20	Single
<u>005</u>	Anthony William Henry	Pte	1st	6	Peterboro O	20	Single
<u>006</u>	Acres William R.	Pte.	1st	7	Huntley O	21	Single
<u>007</u>	Acton William Holmes	Corp.	1st	-	Gananoque O	22	Single
<u>008</u>	Albertson Ranson Brian	Serg.	1st	-	Trafalgar O	22	Single
<u>009</u>	Andrews Herbert	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	23	Single
<u>010</u>	Abraham Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Dunham Q	22	Single
<u>011</u>	Aubert Théophile	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	21	Single
<u>012</u>	Auger Joseph	Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>013</u>	Andrews William F.	Pte.	2nd	-	England	22	Single
<u>014</u>	Abbott William	++++ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>015</u>	Abraham Thomas Robert	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	33	Single
<u>016</u>	Alley Charles	Pte.	2nd	3	Montreal Q	37	Married
<u>017</u>	Alloway William Forbes	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>018</u>	Angus George	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>019</u>	Atkinson James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>020</u>	Archer Thomas	Pte.	2nd	1	Hemingford Q	36	Single
<u>021</u>	Angell Garbutt	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>022</u>	Atcheson William	S+ Corp.	1st	D	England	22	Single
<u>023</u>	Amandus Frederick	+ Pte.	1st	D	Prussia	25	Single
<u>024</u>	Austin James	Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	41	Married
025	Adshead George Edward	+ Serg.	PBR	1	Ontario	34	Single
026	Adams Samuel	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	24	Single
027	Allen George Gordon	Pte.	PBR	4	Kingston O	21	Single
028	Anable Miron	Pte.	PBR	4	Lanark O	28	Single
029	Allard Wellington	Pte.	PBR	4	Waterloo Q	20	Single
030	Alloway Charles N.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	20	Single
031	Aylmer Frederick W.	+ C-Serg	PBR	4	Melbourne Q	22	Single
032	Allinson John Bland	Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	23	Single
<u>033</u>	Annetts Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	35	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>034</u>	Anderson John	Pte.	2nd	-	Chambly Q	27	Single
<u>035</u>	Ash Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Scarboro O	18	Single
<u>036</u>	Arthur James	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	21	Single
037	Allen John	Corp.	PBR	3	Toronto O	19	Single
038	Armstrong Daniel	Pte.	PBR	1	Matilda O	23	Single
039	Aston John	D Bugler	PBR	1	Quebec City Q	20	Single
040	Allan Charles	I Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	23	Single
041	Atkinson Woodward W.	Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	22	Single
042	Adamson Robert	Corp.	PBR	-	Portland NB	24	Single
043	Adams Paul	Pte.	PBR	-	Ireland	29	Married
044	Adams William R.	S-Maj	PBA	B	England	27	Single
<u>045</u>	Aumond W.H.	Pte.	PBR	-	Ottawa O	-	Single
<u>046</u>	Armstrong Edward	QM-Serg.	1st	-	Ontario	-	----
<u>047</u>	Amyot Jean-Baptiste	Capt.	2nd	-	Quebec	-	Single
<u>048</u>	Allan John	Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	-	----
049	Anderson John Weir	Lieut.	PBA	B	Ontario	-	Single
050	Atkins Charles Robert	Pte.	PBR	1	Strathroy O	24	Single
051	Allen Charles William	QM-Serg.	PBR	-	Toronto O	35	Married
052	Anderson William John	Corp.	PBR	-	Brockville O	25	Single
053	Armstrong David	Gunner	PBA	B	Ireland	23	Single
<u>054</u>	Balmer William Robert	S+ Pte.	1st	1	Hamilton O	25	Single
<u>055</u>	Brownlee William Henry	Pte.	1st	7	Grantham O	21	Single
<u>056</u>	Boyle John William	+ Pte.	1st	3	Grantham O	20	Single
<u>057</u>	Bescoby Robert	Serg.	1st	-	Equising O	20	Single
<u>058</u>	Bushey Andrew	Pte.	1st	3	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>059</u>	Butcher James William	Pte.	1st	4	Whitby O	26	Married
<u>060</u>	Bowey Angus	Pte.	1st	3	Burford O	20	Single
<u>061</u>	Beatty Alexander	Pte.	1st	2	Townsend O	23	Single
<u>062</u>	Bainbridge Henry S.	Pte.	1st	3	Niagara O	31	Single
<u>063</u>	Bartlett William	Corp.	1st	5	Fergus O	22	Single
<u>064</u>	Baker Thomas Henry	+ C-Serg.	1st	2	Fergus O	22	Single
<u>065</u>	Balmer Wm. Augustus	S+ Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	24	Single
<u>066</u>	Bell John	+ Pte.	1st	-	Lindsay O	21	Single
<u>067</u>	Brewster William	Pte.	1st	5	Kingston O	25	Single
<u>068</u>	Brookes Thomas H.	Pte.	1st	5	Kingston O	19	Single
<u>069</u>	Brown Everard	Serg.	1st	-	Bowmanville O	26	Single
<u>070</u>	Brown John Storer	Pte.	1st	5	Port Hope O	30	Single
<u>071</u>	Burke Patrick	S++ Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	19	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>072</u>	Brine Charles	S+ Pte.	1st	-	R C Rifles	28	Married
<u>073</u>	Byron Jorom M.	D Pte.	1st	-	Dover O	25	Single
<u>074</u>	Brown Daniel Arthur	Pte.	1st	-	Brockville O	18	Single
<u>075</u>	Butler Benjamin F.	Pte.	1st	7	Goulburn O	25	Single
<u>076</u>	Baggs Charles	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	23	Single
<u>077</u>	Brownlee George Henry	Pte.	1st	-	Merrickville O	18	Single
<u>078</u>	Boulger William	Pte.	1st	7	Gananoque O	31	Single
<u>079</u>	Bell Charles Napier	Pte.	1st	7	Drummond O	18	Single
<u>080</u>	Boivin Eugène	D Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>081</u>	Bisson John	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	25	Single
<u>082</u>	Brown John	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>083</u>	Biddick Alfred Y.	Pte.	2nd	-	England	25	Single
<u>084</u>	Bogg Edmond	Pte.	2nd	-	England	30	Single
<u>085</u>	Bleasdell Charles E.	Pte.	2nd	-	England	24	Single
<u>086</u>	Bennett Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Ghent O	20	Single
<u>087</u>	Belair John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	32	Single
<u>088</u>	Bailey Charles C.	Pte.	2nd	-	Cookshire Q	19	Single
<u>089</u>	Baldwin George	U Pte.	2nd	-	Coaticooke Q	21	Single
<u>090</u>	Ball George Henry	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>091</u>	Barr James	Pte.	2nd	-	Havelock Q	25	Single
<u>092</u>	Baylis Arthur	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>093</u>	Billington William	Pte.	2nd	3	Sherbrooke Q	24	Single
<u>094</u>	Boyd James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	39	Single
<u>095</u>	Brooks James	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	21	Married
<u>096</u>	Buisse Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>097</u>	Butterworth Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	35	Single
<u>098</u>	Butterworth John	Bugler	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>099</u>	Bayles Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	London O	28	Single
<u>100</u>	Bevins Hiram	Pte.	1st	1	Dorchester O	23	Single
<u>101</u>	Bishop William	Pte.	1st	2	Bosanquet O	24	Single
<u>102</u>	Bobier John E.	Pte.	1st	1	Wallacetown O	23	Single
<u>103</u>	Bruce William	Pte.	1st	1	Woodstock O	23	Single
<u>104</u>	Bruce Donald	Pte.	1st	-	Oxford O	22	Single
<u>105</u>	Buchanan William	Serg.	1st	1	Stratford O	32	Single
<u>106</u>	Bonenfant M. Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	18	Single
<u>107</u>	Burns James	Pte.	1st	2	London O	28	Single
<u>108</u>	Burse Newton	Pte.	1st	1	East Oxford O	21	Single
<u>109</u>	Barré L. Hormidas	Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>110</u>	Bergeron Philippe	Serg.	2nd	-	Lévis Q	22	Single
<u>111</u>	Black George	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>112</u>	Blais Emile	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>113</u>	Blondeau Léon	D Pte.	2nd	D	France	32	Married
<u>114</u>	Blondin W.H.	D Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>115</u>	Bouchard Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>116</u>	Brown James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	38	Single
<u>117</u>	Bealy Charles	Pte.	1st	D	England	28	Married
<u>118</u>	Butt Albert	L-Corp.	1st	D	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>119</u>	Black Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	Scotland	22	Single
<u>120</u>	Bailey Robert	Pte.	1st	D	Tyendyaga O	18	Single
<u>121</u>	Babcock John Walter	Pte.	1st	D	Camden O	29	Married
<u>122</u>	Blais Joseph	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>123</u>	Bonneile François (*)	D Pte.	2nd	D	Beloeil Q	19	Single
<u>124</u>	Burling Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	26	Single
<u>125</u>	Belleau Jean-Baptiste	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>126</u>	Bedson Samuel	QM-Serg.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>127</u>	Buckle Francis	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>128</u>	Bates John	Pte.	2nd	-	England	19	Single
<u>129</u>	Beatty Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	25	Single
<u>130</u>	Barker John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	31	Single
<u>131</u>	Bennett John	Pte.	2nd	-	New Ireland Q	26	Single
<u>132</u>	Beaudoin Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Beauport Q	19	Single
<u>133</u>	Barril François-Xavier	U Pte.	2nd	-	St. Roch Q	25	Married
<u>134</u>	Bonenfant Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Kamouraska Q	19	Single
<u>135</u>	Bussière Louis	Pte.	2nd	-	Ste. Marie Q	21	Single
<u>136</u>	Bennett Charles	U Pte.	2nd	-	New Ireland Q	32	Single
<u>137</u>	Brown J. Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	19	Single
<u>138</u>	Beaudoin Ephrem	+ Pte.	2nd	-	St. Isidore Q	18	Single
<u>139</u>	Boon John	Pte.	2nd	1	Chatham O	32	Single
<u>140</u>	Brunet Charles	Pte.	2nd	8	Quebec	--	Single
141	Bond James	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	21	Single
142	Banks Montague	S++ H-Serg.	PBR	2	London O	22	Single
143	Booth John	++ Pte.	PBR	2	Port Hope O	21	Single
144	Brown Henderson	Pte.	PBR	4	Belleville O	20	Single
145	Beatty George	Pte.	PBR	3	Landsdown O	18	Single
146	Buchanan George	Pte.	PBR	4	Landsdown O	21	Single
147	Beare Edmund	Pte.	PBR	2	Elizabethtown O	19	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
148	Beaudry Oscar	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	18	Single
149	Bourke James	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	41	Married
150	Brulé Joseph	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	19	Single
151	Buchanan Duncan	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single
152	Bernier Romuald	Serg.	PBR	4	St. Michel Q	36	Single
153	Boulanger Louis	Pte.	PBR	4	Lévis Q	24	Single
154	Bailey John	Pte.	PBR	4	Waterloo O	21	Single
155	Ball Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	19	Single
156	Barwis James	Serg.	PBA	B	Arthabaskaville Q	19	Single
157	Beasley Anthony	I Pte.	PBR	2	Toronto O	28	Single
158	Bérubé Emmanuel	Serg.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	21	Single
159	Bescoby Henry	Pte.	PBR	1	Georgetown O	22	Single
160	Bissonette Charles	I Pte.	PBR	2	Kingston O	20	Single
161	Blackley William	D Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	19	Single
162	Bradley William	Pte.	PBR	1	Clark O	22	Single
163	Brennan Edward	Pte.	PBR	1	London O	27	Married
164	Brissette Charles	D Pte.	PBR	1	Sutton Q	21	Single
165	Brodie John L.	I L-Corp.	PBR	3	Nichol O	33	Single
166	Brown Charles James	Serg.	PBR	3	Kingston O	19	Single
167	Brown Frank	D Pte.	PBR	4	Chatham O	21	Single
168	Burns James E.	Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
169	Butler James	Serg.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	34	Married
170	Brosseau Ferdinand	D Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	21	Single
171	Brown David	D Gunner	PBA	B	Picton NS	22	Married
172	Black Alexander	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	21	Single
173	Bernier Léon	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	26	Single
174	Badwick Richard	I Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	21	Single
175	Betcher Henry C.	Corp.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
176	Burke Thomas	+ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
177	Brown James	Corp.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	22	Single
178	Boswell David	Corp.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	25	Single
179	Beck James	Gunner	PBA	B	London O	18	Single
180	Bond John Edwin	Gunner	PBA	B	London O	21	Single
181	Bruce William	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
182	Boyd George	D Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	20	Single
183	Britt Patrick	D Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	20	Single
184	Boyce Benjamin F.	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	18	Single
185	Barrett James	Gunner	PBA	B	Port Hope O	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
186	Boswell Robert E.	Gunner	PBA	B	Cobourg O	30	Single
187	Baker Frederick W.	QM-Serg.	PBA	B	Toronto O	21	Single
188	Bates Robert	U Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	38	Widower
189	Brown William	I Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	24	Single
190	Beale Charles	D Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	28	Single
191	Boire Jean	I Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	35	Married
<u>192</u>	Benson James	Dec Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>193</u>	Bell Josiah Jones	Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>194</u>	Biggar John	Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>195</u>	Barrett William John	Capt.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>196</u>	Bouthillier Henri	Lieut.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>197</u>	Bernard Edward S.	Ensign	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>198</u>	Burton Edmund J.	Lieut.	1st	D	Ontario	--	Single
199	Brynon William	Pte.	PBR	-	Seaforth O	22	Single
200	Billington George	H-Serg.	PBR	-	Strathroy O	26	Single
201	Bizot August	Gunner	PBA	B	France	33	Widower
202	Broderick Christopher	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	24	Single
<u>203</u>	Cross James	Pte.	1st	4	Markham O	23	Single
<u>204</u>	Cooper Johnston	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>205</u>	Calander James	Pte.	1st	-	Scarboro O	23	Single
<u>206</u>	Cowan William C.	Serg.	1st	4	Toronto O	26	Single
<u>207</u>	Cottrell Levi	Pte.	1st	-	Chinguacoucy O	24	Single
<u>208</u>	Craton William	Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	19	Single
<u>209</u>	Croat John	Pte.	1st	-	Wolfe Island O	22	Single
<u>210</u>	Campbell Edmund	Pte.	1st	5	Napanee O	21	Single
<u>211</u>	Cahoon George W.	Pte.	1st	-	Picton O	28	Married
<u>212</u>	Coates Thomas	Pte.	1st	6	Peterboro O	26	Single
<u>213</u>	Curlett Horatio N.	Pte.	1st	6	Hollowell O	23	Single
<u>214</u>	Champion Henry T.	S+ C-Serg.	1st	-	Peterboro O	22	Single
<u>215</u>	Clark George M.	Pte.	1st	-	Consecon O	21	Single
<u>216</u>	Collins Thomas	BC Bugler	1st	-	R C Rifles	20	Single
<u>217</u>	Connolly Patrick	Pte.	2nd	-	St. Valentine Q	19	Single
<u>218</u>	Case Joseph	Pte.	1st	-	Gananoque O	23	Single
<u>219</u>	Curran James	Pte.	1st	7	Gananoque O	21	Single
<u>220</u>	Collins Maurice*	S+ Pte.	1st	7	Young O	40	Single
<u>221</u>	Chapman Samuel	S+ Pte.	1st	S	Gananoque O	21	Single
<u>222</u>	Case Benjamin	Pte.	1st	-	Gananoque O	21	Single
<u>223</u>	Campbell David	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	26	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>224</u>	Cadman Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>225</u>	Carson John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>226</u>	Chenier Félix	Pte.	2nd	-	Lachute Q	27	Single
<u>227</u>	Charland Arthur	Corp.	2nd	-	Iberville Q	26	Single
<u>228</u>	Clark John H.	Pte.	2nd	-	Côte des Neiges Q	28	Single
<u>229</u>	Clark Frank J.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>230</u>	Cokeley Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>231</u>	Constantine Charles	C-Serg.	2nd	-	Stanbridge Q	23	Single
<u>232</u>	Cook James	Pte.	2nd	3	East-Hawkesbury O	24	Single
<u>233</u>	Cowling William Hnery	Pte.	2nd	-	Bury Q	20	Single
<u>234</u>	Cruise John	Pte.	2nd	-	Lachute Q	35	Widower
<u>235</u>	Cuiskelly Christopher	Pte.	2nd	-	Beauharnois Q	20	Single
<u>236</u>	Cade John B.	Pte.	1st	-	Caradoc O	23	Single
<u>237</u>	Cadham James H.	Pte.	1st	-	London O	19	Single
<u>238</u>	Campbell John B.	H-Serg.	1st	2	London O	24	Single
<u>239</u>	Campbell William	D Pte.	1st	-	Seaforth O	18	Single
<u>240</u>	Campbell Daniel	Pte.	1st	-	London O	18	Married
<u>241</u>	Cameron John R.	QM-Serg.	1st	5	Sarnia O	25	Married
<u>242</u>	Cotter John	Pte.	1st	1	London O	20	Single
<u>243</u>	Cadotte Pierre	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	28	Single
<u>244</u>	Cayen Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>245</u>	Chartrand Francis	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>246</u>	Cousineau Valery	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>247</u>	Coy Michael	Pte.	2nd	D	St. John's NFLD	28	Married
<u>248</u>	Coulon Peter	Pte.	1st	D	Ireland	29	Single
<u>249</u>	Crosbie Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	England	25	Single
<u>250</u>	Coogan William	BC Pte.	1st	D	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>251</u>	Collins Thomas	Corp.	1st	D	England	25	Single
<u>252</u>	Caron Jean	Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>253</u>	Chandler Michael	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>254</u>	Cayen Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>255</u>	Chartier Télesphore	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>256</u>	Chabot Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>257</u>	Calderwood John	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	36	Married
<u>258</u>	Couture Louis	C-Serg	2nd	-	Lévis Q	22	Single
<u>259</u>	Chambers William	Pte.	2nd	-	Ottawa O	24	Single
<u>260</u>	Carroll Timothy ***	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	39	Married
<u>261</u>	Cooke George T.	Serg.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>262</u>	Carrault Joseph Octave	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>263</u>	Calow George	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Married
<u>264</u>	Couture Francis	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>265</u>	Chapman John W.	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	23	Single
<u>266</u>	Chandler Albert	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>267</u>	Crawford John L.	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	34	Married
<u>268</u>	Coyne Mathew	S-Maj.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>269</u>	Carney T.*	Pte.	1st	6	Ontario	--	Single
<u>270</u>	Couture Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Lévis Q	19	Single
<u>271</u>	Clancey John	Pte.	1st	D	Ontario	34	Single
<u>272</u>	Coulter Robert	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	25	Single
<u>273</u>	Connolly Patrick	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	27	Single
274	Cale John Henry	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	20	Single
275	Campbell Duncan	Corp.	PBR	4	Ontario	27	Single
276	Carey John	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	27	Single
277	Chinner John	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	33	Married
278	Cleland Peter	Pte.	PBR	2	Ontario	19	Single
279	Cook John	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	24	Single
280	Crawford Alexander	Pte.	PBR	4	Fullerton O	24	Single
281	Crow Samuel	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	26	Single
282	Caldwell Samuel	Pte.	PBR	4	Dundas O	20	Single
283	Coombs Owen	+ Pte.	PBR	3	Woodhouse O	28	Single
284	Curry Anson	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	22	Single
285	Campbell James K.	Pte.	PBR	4	Frontenac O	20	Single
286	Campbell Peter	Pte.	PBR	2	Carlton O	18	Single
287	Crusoe Frederick	Pte.	PBR	4	Almonte O	39	Married
288	Connor George	Corp.	PBR	3	Gananoque O	23	Single
289	Carroll Michael	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	28	Single
290	Chisholm William	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
291	Chassé Charles L.M.G.	Pte.	PBR	1	Pte. Trembles Q	21	Single
292	Corneil George	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	20	Single
293	Corneil J.W.	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	22	Single
294	Curtin William	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	31	Single
295	Collins Alfred	Pte.	PBR	4	Sherbrooke Q	20	Single
296	Cottingham Thomas	Serg.	PBR	4	Lacolle Q	28	Single
<u>297</u>	Coombs Joseph M.	Pte.	2nd	S	London O	27	Single
<u>298</u>	Calkin William	Pte.	2nd	S	Halifax NS	21	Single
299	Corris Edward	+ Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	23	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
300	Calder James	Pte.	PBR	1	Lindsay O	21	Single
301	Campbell Donald	Pte.	PBR	3	Hamilton O	24	Single
302	Carroll Robert	Pte.	PBR	1	Kingston O	27	Single
303	Chard Joseph George	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Gwillimbury O	22	Single
304	Coleman Thomas	Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	23	Single
305	Collins Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Whitchuck O	24	Single
306	Connolly John S.	Corp.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	34	Married
307	Cooper Alexander	Pte.	PBR	3	Ottawa O	24	Single
308	Corey Mervin D.	I Pte.	PBR	4	Stanbridge Q	25	Single
309	Cacheux Henry	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
310	Cosgrove Daniel	Bugler	PBR	1	Quebec City Q	29	Single
311	Cox Henry	Pte.	PBR	2	Hamilton O	30	Single
312	Crossfield Edmund	I Pte.	PBR	3	Quebec City Q	33	Single
313	Chapman Edward	Serg.	PBA	B	St. Andrew's Q	22	Single
314	Cheney Orleans	Gunner	PBA	B	Hemingford Q	20	Single
315	Chartrand Joseph D.	Serg.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	20	Single
316	Coombs Owen L.	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Simcoe O	21	Single
317	Cameron William	Pte.	PBR	-	Scotland	19	Single
318	Chassé Charles	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	22	Single
319	Crean William	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	28	Single
320	Cantin Louis	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	19	Single
321	Collins William	S-Maj.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	28	Single
322	Cooke Josiah	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
323	Cooke George	I Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	20	Single
324	Carey John	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	20	Single
325	Cu(a)shin John	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	23	Single
326	Campbell Robert	Corp.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	20	Single
327	Churchill Thomas	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	21	Single
328	Caldwell Adam H.	Pte.	PBR	-	Grand Falls NB	22	Single
329	Courtland William H.	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	23	Single
330	Carswell Donald	D Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	18	Single
331	Crandall Howard	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	18	Single
332	Cain James	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	30	Single
333	Close James F.	Pte.	PBR	-	Kingsclear NB	24	Single
334	Callum Charles	Gunner	PBA	B	Wellington O	19	Single
335	Cameron Alexander	Dec Gunner	PBA	B	Hamilton O	25	Single
336	Coleman Samuel	Corp.	PBA	B	Ottawa O	20	Single
337	Cummings Henry	Gunner	PBA	B	Ottawa O	22	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>338</u>	Cassault Louis Adolphe	Lt.-Col.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>339</u>	Cook Henry	Captain	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>340</u>	Codd Alfred (MD)	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
341	Constantine Charles	Lieut.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
342	Cotton John	Lieut.	PBA	B	Ontario	--	Single
343	Clarke Charles	S Pte.	PBR	-	Ireland	23	Single
344	Campbell Roderick	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Scotland	20	Single
345	Connaissant Louis	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
346	Courtemanche Eugène	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
347	Courtemanch Maxime	Pte.	PBR	-	Sorel Q	20	Single
348	Currie Adam	Pte.	PBR	-	Brussels O	23	Single
349	Chubb Samuel James	Pte.	PBR	-	Bradford O	25	Single
350	Cronin John	Pte.	PBR	-	USA	22	Single
351	Campbell John	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
352	Christie Alexander	Gunner	PBA	B	Montreal Q	23	Single
353	Crawford Samuel	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
354	Christie James	Corp.	PBA	B	Scotland	22	Single
355	Carriss Edward	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	England	26	Single
<u>356</u>	Dorland Arnoldi	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>357</u>	Dobson James Hayes	+ Serg.	1st	-	Yorkville O	19	Single
<u>358</u>	Doidge Edwin	Pte.	1st	4	York O	24	Single
<u>359</u>	Davidson John	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	36	Married
<u>360</u>	Douglas Peter Brown	PM-Serg.	1st	2	Sarnia O	27	Single
<u>361</u>	Dunbar Andrew	Pte.	1st	-	Consecon O	20	Single
<u>362</u>	Derry William	Corp.	1st	-	Kingston O	24	Single
<u>363</u>	Dingman Norman J.	PM-Serg.	1st	-	Hallowell O	24	Single
<u>364</u>	Davis Robert	Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	27	Single
<u>365</u>	Dunbar William	Pte.	1st	-	Thurlow O	19	Single
<u>366</u>	Donnelly Lewis	I Pte.	1st	-	R C Rifles	32	Single
<u>367</u>	Douglas Thomas	Pte.	1st	7	Almonte O	28	Married
<u>368</u>	Desjardins Félix	Pte.	2nd	D	Kamouraska Q	33	Married
<u>369</u>	Drapeau Pierre	U Pte.	2nd	-	Kamouraska Q	23	Single
<u>370</u>	Driver William	Pte.	2nd	-	England	24	Single
<u>371</u>	Davis Samuel	Pte.	2nd	5	Coaticooke Q	28	Single
<u>372</u>	Davison George S.	Corp.	2nd	S	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>373</u>	Deacon Richard	Pte.	2nd	3	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>374</u>	Dean Henry J.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>375</u>	Deeley Frederick	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Married

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>376</u>	Dillon Gerald P.	D Serg.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>377</u>	Duncan John	Corp.	1st	-	Wallacetown O	26	Single
<u>378</u>	Dunn James	Corp.	1st	-	North Oxford O	25	Single
<u>379</u>	Deroussel Joseph	D Pte.	2nd	-	Portneuf Q	21	Single
<u>380</u>	Dauphin Antoine	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>381</u>	Demers William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>382</u>	de Plainval Louis Frasse	Serg.	2nd	-	France	28	Married
<u>383</u>	Desroses Napoléon	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>384</u>	Doll Clément	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	34	Married
<u>385</u>	Donovan Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>386</u>	Dumais Charles	Dec + Corp.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>387</u>	Dupperrouzel Aubin	+ Pte.	2nd	D	France	32	Single
<u>388</u>	Donohue Patrick	Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	34	Single
<u>389</u>	Duffy William	Pte.	2nd	D	Kingston O	32	Married
<u>390</u>	Doyle John	Pte.	1st	D	Ireland	28	Single
<u>391</u>	Doherty Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	England	29	Single
<u>392</u>	Drakely John	Pte.	2nd	D	R C Rifles	32	Single
<u>393</u>	Dillon William Eugene	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>394</u>	Dion Thomas	D Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>395</u>	Douglas John	Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>396</u>	Drewery Robert	Corp.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	21	Single
<u>397</u>	Dunbar John	+ Pte.	2nd	S	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>398</u>	Delanie John W.	U Pte.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>399</u>	Downes John	Corp.	2nd	5	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>400</u>	Dupuis Gilbert Ernest	Pte.	2nd	-	Ste. Marie Q	18	Single
<u>401</u>	Dempsey Christopher	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	21	Single
<u>402</u>	Daniels Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	31	Single
<u>403</u>	Donnelley Michael	Dec Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	35	Single
<u>404</u>	Davidson George	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	22	Single
<u>405</u>	Dunn James	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	26	Single
<u>406</u>	Delarmitage Crawford	Bugler	PBR	3	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>407</u>	Dunlop Robert	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	23	Single
<u>408</u>	Darby John	+ Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>409</u>	Duprat Joseph	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	36	Married
<u>410</u>	Delisle Ulric	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	24	Single
<u>411</u>	Dupont Léon	Pte.	PBR	4	France	23	Single
<u>412</u>	Daly Charles	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>413</u>	Dobbs Arthur	S+ Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	30	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
414	Deegan James	Pte.	PBR	1	Quebec City Q	19	Single
415	Desjardins Alphonse	Serg.	PBR	4	Lévis Q	18	Single
416	Dawes Arthur H.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single
417	Dawson S. P.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	25	Single
418	Dolphin John Duke	Corp.	PBR	2	Sherbrooke Q	25	Single
419	Deering William	Pte.	PBR	4	Cobourg O	18	Single
420	Deering Homer	I Corp.	PBR	4	Cobourg O	20	Single
421	Denby William	Pte.	PBR	3	London O	23	Single
422	Desjardins Toussaint (MD)	Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	34	Married
423	Desjardins Félix	U Pte.	PBR	-	Cacouna Q	32	Widower
424	Dickson James	Pte.	PBR	2	Godmanchester O	35	Single
425	Dix Orlando	U Pte.	PBR	-	England	37	Single
426	Downs William	Pte.	PBR	1	Whitechurch O	20	Single
427	Duffy Denis	I Pte.	PBR	2	Cowansville Q	30	Single
428	Dallaire Jean	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	19	Single
429	Duprat Joseph	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	37	Married
430	Dauphin Alma Albert	+ Pte.	PBA	B	Halifax NS	18	Single
431	Davis Richard	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
432	Dale George	Bomb.	PBA	B	Toronto O	20	Single
433	Doherty James	Pte.	PBR	-	Toronto O	23	Single
434	Davis James W.	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Kingston O	18	Single
435	Dagg George Edwin	S+ Bomb.	PBA	B	Ireland	18	Single
<u>436</u>	de Bellefeuille L.C.A.L.	Capt.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>437</u>	Duchesnay Maurice E.B.	Lieut.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>438</u>	de Salaberry Léonidas	Lieut.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>439</u>	DesGeorges Gabriel Louis	Ensign	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>440</u>	D'Eschambault Alphonse de	Ensign	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>441</u>	Denison Frederick Charles	Ord.Off.	1st	-	Toronto O	--	Single
<u>442</u>	Douglas Charles Stuart	Lieut.	2nd	D	Ontario	--	Single
<u>443</u>	Deblois George Henri	Ensign	2nd	D	Quebec	--	Single
444	de Cazes Charles	Ensign	PBR	-	Quebec	--	Single
445	Debels J. Henri	Pte.	PBR	-	Belgium	34	Single
446	Dunn Robert Henry	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	21	Single
447	Dunn John	Pte.	PBR	-	Toronto O	23	Single
448	Davison William	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
449	Doane Simon Atwood	OR-Serg.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	32	Single
<u>450</u>	Eyer James	Pte.	1st	S	Hamilton O	33	Single
<u>451</u>	Ellis Edward	Pte.	1st	-	St. Catherine's O	20	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>452</u>	English James Carter	Pte.	1st	2	Trafalgar O	22	Single
<u>453</u>	Emslie John	C-Serg.	1st	3	Hamilton O	24	Single
<u>454</u>	Emerson Samuel	Pte.	1st	-	Bowmanville O	21	Single
<u>455</u>	English David	Pte.	1st	6	Peterboro O	23	Single
<u>456</u>	Eastman James M.	Pte.	1st	7	North-Gower O	20	Single
<u>457</u>	Evans James	Pte.	1st	-	Brockville O	24	Single
<u>458</u>	Ernest William Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>459</u>	Ellis William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>460</u>	Entwhistle Thomas	Pte.	2nd	D	England	29	Single
<u>461</u>	Ellis Edward	+ S-Serg.	1st	S	Puslinch O	21	Single
<u>462</u>	Edwards Duncan	Serg.	2nd	D	London O	27	Single
<u>463</u>	Evans George	L-Corp.	2nd	D	London O	23	Single
<u>464</u>	Ellice William John	D Pte.	2nd	D	England	20	Single
<u>465</u>	Enright Timothy	Pte.	2nd	D	Ontario	36	Married
<u>466</u>	Eastman George	Pte.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>467</u>	Elliott Walter	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	19	Single
<u>468</u>	England Albert	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>469</u>	Edwards William	U Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>470</u>	Evans Richard E.	Gunner	PBA	B	London O	19	Single
<u>471</u>	Eades Henry	I Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	35	Single
<u>472</u>	Fulthorp George Edward	Corp.	1st	-	Toronto O	24	Single
<u>473</u>	Franklin George Joseph	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	33	Single
<u>474</u>	Faulkner John	Corp.	1st	3	Hamilton O	22	Single
<u>475</u>	Ferguson Joseph H.	Pte.	1st	-	Bradford O	18	Single
<u>476</u>	Forman Charles	U Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>477</u>	French Gilbert Wiggins	Corp.	1st	3	Burford O	26	Single
<u>478</u>	Fraser William F.	C-Serg.	1st	3	Woodhouse O	25	Single
<u>479</u>	Farmer Richard H.	Pte.	1st	3	Woodhouse O	27	Single
<u>480</u>	Fargey William	Pte.	1st	1	Roslin O	24	Single
<u>481</u>	Fowler R.A.	C-Serg.	1st	5	Amherst Island O	24	Single
<u>482</u>	Fox Michael	+ Pte.	1st	5	R C Rifles	26	Single
<u>483</u>	Fowler John Daniel	Pte.	1st	-	Gananoque O	32	Single
<u>484</u>	Forster Samuel	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	18	Single
<u>485</u>	Flammand Jacques	Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	38	Single
<u>486</u>	Ferguson Richard	Pte.	1st	2	Elora O	25	Single
<u>487</u>	Fisher Alfred E.	C-Serg.	1st	-	Sarnia O	19	Single
<u>488</u>	Faneuf Louis	Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	31	Single
<u>489</u>	Forrest Donald	U Pte.	1st	D	Halifax NS	24	Married

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>490</u>	Fidlar Charles	S-Serg.	1st	D	Sterling O	26	Single
<u>491</u>	Finnerty Edward	U Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	31	Married
<u>492</u>	Fisher Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Smith Falls O	22	Single
<u>493</u>	Fortin Cyprien	Pte.	2nd	-	Rimouski Q	24	Single
<u>494</u>	Finlay George	Pte.	2nd	3	Toronto O	21	Single
<u>495</u>	Farrelly John	Pte.	2nd	D	Ontario	41	Single
<u>496</u>	Fieldhouse Wm. Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	England	18	Single
<u>497</u>	Farrelly Thomas	Pte.	2nd	D	Ontario	36	Single
498	Forbes Daniel	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	18	Single
499	Forster Robert	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	21	Single
500	Fawcett Albert John	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	22	Single
501	Falls Robert	Pte.	PBR	3	Huntley O	23	Single
502	Fothergill John	Corp.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	19	Single
503	Fosbrooke Leonard	+ L-Corp.	PBR	2	Sorel Q	21	Single
504	Fullerton James	Corp.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	25	Single
505	Fullerton Patrick	Pte.	PBR	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
506	Fraser John	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	33	Single
507	Falby John	Pte.	PBR	4	London O	22	Single
508	Ferguson William	I Pte.	PBR	1	Kingston O	24	Single
509	Fitzgerald George	D Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	33	Single
510	French George W.	+ OR-Serg.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	18	Single
511	Fortier Herménégilde	Pte.	PBR	2	Ste. Genevieve Q	24	Single
512	Foster George A.	+ Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	24	Single
513	Foley Thomas	+ Pte.	PBR	-	St. John's NFLD	20	Single
514	Forsythe Richard	BC Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	23	Single
515	Frizzle John	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	19	Single
516	Forrester John	D Pte.	PBR	-	London O	20	Single
<u>517</u>	Fraser John	Capt.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>518</u>	Fletcher John Price	+ Lieut.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>519</u>	Fidlar Edward	Capt.	1st	D	Ontario	--	Single
520	Flood John	Corp.	PBR	-	Toronto O	35	Married
521	Flagherty David	Pte.	PBR	-	Perth O	21	Single
522	Flint John	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
523	French George Henry V.	S Serg.	PBR	-	England	21	Single
<u>524</u>	Graves Joseph Mathew	Pte.	1st	1	Kingston O	21	Single
<u>525</u>	Grady John Henry	Serg.	1st	S	Sydenham O	24	Single
<u>526</u>	Gibson Alexander	Pte.	1st	3	Duimbo O	20	Single
<u>527</u>	Greenwood John Alexander	Pte.	1st	3	Willoughby O	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>528</u>	Green George	Pte.	1st	S	Peterboro O	23	Single
<u>529</u>	Gardiner Joseph	Pte.	1st	5	Lennox O	34	Married
<u>530</u>	Goddard Arthur Charles	Pte.	1st	4	Ottawa O	22	Single
<u>531</u>	Giroux Napoléon	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	26	Single
<u>532</u>	Gagné Jean-Baptiste	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	17	Single
<u>533</u>	Graveley H.L.	Serg.	2nd	-	Cobourg O	25	Single
<u>534</u>	Greasley Robert	Pte.	2nd	1	England	22	Single
<u>535</u>	Griffiths Edward D.	Pte.	2nd	-	England	20	Single
<u>536</u>	Gillman William	Pte.	2nd	1	England	20	Single
<u>537</u>	Gibbs William	Pte.	2nd	-	England	31	Single
<u>538</u>	Gill William	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	18	Single
<u>539</u>	Goodbody William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>540</u>	Gordon Joseph	S+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>541</u>	Greenley Gardner	Corp.	2nd	-	Brompton Q	23	Single
<u>542</u>	Griffiths Ernest H.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>543</u>	Gibson James	Pte.	1st	2	Paisley O	29	Single
<u>544</u>	Glendinning Thos. Robert	Serg.	1st	-	Chatham O	22	Single
<u>545</u>	Gordon John Campbell	Pte.	1st	-	Ayr O	35	Married
<u>546</u>	Grainger Charles	Pte.	1st	1	Wallacetown O	26	Single
<u>547</u>	Guinn Joseph	Pte.	1st	2	Walkerton O	24	Single
<u>548</u>	Guttridge Henry	Pte.	1st	2	Crosshill O	21	Single
<u>549</u>	Giroux Thomas	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	30	Married
<u>550</u>	Gagnon Pierre	D Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	26	Married
<u>551</u>	Garvin William P.	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Smith Falls O	18	Single
<u>552</u>	Gilchrist Thomas	+ Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>553</u>	Gill Eugéne	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Single
<u>554</u>	Gilmour James Dickson	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>555</u>	Globensky Eugéne	Pte.	2nd	-	St.Scholastique Q	18	Single
<u>556</u>	Goyer Alexander	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>557</u>	Green Elijah	Pte.	1st	D	Wolverhampton O	33	Married
<u>558</u>	Gerron Edgar	Pte.	1st	D	Ameliasburgh O	20	Single
<u>559</u>	Gurnon Joseph	Pte.	1st	D	Tyendyaga O	18	Single
<u>560</u>	Griesbach Arthur Henry	S-Maj.	1st	D	York O	28	Married
<u>561</u>	Gilroy Robert	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	34	Single
<u>562</u>	Gibson Richard	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	36	Widower
<u>563</u>	Gauvreau Joseph	Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	20	Single
<u>564</u>	Good George James	Pte.	1st	5	Thunder Bay O	33	Single
<u>565</u>	Garnot Ant. Odilon	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	33	Widower

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>566</u>	Gardner Richard	Pte.	2nd	-	Rivière du Loup Q	20	Single
<u>567</u>	Grogan Andrew	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	33	Single
<u>568</u>	Gamache Alexis	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>569</u>	Gagné Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>570</u>	Généreux Ernest	Pte.	2nd	-	Rimouski Q	22	Single
<u>571</u>	Garon Joseph	BC Corp.	2nd	1	Rimouski Q	22	Single
<u>572</u>	Gilvey William	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
573	Gall William	S+ Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	21	Single
574	Gowland George	+ Pte.	PBR	2	Ontario	18	Single
575	Gillies John	Pte.	PBR	4	Esquising O	22	Single
576	Gale George	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	29	Single
577	Griffin Justus	Pte.	PBR	2	Waterdown O	25	Single
578	Griffith Edward	Serg.	PBR	4	Ontario	22	Single
579	Gill John	Corp.	PBR	4	Nelson O	26	Single
580	Galbraith James	BC Pte.	PBR	-	Kingston O	29	Single
581	Gauthier John Joseph	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	20	Single
582	Gordon William	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
583	Guillotte Jules	Pte.	PBR	4	Lévis Q	21	Single
584	Gee Owen	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
585	Gerrard James	Pte.	PBR	1	Cobourg O	25	Single
586	Glazier Torrence	I Pte.	PBR	2	Elizabethtown O	22	Single
587	Goodwin Henry	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	31	Widower
588	Gosselin Thomas R.	Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	36	Married
589	Gosselin Francis J.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	32	Married
590	Graham John	Pte.	PBR	3	Whitechurch O	22	Single
591	Graham John	Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	23	Single
592	Grant Donald	D Pte.	PBR	1	St. Thomas O	28	Single
593	Gray John	D Pte.	PBR	2	St. Thomas O	28	Single
594	Grealey Michael	D Pte.	PBR	1	Ireland	24	Single
595	Gauvreau Adjutor	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	21	Single
596	Gribbon Edward P.	Serg.	PBA	B	Ireland	20	Single
597	Gilbert Ernest	Trump.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	19	Single
598	Greenup James	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	25	Single
599	Gillmore Joseph	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	27	Single
600	Gillmore John	SS+ Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	29	Single
601	Gray James	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
602	Grainger George	Dec Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	30	Single
603	Gray Frederick	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	23	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
604	Gehan John	Serg.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	21	Single
605	Grant Robert A.	S+ Corp.	PBA	B	England	22	Single
606	Gillam Henry Alfred	Gunner	PBA	B	England	20	Single
<u>607</u>	Gagnier F.D.	Dec Capt.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
608	Gerraghty P.	Ord.Off.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
609	Gow William George	Ensign	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>610</u>	Griffiths-Wainwright G.	Major	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
611	Gould William	Pte.	PBR	-	Brockville O	21	Single
612	Guy William	Corp.	PBR	-	Stratford O	23	Single
613	Griffith David	C-Serg.	PBR	-	Hamilton O	44	Single
614	Grenier Camille Jérôme	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
615	Graham William Richard	Corp.	PBR	-	Ireland	24	Single
616	Geldert D. Leonard	Corp.	PBA	B	Halifax NS	33	Married
<u>617</u>	Hubbard William	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	25	Single
<u>618</u>	Hinton Robert S.	Pte.	1st	3	Oakville O	20	Single
<u>619</u>	Hall Henry	Pte.	1st	4	Whitby O	36	Married
<u>620</u>	Hardy James F.	Pte.	1st	3	Ernestown O	30	Single
<u>621</u>	Harman Nelson	Corp.	1st	-	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>622</u>	Howman John	Pte.	1st	1	Toronto O	22	Single
<u>623</u>	Hodgson John	Pte.	1st	4	Stayner O	18	Single
<u>624</u>	Hepburn William Robert	Pte.	1st	3	Willoughby O	24	Single
<u>625</u>	Hackett John	Pte.	1st	6	Hamilton O	25	Single
<u>626</u>	Harvey Alfred de Clifford	Pte.	1st	7	Toronto O	26	Single
<u>627</u>	Herchmer George	Pte.	1st	1	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>628</u>	Hora F.H.R.	C-Serg.	1st	-	Pittsburg O	20	Single
<u>629</u>	Herbert James	Corp.	1st	7	Kingston O	23	Single
<u>630</u>	Hislop John	H-Serg.	1st	-	Kingston O	24	Single
<u>631</u>	Hickey William	Corp.	1st	5	Baltimore O	24	Single
<u>632</u>	Hughes Thomas	Pte.	1st	5	Kingston O	21	Single
<u>633</u>	Hamilton David	Serg.	1st	-	Ottawa O	21	Single
<u>634</u>	Hamilton David	Pte.	1st	7	Gananoque O	22	Single
<u>635</u>	Hamilton George H.	Pte.	1st	7	Brockville O	33	Single
<u>636</u>	Hale John Edward	Pte.	1st	3	Hamilton O	20	Single
<u>637</u>	Hayes James	Pte.	1st	-	Collingwood O	19	Single
<u>638</u>	Humphrey Thomas W.	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	22	Single
<u>639</u>	Hart Thomas	D Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>640</u>	Hewlett Charles	Serg.	2nd	-	England	23	Single
<u>641</u>	Huston David	Pte.	2nd	-	Caradoc O	20	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>642</u>	Helliwell Arthur	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Highland Creek O	20	Single
<u>643</u>	Hewgill Lovelace	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>644</u>	Hamilton John	Pte.	2nd	-	Hemingford Q	20	Single
<u>645</u>	Harflett George	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>646</u>	Henry Thomas H.	Pte.	2nd	-	Lachute Q	25	Single
<u>647</u>	Holland John	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Sherbrooke Q	44	Married
<u>648</u>	Holman William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>649</u>	Horner Thomas	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>650</u>	Howard Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>651</u>	Hunter Mathew Thomas	D Corp.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>652</u>	Hazelwood Robert	Pte.	1st	2	London O	24	Single
<u>653</u>	Hetherington Joseph	Pte.	1st	2	Fullerton O	21	Single
<u>654</u>	Hall Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>655</u>	Hannaly Luke	Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Single
<u>656</u>	Harbour John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>657</u>	Harrington Adam	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Single
<u>658</u>	Harrison John	U Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>659</u>	Harvey Henry B.	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>660</u>	Helliwell Charles V.	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Single
<u>661</u>	Horseley Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	30	Single
<u>662</u>	Hogan John	U Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>663</u>	Houle Joseph	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>664</u>	Hunt John	Pte.	2nd	-	Paokenham O	23	Single
<u>665</u>	Hodgins Bernard	Corp.	2nd	D	Kingston O	32	Married
<u>666</u>	Hamilton John	Pte.	2nd	D	Scotland	44	Single
<u>667</u>	Hayward Mark	Pte.	1st	D	London O	26	Single
<u>668</u>	Hewson John	Pte.	1st	D	Port Hope O	26	Single
<u>669</u>	Honor Edward	Pte.	1st	D	Kingston O	25	Single
<u>670</u>	Hawley Wellington	Pte.	1st	D	Tyendyaga O	18	Single
<u>671</u>	Haynes Henry	QM-Serg.	1st	D	Reading O	40	Married
<u>672</u>	Hedge Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	Floore O	39	Married
<u>673</u>	Hogan Thomas	BC Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>674</u>	Henderson William A.	D Pte.	2nd	D	Isle aux Noix Q	20	Single
<u>675</u>	Héroux Joseph	Pte.	2nd	D	Three Rivers Q	19	Single
<u>676</u>	Hutchison Nicholas	S+ Pte.	2nd	D	St. André Q	20	Single
<u>677</u>	Hunter Richard H.	Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	21	Single
<u>678</u>	Helliwell Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>679</u>	Hearn Hiram	+ Pte.	1st	-	Ingersoll O	22	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
680	Hatt Charles de Salaberry	Pte.	2nd	-	Sorel Q	23	Single
681	Hill Arthur	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
682	Hull Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	20	Single
683	Hardy Louis	Serg.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	21	Single
684	Hackett Edward	S+ Pte.	2nd	-	England	36	Single
685	Hearron Martin	D Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	35	Single
686	Holliday William	Pte.	2nd	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
687	Hickley James	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
688	Harris George	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	29	Single
689	Harvey John	Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	19	Single
690	Harnois Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	44	Married
691	Higginbotham James	Pte.	1st	D	Ontario	34	Single
692	Henry Andrews	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
693	Huston David	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
694	Hutchinson John	Pte.	PBR	4	Port Hope O	21	Single
695	Hallowell Jeffries	Pte.	PBR	3	Gananoque O	24	Single
696	Hardy Robert G.	Corp.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	27	Single
697	Hassett Thomas	Corp.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	32	Married
698	Hicks John Francis	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	18	Single
699	Heany Patrick	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
700	Hamilton Alexander G.	Pte.	PBR	2	Blanchard O	30	Single
701	Hall William	Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	19	Single
702	Horne George	Pte.	PBR	4	London O	33	Single
703	Harnett Francis Wm.	S-Maj.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	28	Single
704	Hart John (aka Jarvis)	CP Bugler	PBR	3	Deserted 60th R.	21	Single
705	Hearn Lewis	Pte.	PBR	1	London O	28	Single
706	Henderson Thomas	Pte.	PBR	1	Blanchard O	22	Single
707	Hinds Joseph	Pte.	PBR	2	London O	29	Single
708	Hitchcock Thomas	Pte.	PBR	3	London O	25	Single
709	Hitherman Martin	I Pte.	PBR	4	Perth O	20	Single
710	Hodson Robert	Serg.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
711	Holdgate George	Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	24	Single
712	Halloway George	Pte.	PBR	3	London O	37	Single
713	Hosken Frederick John	Serg.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	26	Single
714	Hughes Benjamin W.	S S-Serg.	PBR	1	Hamilton O	22	Single
715	Hogan John	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	20	Single
716	Hackett Edward	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Ireland	36	Single
717	Hall David B.	Corp.	PBR	-	Anapolis NS	23	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
718	Hepworth Walter	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	21	Single
719	Harrigan John	I Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	23	Single
720	Hames Henry	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	18	Single
721	Hayden Samuel	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	18	Single
722	Hamilton Samuel	D Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	26	Single
723	Henderson William James	D Pte.	PBR	-	Newcastle NB	23	Single
724	Hodgson Thomas	Pte.	PBR	-	Barnet Castle O	33	Single
<u>725</u>	Herchmer William Macauley	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>726</u>	Harman Samuel Bruce	Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>727</u>	Hamilton Samuel	Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>728</u>	Howard Thomas	PayMas.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
729	Hurley John	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	21	Single
730	Harris Hugh M.	Gunner	PBA	B	England	22	Single
731	Humphrey James	Gunner	PBA	B	England	26	Single
732	Hagerman Judson	S Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
<u>733</u>	Issacson Alfred G.	Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
734	Ingram Elias	Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	30	Single
<u>735</u>	Irvine Acheson G.	Major	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
736	Irwin William Henry	Pte.	PBR	-	Windsor NS	26	Single
<u>737</u>	Jones John	D Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	28	Single
<u>738</u>	Jackson Anson	Pte.	1st	-	Prescott O	20	Single
<u>739</u>	Jennings William Henry	Pte.	1st	3	Fort Erie O	21	Single
<u>740</u>	Jackson Robert	Pte.	1st	S	Napanee O	23	Single
<u>741</u>	Jamieson Robert A.	Pte.	1st	6	Picton O	20	Single
<u>742</u>	Jones James S.	Pte.	1st	-	Brockville O	20	Single
<u>743</u>	Jaffray William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>744</u>	Jones Wellington	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>745</u>	Jeffrey Henry James	Pte.	1st	2	Galt O	33	Single
<u>746</u>	Jones Richard Inglis	Pte.	1st	S	Sarnia O	20	Single
<u>747</u>	Jenkins Byron	Pte.	2nd	7	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>748</u>	Jenkinson Joseph	Pte.	1st	D	England	24	Single
<u>749</u>	Johnston Thomas	Serg.	1st	D	Belleville O	23	Married
<u>750</u>	Jones Walter	Pte.	2nd	D	Ontario	42	Married
<u>751</u>	Jeffreys Thomas Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>752</u>	James Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Wales	20	Single
<u>752A</u>	Jessop Robert	+SS Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>753</u>	Johnstone Daniel	D Pte.	1st	D	Ontario	--	Single
754	Johnson William R.	I Pte.	PBR	4	Sherbrooke Q	31	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
755	Johnstone Charles E.A.	+ Pte.	PBR	2	Sorel Q	18	Single
756	James Valentine W.	S+ Pte.	PBR	4	Winnipeg M	22	Single
757	Jackson John	Pte.	PBR	3	Brockville O	23	Single
758	Jones Henry T.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
759	Jones Henry E.	Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	25	Single
760	Jones William	L-Corp.	PBR	2	London O	18	Single
761	Jones Frederick G.	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	19	Single
762	Johnstone Thomas	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
763	Johnson John	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	27	Single
764	Johnson Robert	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	22	Single
765	Julian Alfred	Serg.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	26	Single
766	Johnson James	Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	20	Single
767	Johnston Hugh	Gunner	PBA	B	Ottawa O	20	Single
<u>768</u>	Jarvis Samuel Peters	Lt.-Col.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
769	Jackson William	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	24	Single
770	Jackson Samuel Fairbairn	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
<u>771</u>	Kneen Mathias	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	25	Single
<u>772</u>	Keller Henry Baron	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	21	Single
<u>773</u>	Kilvington Samuel S.	Pte.	1st	3	Hamilton O	18	Single
<u>774</u>	Keenan John	Pte.	1st	6	Cartwright O	24	Single
<u>775</u>	Karney James	Pte.	1st	6	Picton O	18	Single
<u>776</u>	Kidd Frederick	Pte.	1st	6	Reach O	23	Single
<u>777</u>	Kerr George	Serg.	1st	7	Perth O	22	Single
<u>778</u>	Kerr John Andrew	Pte.	1st	7	Perth O	19	Single
<u>779</u>	King Henry	Pte.	1st	3	Barrie O	22	Single
<u>780</u>	King George	Pte.	2nd	1	England	26	Single
<u>781</u>	Kelly Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Perth O	23	Single
<u>782</u>	Keenan John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	26	Single
<u>783</u>	Keates William	+ I Pte.	2nd	1	England	19	Single
<u>784</u>	Kelly Joseph	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>785</u>	Kearl Francis	Pte.	1st	D	England	18	Single
<u>786</u>	Kemp Alfred Charles	Pte.	1st	D	England	20	Single
<u>787</u>	Keates Richard	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>788</u>	King Henry Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	England	21	Single
<u>789</u>	Kelland George	Serg.	2nd	3	Ontario	--	Single
<u>790</u>	Kett Elijah B.	Pte.	2nd	-	Oneida O	27	Married
<u>791</u>	King David Alexander	Pte.	2nd	-	Leeds Q	19	Single
<u>792</u>	Kent William	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT. CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>793</u>	Kennedy John	Pte.	2nd -	Spain	17	Single
<u>794</u>	Keernan Michael	Pte.	1st D	Ontario	43	Single
<u>795</u>	Keating James	Serg.	2nd D	Ontario	42	Single
796	Keely Samuel	Pte.	PBR 4	Toronto O	20	Single
797	Kellock William Murdoch	Serg.	PBR 3	Perth O	24	Single
<u>798</u>	Knox John	Pte.	1st S	Bristol Q	28	Single
<u>799</u>	Kelly Hugh	Pte.	1st S	Hamilton O	23	Single
<u>800</u>	Kane James	RTJ Pte.	2nd -	Toronto O	19	Single
801	Kerns William Joshua	D Pte.	PBR 4	Brockville O	22	Single
802	Keith John	RTJ Pte.	PBR -	Montreal Q	25	Single
803	Kelly Thomas C.	D Pte.	PBR 4	Montreal Q	25	Single
804	Kerr James	I Pte.	PBR 1	Montreal Q	21	Single
805	Kilby William	Pte.	PBR 2	Toronto O	29	Single
806	King Henry	Serg.	PBR 3	Quebec City Q	20	Single
807	Kearly William	Gunner	PBA B	England	20	Single
808	Kinmond Thomas	D Pte.	PBR -	Fredericton NB	22	Single
809	Keely George Alexander	Gunner	PBA B	Toronto O	18	Single
810	Keely Samuel	Gunner	PBA B	Toronto O	23	Single
811	Knox Albert	I Gunner	PBA B	Belleville O	24	Single
812	Kelly James	Corp.	PBR -	Toronto O	36	Single
813	Kelly Patrick	Gunner	PBA B	Ontario	38	Single
<u>814</u>	Kennedy William Nassau	Lieut.	1st -	Ontario	--	Single
815	Keane James Alfred	Gunner	PBA B	Kingston O	27	Single
816	Kennedy James	Pte.	PBR -	Halifax NS	22	Single
<u>817</u>	Lowe William Henry	U Pte.	1st -	Toronto O	21	Single
<u>818</u>	Lindoff George	Serg.	1st 4	Chinguacoucy O	21	Single
<u>819</u>	Lillies James	Pte.	1st 2	Salem O	21	Single
<u>820</u>	Lauder John	Pte.	1st 5	Campbellford O	20	Single
<u>821</u>	Loscombe Frederic	Pte.	1st -	Darlington O	22	Single
<u>822</u>	Lowans Thomas	Bugler	1st -	R C Rifles	20	Single
<u>823</u>	Liston John	Pte.	1st -	R C Rifles	30	Single
<u>824</u>	Lalond Louis (#1)	Pte.	1st -	Cornwall O	20	Single
<u>825</u>	Lalond John	Pte.	1st -	Cornwall O	22	Single
<u>826</u>	Lalond Louis (#2)	Pte.	2nd -	Cornwall O	19	Single
<u>827</u>	Lewis Charles	Corp.	1st 2	Mount Forest O	20	Single
<u>828</u>	Labarre Joseph	RTJ Pte.	2nd -	Quebec City Q	23	Married
<u>829</u>	Lepage Majorique	Pte.	2nd -	Rimouski Q	19	Single
<u>830</u>	Lepage Louis	Pte.	2nd -	Rimouski Q	22	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>831</u>	Leech Fred F.	BC Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>832</u>	Long Walter N.	Pte.	2nd	-	St. Martin NB	21	Single
<u>833</u>	Lanagan Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Penetanguishine O	21	Single
<u>834</u>	Lemoine Solomon	Pte.	2nd	7	Coaticooke Q	26	Single
<u>835</u>	Lawson Martin	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>836</u>	Lindsay William Thomas	Corp.	2nd	7	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>837</u>	Laing William	Pte.	1st	2	Stratford O	20	Single
<u>838</u>	Lee George	Pte.	1st	2	Crosshill O	23	Single
<u>839</u>	Lenover Jacob	Pte.	1st	-	Chatham O	26	Single
<u>840</u>	Leslie Thomas	Pte.	1st	2	Arran O	22	Single
<u>841</u>	Lumsden William	Pte.	1st	1	St. Thomas O	35	Single
<u>842</u>	Lacroix Paschal	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	24	Single
<u>843</u>	Lacroix Charles	U Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	30	Widower
<u>844</u>	Lafranchise Joachim	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Married
<u>845</u>	Larivière Jérémie	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>846</u>	Leblanc Olivier	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>847</u>	Loiseau Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>848</u>	Lee Thomas	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	30	Single
<u>849</u>	Lennon John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	34	Single
<u>850</u>	Lord Arthur	Pte.	2nd	1	Three Rivers Q	19	Single
<u>851</u>	Lord John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>852</u>	Longpré Edmond	+ Serg.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>853</u>	Laugham Michael	Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	33	Single
<u>854</u>	Lindsay Robert	Pte.	1st	D	Shannonville O	20	Single
<u>855</u>	Loggie William	D Pte.	1st	D	Scotland	25	Married
<u>856</u>	Langlois Léon	D Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	27	Single
<u>857</u>	Lappage James	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>858</u>	Lavie Charles A.B.	Serg.	2nd	D	England	22	Single
<u>859</u>	Lake Thomas	Bugler	2nd	D	Ireland	18	Single
<u>860</u>	Landry Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Ste. Marie Q	18	Single
<u>861</u>	Lévesque Arthur	H-Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>862</u>	Lebourdais Louis	Pte.	2nd	-	L'Islet Q	37	Married
<u>863</u>	Lyonnais Napoléon	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>864</u>	Lewis James	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	33	Single
<u>865</u>	Labbé Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Ste. Marie Q	20	Single
<u>866</u>	Leblond (Leblanc) Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	St. Anne Q	19	Single
<u>867</u>	Landrigan Daniel	Pte.	2nd	1	Ireland	22	Single
<u>868</u>	Longmuir Frederick	U Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	25	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>869</u>	L'Abbé Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>870</u>	Lafontaine Octave	D Pte.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>871</u>	Larose Napoléon	U Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
872	Lidington Henry	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	21	Single
873	Lundy George	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	20	Single
874	Lamond Charles	Pte.	PBR	4	York O	23	Single
875	Lloyd John	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	18	Single
876	Lord John-Baptiste	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
877	Levesque Vital	Corp.	PBR	4	St. Louis Q	20	Single
878	Langtree Henry	Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	36	Single
879	Logan Samuel	Pte.	PBR	4	Waterloo O	24	Single
880	Laroche Arthur	Pte.	PBR	4	Pte. Trembles Q	20	Single
881	Larwille George Henry	Pte.	PBR	1	Ottawa O	26	Single
882	Litle William B.	Pte.	PBR	2	Ottawa O	32	Single
883	Lucas William	Pte.	PBR	4	DeWittville O	19	Single
884	Lagacé Napoléon	+I Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	21	Single
885	Lehoux George	Gunner	PBA	B	Ste. Marie Q	20	Single
886	Lafranchise Antoine	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
887	Lord John	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	23	Single
888	Lockhart Frederic	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	22	Single
889	Latter Alfred	Pte.	PBR	-	Henning Cove NS	18	Single
890	Ling John	Pte.	PBR	-	Cavandish PEI	21	Single
891	Lindsay William Temple	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	20	Single
892	Linch Thomas	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	20	Single
893	Le Bell Michael	D Pte.	PBR	-	Isle Verte Q	21	Single
894	Loggie George	Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	24	Single
895	Long Charles	Trump.	PBA	B	Toronto O	19	Single
896	Laughlin Daniel	I Pte.	PBR	-	Brockville O	18	Single
897	Langton Edward	S+ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
898	Loiseau Albert	S Gunner	PBA	B	Winnipeg M	23	Single
<u>899</u>	Labranche Jacques	Capt.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>900</u>	Larue Auguste	Capt	2nd	D	Quebec	--	Single
901	Lucas George	Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	21	Single
902	Lee William	Gunner	PBA	B	Fredericton NB	20	Single
903	Lee Herbert Newton	Gunner	PBA	B	Woodstock NB	20	Single
<u>904</u>	Mills Augustus	+ H-Serg.	1st	-	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>905</u>	Moore Charles James	Pte.	1st	3	Grantham O	19	Single
<u>906</u>	Millward Thomas	Pte.	1st	4	Nottawasaga O	38	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>907</u>	Munn Robert	Pte.	1st	4	Mona O	25	Single
<u>908</u>	Muma Alexander	U Pte.	1st	-	Bleinheim O	19	Single
<u>909</u>	Martin John Alfred	Pte.	1st	3	Woodhouse O	23	Single
<u>910</u>	Mahoney James	Pte.	1st	5	Monaghan O	21	Single
<u>911</u>	Moloney John	DI Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	27	Single
<u>912</u>	Massey William	Dec QM-Serg.	1st	-	Belleville O	29	Single
<u>913</u>	Miller Henry	+ Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	18	Single
<u>914</u>	Milligan Joseph	Pte.	1st	5	Camden O	20	Single
<u>915</u>	Mills George	Pte.	1st	-	Burritts Rapids O	19	Single
<u>916</u>	Morrissey Patrick	Pte.	1st	5	R C Rifles	36	Single
<u>917</u>	Moore Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	21	Single
<u>918</u>	Madigan Daniel	+ S-Serg.	1st	S	R C Rifles	20	Single
<u>919</u>	Mann (Maune) John	S++ Pte.	1st	S	Toronto O	27	Single
<u>920</u>	Maranda John	Pte.	1st	S	Gananoque O	18	Married
<u>921</u>	Moisan Pierre	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>922</u>	Maddaford Samuel	Pte.	2nd	-	Slabtown O	21	Single
<u>923</u>	Matheson William A.	Corp.	2nd	1	Melbourne Q	26	Single
<u>924</u>	Machon Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Channel Islands	21	Single
<u>925</u>	Maureau Jérôme George	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>926</u>	Mallen Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	24	Married
<u>927</u>	Mannix George C.	Serg.	2nd	-	Bury O	24	Single
<u>928</u>	Mannix Arthur	Corp.	2nd	3	Bury O	27	Married
<u>929</u>	Marks Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>930</u>	Mitchell George	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>931</u>	Moffatt George O.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>932</u>	Macabe George H.	Pte.	1st	6	Ayr O	27	Married
<u>933</u>	Madill William James	Pte.	1st	2	Amabel O	21	Single
<u>934</u>	Main Henry	Serg.	1st	4	Westminster O	27	Single
<u>935</u>	Mann William Allan	Serg.	1st	S	Westminster O	22	Single
<u>936</u>	Mills William	Pte.	1st	1	London O	23	Single
<u>937</u>	Mitchell John A.	Pte.	1st	1	London O	23	Single
<u>938</u>	Montgomery James A.	+ Pte.	1st	S	Hollin O	24	Single
<u>939</u>	Marasse Alfred	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>940</u>	Mayer F.X.	D Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>941</u>	Melady Albert	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>942</u>	Michaud Isidore	S++ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>943</u>	Miller John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>944</u>	Murray William	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	34	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
945	Morton Alexander	Corp.	1st	D	Ireland	23	Single
946	Mortimer John	Pte.	1st	D	England	42	Married
947	Marlow John	Pte.	1st	D	England	30	Married
948	Morgan Alfred	Pte.	1st	D	England	28	Single
949	Moore Richard	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	19	Single
950	Murphy John	L-Corp.	2nd	D	R C Rifles	36	Single
951	Moylan Henry B.	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	30	Single
952	Melançon Napoléon	U Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	33	Widower
953	Morris William	C-Serg.	2nd	-	Brockville O	30	Single
954	Marshall David	Corp.	2nd	5	Quebec City Q	27	Single
955	May James	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	38	Single
956	Martin John	Pte.	2nd	-	Leeds Q	21	Single
957	Montgomery William	Pte.	2nd	-	Leeds Q	27	Single
958	Marshall John	Pte.	2nd	-	Leeds Q	22	Single
959	Melançon John Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Bathurst NB	21	Single
960	Michaud Paul	Pte.	2nd	-	St. Roch Q	22	Single
961	Mulvaney William	Pte.	2nd	S	R C Rifles	20	Single
962	Mitchell Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	New Ireland Q	25	Single
963	Mathews Joseph	+ Corp.	2nd	S	New Hamburg O	20	Single
964	Marsh Hiram	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	19	Single
965	Martineau Herman	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
	" " (same person)	Ensign	PBR	-	Quebec	--	Single
966	Moore R.J.	Pte.	1st	-	Ontario	24	Single
967	Mahoney George	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Ontario	21	Single
968	Means William H.	I Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	23	Single
969	Meagher Augustine (MD)	Pte.	PBR	4	Kingston O	23	Single
970	Meagher Thomas Francis	Pte.	PBR	4	Kingston O	25	Single
971	Moffatt David	Pte.	PBR	4	Carlton Place O	22	Single
972	Mitchell Hillyard	Pte.	PBR	2	England	19	Single
973	Macey George	Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	32	Single
974	Marchand Albert H. Dec	S+ Serg.	PBR	1	St. Jean Q	26	Single
975	Mulrany Peter	Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	29	Single
976	Madden Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Stratford O	25	Single
977	Maffrey Frederick A.	I Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	20	Single
978	Martel Edouard	H-Serg.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	26	Single
979	Martin John A.	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	26	Single
980	Melville Charles	Pte.	PBR	1	Hamilton O	24	Single
981	Metcalf Edward	Pte.	PBR	3	Hamilton O	24	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
982	Mills William Henry	Pte.	PBR	1	Marlborough O	30	Single
983	Minckler Charles	Pte.	PBR	3	St. Armand Q	23	Single
984	Moody Charles	FTD Pte.	PBR	4	Ottawa O	21	Single
985	Morrison David	Pte.	PBR	3	Cobourg O	22	Single
986	Morry Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single
987	Mostyn Thos. Geo. Edwin	Serg.	PBR	1	Kingston	18	Single
988	Müller George	Serg.	PBR	3	Sherbrooke Q	26	Single
989	Moore Jean-Baptiste	Pte.	PBR	3	Isle de Orleans Q	27	Single
990	Muity Henry	Dec Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	31	Single
991	Murray Charles	I Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	21	Single
992	Marc Eugène	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	35	Single
993	Maras Alfred	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single
994	Morrisette Jean-Bte	Sui S-Maj.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	25	Single
995	Mariaggi François	Pte.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	26	Single
996	Michaud Joseph	HCA Pte.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	22	Single
997	Morin Edmond	I Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	36	Single
998	Maher James A.	Pte.	PBR	-	Walton NS	18	Single
999	Moore John	I Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
1000	Moire Daniel	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	20	Single
1001	Mathews Charles	Pte.	PBR	-	England	20	Single
1002	Merlin John	Pte.	PBR	-	Prospect NS	23	Single
1003	Mazerall William	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
1004	Munroe John	Corp.	PBA	B	Toronto O	18	Single
1005	Moore Samuel James	Dec Pte.	PBA	B	Kingston O	19	Single
1006	Morse Joseph	Gunner	PBA	B	Gananoque O	26	Single
<u>1007</u>	Macklem Thomas	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1008</u>	Morice J.F.B.	PayMas.	1st	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>1009</u>	Mulvey Stewart	Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1010</u>	Morrison Angus Gilmor	Ensign	1st	D	Ontario	--	Single
1011	Mowatt George	Pte.	PBR	-	Brockville O	21	Single
1012	Malhiot Ovila	Pte.	PBR	-	Joliette Q	21	Single
1013	Murphy Peter	Gunner	PBA	B	Ireland	19	Single
1014	Meiney James	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	20	Single
1015	Mordant Frederick	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	25	Single
1016	Morris William	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	20	Single
<u>1017</u>	McArthur James	Serg.	1st	-	Hamilton O	22	Single
<u>1018</u>	MacGregor James C.	Pte.	1st	3	Grantham O	21	Single
<u>1019</u>	McCoy Robert	Pte.	1st	-	Nottawasaga O	25	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1020</u>	McEwen William	Pte.	1st	4	Nottawasaga O	19	Single
<u>1021</u>	McIntosh Phineas	Pte.	1st	-	Brantford O	24	Single
<u>1022</u>	McCloy John	Pte.	1st	3	Willoughby O	19	Single
<u>1023</u>	MacNabb John C.	QM-Serg.	1st	-	Hamilton O	18	Single
<u>1024</u>	McBain H. William	Pte.	1st	5	Cavan O	20	Single
<u>1025</u>	McCready William A.	PM-Serg.	1st	-	Thurlow O	20	Single
<u>1026</u>	McKee William	Corp.	1st	-	Thurlow O	20	Single
<u>1027</u>	McWilliams Terence	Pte.	1st	1	R C Rifles	37	Single
<u>1028</u>	McEntyre George	Pte.	1st	7	Gananoque O	20	Single
<u>1029</u>	McMurchie Malcolm	Pte.	1st	4	Sydenham O	20	Single
<u>1030</u>	McKenzie Malcolm	Pte.	2nd	-	Cape Breton NS	18	Single
<u>1031</u>	McDonald William	Pte.	2nd	1	Ireland	28	Single
<u>1032</u>	McDiarmid Angus	Pte.	2nd	-	Scotland	27	Single
<u>1033</u>	McCartney Allan	Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1034</u>	McConville John Francis	Pte.	2nd	-	St. Andrews Q	33	Single
<u>1035</u>	McIntyre John	Pte.	2nd	-	Lachute Q	34	Married
<u>1036</u>	McGinn Richard St. Léger+	QM-Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>1037</u>	McGregor Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	28	Single
<u>1038</u>	McKelvey Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Hemingford Q	25	Single
<u>1039</u>	McKelvey John	Pte.	2nd	-	Hemingford Q	29	Single
<u>1040</u>	MacDonnell John H.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>1041</u>	McClellan William	Pte.	1st	-	London O	28	Married
<u>1042</u>	McDonald John	Pte.	1st	-	London O	29	Single
<u>1043</u>	McDonald Alexander	Pte.	1st	1	Zora O	22	Single
<u>1044</u>	McFarland Joseph	+ Pte.	1st	1	Oxford O	32	Single
<u>1045</u>	McGovern Lawrence	S++ Pte.	1st	S	London O	35	Single
<u>1046</u>	McGregor Peter S.	Pte.	1st	2	Bosanquet O	32	Single
<u>1047</u>	McKay Hector	Pte.	1st	1	North Oxford O	22	Single
<u>1048</u>	McKellar Donald	Pte.	1st	1	Chatham O	20	Single
<u>1049</u>	McKenzie Alexander Grant	Corp.	1st	2	Warwick O	24	Single
<u>1050</u>	McLeod Peter	Pte.	1st	-	Stratford O	21	Single
<u>1051</u>	McVicar Archibald	Pte.	1st	2	Walkerton O	42	Married
<u>1052</u>	McLean Alexander	+ Pte.	1st	S	Erin O	23	Married
<u>1053</u>	McBean John George	Pte.	2nd	-	Berthier Q	35	Widower
<u>1054</u>	McDonald Ada	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1055</u>	McIver Frederick	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	24	Married
<u>1056</u>	McLaughlin William	D Pte.	2nd	1	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>1057</u>	McMannus Robert	D L-Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	28	Married

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1058</u>	McManus John	D Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>1059</u>	McNicol John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1060</u>	McBride John	Pte.	2nd	D	Kingston O	27	Single
<u>1061</u>	McFetridge John	U Pte.	2nd	D	Ontario	33	Married
<u>1062</u>	McNeil Charles	Pte.	1st	D	England	39	Married
<u>1063</u>	McHaig James	Pte.	2nd	-	Leeds Q	20	Single
<u>1064</u>	MacDonald Allan	Pte.	2nd	-	R C Rifles	34	Single
<u>1065</u>	McNamara James	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>1066</u>	McCoy Patrick	Pte.	2nd	-	New Ireland Q	31	Single
<u>1067</u>	McNair John	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1068</u>	McNearn Humphrey	Pte.	2nd	-	Matilda O	29	Single
<u>1069</u>	McDonald John	Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	24	Single
<u>1070</u>	McNicol Thomas	Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	--	Single
1071	McGarey James	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	25	Single
1072	McBeath Duncan	Pte.	PBR	4	Madoc O	19	Single
1073	McCurdy James	Pte.	PBR	4	Port Hope O	18	Single
1074	McKay James	PM-Serg.	PBR	2	Kingston O	21	Single
1075	McLean Peter	Pte.	PBR	4	Smith Falls O	23	Single
1076	McCumber Alfred	Pte.	PBR	4	Perth O	22	Single
1077	McKenzie Peter	Pte.	PBR	4	Drummond O	20	Single
1078	McAdie Robert	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
1079	McNair Robert	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	25	Single
1080	McCarroll John	Pte.	PBR	4	St. John's Q	22	Single
1081	McCormack Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	33	Single
1082	McLean Colin H.	Pte.	PBR	1	Melbourne O	25	Single
1083	McNeil Daniel	Pte.	PBR	-	Waterloo O	21	Single
1084	McGranahan John	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	25	Single
1085	McLeod Torquil	S++ Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	21	Single
<u>1086</u>	McLaughlin Hugh	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1087	McAree James	Pte.	PBR	4	Strathroy O	21	Single
1088	McAskill Donald	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	30	Single
1089	McDonnell James	I Pte.	PBR	4	Ireland	26	Single
1090	McDonald Roderick	S-Serg.	PBR	3	Compton Q	26	Single
1091	McGinnis Kenneth	Pte.	PBR	4	Lindsay O	22	Single
1092	McGregor Malcolm	Gunner	PBA	B	Peterboro O	22	Single
1093	McKay Aeneas	Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	39	Single
1094	McKay Gilbert S.	S-Serg.	PBR	3	Sydenham O	27	Single
1095	McKinnon John L.G.	L-Corp.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	19	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1096	McLeod James	Pte.	PBR	1	Barton O	21	Single
1097	McMahon Alexander	MU Pte.	PBR	-	St. Andrews Q	22	Single
1098	McPherson John	I Serg.	PBR	2	Toronto O	40	Single
1099	McPherson Thomas	L-Corp.	PBR	4	Toronto O	22	Single
1100	McDermott Andrew	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	27	Single
1101	McDonnell(aId) Henry	Corp.	PBR	4	St. Anicet Q	20	Single
1102	McGrath James	Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	22	Single
1103	McCartney Thomas	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	21	Single
1104	McKenzie Antoine	Pte.	PBR	-	Terrebonne Q	19	Single
1105	McClellan Robert W.	Corp.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	27	Single
1106	McLean John	D Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	22	Single
1107	McDonald William	Pte.	PBR	-	Ireland	26	Single
1108	McDonald Donald John	Pte.	PBR	-	Sydney NS	21	Single
1109	McEwen Peter	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
1110	McDonald Edward	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	24	Single
1111	McLeod Ezekiel	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	18	Single
1112	MacKay Charles	I Corp.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	29	Single
1113	McCaffery George	D Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	19	Single
1114	McElhinney William	BC Trump.	PBA	B	Ottawa O	23	Single
1115	MacDougall Archibald	Dec Gunner	PBA	B	Ottawa O	23	Single
1116	McGuinn Charles	Pte.	PBR	-	Ernestown O	22	Single
1117	McNaughton Peter	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	22	Single
<u>1118</u>	MacDonald Alexander R.	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1119</u>	McMillan Daniel Hunter	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1120</u>	MacDonald Donald A.	Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1121</u>	McMurty William J.	Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1122</u>	MacDonald Hugh John	Ensign	1st	-	Ottawa O	--	Single
<u>1123</u>	MacDonald Samuel	Capt.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1124</u>	McLeod James F.	A-Br.Maj.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1125</u>	McBride Andrew	Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1126</u>	Macdonald Allan	+ Capt.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1127	McCaffery James	S Pte.	PBR	-	Nepean O	21	Single
1128	McLennan Donald Gabriel	Pte.	PBR	-	Beekwith O	23	Single
1129	McMillan John A.	Serg.	PBR	-	Guelph O	49	Married
1130	McCloud Francis C.	Corp.	PBA	B	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>1131</u>	Nokes James	Pte.	1st	-	Bowmanville O	23	Single
<u>1132</u>	Nixon William Stinson	Pte.	1st	3	Hamilton O	33	Single
<u>1133</u>	Nihan Henry	Pte.	1st	3	Grantham O	23	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1134</u>	Nicholls Henry	Pte.	1st	S	Newcastle O	29	Married
<u>1135</u>	Noles Issac	D Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	22	Single
<u>1136</u>	Noble James	Pte.	1st	-	Picton O	21	Single
<u>1137</u>	Nokes James	Pte.	1st	-	Bowmanville O	23	Single
<u>1138</u>	Nesbitt John	Serg.	1st	7	Huntley O	31	Single
<u>1139</u>	Nixon Thomas	Pte.	1st	7	Perth O	19	Single
<u>1140</u>	Naylor John	Pte.	2nd	-	Coaticooke Q	28	Married
<u>1141</u>	Nimmo William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1142</u>	Nettle John	BC D Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	28	Single
<u>1143</u>	Neilson John Fisher	Pte.	1st	1	McKillop O	19	Single
<u>1144</u>	Nicol Peter	Pte.	1st	1	Parkhill O	25	Single
<u>1145</u>	Noon John	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	30	Single
<u>1146</u>	Nesbitt Joseph A.	Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>1147</u>	Nilson C.	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1148	Nellis Sylvester	I Pte.	PBR	1	Haldimand O	23	Single
1149	Neilson Daniel	S+ Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	25	Single
1150	Naylor Samuel	D Serg.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	21	Single
1151	Newmarch Thomas	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	23	Single
1152	Neve Frederick	S+ Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	26	Single
1153	Neil James	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	23	Single
1154	Nokes Edward	Pte.	PBR	-	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>1155</u>	Nash William Hill	+ Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1156</u>	Neilson F.L.A.	+ Surgeon	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1157	Nimmo Henry	Gunner	PBA	B	Montreal Q	34	Single
1158	Nevers John Foy	Trump.	PBA	B	Woodstock NB	20	Single
1159	Nevers Edmund Alonzo	Corp.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	23	Single
<u>1160</u>	Osborne John	Pte.	1st	7	Ottawa O	20	Single
<u>1161</u>	O'Neil Edward	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	22	Single
<u>1162</u>	Orchard John	D Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1163</u>	Ormston Mathew	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	30	Single
<u>1164</u>	O'Bryan Timothy	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Married
<u>1165</u>	O'Loughlan Hugh	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	35	Married
<u>1166</u>	Ouellett Michel	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>1167</u>	O'Neil Thomas	Pte.	2nd	D	British Army	30	Married
<u>1168</u>	O'Dell Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	24	Single
<u>1169</u>	O'Loughlan John	BC Serg.	2nd	1	Ireland	33	Married
1170	Owen Richard	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	21	Single
1171	Oram Thomas	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1172	Owens George A.	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	19	Single
1173	O'Dell William Alexander	Corp.	PBR	4	Stanbridge O	22	Single
1174	O'Hare Peter	D Pte.	PBR	3	St. Thomas O	27	Single
1175	O'Neil James	D Pte.	PBR	3	Lindsay O	20	Single
1176	O'Brien Patrick	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	22	Single
1177	O'Callaghan Cornelius	C-Serg.	PBR	-	Ireland	28	Single
1178	Olsen Nils	Pte.	PBR	-	Norway	25	Single
1179	O'Leary Charles	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	24	Single
1180	Owens Richard	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	25	Single
<u>1181</u>	Peel William	Pte.	1st	6	Manvers O	27	Single
<u>1182</u>	Pentland T.H.	Serg.	1st	3	Cobourg O	18	Single
<u>1183</u>	Perry Francis	S++ Pte.	1st	S	Kingston O	20	Single
<u>1184</u>	Phipps Henry	+ Pte.	1st	5	R C Rifles	30	Single
<u>1185</u>	Pritchard William	Pte.	1st	-	R C Rifles	32	Single
<u>1186</u>	Percy Andrew	Pte.	1st	-	Smith Fall's O	18	Single
<u>1187</u>	Paquet Louis	Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>1188</u>	Pickard William	Pte.	2nd	-	Ingersoll O	21	Single
<u>1189</u>	Page Richard	S+D Pte.	2nd	-	Sherbrooke Q	19	Single
<u>1190</u>	Palliser Joseph	Serg.	2nd	-	St. Andrews Q	20	Single
<u>1191</u>	Parker Frederick Wyse	Serg.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	33	Single
<u>1192</u>	Pope Thomas F.	Pte.	2nd	-	Cookshire O	22	Single
<u>1193</u>	Popham Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1194</u>	Pridham George Albert	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	28	Single
<u>1195</u>	Pringle William	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>1196</u>	Patterson William	+ Pte.	1st	1	London O	20	Single
<u>1197</u>	Pomeroy George	Pte.	1st	1	London O	31	Single
<u>1198</u>	Parent Edouard	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>1199</u>	Patenaude Ludger	Pte.	2nd	-	Laprairie Q	27	Single
<u>1200</u>	Perrault Alexandre	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>1201</u>	Provencher Eugène	Pte.	2nd	-	Nicolet Q	20	Single
<u>1202</u>	Pittis James	Pte.	1st	D	London O	21	Single
<u>1203</u>	Pickering Richard	U Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	28	Single
<u>1204</u>	Piché David	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	38	Married
<u>1205</u>	Presho David	+ Bugler	2nd	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>1206</u>	Puigh John	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	30	Married
<u>1207</u>	Piton William J.	C-Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>1208</u>	Paul Reuben	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1209</u>	Pleaut Elzéar	Pte.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	21	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1210</u>	Pollock John	Pte.	2nd	1	Woodstock O	28	Single
<u>1211</u>	Potter Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Middleaux O	30	Married
<u>1212</u>	Patterson Robert	S+ Pte.	2nd	-	Paisley O	32	Single
<u>1213</u>	Prior Beniah Samuel	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	33	Single
<u>1214</u>	Patenaude Eugène	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
1215	Price Joseph H.	+ C-Serg.	PBR	2	Wallisborough O	22	Single
1216	Purvis Peter	S+ Pte.	PBR	1	Toronto O	21	Single
1217	Phillips James Burritt	Pte.	PBR	1	Brockville O	26	Single
1218	Payette Ulric	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	19	Single
1219	Pellissier Jean-Baptiste	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>1220</u>	Prongus Anthony J.	Pte.	1st	S	Quebec City Q	22	Single
<u>1221</u>	Pentland James H.	Pte.	2nd	2	Montreal Q	25	Single
1222	Papillon Joseph	Pte.	PBR	3	Cap Santé Q	19	Single
1223	Peirce Thomas G.	D Serg.	PBR	4	Kingston O	20	Single
1224	Petrie David	Pte.	PBR	2	Compton Q	30	Married
1225	Platt John A.	L-Corp.	PBR	1	Sydenham O	24	Single
1226	Pringle Robert	I Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	30	Single
1227	Power William	D Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	19	Single
1228	Pelletier Evariste	Corp.	PBA	B	St. Maurice Q	24	Single
1229	Pelletier Féréol	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	25	Single
1230	Picard Philippe	D Gunner	PBA	B	Stamstead Q	23	Single
1231	Pouliot Honoré	D Gunner	PBA	B	Pointe Lévis Q	19	Single
1232	Presho David	+ Bugler	PBA	B	Winnipeg M	22	Single
1233	Price Joseph H.	+ S-Serg.	PBA	B	Winnipeg M	23	Single
1234	Page Richard	+D Pte.	PBR	-	Sherbrooke Q	22	Single
1235	Palmer William R.	Pte.	PBR	-	Charlottetown PEI	19	Single
1236	Price William	D Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	25	Single
1237	Porter Henry	Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	26	Single
1238	Phair Francis	Pte.	PBR	-	St. John NB	25	Single
1239	Pinkham James	Pte.	PBR	-	London O	20	Single
1240	Pearsoll Samuel	Gunner	PBA	B	Toronto O	23	Single
<u>1241</u>	Peebles A.L.L.	+ Ensign	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1242</u>	Parsons Wm. James B.	DI Capt.	Adj.	-	Ontario	--	Married
<u>1243</u>	Patterson Edward T.H.F.	Lieut.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1244</u>	Prevost Oscar	+ Lieut.	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Single
<u>1245</u>	Peebles A.	Con.Off.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1246</u>	Patterson Roderick R.S.	Chaplain	1st	-	Ontario	--	Married
1247	Peters James	Lieut.	PBA	B	Ontario	--	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1248	Percival John A.	Pte.	PBR	-	Brockville O	25	Married
1249	Perrin William	Pte.	PBR	-	Toronto O	28	Single
1250	Peck Austin Henry	S-Maj.	PBA	B	Kingston O	21	Single
1251	Partington William	I Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	29	Single
1252	Patmore John Edward	Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	22	Single
1253	Parrott William	Pte.	PBR	-	England	24	Single
1254	Perreault Joseph	Corp.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	24	Single
1255	Pukett James	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	22	Single
1256	Parks Benjamin Walter	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	23	Single
<u>1257</u>	Quigley Joseph	Pte.	1st	3	Grantham O	23	Single
1258	Quintal Alphonse	U Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1259</u>	Quinn Peter	I Pte.	1st	-	Charlottetown PEI	24	Single
<u>1260</u>	Robinson Thomas J.	Pte.	1st	-	Grantham O	18	Single
<u>1261</u>	Robinson Benjamin	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	23	Single
<u>1262</u>	Ryan Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	Pickering O	26	Single
<u>1263</u>	Robertson Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	Ontario	19	Single
<u>1264</u>	Reynolds Frederick A.	+U Pte.	1st	-	Picton O	24	Single
<u>1265</u>	Ritchie Alexander	Pte.	1st	5	Storrington O	20	Single
<u>1266</u>	Roberts Ernest	+ Corp.	1st	-	Lindsay O	22	Single
<u>1267</u>	Robinson Christopher	Pte.	1st	6	Picton O	42	Married
<u>1268</u>	Robertson George	MU Pte.	1st	-	Camden O	29	Single
<u>1269</u>	Roblin Edward	Pte.	1st	6	Picton O	26	Single
<u>1270</u>	Rodgers William	Pte.	1st	S	R C Rifles	37	Single
<u>1271</u>	Rains Noel D.	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	26	Single
<u>1272</u>	Ramsay Silas Alexander	Pte.	1st	7	Almonte O	19	Single
<u>1273</u>	Russell William West	Serg.	1st	7	Ottawa O	21	Single
<u>1274</u>	Rourke Michael	Pte.	1st	7	Huntley O	28	Single
<u>1275</u>	Rule Thomas Hodgson	U Pte.	2nd	-	England	25	Single
<u>1276</u>	Roberts George	D Pte.	2nd	1	England	25	Single
<u>1277</u>	Ridley Henry	D Pte.	2nd	1	England	28	Single
<u>1278</u>	Ryan James	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	18	Single
<u>1279</u>	Reid D.F.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1280</u>	Rikaby Hamilton	+ Pte.	2nd	1	Inverness O	26	Single
<u>1281</u>	Ridings William	Pte.	2nd	-	Sherbrooke Q	21	Single
<u>1282</u>	Robinson Benjamin	Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1283</u>	Roe William Hamilton	L-Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>1284</u>	Rolph George	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>1285</u>	Rowe John W.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1286</u>	Rowles Michael T.T.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	24	Single
<u>1287</u>	Rowsell Edward	+ Pte.	1st	-	London O	27	Single
<u>1288</u>	Renaud Joseph	+ Pte.	2nd	1	St. Lin Q	18	Single
<u>1289</u>	Renaud Joseph	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Widower
<u>1290</u>	Rose (Ross) Louis	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Married
<u>1291</u>	Ross John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1292</u>	Ruthven James (John)	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1293</u>	Ryan Timothy	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>1294</u>	Robinson Joseph	Pte.	2nd	D	Kingston O	30	Single
<u>1295</u>	Ryan Patrick	Serg.	2nd	D	Ireland	26	Married
<u>1296</u>	Rutherford Daniel	Pte.	1st	D	Hamilton O	23	Single
<u>1297</u>	Rogers William George	Pte.	1st	D	Hungerford O	19	Single
<u>1298</u>	Ray William	+Dec Pte.	1st	D	Chatham O	31	Single
<u>1299</u>	Rodges Alexander	Pte.	1st	D	Thurlow O	25	Single
<u>1300</u>	Ross James W.	+ Pte.	1st	D	Renfrew O	18	Single
<u>1301</u>	Robinson George	Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	44	Married
<u>1302</u>	Rondeau Charles	Pte.	2nd	D	Three Rivers Q	24	Single
<u>1303</u>	Roy Arthur	Pte.	2nd	7	Ste. Marie Q	18	Single
<u>1304</u>	Roy Octave	Pte.	2nd	-	Ste. Marie Q	18	Single
<u>1305</u>	Robertson Fred C.	Pte.	2nd	-	England	31	Single
<u>1306</u>	Ryan John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	33	Single
<u>1307</u>	Roussell Auguste	Pte.	2nd	1	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>1308</u>	Ray William	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	32	Single
<u>1309</u>	Rae David	U Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1310</u>	Rolph Richard W.A.	S++ Serg.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	27	Single
<u>1311</u>	Ramsay Robert	RTJ Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1312</u>	Roussell Edouard	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Quebec	32	Single
<u>1313</u>	Renshaw Robert	Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	30	Married
<u>1314</u>	Reeves Edward	Pte.	PBR	4	Belleville O	21	Single
<u>1315</u>	Ross James	Pte.	PBR	3	Gananoque O	21	Single
<u>1316</u>	Rancourt Charles S.	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	44	Married
<u>1317</u>	Rouleau Napoléon	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1318</u>	Roe John	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	31	Single
<u>1319</u>	Ross Archibald	+ Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>1320</u>	Ryland George Herman	I Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	36	Single
<u>1321</u>	Ring Charles	Pte.	PBR	4	Germany	21	Single
<u>1322</u>	Reising Frederick	Pte.	2nd	S	Germany	27	Single
<u>1323</u>	Raymond Emile	Pte.	PBR	3	Lac St. Jean Q	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1324	Reddy William	Pte.	PBR	4	Kingston O	19	Single
1325	Reid David H.	Pte.	PBR	3	St. Bridget Q	22	Single
1326	Rennick Frederick	D Corp.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
1327	Robertson Archibald	Pte.	PBR	3	Kingston O	19	Single
1328	Robertson James	Pte.	PBR	4	Augusta O	23	Single
1329	Reddy Charles	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
1330	Rees Edward	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	28	Single
1331	Redding Harry	Pte.	PBR	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
1332	Ryan Patrick	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	25	Single
1333	Ross George Wellington	D Pte.	PBR	-	St. Mary's NB	23	Single
1334	Ross Daniel	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	18	Single
1335	Ryan Simon	D Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	19	Single
1336	Raymond Homer	D Pte.	PBR	-	Woodstock NB	20	Single
1337	Ross William B.	Pte.	PNR	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
1338	Robert François	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	31	Single
<u>1339</u>	Ross Wm. Willmount	Ensign	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1340</u>	Roger R.F. Marie-Joseph	Chaplain	2nd	-	Quebec	--	Priest
1341	Reed Hayter	+ Lieut.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
1342	Reid James	Serg.	PBR	-	Nassagawaya O	28	Single
1343	Robertson James	Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	24	Single
1344	Rédélix Henri	I Gunner	PBA	B	France	27	Single
1345	Rundel Edwin	S-Maj.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	35	Widower
<u>1346</u>	Saunders Enoch	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>1347</u>	Smith Alexander William	Pte.	1st	-	York O	20	Single
<u>1348</u>	Smith Alexander W.	Pte.	1st	-	Toronto O	19	Single
<u>1349</u>	Spry Frank	Pte.	1st	1	Owen Sound O	34	Single
<u>1350</u>	Stavely Henry	+ Pte.	1st	4	Beerford O	24	Single
<u>1351</u>	Steele Samuel B.	Corp.	1st	-	Oro O	22	Single
<u>1352</u>	Shaw John	Pte.	1st	3	Bertie O	22	Single
<u>1353</u>	Stone James Gilbert	Pte.	1st	3	Barton O	21	Married
<u>1354</u>	Sturgeon James	Bugler	1st	3	Welland O	21	Single
<u>1355</u>	Sutton William	Pte.	1st	1	Ingersoll O	19	Single
<u>1356</u>	Scott Robert	Serg.	1st	5	Kingston O	26	Single
<u>1357</u>	Scott Robert	Pte.	1st	3	Toronto O	32	Single
<u>1358</u>	Scott William Thomas	Serg.	1st	6	Bowmanville O	19	Single
<u>1359</u>	Sheppard William A.	Pte.	1st	6	Belleville O	18	Single
<u>1360</u>	Skillen William M.	Pte.	1st	-	Picton O	19	Single
<u>1361</u>	Smith James	Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	25	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1362</u>	Squires Henry	Pte.	1st	-	Consecon O	26	Single
<u>1363</u>	Sutherland Alexander	Pte.	1st	-	Kingston O	18	Single
<u>1364</u>	Swetman James McD.	C-Serg.	1st	-	Adolphustown O	21	Single
<u>1365</u>	Samuel David	Pte.	1st	2	R C Rifles	32	Single
<u>1366</u>	Smith Charles	+ Pte.	1st	S	Elizabethtown O	19	Single
<u>1367</u>	Simpson Charles	Pte.	1st	7	Almonte O	19	Single
<u>1368</u>	Stewart Robert-John	Pte.	1st	7	Almonte O	20	Single
<u>1369</u>	Stewart George	+S U Pte.	1st	6	Bell's Corners O	24	Single
<u>1370</u>	Stephenson John	+ Pte.	1st	-	Perth O	26	Single
<u>1371</u>	St. Pierre Lissième	D Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	20	Single
<u>1372</u>	Scott Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	20	Single
<u>1373</u>	Smith John D.	Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>1374</u>	Shields James	Pte.	2nd	-	Coaticooke Q	26	Single
<u>1375</u>	Sinclair Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1376</u>	Smallshare Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
<u>1377</u>	Smith John	Pte.	2nd	-	Hemingford Q	42	Married
<u>1378</u>	Stevenson William H.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>1379</u>	Sullivan Patrick	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>1380</u>	Swanston George N.	Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	26	Single
<u>1381</u>	Scott James	+I Pte.	1st	-	Paisley O	40	Single
<u>1382</u>	Scott George	Pte.	1st	-	Arthur O	20	Single
<u>1383</u>	Simmons Thomas H.	Pte.	1st	-	Tyreconnell O	34	Married
<u>1384</u>	Shyne James	Pte.	1st	2	Galt O	21	Single
<u>1385</u>	Smith William	Pte.	1st	1	Princeton O	24	Single
<u>1386</u>	Snider William	+ Pte.	1st	1	Hullett O	21	Single
<u>1387</u>	Stait Thomas	+ Pte.	1st	S	Paisley O	19	Single
<u>1388</u>	Stock Ambrose	Corp.	1st	-	London O	30	Single
<u>1389</u>	Swinford Herbert	Serg.	1st	1	Eramosa O	20	Single
<u>1390</u>	Seddon John	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1391</u>	Slack Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	32	Single
<u>1392</u>	Smith James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1393</u>	Smith James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	20	Single
<u>1394</u>	Snoxell Edward	Pte.	2nd	-	England	22	Single
<u>1395</u>	Somerville Roger	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>1396</u>	St. Onge Alphonse	U Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>1397</u>	Stanley James	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	37	Single
<u>1398</u>	Stuart John	Pte.	2nd	-	England	24	Single
<u>1399</u>	Stuart Alfred	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1400</u>	St. Armand Pierre	U Pte.	2nd	D	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>1401</u>	Scales William	BC Pte.	2nd	D	Clare O	35	Single
<u>1402</u>	Stratton James	BC Pte.	2nd	D	Port Hope O	27	Single
<u>1403</u>	Smith Joseph	Pte.	1st	D	England	35	Married
<u>1404</u>	Scouter Sydney	L-Corp.	1st	D	Ernestown O	22	Single
<u>1405</u>	Symons Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	England	21	Single
<u>1406</u>	Sims Edmondson	Pte.	1st	3	Brantford O	21	Single
<u>1407</u>	Summers Thomas	Pte.	1st	D	England	35	Married
<u>1408</u>	Sommerset William	Pte.	2nd	D	England	27	Married
<u>1409</u>	Sedly George	D Pte.	2nd	D	Ireland	30	Single
<u>1410</u>	Simard Isidore	D Pte.	2nd	D	Rivière du Loup Q	18	Single
<u>1411</u>	Stewart Robert	C-Serg.	2nd	D	Ireland	28	Single
<u>1412</u>	St. Pierre Moise	U Pte.	2nd	D	St. Julienne Q	26	Single
<u>1413</u>	Saunders Alexander	+ Pte.	2nd	1	R C Rifles	34	Single
<u>1414</u>	Sullivan John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	34	Single
<u>1415</u>	Smith John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	38	Single
<u>1416</u>	Smith C.	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1417</u>	Spiers Robert	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1418</u>	Smith Albert	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	18	Single
<u>1419</u>	Symons Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Ireland	33	Single
<u>1420</u>	Sevigny Albert	Pte.	2nd	-	New Ireland Q	22	Single
<u>1421</u>	Stuart Charles J.	Pte.	2nd	-	Toronto O	31	Single
<u>1422</u>	Scott Richard	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1423</u>	Sinclair William	Corp.	2nd	D	Scotland	18	Single
1424	Saunders William Henry	Pte.	PBR	1	Ontario	25	Single
1425	Shepperd John	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	21	Single
1426	Smith John	Pte.	PBR	4	England	27	Married
1427	Smith John	Pte.	PBR	4	Ontario	20	Single
1428	Saunders John +S Drowned	Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	22	Single
1429	Stocky Thomas C.	U Pte.	PBR	-	Ontario	20	Single
1430	Savage Sydney	S Pte.	PBR	-	Belleville O	21	Single
1431	Sommerville Joseph H.	QM-Serg.	PBR	-	Kingston O	23	Single
1432	Simmons Thomas	Pte.	PBR	3	Carlton Place O	18	Single
1433	Simpson Robert	Pte.	PBR	4	Brockville O	25	Married
1434	Sherrington James	Pte.	PBR	2	North Gower O	22	Single
1435	Sauvé J-B. H.	Pte.	PBR	2	Ste. Geneviève Q	20	Single
1436	Sirois Théodule	Pte.	PBR	4	Ste. Anne Q	25	Single
1437	Smith William P.	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	18	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1438	Schneider William	+S+SSS+ Pte.	PBR	-	Germany	22	Single
1439	Scott William	L-Corp.	PBR	3	Drummond O	22	Single
1440	Seymour Frederick	Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	22	Single
1441	Seymour Francis	D Pte.	PBR	4	Gananoque O	23	Single
1442	Senior James	Corp.	PBR	3	Toronto O	24	Single
1443	Sheddon Thomas	+ Corp.	PBR	3	St. Thomas O	32	Single
1444	Shepperd Edward Charles	Corp.	PBR	3	Toronto O	22	Single
1445	Shepperd Arthur W.	I Pte.	PBR	4	Augusta O	22	Single
1446	Simpson John	D Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	23	Single
1447	Somerville Roger	D Pte.	PBR	3	Toronto O	20	Single
1448	Sommerville George	Serg.	PBR	4	Kingston O	19	Single
1449	Smith George	I Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	19	Single
1450	Smith Osmond	Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	23	Single
1451	Smith W. Thomas S.	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	23	Single
1452	Smith Jacob	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	27	Single
1453	Smith George	D Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	21	Single
1454	Smyth William	Pte.	PBR	4	Drummond O	19	Single
1455	Stanton Robert H.	Pte.	PBR	3	St. Thomas O	18	Single
1456	Stanton Charles	Corp.	PBR	3	St. Thomas O	23	Single
1457	Stephenson Thomas	D Pte.	PBR	4	Toronto O	21	Single
1458	Stone Robert	Corp.	PBR	3	Hamilton O	23	Single
1459	Stuart Alfred P.	Serg.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	21	Single
1460	Swire Frederick	Pte.	PBR	2	Hamilton O	23	Single
1461	St. George Odilon	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	St. Ambroise Q	25	Single
1462	Seny Auguste	RTJ Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	27	Single
1463	Smith William	Pte.	PBR	-	England	22	Single
1464	Smith William	Pte.	PBR	4	England	38	Single
1465	Sprickley Morris George	Serg.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	24	Single
1466	Sutherland Andrew	Pte.	PBR	-	Earlton NS	25	Single
1467	Smith James	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
1468	Sawyer George Arthur	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	23	Single
1469	Sturney William	I Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
1470	Sirois Raymond	Pte.	PBR	-	Grand Falls NB	24	Single
1471	Smith Benjamin	Gunner	PBA	B	Ottawa O	20	Single
1472	Sargent Thomas	Bomb.	PBA	B	Toronto O	21	Single
1473	Sexsmith Millard Filmore	Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	21	Single
1474	Smith Orine	Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	19	Single
1475	Sullivan Thomas	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	28	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1476	Smith Charles	Corp.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	--	Single
<u>1477</u>	Scott Thomas	+ Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1478</u>	Smith William	Capt.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1479</u>	Simard George	+ Ensign	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1480	Sommerville Joseph H.	Capt.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
1481	Smith William Osborne	+ Lt.-Col.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Married
1482	Simard George	+ Lieut.	PBR	-	Quebec	--	Single
1483	Street George	Ensign	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
1484	Stuart A.P.	Capt.	PBA	B	Ontario	--	Single
1485	Scarrow Irvine	Pte.	PBR	-	Eramosa O	22	Single
1486	Stanfield Brererton	+S I Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	32	Single
1487	Scott Robert	Serg.	PBR	-	Dundas O	24	Single
1488	Scholes Adam	Gunner	PBA	B	Kingston O	19	Single
1489	Sears William	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	27	Single
1490	Smith William	Gunner	PBA	B	England	18	Single
1491	Straton Barry	Gunner	PBA	B	Fredericton NB	20	Single
1492	Shaw Abner M.	Pte.	PBR	-	Wakefield NB	20	Single
1493	Smith John	Pte.	PBR	-	Hartland NB	20	Single
<u>1494</u>	Tane Waldegrave	++S Pte.	1st	S	Markham O	18	Single
<u>1495</u>	Terry Merrick T.	Pte.	1st	-	Oakville O	20	Single
<u>1496</u>	Thompson Joseph	Pte.	1st	4	Collingwood O	22	Single
<u>1497</u>	Thompson Henry	Pte.	1st	-	Bertie O	23	Single
<u>1498</u>	Thompson Joseph	+ Pte.	1st	-	Cobourg O	19	Single
<u>1499</u>	Turner Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	Belleville O	19	Single
<u>1500</u>	Tweed Thomas	Serg.	1st	-	Kingston O	18	Single
<u>1501</u>	Thurston John	Corp.	1st	S	Kingston O	23	Single
<u>1502</u>	Thompson Duncan	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	34	Single
<u>1503</u>	Tremblay Didin	U Pte.	2nd	D	St. Alphonse Q	23	Single
<u>1504</u>	Taylor Baron	Pte.	2nd	6	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>1505</u>	Thom William P.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1506</u>	Thomson Robert J.	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	30	Widower
<u>1507</u>	Thompson John	Pte.	2nd	-	Hemingford Q	21	Single
<u>1508</u>	Trevor Thomas	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	25	Single
<u>1509</u>	Taylor George	Pte.	1st	1	London O	20	Single
<u>1510</u>	Taylor James	Pte.	1st	2	Galt O	23	Single
<u>1511</u>	Taylor Thomas	Pte.	1st	-	Chatham O	23	Single
<u>1512</u>	Tenant Joseph Francis	Pte.	1st	1	London O	20	Single
<u>1513</u>	Thorne Jessie	Pte.	1st	-	Fingal O	23	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1514</u>	Transum Arthur	U Pte.	1st	-	Stratford O	18	Single
<u>1515</u>	Tuson Roger	Pte.	1st	1	London O	21	Single
<u>1516</u>	Tuson Joseph	Pte.	1st	1	London O	19	Single
<u>1517</u>	Tracy John	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	29	Single
<u>1518</u>	Thursell Robert	Pte.	2nd	D	England	32	Married
<u>1519</u>	Tarbath John	Pte.	2nd	D	Montreal Q	34	Single
<u>1520</u>	Thomas John W.	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>1521</u>	Terriault Améild	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>1522</u>	Thomas George	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1523</u>	Taylor Peter	U Pte.	2nd	1	Montreal Q	19	Single
<u>1524</u>	Taylor George	Pte.	2nd	-	Owen Sound O	22	Single
<u>1525</u>	Trevor James	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1526</u>	Tetteridge J. Mc.	Pte.	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
1527	Thom John	Corp.	PBR	4	Ontario	18	Single
1528	Telford John Joseph	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	20	Single
1529	Turner Robert William	Serg.	PBR	4	Monaghan O	21	Single
1530	Tweed Thomas	Serg.	PBR	3	Kingston O	21	Single
1531	Thompson Duncan	Pte.	PBR	4	Arnrior O	35	Single
1532	Torrie Arthur	Pte.	PBR	4	Halton O	21	Single
1533	Thompson George Temple	Pte.	PBR	4	Gananoque O	20	Single
1534	Thompson Charles	+ Corp.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	22	Single
1535	Thibeault Amable T.	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	22	Single
1536	Thompson Joshua	I Pte.	PBR	4	Quebec City Q	50	Widower
1537	Turcotte Samuel	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Trois Pistoles Q	18	Single
1538	Tait James	Corp.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	38	Single
1539	Thom David	Pte.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	19	Single
1540	Thorne Edward	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Sherbrooke Q	31	Single
1541	Turnbull John	L-Corp.	PBR	4	Montreal Q	25	Single
1542	Taylor Forrester	Pte.	PBR	4	Melbourne Q	18	Single
1543	Taylor Amos	Pte.	PBR	4	Cookshire Q	36	Single
1544	Terry William	Pte.	PBR	2	Chatham O	21	Single
1545	Thompson Charles	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Brockville O	20	Single
1546	Thomas John W.	Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	29	Married
1547	Thurston William	I Pte.	PBR	4	Kingston O	22	Single
1548	Tickell William	Pte.	PBR	3	Yorkville O	30	Single
1549	Timony Thomas	BC Pte.	PBR	4	Sherbrooke O	20	Single
1550	Tomlinson Henry	Pte.	PBR	3	Smith Falls O	25	Single
1551	Turner Henry	Pte.	PBR	-	Prospect NS	20	Single



#	Name	RANK	BATT. CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1552	Thériault Xavier	Pte.	PBR -	St. Basile Q	19	Single
1553	Tolford George	I Pte.	PBR -	Woodstock NB	22	Single
1554	Tyrrell Edward	Pte.	PBR -	Kent NB	25	Single
1555	Turner Issac James	Gunner	PBA B	St. Catherine's O	25	Single
1556	Turner Harry	Pte.	PBR -	London O	22	Single
1557	Thompson Alexander	I D Pte.	PBR -	Ottawa O	29	Single
1558	Thom David	+ Gunner	PBA B	Montreal Q	21	Single
1559	Tritte John	Pte.	PBR -	Montreal Q	28	Single
1560	Tétu Alphonse	Ensign	PBR -	Quebec	--	Single
1561	Taillefer Joseph	Ensign	PBR -	Quebec	--	Single
1562	Taschereau J.E.M.	+ Capt.	PBR -	Quebec	--	Single
1563	Twining Charles R.F.	Ensign	PBR -	Ontario	--	Single
1564	Tomlinson John	S Pte.	PBR -	Montague O	24	Single
1565	Tarbath William	SS Pte.	PBR -	England	25	Single
1566	Trann John	Pte.	PBR -	Seaforth O	21	Single
1567	Terry Christopher	Pte.	PBR -	Arthur O	23	Single
<u>1568</u>	Upham Clinton	Pte.	1st 5	Sydenham O	20	Single
<u>1569</u>	Urquhart George	S++ Pte.	1st S	Erdersley O	21	Single
<u>1570</u>	Vandervoort Albert	QM-Serg.	1st -	Sidney O	25	Single
<u>1571</u>	Volume W. S.	+ C-Serg.	1st -	Madoc O	20	Single
<u>1572</u>	Vanmalden Thomas	Pte.	1st 4	Toronto O	21	Single
<u>1573</u>	Vidal Raymond E.	Pte.	2nd -	Sandwich O	18	Single
<u>1574</u>	Venn Edward	+ Pte.	1st S	Stratford O	20	Single
<u>1575</u>	Vicars Edward J. S.	C-Serg.	1st -	Ingersoll O	25	Single
<u>1576</u>	Vaillancourt Francis	U Pte.	2nd -	Montreal Q	18	Single
<u>1577</u>	Virtue William	Pte.	2nd D	Ireland	39	Single
<u>1578</u>	Voyer Napoléon	Corp.	2nd -	Ste. Marie Q	19	Single
<u>1579</u>	Vocelle(Bellehuneur)Louis	Pte.	2nd -	Ste. Marie Q	19	Single
<u>1580</u>	Vallièrè Ignace	U Pte.	2nd -	St. Isidore Q	17	Single
1581	Vincent Jean-Louis H.	Pte.	PBR 4	Montreal Q	26	Single
1582	Voght Frederick	+ Dec Pte.	PBR 1	Montreal Q	21	Single
1583	Vallée George	Gunner	PBA B	Ste. Marie Q	19	Single
1584	Vaughan Edward	D Gunner	PBA B	Quebec City Q	18	Single
1585	Vigneau Gabriel	BC Pte.	PBR 1	Montreal Q	21	Single
1586	Vanderburg Hazard	Pte.	PBR 3	Winnipeg M	23	Single
1587	Vanwart Abraham J.	Pte.	PBR -	Fredericton NB	19	Single
1588	Votrow Edwin	Pte.	PBR -	Woodstock NB	25	Single
<u>1589</u>	Vaughan Josephus W.	Lieut.	2nd -	Ontario	--	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1590</u>	Villiers Francis	Q-Master	2nd	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1591</u>	Van Moerkerke Constantine	Pte.	PBR	-	Belgium	29	Single
<u>1592</u>	Wilkinson Charles	Pte.	1st	3	Toronto O	23	Married
<u>1593</u>	White William John	Pte.	1st	4	Toronto O	19	Married
<u>1594</u>	Walters Henry	Bugler	1st	D	Toronto O	18	Single
<u>1595</u>	Wellington William	U Serg.	1st	-	Whitby O	22	Single
<u>1596</u>	Wetenhall Roonly James	Pte.	1st	-	Hamilton O	35	Single
<u>1597</u>	Weddup Thomas	Pte.	1st	6	Bowmanville O	22	Single
<u>1598</u>	Whitelaw William R.	Pte.	1st	5	Cobourg O	19	Single
<u>1599</u>	Whitla W.P.	Pte.	1st	S	Ottontbec O	21	Single
<u>1600</u>	Wilkinson John	Pte.	1st	6	Clarke O	26	Single
<u>1601</u>	Woodlard George	Pte.	1st	5	Napanee O	25	Single
<u>1602</u>	Ward James	Serg.	1st	-	R C Rifles	40	Married
<u>1603</u>	Wilson Richard	Pte.	1st	S	R C Rifles	30	Single
<u>1604</u>	Wood William Slocum	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	19	Single
<u>1605</u>	Warren William Thomas	Pte.	1st	S	Lansdowne O	22	Single
<u>1606</u>	Webster Francis Dudley	Pte.	1st	-	Gananoque O	21	Married
<u>1607</u>	Webster Stephen M.	Pte.	1st	S	Lansdowne O	21	Single
<u>1608</u>	Winters Wesley J.	+ Pte.	1st	S	Brockville O	21	Single
<u>1609</u>	Wright Charles Edward M.	Pte.	1st	1	Windsor O	17	Single
<u>1610</u>	Williams William	Pte.	1st	S	Perth O	25	Single
<u>1611</u>	White Amos	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	23	Single
<u>1612</u>	Wright James	BC Pte.	2nd	1	Toronto O	23	Single
<u>1613</u>	Wellond George Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	23	Single
<u>1614</u>	Widgery Henry Harwood	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1615</u>	Wilson Thomas	+Dec Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	36	Single
<u>1616</u>	Wilson William Warne	Corp.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	21	Single
<u>1617</u>	Wilton William Henry	Pte.	2nd	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1618</u>	Witty(Whitby) John J.	+ Pte.	2nd	-	Sherbrooke Q	20	Single
<u>1619</u>	Walker Wellington F.	Pte.	1st	2	London O	23	Single
<u>1620</u>	Walker Harry	SS Serg.	1st	-	Chatham O	23	Single
<u>1621</u>	Walters William Bowles	Pte.	1st	1	London O	23	Single
<u>1622</u>	Watson William John	+S Serg.	1st	S	McKillop O	21	Single
<u>1623</u>	White Charles Orford	Pte.	1st	2	Arthur O	22	Single
<u>1624</u>	Whyte Robert	Pte.	1st	-	Guelph O	19	Single
<u>1625</u>	Wilson William	Pte.	1st	S	London O	26	Single
<u>1626</u>	Wilson John Forsyth	Pte.	1st	5	Stratford O	20	Single
<u>1627</u>	Wilson Charles	C-Serg.	1st	1	McKillop O	24	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
<u>1628</u>	Wishart Robert	Pte.	1st	2	Eramosa O	22	Single
<u>1629</u>	Woods Robert James	Pte.	1st	1	Chatham O	19	Single
<u>1630</u>	Wright Alexander W.	C-Serg.	1st	-	Preston O	24	Single
<u>1631</u>	Wyatt John	Pte.	2nd	3	Danville Q	23	Single
<u>1632</u>	Wild James	BC Pte.	1st	D	England	22	Single
<u>1633</u>	Wales William James	++ Pte.	1st	D	Kingston O	23	Single
<u>1634</u>	Whiteside Edward	Pte.	1st	D	Toronto O	21	Single
<u>1635</u>	Wiley Hiram Ballard	L-Corp.	1st	D	Brockville O	21	Single
<u>1636</u>	Wright Frederick W.	Serg.	1st	D	Greenwich O	26	Single
<u>1637</u>	Waite John	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>1638</u>	Woodall Charles	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	19	Single
<u>1639</u>	Wilson John	Pte.	2nd	-	Ennisville O	28	Single
<u>1640</u>	Webster George Wilson	QM-Serg.	2nd	-	Toronto O	24	Single
<u>1641</u>	Ward James	U Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	27	Single
<u>1642</u>	Williamson John (James)	Pte.	2nd	-	Quebec City Q	22	Single
1643	Whyte Robert	Pte.	PBR	3	Ontario	22	Single
1644	Wedge Issac	Pte.	PBR	4	Seneca O	20	Single
1645	Wilson Thomas	+ Pte.	PBR	2	London O	19	Single
1646	Wilson Samuel	Pte.	PBR	4	Seneca O	26	Single
1647	Wellband William	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Spalding O	21	Single
1648	Willoughby Peter	Pte.	PBR	3	Montague O	40	Single
1649	Wright A. Harland	Serg.	PBR	3	Ottawa O	40	Married
1650	Walmsley David	Pte.	PBR	4	Hemingford Q	22	Single
1651	Walsh Michael	+ Pte.	PBR	1	Quebec City Q	37	Single
1652	Williamson Thomas	+S Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	21	Single
1653	Williamson John	+S Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	24	Single
<u>1654</u>	Wheeler Smith	Pte.	2nd	S	Quebec City Q	18	Single
1655	Whittaker Francis R.	I Pte.	PBR	4	Sherbrooke Q	21	Married
1656	Waldie Frank	D Corp.	PBR	2	Kingston O	27	Single
1657	Walker Allan	Pte.	PBR	1	Montreal Q	21	Single
1658	Walkinton Robert George	I L-Corp.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	26	Single
1659	Walkinton John H.	I Pte.	PBR	2	Montreal Q	29	Single
1660	Ward George	D Pte.	PBR	3	Quebec City Q	40	Single
1661	Waters Richard	I Pte.	PBR	2	Brockville O	41	Married
1662	White Henry	I Pte.	PBR	2	Quebec City Q	31	Married
1663	Willoughby George	Pte.	PBR	3	Gananoque O	18	Single
1664	Willoughby William	Corp.	PBR	1	Gananoque O	21	Single
1665	Willoughby George	Pte.	PBR	1	Montague O	31	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1666	Wilson William	I Pte.	PBR	3	London O	27	Single
1667	Worthington Fred.	+S D OR-Serg.	PBR	2	St. Thomas O	20	Single
1668	Wright Nathaniel	I Pte.	PBR	2	Plantagenet O	43	Married
1669	Willis Joseph Edwin	Gunner	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	25	Single
1670	Williamson Thomas	Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	20	Single
1671	Williamson John	Pte.	PBR	-	Winnipeg M	24	Single
1672	Wilson Daniel	Pte.	PBA	B	Quebec City Q	22	Single
1673	Weeks James	Pte.	PBR	-	Halifax NS	19	Single
1674	Wallace Robert	Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	19	Single
1675	Walker Samuel	Pte.	PBR	-	St. Stephen NB	26	Single
1676	Westell Joseph	Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	30	Single
1677	Ward Harry	D Pte.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	26	Single
1678	Walker Joshua	I Corp.	PBR	-	Fredericton NB	23	Single
1679	Winskell Henry George	Bomb.	PBA	B	Ottawa O	21	Single
1680	Wilson George	Gunner	PBA	B	St. Catherine's O	17	Single
1681	Wilson William	Gunner	PBA	B	St. Catherine's O	19	Single
1682	Wiley Hiram	D Gunner	PBA	B	Gananoque O	18	Single
1683	Wilkinson William	Bomb.	PBA	B	Winnipeg M	27	Single
1684	Walsh William Patrick	Gunner	PBA	B	Ottawa O	19	Single
1685	Wilson Henry	Gunner	PBA	B	Barriefield O	20	Single
1686	Wilson James	U Pte.	PBR	-	Ontario	--	Single
<u>1687</u>	Walker David Marr	Lieut.	1st	-	Ontario	--	Single
1688	Williams Charles	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
1689	Williamson Robert	Pte.	PBR	-	Montreal Q	22	Single
<u>1690</u>	Young David	Pte.	1st	-	Esquising O	22	Single
<u>1691</u>	Young James	Pte.	1st	-	Whitby O	28	Single
<u>1692</u>	Young James A.	Pte.	1st	-	Stayner O	20	Single
<u>1693</u>	Yates John	D Pte.	1st	-	Brantford O	27	Single
<u>1694</u>	Young George	Pte.	1st	-	Guelph O	23	Single
<u>1695</u>	Yuill William	Pte.	1st	-	Ottawa O	18	Single
<u>1696</u>	Young William Reid	Pte.	2nd	-	Sarnia O	18	Single
<u>1697</u>	Youngson Chas. S. Drowned	Pte.	2nd	-	Sherbrooke Q	25	Single
1698	Young Douglas	Pte.	PBR	4	Mounthely O	24	Single
1699	Young James	+ Pte.	PBR	4	Hinchinbrooke Q	19	Single
1700	Yates Valentine	D Pte.	PBR	3	Montreal Q	30	Single
1701	Yvon Joseph	Pte.	PBR	4	France	19	Single
1702	Young William	Corp.	PBA	B	Guelph O	22	Single
1703	Young George Thomas	Gunner	PBA	B	Fredericton NB	20	Single

#	Name	RANK	BATT.	CO.	FROM	AGE	STATUS
1704	Zimmerman William	Pte.	1st	2	Listowell O	30	Single

END

NOTE: The names are in alphabetical order by first letter of last name only, reflecting the manner in which they were recorded by the Militia Department in the 1870's.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIX

N.B. A "+" in front of the "RANK" column indicates a re-enlistment. An "S" indicates a substitute. A "D" stands for Deserter. An "I" indicates Invalided. A "U" indicates 'Unfit for Service.' "Dec" indicates deceased while on service. "BC" indicates that the individual was discharged for Bad Conduct. "RTJ" indicates that the individual "Refused to Join." "CP" indicates discharged to Civil Authority for a Prison Sentence. "DI" indicates the individual was discharged home as Insane. "FTD" means "Frozen to Death." "Sui" indicates a suicide while in the service. "HCA" stands for "Hanged by Civil Authorities." "MU" indicates "Medically Unfit."

RANK is indicated in full or is abbreviated according to the following list:

Pte.	Private	Corp.	Corporal
L-Corp.	Lance Corporal	Serg.	Sergeant
QM-Serg.	Quarter-Master Sergeant	C-Serg.	Color-Sergeant
S-Maj.	Sergeant-Major	Lieut.	Lieutenant
Capt.	Captain	H-Serg.	Hospital-Sergeant
CO-Serg.	Control-Sergeant	PM-Serg.	Paymaster-Sergeant
Lt.-Col.	Lieutenant-Colonel	Bomb.	Bombardier
Ord.Off.	Orderly-Officer to Commandant.	OR-Serg.	Orderly-Room Sergeant
S-Serg.	Staff-Sergeant	PayMas.	Paymaster (Officer)
Trump.	Trumpeter	A-Br.Maj.	Assistant Brigade-Major
Adj.	Adjutant (Staff Officer)	Con.Off.	Control Officer
QM-Master	Quarter-Master (Captain)		

The following abbreviations are used under the heading "BATT:"

1st	Ist Ontario Rifles.	2nd	2nd Quebec Rifles
PBR	Provisional Battalion of Rifles	PBA	Provisional Battalion of Artillery

The following abbreviations are used under the column heading "CO." The heading indicates the Company in the indicated Battalion in which service occurred.

B Battery Company  
S Service Company  
A Artillery Company

D Depot Company  
1 (i.e.) Company Number

The heading "FROM" indicates the Hometown of the individual listed. Under the heading the following abbreviations are used;

Q	Quebec	O	Ontario
NB	New Brunswick	NS	Nova Scotia
NFLD	Newfoundland	USA	United States of America
M	Manitoba	PEI	Prince Edward Island
Pte. Trembles	Pointe aux Trembles		

An "\*" indicates a piece of information for which conflicting or illegible information is available. The choice indicated is the best possible under the circumstances.

#### SOURCES

PAC, RG9, II B4, Volume 16. Department of Militia and Defence, Post-Confederation Records, Adjutant General's Office and Headquarters, 1867-1922. Registers and Lists of Officers, 1867-1922 and Register of service, Red River Rebellion, 1870-1877.

APPENDIX III

THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1870-1877: BOUNTY WARRANT, OCCUPATION, DISCHARGE FILE

\* NOTE: An underlined ID # indicates a member of the First Expedition, 1870.

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>001</u>	Alexander D.	----	-----	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>002</u>	Andrew James	0048	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>003</u>	Austin James	0049	Musician	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>004</u>	Anderson George D.	Deserted	Blacksmith	-----	
<u>005</u>	Anthony William Henry	0050	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>006</u>	Acres William R.	0051	Tanner	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>007</u>	Acton William Holmes	0052	Forkmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>008</u>	Albertson Ranson Brian	0053	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>009</u>	Andrews Herbert	0054	Clerk	-----	
<u>010</u>	Abraham Charles	0055	Soapmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>011</u>	Aubert Théophile	Deserted	Cabinetmaker	-----	
<u>012</u>	Auger Joseph	0056	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>013</u>	Andrews William F.	0057	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>014</u>	Abbott William	0058 1154	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>015</u>	Abraham Thomas Robert	0059	Sailor	Montreal 71 5	
<u>016</u>	Alley Charles	0060	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>017</u>	Alloway William Forbes	0061	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>018</u>	Angus George	0062	Shirtmaker	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>019</u>	Atkinson James	0063	Bookkeeper	-----	
<u>020</u>	Archer Thomas	0064	Farmhand	Montreal 71 5	
<u>021</u>	Angell Garbutt	0065	Engineer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>022</u>	Atcheson William	0066 1415	Baker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>023</u>	Amandus Frederick	0067 0942	Carpenter	Kingston 70 12	
<u>024</u>	Austin James	0068	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
025	Adshead George Edward	1023	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
026	Adams Samuel	0069 1025	Upholsterer	Winnipeg 72 9	
027	Allen George Gordon	0939	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
028	Anable Miron	0940	Waggonmaker	Winnipeg 72 10	
029	Allard Wellington	0941	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
030	Alloway Charles N.	DNFT	Banker	-----	
031	Aylmer Frederick W.	1024	None	Winnipeg 72 10	
032	Allinson John Bland	1227	None	Winnipeg 72 9	
<u>033</u>	Annetts Henry	0070	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>034</u>	Anderson John	0071	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>035</u>	Ash Edward	0072	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>036</u>	Arthur James	0073	Musician	Toronto 71 7	
037	Allen John	0047 1155	Printer	Winnipeg 74 11	
038	Armstrong Daniel	1416	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	
039	Aston John	Deserted	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 7	
040	Allan Charles	1366	Machinist	Toronto 73 6	
041	Atkinson Woodward W.	1247	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
042	Adamson Robert	1246	Currier	Winnipeg 75 5	
043	Adams Paul	1245	None	Winnipeg 75 5	
044	Adams William R.	----	None	Winnipeg 74 11	
045	Aumond W.H.	1149	None	Winnipeg 74 6	
<u>046</u>	Armstrong Edward	0045	Officer	----- 72 2	
<u>047</u>	Amyot Jean-Baptiste	0046	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>048</u>	Allan John	1155	Officer	----- 74 12	
049	Anderson John Weir	1234	Officer	----- 74 12	
050	Atkins Charles Robert	1498	Carpenter	Winnipeg 76 6	
051	Allen Charles William	1500	Assayer	Winnipeg 76 7	
052	Anderson William John	1499	Printer	Winnipeg 76 6	
053	Armstrong David	----	Labourer	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>054</u>	Balmer William Robert	0081	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>055</u>	Brownlee William Henry	0082	Harnessmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>056</u>	Boyle John William	0083	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>057</u>	Bescoby Robert	0084	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>058</u>	Bushey Andrew	0085	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>059</u>	Butcher James William	0086	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>060</u>	Bowey Angus	0026	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>061</u>	Beatty Alexander	0087	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>062</u>	Bainbridge Henry S.	0088	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>063</u>	Bartlett William	0089	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>064</u>	Baker Thomas Henry	0090 0950	Teacher	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>065</u>	Balmer Wm. Augustus	0091 1418	Engineer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>066</u>	Bell John	0092 1258	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 6	
<u>067</u>	Brewster William	0093	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>068</u>	Brookes Thomas H.	0094	Moulder	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>069</u>	Brown Everard	0095	Chainmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>070</u>	Brown John Storer	0096	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>071</u>	Burke Patrick	0097	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 4	



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>072</u>	Brine Charles	0098	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>073</u>	Byron Jorom M.	0099	Navigator	----- 74 1	
<u>074</u>	Brown Daniel Arthur	0100	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>075</u>	Butler Benjamin F.	0101	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>076</u>	Baggs Charles	0102	Labourer	-----	
<u>077</u>	Brownlee George Henry	0103	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>078</u>	Boulger William	0104	Cooper	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>079</u>	Bell Charles Napier	0105	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>080</u>	Boivin Eugéne	Deserted	-----	-----	
<u>081</u>	Bisson John	0106	Labourer	-----	
<u>082</u>	Brown John	0107	Labourer	-----	
<u>083</u>	Biddick Alfred Y.	0108	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>084</u>	Bogg Edmond	0109	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>085</u>	Bleasdell Charles E.	0110	Medicine	Toronto 71 7	
<u>086</u>	Bennett Edward	0112	Chairmaker	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>087</u>	Belair John	0111	Labourer	-----	
<u>088</u>	Bailey Charles C.	0113	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>089</u>	Baldwin George	0114	Farmer	Thunder 70 6	
<u>090</u>	Ball George Henry	0115 1033	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>091</u>	Barr James	0116	Farmer	Toronto 70 5	
<u>092</u>	Baylis Arthur	0117	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>093</u>	Billington William	0118	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>094</u>	Boyd James	0119	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>095</u>	Brooks James	0120	Clerk	Montreal 71 5	
<u>096</u>	Buise Charles	0121	Coachman	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>097</u>	Butterworth Henry	0122	Sailmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>098</u>	Butterworth John	0123	Machinist	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>099</u>	Bayles Thomas	0125	Cordwainer	Pr.Arthur 71 7	
<u>100</u>	Bevins Hiram	0126	Farmer	Pembina 71 3	
<u>101</u>	Bishop William	0129	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>102</u>	Bobier John E.	0135	Farmer	Pembina 71 4	
<u>103</u>	Bruce William	0136	Farmer	Pembina 71 3	
<u>104</u>	Bruce Donald	0137	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>105</u>	Buchanan William	0138	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>106</u>	Bonenfant M. Joseph	----	Shoemaker	Toronto 71 7	Same as #134
<u>107</u>	Burns James	0139	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>108</u>	Burse Newton	0140	Farmer	Pembina 71 3	
<u>109</u>	Barré L. Hormidas	0185 0141	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 5	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>110</u>	Bergeron Philippe	0142	Machinist	Toronto 70	5
<u>111</u>	Black George	0143	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>112</u>	Blais Emile	0144	Carpenter	Toronto 70	6
<u>113</u>	Blondeau Léon	Deserted	Druggist	Kingston 70	10
<u>114</u>	Blondin W.H.	Deserted	Shoemaker	----- 70	6
<u>115</u>	Bouchard Joseph	0145	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>116</u>	Brown James	0146	Druggist	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>117</u>	Bealy Charles	0147	Boilermaker	Kingston 71	5
<u>118</u>	Butt Albert	0148	Watchmaker	Kingston 71	5
<u>119</u>	Black Thomas	0149	Sailor	Kingston 71	5
<u>120</u>	Bailey Robert	0023	Farmer	Kingston 71	5
<u>121</u>	Babcock John Walter	0151	Farmer	Kingston 71	5
<u>122</u>	Blais Joseph	0152	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>123</u>	Bonneile François (*)	0170	Labourer	Kingston 71	4
<u>124</u>	Burling Edward	0171	Saddler	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>125</u>	Belleau Jean-Baptiste	0172	Printer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>126</u>	Bedson Samuel	0173	-----	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>127</u>	Buckle Francis	0174	Sailor	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>128</u>	Bates John	0175	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>129</u>	Beatty Joseph	0176	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>130</u>	Barker John	0177	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>131</u>	Bennett John	0178	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>132</u>	Beaudoin Thomas	0179	Shoemaker	Toronto 71	7
<u>133</u>	Barril François-Xavier	0188	Labourer	Toronto 70	6
<u>134</u>	Bonenfant Joseph	0181	Shoemaker	Toronto 71	7 Same as #106?
<u>135</u>	Bussière Louis	0180	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
<u>136</u>	Bennett Charles	0186	Farmer	Thunder 70	6
<u>137</u>	Brown J. Robert	0187	Painter	-----	
<u>138</u>	Beaudoin Ephrem	0183	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>139</u>	Boon John	0184	Labourer	Montreal 71	5
<u>140</u>	Brunet Charles	0182	-----	Thunder 70	7
141	Bond James	1026	Machinist	Winnipeg 72	9
142	Banks Montague	1027	Druggist	Winnipeg 72	9
143	Booth John	1028 1419	Cooper	Winnipeg 72	10
144	Brown Henderson	0943	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72	10
145	Beatty George	1029	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
146	Buchanan George	0944	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
147	Beare Edmund	1030	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	9

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
148	Beaudry Oscar	0945	Leatherworker	Winnipeg 72 10	
149	Bourke James	0946	-----	Winnipeg 72 10	
150	Brulé Joseph	1131	Trunkmaker	Toronto 72 7	
151	Buchanan Duncan	1032	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
152	Bernier Romuald	0947	Student	Winnipeg 72 10	
153	Bou langer Louis	0948	Mapmaker	Winnipeg 72 10	
154	Bailey John	0949	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
155	Ball Thomas	1031	Plumber	Winnipeg 72 9	
156	Barwis James	1156	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
157	Beasley Anthony	1367	Cooper	Winnipeg 73 6	
158	Bérubé Emmanuel	1159	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 74 11	
159	Bescoby Henry	DNFT	Sailor	Winnipeg 73 7	
160	Bissonette Charles	1368	Machinist	Toronto 73 6	
161	Blackley William	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 10	
162	Bradley William	1160	Baker	Winnipeg 74 11	
163	Brennan Edward	1161	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
164	Brissette Charles	Deserted	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 2	
165	Brodie John L.	1369	Land Agent	Toronto 73 6	
166	Brown Charles James	1158	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
167	Brown Frank	Deserted	Engineer	Winnipeg 75 3	
168	Burns James E.	1417 1486	Engine Driver	Winnipeg 75 9	
169	Butler James	1157	Waiter	Winnipeg 74 11	
170	Brosseau Ferdinand	Deserted	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72 11	
171	Brown David	Deserted	Painter	Winnipeg 74 2	
172	Black Alexander	1256	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	
173	Bernier Léon	1259	Voyageur	Winnipeg 75 6	
174	Badwick Richard	1370	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 74 9	
175	Betcher Henry C.	1248	Broom Maker	Winnipeg 75 5	
176	Burke Thomas	1252	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 5	
177	Brown James	1249	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
178	Boswell David	1250	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 6	
179	Beck James	1257	Tanner	Winnipeg 75 6	
180	Bond John Edwin	1260	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 6	
181	Bruce William	1253	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
182	Boyd George	Deserted	Shoemaker	----- 73 8	
183	Britt Patrick	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 8	
184	Boyce Benjamin F.	1251	None	Winnipeg 75 5	
185	Barrett James	1255	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75 6	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
186	Boswell Robert E.	1357	Lumberer	Winnipeg 75 7	
187	Baker Frederick W.	1254	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 6	
188	Bates Robert	1371	Tailor	Winnipeg 74 8	
189	Brown William	1354	Waggonmaker	Winnipeg 74 9	
190	Beale Charles	Deserted	Telegrapher	Winnipeg 74 7	
191	Boire Jean	1372	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 9	
<u>192</u>	Benson James	0074	Officer	Winnipeg 72 -	Died on duty
<u>193</u>	Bell Josiah Jones	0075	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>194</u>	Biggar John	0076	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>195</u>	Barrett William John	0077	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>196</u>	Bouthillier Henri	0078	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>197</u>	Bernard Edward S.	0079	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>198</u>	Burton Edmund J.	0080	Officer	----- 71 7	
199	Brynon William	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 76 6	
200	Billington George	DNFT	Med. Student	Winnipeg 77 8	
201	Bizot August	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 77 8	
202	Broderick Christopher	DNFT	Butcher	Winnipeg 76 6	
<u>203</u>	Cross James	0191	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>204</u>	Cooper Johnston	0192	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>205</u>	Calander James	0193	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>206</u>	Cowan William C.	0043	Miller	Winnipeg 71 7	
<u>207</u>	Cottrell Levi	0194	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>208</u>	Craton William	0195	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>209</u>	Croat John	0196	Currier	Toronto 71 7	
<u>210</u>	Campbell Edmund	0197	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>211</u>	Cahoon George W.	0198	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>212</u>	Coates Thomas	0199	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>213</u>	Curlett Horatio N.	0200	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>214</u>	Champion Henry T.	0201	Gentleman	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>215</u>	Clark George M.	0202	Trapper	Kingston -- -	
<u>216</u>	Collins Thomas	DFBC	Musician	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>217</u>	Connolly Patrick	0203	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>218</u>	Case Joseph	0204	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>219</u>	Curran James	0205	Plasterer	Winnipeg 71 7	
<u>220</u>	Collins Maurice*	0206	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>221</u>	Chapman Samuel	0028	Lawyer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>222</u>	Case Benjamin	0207	Shoemaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>223</u>	Campbell David	0208	Lumberman	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>224</u>	Cadman Joseph	0210	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>225</u>	Carson John	0211	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>226</u>	Chenier Félix	0212	Notary	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>227</u>	Charland Arthur	0213	Lawyer	Montreal 71 1	
<u>228</u>	Clark John H.	0214	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>229</u>	Clark Frank J.	0215	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>230</u>	Cokeley Charles	0216	Machinist	Toronto 71 7	
<u>231</u>	Constantine Charles	0217	None	-----	
<u>232</u>	Cook James	0218	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>233</u>	Cowling William Henry	0219	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>234</u>	Cruise John	0220	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>235</u>	Cuiskelly Christopher	0221	Machinist	Toronto 71 7	
<u>236</u>	Cade John B.	0222	Miller	Toronto 71 7	
<u>237</u>	Cadham James H.	0223	Carpenter	Pembina 71 3	
<u>238</u>	Campbell John B.	0224	Doctor	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>239</u>	Campbell William	Deserted	Yeoman	----- 71 3	
<u>240</u>	Campbell Daniel	0225	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>241</u>	Cameron John R.	0226	Printer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>242</u>	Cotter John	0227	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>243</u>	Cadotte Pierre	0228	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>244</u>	Cayen Joseph	0229	Shoemaker	-----	
<u>245</u>	Chartrand Francis	0230	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>246</u>	Cousineau Valery	0231	Butcher	-----	
<u>247</u>	Coy Michael	0232	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>248</u>	Coulon Peter	0233	Carpenter	Kingston 71 5	
<u>249</u>	Crosbie Thomas	0234	Sailor	Kingston 71 5	
<u>250</u>	Coogan William	DFBC	Furniture Fin.	Kingston 71 5	
<u>251</u>	Collins Thomas	0235	Printer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>252</u>	Caron Jean	0236	Voyageur	Kingston 71 5	
<u>253</u>	Chandler Michael	0010	Sawmaker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>254</u>	Cayen Charles	0238	-----	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>255</u>	Chartier Télesphore	0239	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>256</u>	Chabot Joseph	0240	Woodturner	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>257</u>	Calderwood John	0241	Armourer	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>258</u>	Couture Louis	0242	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>259</u>	Chambers William	0243	Student	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>260</u>	Carroll Timothy	0244	Groom	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>261</u>	Cooke George T.	0161	Stonecutter	Montreal 71 5	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>262</u>	Carrault Joseph Octave	0245	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>263</u>	Calow George	0246	Labourer	Toronto 70 6	
<u>264</u>	Couture Francis	0247	Teamster	Toronto 71 7	
<u>265</u>	Chapman John W.	0248	Coppersmith	Toronto 71 7	
<u>266</u>	Chandler Albert	0249	-----	-----	
<u>267</u>	Crawford John L.	0250	Banker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>268</u>	Coyne Mathew	0251	-----	-----	
<u>269</u>	Carney T.*	0252	-----	----- 71 4	
<u>270</u>	Couture Joseph	DNFT	Labourer	-----	
<u>271</u>	Clancey John	0253	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>272</u>	Coulter Robert	1139	Tobacconist	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>273</u>	Connolly Patrick	0209	None	Toronto 71 7	
274	Cale John Henry	1034	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
275	Campbell Duncan	1035	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
276	Carey John	0951	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
277	Chinner John	0952	Butcher	Winnipeg 72 10	
278	Cleland Peter	1036	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 9	
279	Cook John	0953	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
280	Crawford Alexander	1037	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
281	Crow Samuel	1038	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
282	Caldwell Samuel	1039	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
283	Coombs Owen	1040	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 10	
284	Curry Anson	1041	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 9	
285	Campbell James K.	0954	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
286	Campbell Peter	1042	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 9	
287	Crusoe Frederick	0955	Machinist	Winnipeg 72 10	
288	Connor George	1043	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 9	
289	Carroll Michael	0956	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
290	Chisholm William	0957	Printer	Winnipeg 72 10	
291	Chassé Charles L.M.G.	1044	Soldier	Winnipeg 72 9	
292	Corneil George	0958	Jeweller	Winnipeg 72 10	
293	Corneil J.W.	0959	Saddler	Winnipeg 72 10	
294	Curtin William	1045	Grocer	Winnipeg 72 10	
295	Collins Alfred	0960	Painter	Winnipeg 72 10	
296	Cottingham Thomas	1046	Saddler	Winnipeg 72 3	
<u>297</u>	Coombs Joseph M.	DNFT	Law Student	Winnipeg 72 9	
<u>298</u>	Calkin William	DNFT	Druggist	Winnipeg 72 9	
299	Corris Edward	Rec'd	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9 As substitute	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
300	Calder James	1150	Waggonmaker	Winnipeg 74 10	
301	Campbell Donald	1167	Sawyer	Winnipeg 74 11	
302	Carroll Robert	1492	Bookbinder	Winnipeg 74 11	
303	Chard Joseph George	1164	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
304	Coleman Thomas	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 73 5	
305	Collins Thomas	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 73 5	
306	Connolly John S.	1165	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 74 11	
307	Cooper Alexander	1168	Stoker	Winnipeg 74 11	
308	Corey Mervin D.	1373	Farmer	Toronto 73 6	
309	Cacheux Henry	1459	-----	Winnipeg 75 11	
310	Cosgrove Daniel	1420	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 9	
311	Cox Henry	DNFT	Mason	Winnipeg 75 5	
312	Crossfield Edmund	1374	Tailor	Toronto 73 6	
313	Chapman Edward	1162	Engineer	Winnipeg 74 11	
314	Cheney Orleans	1163	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
315	Chartrand Joseph D.	DNFT	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 75 9	
316	Coombs Owen L.	Rec'd	Farmer	Winnipeg 73 5	As substitute
317	Cameron William	1479	-----	Winnipeg 75 10	
318	Chassé Charles	DNFT	Soldier	Winnipeg 74 7	
319	Crean William	1271	Mason	Winnipeg 75 6	
320	Cantin Louis	Deserted	Salesman	Winnipeg 74 2	
321	Collins William	1262	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75 5	
322	Cooke Josiah	1265	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
323	Cooke George	1375	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 74 9	
324	Carey John	1261	Painter	Winnipeg 75 6	
325	Cu(a)shin John	1269	Butcher	Winnipeg 75 5	
326	Campbell Robert	1263	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 5	
327	Churchill Thomas	1362	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 8	
328	Caldwelll Adam H.	1264	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 5	
329	Courtland William H.	1267	Tanner	Winnipeg 75 5	
330	Carswell Donald	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 10	
331	Crandall Howard	1268	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
332	Cain James	DNFT	Musician	Winnipeg 75 1	
333	Close James F.	1266	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 5	
334	Callum Charles	1270	Iron Moulder	Winnipeg 75 6	
335	Cameron Alexander	Died	Mason	Winnipeg 74 7	By Lightning.
336	Coleman Samuel	1272	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 6	
337	Cummings Henry	1460	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 10	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>338</u>	Cassault Louis Adolphe	0189	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>339</u>	Cook Henry	0190	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>340</u>	Codd Alfred (MD)	0025 1136	Officer Doctor	----- 76	7
<u>341</u>	Constantine Charles	Rec'd	Officer	----- 77	- See #231
<u>342</u>	Cotton John	1480	Officer	----- 77	-
<u>343</u>	Clarke Charles	1423	Farmer	Winnipeg	75 9
<u>344</u>	Campbell Roderick	1422	Labourer	Winnipeg	75 9
<u>345</u>	Connaissant Louis	DNFT	Butcher	Winnipeg	75 9
<u>346</u>	Courtemanche Eugène	DNFT	Baker	Winnipeg	75 10
<u>347</u>	Courtemanch Maxime	DNFT	Broommaker	Winnipeg	75 10
<u>348</u>	Currie Adam	DNFT	Blacksmith	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>349</u>	Chubb Samuel James	DNFT	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>350</u>	Cronin John	DNFT	Moulder	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>351</u>	Campbell John	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg	75 12
<u>352</u>	Christie Alexander	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg	77 8
<u>353</u>	Crawford Samuel	DNFT	Printer	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>354</u>	Christie James	DNFT	Mason	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>355</u>	Carriss Edward	1421	Labourer	Winnipeg	77 8
<u>356</u>	Dorland Arnoldi	0260	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 7
<u>357</u>	Dobson James Hayes	0261	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
<u>358</u>	Doidge Edwin	0262	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>359</u>	Davidson John	0263	Boilermaker	-----	
<u>360</u>	Douglas Peter Brown	0264	Law Clerk	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>361</u>	Dunbar Andrew	0265	Farmer	Toronto	71 7
<u>362</u>	Derry William	0266	Mason	Toronto	71 7
<u>363</u>	Dingman Norman J.	0267	Accountant	Winnipeg	70 10
<u>364</u>	Davis Robert	0018	Shoemaker	Toronto	71 7
<u>365</u>	Dunbar William	0268	Machinist	-----	
<u>366</u>	Donnelly Lewis	0269	Labourer	Winnipeg	-- -
<u>367</u>	Douglas Thomas	0270	Shoemaker	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>368</u>	Desjardins Félix	0271	Shoemaker	Kingston	71 5
<u>369</u>	Drapeau Pierre	0272	Farmer	Toronto	70 6
<u>370</u>	Driver William	0273	Machinist	Winnipeg	71 3
<u>371</u>	Davis Samuel	0274	Labourer	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>372</u>	Davison George S.	0275	Clerk	Winnipeg	72 4
<u>373</u>	Deacon Richard	0276	Silversmith	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>374</u>	Dean Henry J.	0277	Clerk	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>375</u>	Deeley Frederick	0278	Gun Finisher	Toronto	71 7



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>376</u>	Dillon Gerald P.	Deserted	Gentleman	----- 70 12	
<u>377</u>	Duncan John	0279	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>378</u>	Dunn James	0280	Yeoman	Toronto 71 7	
<u>379</u>	Deroussel Joseph	Deserted	Farmer	-----	
<u>380</u>	Dauphin Antoine	0281	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>381</u>	Demers William	0282	Printer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>382</u>	de Plainval Louis Frasse	0283	Gentleman	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>383</u>	Desroses Napoléon	0284	Writer	-----	
<u>384</u>	Doll Clément	0166	Labourer	Montreal 71 5	
<u>385</u>	Donovan Thomas	0285	Sailor	-----	
<u>386</u>	Dumais Charles	0286 1058	Clerk	Montreal 71 5	
<u>387</u>	Dupperrouzel Aubin	0287	Servant	Kingston 71 5	
<u>388</u>	Donohue Patrick	0288	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>389</u>	Duffy William	0289	Soldier	Kingston 71 5	
<u>390</u>	Doyle John	0290	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>391</u>	Doherty Thomas	0291	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>392</u>	Drakely John	0292	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>393</u>	Dillon William Eugene	0167	Clerk	-----	
<u>394</u>	Dion THomas	Deserted	Coachman	Kingston 71 1	
<u>395</u>	Douglas John	0293	Telegrapher	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>396</u>	Drewry Robert	0006	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>397</u>	Dunbar John	0294	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>398</u>	Delanie John W.	0295	Clerk	Montreal 70 12	
<u>399</u>	Downes John	0296	Photographer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>400</u>	Dupuis Gilbert Ernest	----	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>401</u>	Dempsey Christopher	0298	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>402</u>	Daniels Joseph	0297	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>403</u>	Donnelley Michael	0299	Labourer	Winnipeg 70 9	Deceased
404	Davidson George	0961	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
405	Dunn James	1057	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 9	
406	Delarmitage Crawford	1047	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
407	Dunlop Robert	0962	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
408	Darby John	1048	Machinist	Winnipeg 72 10	
409	Duprat Joseph	0963	Merchant	Winnipeg 72 10	
410	Delisle Ulric	0964	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 72 10	
411	Dupont Léon	1049	Emmigr. Ag.	Winnipeg 72 9	
412	Daly Charles	1050	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
413	Dobbs Arthur	1051	Servant	Winnipeg 72 9	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
414	Deegan James	1052	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 9	
415	Desjardins Alphonse	1053	Student	Winnipeg 72 9	
416	Dawes Arthur H.	1054	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 9	
417	Dawson S. P.	1055	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 72 9	
418	Dolphin John Duke	1056	Joiner	Winnipeg 72 10	
419	Deering William	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 73 5	
420	Deering Homer	I-DNFT	Leatherworker	Toronto 73 6	
421	Denby William	1170	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74 11	
422	Desjardins Toussaint (MD)	1171	Doctor	Winnipeg 74 11	
423	Desjardins Félix	U-DNFT	Shoemaker	Toronto 73 9	
424	Dickson James	1377	Farmer	Toronto 73 7	
425	Dix Orlando	U-DNFT	Clerk	Ft. Fran. 72 10	
426	Downs William	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 73 5	
427	Duffy Denis	1378	Farmer	Toronto 73 7	
428	Dallaire Jean	1169	Brassfinisher	Winnipeg 74 11	
429	Duprat Joseph	1277	Merchant	Winnipeg 75 6	
430	Dauphin Alma Albert	1273	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
431	Davis Richard	1274	Painter	Winnipeg 75 5	
432	Dale George	1276	Jeweller	Winnipeg 75 6	
433	Doherty James	1462	Painter	Winnipeg 75 10	
434	Davis James W.	1461	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 10	
435	Dagg George Edwin	1275 1477	Lawyer	Winnipeg 75 6	
<u>436</u>	de Bellefeuille L.C.A.L.	0163	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>437</u>	Duchesnay Maurice E.B.	0254	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>438</u>	de Salaberry Léonidas	0255	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>439</u>	DesGeorges Gabriel Louis	0256	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>440</u>	D'Eschambault Alphonse	0257	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>441</u>	Denison Frederick Chas.	0035	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>442</u>	Douglas Charles Stuart	0258	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>443</u>	Deblois George Henri	0259	Officer	----- 71 7	
444	de Cazes Charles	1228	Officer	----- 77 8	
445	Debels J. Henri	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 9	
446	Dunn Robert Henry	DNFT	Printer	Winnipeg 76 6	
447	Dunn John	DNFT	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
448	Davison William	DNFT	Steam Fitter	Winnipeg 76 6	
449	Doane Simon Atwood	----	Baker	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>450</u>	Eyer James	0300	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>451</u>	Ellis Edward	0301	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>452</u>	English James Carter	0302	Carpenter	Toronto 71	3
<u>453</u>	Emslie John	0303	Bookkeeper	Toronto 71	4
<u>454</u>	Emerson Samuel	0304	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>455</u>	English David	0305	Printer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>456</u>	Eastman James M.	0306	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>457</u>	Evans James	1130	Sailor	Winnipeg 71	6
<u>458</u>	Ernest William Henry	0011	Butcher	Toronto 71	7
<u>459</u>	Ellis William	0312	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>460</u>	Entwhistle Thomas	0014	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>461</u>	Ellis Edward	0307	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>462</u>	Edwards Duncan	0308	Clerk	Kingston 71	5
<u>463</u>	Evans George	0309	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>464</u>	Ellice William John	Deserted	Clerk	Kingston 70	5
<u>465</u>	Enright Timothy	0311	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>466</u>	Eastman George	0310	-----	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>467</u>	Elliot Walter	0965	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
<u>468</u>	England Albert	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72	6
<u>469</u>	Edwards William	U-DNFT	Jeweller	Thunder 72	10
<u>470</u>	Evans Richard E.	1278	Clerk	Winnipeg 75	6
<u>471</u>	Eades Henry	I-DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 76	6
<u>472</u>	Fulthorp George Edward	0316	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>473</u>	Franklin George Joseph	0317	Brakeman	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>474</u>	Faulkner John	0318	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>475</u>	Ferguson Joseph H.	0319	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
<u>476</u>	Forman Charles	0320	Carpenter	Toronto 70	6
<u>477</u>	French Gilbert Wiggins	0321	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>478</u>	Fraser William F.	0322	Sailor	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>479</u>	Farmer Richard H.	0323	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>480</u>	Fargey William	0324	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>481</u>	Fowler R.A.	0133	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>482</u>	Fox Michael	0326	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>483</u>	Fowler John Daniel	0327	Sailor	Toronto 71	7
<u>484</u>	Forster Samuel	0325	Blacksmith	Toronto 71	7
<u>485</u>	Flammand Jacques	0328	Miller	Kingston 71	5
<u>486</u>	Ferguson Richard	0329	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>487</u>	Fisher Alfred E.	0330	Mail Clerk	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>488</u>	Faneuf Louis	0165	Navigator	Kingston 71	5
<u>489</u>	Forrest Donald	0016	Printer	Kingston 70	12

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>490</u>	Fidlar Charles	0332	Painter	Kingston 71 5	
<u>491</u>	Finnerty Edward	0331	Tailor	Kingston 70 9	
<u>492</u>	Fisher Robert	0333	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>493</u>	Fortin Cyprien	0334	Joiner	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>494</u>	Finlay George	0335	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>495</u>	Farrelly John	0020	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>496</u>	Fieldhouse Wm. Henry	0337	Collier	Kingston 71 5	
<u>497</u>	Farrelly Thomas	0336	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
498	Forbes Daniel	0966	Student	Winnipeg 72 10	
499	Forster Robert	1059	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
500	Fawcett Albert John	1060	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
501	Falls Robert	1061	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 9	
502	Fothergill John	0967	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
503	Fosbrooke Leonard	1062	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
504	Fullerton James	1063	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72 9	
505	Fullerton Patrick	Rec'd	Confectioner	-----	As Substitute
506	Fraser John	1064	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
507	Falby John	1172	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
508	Ferguson William	1379	Tailor	Winnipeg 74 9	
509	Fitzgerald George	Deserted	Pianomaker	----- 74 5	
510	French George W.	Rec'd	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 9	As substitute
511	Fortier Herménégilde	1151	Baker	Winnipeg 74 9	
512	Foster George A.	1279	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 5	
513	Foley Thomas	1280	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
514	Forsythe Richard	DFBC	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 74 10	
515	Frizzle John	1281	Sailor	Winnipeg 75 5	
516	Forrester John	Deserted	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 6	
<u>517</u>	Fraser John	0313	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>518</u>	Fletcher John Price	0314 1144	Officer	----- 74 12	
<u>519</u>	Fidlar Edward	0315	Officer	----- 71 7	
520	Flood John	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 76 6	
521	Flagherty David	DNFT	Brickmaker	Winnipeg 77 8	
522	Flint John	DNFT	Waiter	Winnipeg 76 6	
523	French George Henry V.	1424	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>524</u>	Graves Joseph Mathew	0339	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>525</u>	Grady John Henry	0340	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>526</u>	Gibson Alexander	0341	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>527</u>	Greenwood John Alexander	0342	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>528</u>	Green George	0343	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>529</u>	Gardiner Joseph	0344	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	2
<u>530</u>	Goddard Arthur Charles	0345	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>531</u>	Giroux Napoléon	RTJ	Labourer	-----	
<u>532</u>	Gagné Jean-Baptiste	RTJ	Harnessmaker	-----	
<u>533</u>	Graveley H.L.	0346	Gentleman	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>534</u>	Greasley Robert	0347	Weaver	Montreal 71	5
<u>535</u>	Griffiths Edward D.	0348	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>536</u>	Gillman William	0349	Tinsmith	Montreal 71	5
<u>537</u>	Gibbs William	0350	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>538</u>	Gill William	0042	Printer	Toronto 71	7
<u>539</u>	Goodbody William	0351	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>540</u>	Gordon Joseph	0352 1229	Moulder	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>541</u>	Greenley Gardner	0353	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>542</u>	Griffiths Ernest H.	0354	Gentleman	-----	
<u>543</u>	Gibson James	0355	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>544</u>	Glendinning Thos. Robert	0356	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>545</u>	Gordon John Campbell	0357	Yeoman	Kingston --	-
<u>546</u>	Grainger Charles	0030	Yeoman	Pembina 71	4
<u>547</u>	Guinn Joseph	0358	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>548</u>	Guttridge Henry	0364	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>549</u>	Giroux Thomas	RTJ	Journeyman	-----	
<u>550</u>	Gagnon Pierre	Deserted	Furniture Pol.	----- 71	1
<u>551</u>	Garvin William P.	0359 1071	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>552</u>	Gilchrist Thomas	0360	Machinist	Toronto 71	7
<u>553</u>	Gill Eugéne	0361	-----	Toronto 71	5
<u>554</u>	Gilmour James Dickson	0362 0373	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>555</u>	Globensky Eugéne	0363	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>556</u>	Goyer Alexander	0365 1070	Shoemaker	Toronto 71	7
<u>557</u>	Green Elijah	0366	Puddler	Kingston 71	5
<u>558</u>	Gerron Edgar	0367	Farmer	Kingston 71	5
<u>559</u>	Gurnon Joseph	0368	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>560</u>	Griesbach Arthur Henry	0022	None	Kingston 71	5
<u>561</u>	Gilroy Robert	0369	Labourer	Montreal 71	5
<u>562</u>	Gibson Richard	0370	Pipemaker	Kingston 71	5
<u>563</u>	Gauvreau Joseph	0371	Sailor	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>564</u>	Good George James	0372	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>565</u>	Garnot Ant. Odilon	0374	Merchant	Winnipeg 71	3

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
566	Gardner Richard	0134	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
567	Grogan Andrew	0375	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
568	Gamache Alexis	0376	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
569	Gagné Joseph	0377	Groom	Winnipeg 72 5	
570	Généreux Ernest	0379	Law Student	Toronto 71 7	
571	Garon Joseph	DFBC	Lawyer	Montreal 70 12	
572	Gilvey William	0380	-----	-----	
573	Gall William	1069 1244	Storeman	Winnipeg 72 10	
574	Gowland George	1065	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 10	
575	Gillies John	0968	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 10	
576	Gale George	0969	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
577	Griffin Justus	1066	Printer	Winnipeg 72 9	
578	Griffith Edward	1067	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 9	
579	Gill John	0970	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 10	
580	Galbraith James	DFBC	Jeweller	Winnipeg 72 5	
581	Gauthier John Joseph	1068	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
582	Gordon William	0971	Dealer	Winnipeg 72 9	
583	Guillotte Jules	0972	Student	Winnipeg 72 10	
584	Gee Owen	1175	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 74 11	
585	Gerrard James	1152	Florist	Winnipeg 74 10	
586	Glazier Torrence	1380	Carpenter	Toronto 73 7	
587	Goodwin Henry	DNFT	None	Winnipeg 73 5	
588	Gosselin Thomas R.	DNFT	None	Winnipeg 75 9	
589	Gosselin Francis J.	1425	Photographer	Winnipeg 75 9	
590	Graham John	1174	Farmer	Winnipeg 73 5	
591	Graham John	DNFT	Moulder	Winnipeg 73 5	
592	Grant Donald	Deserted	Moulder	Winnipeg 73 4	
593	Gray John	Deserted	Clerk	Winnipeg 73 4	
594	Grealey Michael	Deserted	Groom	----- 73 9	
595	Gauvreau Adjutor	1173	Sailor	Winnipeg 74 11	
596	Gribbon Edward P.	1426	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 7	
597	Gilbert Ernest	0378 1289	Baker	Winnipeg 75 6	
598	Greenup James	Deserted	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 6	
599	Gillmore Joseph	1285	Painter	Winnipeg 75 5	
600	Gillmore John	1284	Wheelwright	Winnipeg 75 5	
601	Gray James	1283	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 5	
602	Grainger George	Died	Labourer	----- 74 10	
603	Gray Frederick	1286	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 5	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
604	Gehan John	1282	Brakeman	Winnipeg 75 6	
605	Grant Robert A.	1287 1483	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 75 6	
606	Gillam Henry Alfred	1288	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	
<u>607</u>	Gagnier F.D.	0338	Officer	----- 72 -	Deceased
608	Gerraghty P.	1237	Officer	Winnipeg 72 4	
609	Gow William George	1236	Officer	Winnipeg 74 12	
<u>610</u>	Griffiths-Wainwright G.	0884	Officer	----- 71 7	
611	Gould William	DNFT	-----	Winnipeg 75 9	
612	Guy William	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 76 6	
613	Griffith David	DNFT	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
614	Grenier Camille Jérôme	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 76 6	
615	Graham William Richard	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 77 8	
616	Geldert D. Leonard	DNFT	Druggist	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>617</u>	Hubbard William	0385	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>618</u>	Hinton Robert S.	0386	Currier	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>619</u>	Hall Henry	0387	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>620</u>	Hardy James F.	0388	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>621</u>	Harman Nelson	0435	Fisherman	Toronto 71 7	
<u>622</u>	Howman John	0389	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>623</u>	Hodgson John	0390	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>624</u>	Hepburn William Robert	0391	Currier	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>625</u>	Hackett John	0392	Baker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>626</u>	Harvey A. de Clifford	0393	Engineer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>627</u>	Herchmer George	0394	Med. Student	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>628</u>	Hora F.H.R.	0395	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>629</u>	Herbert James	0396	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 7	
<u>630</u>	Hislop John	0937	Druggist	Toronto 71 7	
<u>631</u>	Hickey William	0398	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>632</u>	Hughes Thomas	0399	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>633</u>	Hamilton David	0400	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>634</u>	Hamilton David	0402	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>635</u>	Hamilton George H.	0401	Miner	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>636</u>	Hale John Edward	0403	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>637</u>	Hayes James	0404	Shoemaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>638</u>	Humphrey Thomas W.	0405	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>639</u>	Hart Thomas	Deserted	Labourer	-----	
<u>640</u>	Hewlett Charles	0406	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>641</u>	Huston David	0407	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>642</u>	Helliwell Arthur	0408	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>643</u>	Hewgill Lovelace	0409	Gentleman	-----	
<u>644</u>	Hamilton John	0410	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>645</u>	Harflett George	0412	Boilermaker	-----	
<u>646</u>	Henry Thomas H.	0413	Civil Servant	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>647</u>	Holland John	0414 0977	Accountant	Toronto 71 7	
<u>648</u>	Holman William	0415	Engineer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>649</u>	Horner Thomas	0416	Brassfinisher	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>650</u>	Howard Joseph	0417	Law Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>651</u>	Hunter Mathew Thomas	Deserted	Gentleman	Montreal 70 12	
<u>652</u>	Hazelwood Robert	0418	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>653</u>	Hetherington Joseph	0419	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>654</u>	Hall Thomas	0420	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>655</u>	Hannaly Luke	0421	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>656</u>	Harbour John	0422	Bookbinder	Toronto 71 7	
<u>657</u>	Harrington Adam	0423	Roofer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>658</u>	Harrison John	0424	Engraver	Montreal 70 12	
<u>659</u>	Harvey Henry B.	0155	Bookkeeper	Montreal 71 5	
<u>660</u>	Helliwell Charles V.	0425	Clerk	-----	
<u>661</u>	Horseley Robert	0426	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>662</u>	Hogan John	0427	Sailor	Montreal 71 4	
<u>663</u>	Houle Joseph	0428	Joiner	-----	
<u>664</u>	Hunt John	0429	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>665</u>	Hodgins Bernard	0015	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>666</u>	Hamilton John	0411	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>667</u>	Hayward Mark	0430	-----	Kingston 71 5	
<u>668</u>	Hewson John	0431	Shoemaker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>669</u>	Honor Edward	0432	Painter	Kingston 71 5	
<u>670</u>	Hawley Wellington	0433	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>671</u>	Haynes Henry	0434 1291	Clerk	Kingston 71 5	
<u>672</u>	Hedge Thomas	0021	Shoemaker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>673</u>	Hogan Thomas	DFBC	Boot Crimper	Montreal 71 2	
<u>674</u>	Henderson William A.	Deserted	Finisher	Kingston 71 4	
<u>675</u>	Héroux Joseph	0436	Voyageur	Kingston 71 5	
<u>676</u>	Hutchison Nicholas	0437 1293	Patternmaker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>677</u>	Hunter Richard H.	0440	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>678</u>	Helliwell Charles	0441	-----	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>679</u>	Hearn Hiram	0438 0976	Machinist	Winnipeg 71 7	



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
680	Hatt Chas. de Salaberry	0442	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
681	Hill Arthur	0443	None	Toronto 71	7
682	Hull Henry	0444	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
683	Hardy Louis	0445	Clerk	Montreal 71	5
684	Hackett Edward	0446	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	5
685	Hearron Martin	Deserted	Blacksmith	Montreal 71	5
686	Holliday William	0439	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
687	Hickley James	0005	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
688	Harris George	0447	Traveller	Toronto 71	7
689	Harvey John	0448	Voyageur	Montreal 71	5
690	Harnois Thomas	0449	Shoemaker	Toronto 71	7
691	Higginbothan James	0452	Silk Weaver	Kingston 71	5
692	Henry Andrews	0450	-----	Toronto 71	7
693	Huston David	0451	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
694	Hutchinson John	0973	Cooper	Winnipeg 72	10
695	Hallowell Jeffries	1072	Machinist	Winnipeg 72	9
696	Hardy Robert G.	1073	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	9
697	Hassett Thomas	0974	Saloon Keeper	Winnipeg 72	10
698	Hicks John Francis	1074	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
699	Heany Patrick	0975	Farrier	Winnipeg 72	10
700	Hamilton Alexander G.	1478	Farmer	Winnipeg 75	10
701	Hall William	1180	Labourer	Winnipeg 74	11
702	Horne George	1428	Brewer	Winnipeg 75	9
703	Harnett Francis Wm.	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 75	6
704	Hart John (aka Jarvis)	DFBC	Groom	Halifax --	- Civil Prisoner
705	Hearn Lewis	1177	Butcher	Winnipeg 74	11
706	Henderson Thomas	1178	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 74	11
707	Hinds Joseph	DNFT	Brewer	Winnipeg 73	5
708	Hitchcock Thomas	1429	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	9
709	Hitherman Martin	1382	Labourer	Toronto 73	7
710	Hodson Robert	1176	Sailor	Winnipeg 74	11
711	Holdgate George	1179	Sailor	Winnipeg 74	11
712	Halloway George	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 73	5
713	Hosken Frederick John	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 73	5
714	Hughes Benjamin W.	1427	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 75	9
715	Hogan John	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73	10
716	Hackett Edward	1430	Brassfinisher	Toronto 73	7
717	Hall David B.	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	7

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
718	Hepworth Walter	1292	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	5
719	Harrigan John	1381	Brassfinisher	Toronto 73	11
720	Hames Henry	----	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	5
721	Hayden Samuel	1290	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	5
722	Hamilton Samuel	Deserted	Miner	Winnipeg 73	7
723	Henderson William James	Deserted	Lumberer	Winnipeg 74	7
724	Hodgson Thomas	1463	Stone Cutter	Winnipeg 75	10
<u>725</u>	Herchmer Wm. Macauley	0381	Officer	Winnipeg 76	8
<u>726</u>	Harman Samuel Bruce	0382	Officer	----- 74	12
<u>727</u>	Hamilton Samuel	0383	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>728</u>	Howard Thomas	0384	Officer	----- 71	7
729	Hurley John	DNFT	Stone Cutter	Winnipeg 75	9
730	Harris Hugh M.	----	Cigarmaker	Winnipeg 77	8
731	Humphrey James	----	Labourer	Winnipeg 77	8
732	Hagerman Judson	Rec'd	Labourer	Winnipeg 76	6 As substitute
<u>733</u>	Issacson Alfred G.	0454	Law Student	Winnipeg 71	4 (Geacson?)
734	Ingram Elias	1181	Valet	Winnipeg 74	11
<u>735</u>	Irvine Acheson G.	0453	Officer	Winnipeg 74	12
736	Irwin William Henry	1294	Lawyer	Winnipeg 75	5
<u>737</u>	Jones John	Deserted	Carpenter	----- 71	4
<u>738</u>	Jackson Anson	0456	Trunkmaker	Toronto 71	7
<u>739</u>	Jennings William Henry	0457	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>740</u>	Jackson Robert	0458	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>741</u>	Jamieson Robert A.	0459	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>742</u>	Jones James S.	0460	Railwayman	Toronto 71	7
<u>743</u>	Jaffray William	0461	Jeweller	Toronto 71	7
<u>744</u>	Jones Wellington	0462	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>745</u>	Jeffrey Henry James	0463	Printer	Winnipeg 70	12
<u>746</u>	Jones Richard Inglis	0040	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>747</u>	Jenkins Byron	0464	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>748</u>	Jenkinson Joseph	0465	Porter	Kingston 71	5
<u>749</u>	Johnston Thomas	0466	Sailor	Kingston 71	5
<u>750</u>	Jones Walter	0467	Sawyer	Kingston 71	5
<u>751</u>	Jeffreys Thomas Edward	0468	Painter	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>752</u>	James Thomas	0469	Bookbinder	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>752A</u>	Jessop Robert	0470 1494	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>753</u>	Johnstone Daniel	Deserted	-----	Kingston 70	8
754	Johnson William R.	1383	None	Winnipeg 72	6

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
755	Johnstone Charles E.A.	1075	None	Winnipeg 72 10	
756	James Valentine W.	1143	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
757	Jackson John	DNFT	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 73 5	
758	Jones Henry T.	1182	Groom	Winnipeg 74 11	
759	Jones Henry E.	1183	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
760	Jones William	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 73 5	
761	Jones Frederick G.	1184	Groom	Winnipeg 74 11	
762	Johnstone Thomas	RTJ	Groom	-----	
763	Johnson John	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 10	
764	Johnson Robert	1298	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 6	
765	Julian Alfred	1295	Engineer	Winnipeg 75 5	
766	Johnson James	1296	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
767	Johnston Hugh	1297	Plasterer	Winnipeg 75 6	
768	Jarvis Samuel Peters	0455	Officer	----- 71 7	
769	Jackson William	DNFT	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 77 8	
770	Jackson Samuel Fairbairn	----	Carpenter	Winnipeg 77 8	
771	Kneen Mathias	0041	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 4	
772	Keller Henry Baron	0472	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
773	Kilvington Samuel S.	0473	Gardener	Winnipeg 71 3	
774	Keenan John	0474	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
775	Karney James	0475	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
776	Kidd Frederick	0476	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
777	Kerr George	0477	Harnessmaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
778	Kerr John Andrew	0479	Photographer	Winnipeg 71 4	
779	King Henry	0478	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
780	King George	0480	Farmer	Montreal 71 5	
781	Kelly Henry	0481	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
782	Keenan John	0482	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 4	
783	Keates William	0483	Pressman	Toronto 73 7	
784	Kelly Joseph	0484	Plumber	Toronto 70 6	
785	Kearl Francis	0485	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
786	Kemp Alfred Charles	0486	Surveyor	Kingston 71 5	
787	Keates Richard	0488	Saddler	Winnipeg 71 5	
788	King Henry Thomas	0487	Gentleman	Winnipeg 71 6	
789	Kelland George	0489	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 2	
790	Kett Elijah B.	0490	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 5	
791	King David Alexander	0491	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
792	Kent William	0492	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE		REMARKS
<u>793</u>	Kennedy John	DNFT	Telegrapher	Toronto	71 7	
<u>794</u>	Keernan Michael	0493	Labourer	Kingston	71 5	
<u>795</u>	Keating James	0494	Labourer	Kingston	71 4	
<u>796</u>	Keely Samuel	0978	Carpenter	Winnipeg	72 10	
<u>797</u>	Kellock William Murdoch	1076	Painter	Winnipeg	72 9	
<u>798</u>	Knox John	1385	Labourer	Winnipeg	72 4	
<u>799</u>	Kelly Hugh	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg	72 4	
<u>800</u>	Kane James	RTJ	Carpenter	-----		
<u>801</u>	Kerns William Joshua	Deserted	Telegrapher	Winnipeg	73 1	
<u>802</u>	Keith John	RTJ	Carpenter	-----		
<u>803</u>	Kelly Thomas C.	Deserted	Clerk	-----	73 4	
<u>804</u>	Kerr James	1384	Tinsmith	Toronto	73 7	
<u>805</u>	Kilby William	1186	Stableman	Winnipeg	74 11	
<u>806</u>	King Henry	1431	Clerk	Winnipeg	75 9	
<u>807</u>	Kearly William	1185	Blacksmith	Winnipeg	74 11	
<u>808</u>	Kinmond Thomas	Deserted	Gardener	-----	73 10	
<u>809</u>	Keely George Alexander	1299	Moulder	Winnipeg	75 6	
<u>810</u>	Keely Samuel	1300	Carpenter	Winnipeg	75 6	
<u>811</u>	Knox Albert	I-DNFT	Druggist	Winnipeg	74 9	
<u>812</u>	Kelly James	1464	Clerk	Winnipeg	75 10	
<u>813</u>	Kelly Patrick	1301	-----	Winnipeg	75 6	
<u>814</u>	Kennedy William Nassau	0007 0471	Officer	Winnipeg	72 5	Resigned
<u>815</u>	Keane James Alfred	----	Clerk	Winnipeg	77 8	
<u>816</u>	Kennedy James	DNFT	Blacksmith	Winnipeg	76 6	
<u>817</u>	Lowe William Henry	0497	Shoemaker	Thunder	70 6	
<u>818</u>	Lindoff George	0498	Engineer	Winnipeg	71 4	
<u>819</u>	Lillies James	0499	Currier	Winnipeg	71 3	
<u>820</u>	Lauder John	0500	Carpenter	Winnipeg	71 3	
<u>821</u>	Loscombe Frederic	0501	Med. Student	Toronto	71 7	
<u>822</u>	Lowans Thomas	0502	Musician	Toronto	71 7	
<u>823</u>	Liston John	0127	Servant	Toronto	71 7	
<u>824</u>	Lalond Louis (#1)	0504	Labourer	Toronto	71 7	
<u>825</u>	Lalond John	0506	Labourer	Toronto	71 7	
<u>826</u>	Lalond Louis (#2)	0505	Farmer	-----		
<u>827</u>	Lewis Charles	0507	Blacksmith	Winnipeg	71 4	
<u>828</u>	Labarre Joseph	RTJ	Chairmaker	-----		
<u>829</u>	Lepage Majorique	0508	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 5	
<u>830</u>	Lepage Louis	0509	Law Student	Winnipeg	71 2	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>831</u>	Leech Fred F.	DFBC	Plasterer	Montreal 71	3
<u>832</u>	Long Walter N.	0027	Varnisher	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>833</u>	Lanagan Thomas	0503 1586	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>834</u>	Lemoine Solomon	0510	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>835</u>	Lawson Martin	0004	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>836</u>	Lindsay William Thomas	0511	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>837</u>	Laing William	0512	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>838</u>	Lee George	0513	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>839</u>	Lenover Jacob	0514	Sailor	Toronto 71	7
<u>840</u>	Leslie Thomas	0037	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71	2
<u>841</u>	Lumsden William	0515	Miner	Pembina 71	4
<u>842</u>	Lacroix Paschal	0516	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>843</u>	Lacroix Charles	0168	Baker	Montreal 71	3
<u>844</u>	Lafranchise Joachim	0517	Labourer	Toronto 70	6
<u>845</u>	Larivière Jérémie	0039	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>846</u>	Leblanc Olivier	0518	Shoemaker	Toronto 71	7
<u>847</u>	Loiseau Charles	0519 1308	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>848</u>	Lee Thomas	0520	Labourer	Toronto 70	6
<u>849</u>	Lennon John	0521	Labourer	-----	
<u>850</u>	Lord Arthur	0154	Photographer	Montreal 71	5
<u>851</u>	Lord John	0522	Engineer	Toronto 71	7
<u>852</u>	Longpré Edmond	0153 0984	Painter	Montreal 71	5
<u>853</u>	Laugham Michael	0523	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>854</u>	Lindsay Robert	0524	Blacksmith	Kingston 71	5
<u>855</u>	Loggie William	Deserted	Labourer	Kingston 71	4
<u>856</u>	Langlois Léon	Deserted	Voyageur	Kingston 71	1
<u>857</u>	Lappage James	0009	Painter	Kingston 71	5
<u>858</u>	Lavie Charles A.B.	0525	Clerk	Kingston 71	5
<u>859</u>	Lake Thomas	0526	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>860</u>	Landry Joseph	0527	Joiner	Winnipeg 71	2
<u>861</u>	Lévesque Arthur	0528	Med. Student	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>862</u>	Lebourdais Louis	0529	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>863</u>	Lyonnais Napoléon	0530	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>864</u>	Lewis James	0164	Draper	-----	
<u>865</u>	Labbé Thomas	0535	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
<u>866</u>	Leblond (Leblanc) Henry	0533	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
<u>867</u>	Landrigan Daniel	0534	Labourer	Montreal 71	5
<u>868</u>	Longmuir Frederick	0536	Printer	Toronto 70	6

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>869</u>	L'Abbé Thomas	0531	-----	Toronto 71	7
<u>870</u>	Lafontaine Octave	Deserted	-----	----- 70	11
<u>871</u>	Larose Napoléon	0532	-----	Toronto 70	6
872	Lidington Henry	0979	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
873	Lundy George	1077	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72	9
874	Lamond Charles	0980	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72	10
875	Lloyd John	1078	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72	9
876	Lord John-Baptiste	0981	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	10
877	Levesque Vital	0982	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72	10
878	Langtree Henry	1079	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	9
879	Logan Samuel	0983	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
880	Laroche Arthur	1191	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	11
881	Larwille George Henry	1190	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74	11
882	Litle William B.	1189	Engineer	Winnipeg 74	11
883	Lucas William	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 73	5
884	Lagacé Napoléon	1188	Labourer	Winnipeg 74	11
885	Lehoux George	1187	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	11
886	Lafranchise Antoine	RTJ	Labourer	-----	
887	Lord John	Deserted	Soldier	----- 74	-
888	Lockhart Frederic	1303	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	5
889	Latter Alfred	1305	Locksmith	Winnipeg 75	5
890	Ling John	1306	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75	5
891	Lindsay William Temple	1302	Moulder	Winnipeg 75	5
892	Linch Thomas	1304	Teamster	Winnipeg 75	5
893	Le Bell Michael	Deserted	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	1
894	Loggie George	1307	Farmer	Winnipeg 75	5
895	Long Charles	1309	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	6
896	Laughlin Daniel	1386	RR Labourer	Winnipeg 74	9
897	Langton Edward	1465	Butcher	Winnipeg 75	10
898	Loiseau Albert	Rec'd	Butcher	Winnipeg 75	6 As substitute
<u>899</u>	Labranche Jacques	0495	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>900</u>	Larue Auguste	0496	Officer	----- 71	7
901	Lucas George	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 76	6
902	Lee William	DNFT	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 77	8
903	Lee Herbert Newton	----	Moulder	Winnipeg 77	8
<u>904</u>	Mills Augustus	0541	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 71	7
<u>905</u>	Moore Charles James	0542	Printer	Winnipeg 71	7
<u>906</u>	Millward Thomas	0543	Butcher	Winnipeg 71	7

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>907</u>	Munn Robert	0544	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>908</u>	Muma Alexander	0545	Farmer	Thunder 70 6	
<u>909</u>	Martin John Alfred	0546	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>910</u>	Mahoney James	0547	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>911</u>	Moloney John	0548	Blacksmith	Kingston 70 -	Insane
<u>912</u>	Massey William	0549	Surveyor	Winnipeg 70 11	Deceased
<u>913</u>	Miller Henry	0550 0986	Painter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>914</u>	Milligan Joseph	0551	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>915</u>	Mills George	0552	Tailor	Toronto 71 7	
<u>916</u>	Morrissey Patrick	0553	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>917</u>	Moore Thomas	0554	Tailor	Kingston 71 4	
<u>918</u>	Madigan Daniel	0555	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>919</u>	Mann (Maune) John	0556 1365	Musician	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>920</u>	Maranda John	0557	Nail Cutter	Toronto 72 4	
<u>921</u>	Moisan Pierre	0558	Voyageur	-----	
<u>922</u>	Maddaford Samuel	0559	Butcher	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>923</u>	Matheson William A.	0560	Labourer	Montreal 71 5	
<u>924</u>	Machon Edward	0561	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>925</u>	Maureau Jérôme George	0562	Gentleman	-----	
<u>926</u>	Mallen Edward	0563	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>927</u>	Mannix George C.	0564	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>928</u>	Mannix Arthur	0565	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>929</u>	Marks Thomas	0566	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>930</u>	Mitchell George	0567	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>931</u>	Moffatt George O.	0169	Fitter	Sault St. 70 6	
<u>932</u>	Macabe George H.	0578	Carriagemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>933</u>	Madill William James	0579	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>934</u>	Main Henry	0580	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>935</u>	Mann William Allan	0581	Artist	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>936</u>	Mills William	0582	Printer	Pembina 71 4	
<u>937</u>	Mitchell John A.	0583	Druggist	Pembina 71 4	
<u>938</u>	Montgomery James A.	0584	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>939</u>	Marasse Alfred	0585	Navigator	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>940</u>	Mayer F.X.	Deserted	Barber	----- 71 4	
<u>941</u>	Melady Albert	0586	Blacksmith	Toronto 71 7	
<u>942</u>	Michaud Isidore	0587 1087 1438	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
<u>943</u>	Miller John	0588	Labourer	-----	
<u>944</u>	Murray William	0589	Storeman	----- 72 -	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
945	Morton Alexander	0590	Printer	Kingston 71	5
946	Mortimer John	0591	Bricklayer	Kingston 71	1
947	Marlow John	0592	Millworker	Kingston 71	5
948	Morgan Alfred	0593	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
949	Moore Richard	0594	Moulder	Toronto 71	7
950	Murphy John	0595	Groom	Kingston 71	5
951	Moylan Henry B.	0596	Soldier	Montreal 71	5
952	Melançon Napoléon	0597	Furrier	Kingston 70	9
953	Morris William	0598	Gentleman	Winnipeg 71	5
954	Marshall David	0599	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	2
955	May James	0600	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	5
956	Martin John	0568	Joiner	Winnipeg 71	6
957	Montgomery William	0569	Photographer	Winnipeg 71	4
958	Marshall John	0570	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
959	Melançon John Charles	0571	Teacher	Toronto 71	7
960	Michaud Paul	0572	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
961	Mulvaney William	0029 1086	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	4
962	Mitchell Thomas	0574	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
963	Mathews Joseph	0575	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	5
964	Marsh Hiram	0576	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
---	Mulholland Robert	1588	-----	----- 77	8 See Note.
965	Martineau Herman	0573	-----	Toronto 71	7
	" (same person)	1142	Officer	----- 76	7 Promoted
966	Moore R.J.	0577	-----	Toronto 71	4
967	Mahoney George	1080	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	10
968	Means William H.	1387	Engineer	Winnipeg 72	6
969	Meagher Augustine (MD)	1081	Doctor	Winnipeg 72	9
970	Meagher Thomas Francis	0985	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	10
971	Moffatt David	1083	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72	9
972	Mitchell Hillyard	1082	Student	Winnipeg 72	9
973	Macey George	1084	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72	9
974	Marchand Albert H.	1085 1437	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	10
975	Mulrany Peter	DNFT	Groom	Winnipeg 72	9
976	Madden Thomas	1435 1489	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	9
977	Maffrey Frederick A.	1388	Machinist	Toronto 73	7
978	Martel Edouard	----	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 75	6
979	Martin John A.	DNFT	Tailor	Winnipeg 75	6
980	Melville Charles	1434	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 75	9



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
981	Metcalf Edward	1192	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
982	Mills William Henry	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 6	
983	Minckler Charles	1195	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
984	Moody Charles	Died	Compositor	Winnipeg 74 2	Froze to death
985	Morrison David	I-DNFT	Moulder	Winnipeg 73 5	
986	Morry Thomas	1193	None	Winnipeg 74 11	
987	Mostyn Thos. Geo. Edwin	1433	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 9	
988	Müller George	1432	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 9	
989	Moore Jean-Baptiste	1196	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74 11	
990	Muity Henry	Died	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 4	
991	Murray Charles	1389	Groom	Toronto 73 11	
992	Marc Eugène	RTJ	Joiner	-----	
993	Maras Alfred	1194	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
994	Morrisette Jean-Bte	Died	Soldier	Winnipeg 74 4	Suicide
995	Mariaggi François	DNFT	Soldier	Winnipeg 74 11	
996	Michaud Joseph	Hanged	Stone Cutter	Winnipeg 74 8	By civil power
997	Morin Edmond	1390	Stone Cutter	Toronto 75 7	
998	Maher James A.	1310	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
999	Moore John	1391	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 9	
1000	Moire Daniel	1314	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 5	
1001	Mathews Charles	1311	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1002	Merlin John	1312	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1003	Mazerall William	1313	Lumberer	Winnipeg 75 6	
1004	Munroe John	DNFT	Axemaker	Winnipeg 75 9	
1005	Moore Samuel James	Died	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 9	In service
1006	Morse Joseph	1319	Sailor	Winnipeg 75 6	
<u>1007</u>	Macklem Thomas	0537	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>1008</u>	Morice J.F.B.	0538 1135	Officer	----- 75 3	
<u>1009</u>	Mulvey Stewart	0539	Officer	Winnipeg 71 7	
<u>1010</u>	Morrison Angus Gilmor	0540	Officer	----- 71 7	
1011	Mowatt George	DNFT	Moulder	Winnipeg 75 9	
1012	Malhiot Ovila	DNFT	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
1013	Murphy Peter	DNFT	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 77 8	
1014	Meiney James	----	Butcher	Winnipeg 77 8	
1015	Mordant Frederick	DNFT	Sailor	Winnipeg 76 6	
1016	Morris William	----	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>1017</u>	McArthur James	0610	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 70 10	
<u>1018</u>	MacGregor James C.	0611	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1019</u>	McCoy Robert	0612	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1020</u>	McEwen William	0613	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1021</u>	McIntosh Phineas	0614	Farmer	-----	
<u>1022</u>	McCloy John	0615	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1023</u>	MacNabb John C.	0616	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1024</u>	McBain H. William	0617	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1025</u>	McCready William A.	0618	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1026</u>	McKee William	0619	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1027</u>	McWilliams Terence	0620	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1028</u>	McEntyre George	0621	Sawyer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1029</u>	McMurchie Malcolm	0622	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1030</u>	McKenzie Malcolm	0623	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1031</u>	McDonald William	0624	Baker	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1032</u>	McDiarmid Angus	0625	Coppersmith	-----	
<u>1033</u>	McCartney Allan	0626	Architect	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1034</u>	McConville John Francis	0627	Teacher	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1035</u>	McIntyre John	0628	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1036</u>	McGinn Richard St. Léger	0629	Lumberer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>1037</u>	McGregor Thomas	0630	Chairmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1038</u>	McKelvey Robert	0638	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1039</u>	McKelvey John	0631	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1040</u>	MacDonnell John H.	0632	None	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1041</u>	McClellan William	0633	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>1042</u>	McDonald John	0643	Yeoman	Kingston 71 6	
<u>1043</u>	McDonald Alexander	0645	Yeoman	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1044</u>	McFarland Joseph	0646	Carpenter	Pembina 71 3	
<u>1045</u>	McGovern Lawrence	0647 1441	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1046</u>	McGregor Peter S.	0648	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1047</u>	McKay Hector	0649	Yeoman	Pembina 71 3	
<u>1048</u>	McKellar Donald	0650	Yeoman	Pembina 71 3	
<u>1049</u>	McKenzie Alexander Grant	0651	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1050</u>	McLeod Peter	0652	Cooper	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1051</u>	McVicar Archibald	0653	Yeoman	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1052</u>	McLean Alexander	0654	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1053</u>	McBean John George	0655	Gentleman	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1054</u>	McDonald Ada	0656	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1055</u>	McIver Frederick	0657	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1056</u>	McLaughlin William	Deserted	Shoemaker	----- 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1057</u>	McMannus Robert	Deserted	Clerk	Winnipeg 70 11	
<u>1058</u>	McManus John	Deserted	Clerk	Sault St. 70 -	
<u>1059</u>	McNicol John	0658	Butcher	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1060</u>	McBride John	0659	Moulder	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1061</u>	McFetridge John	0012	Weaver	Kingston 71 3	
<u>1062</u>	McNeil Charles	0635	Clerk	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1063</u>	McHaig James	0660	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1064</u>	MacDonald Allan	0636	Soldier	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1065</u>	McNamara James	0637	Moulder	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1066</u>	McCoy Patrick	0639	None	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1067</u>	McNair John	0640	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1068</u>	McNearn Humphrey	0642	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1069</u>	McDonald John	0644	Labourer	Montreal 71 6	
<u>1070</u>	McNicol Thomas	0641	-----	-----	
1071	McGarey James	0987	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1072	McBeath Duncan	0988	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1073	McCurdy James	0989	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1074	McKay James	1091	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1075	McLean Peter	0990	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1076	McCumber Alfred	0991	Engineer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1077	McKenzie Peter	0992	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1078	McAdie Robert	0993	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1079	McNair Robert	1088	Painter	Winnipeg 72 9	
1080	McCarroll John	0994	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 10	
1081	McCormack Thomas	1089	Painter	Winnipeg 72 9	
1082	McLean Colin H.	1090	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 9	
1083	McNeil Daniel	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 6	
1084	McGranahan John	0995	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1085	McLeod Torquil	Rec'd	None	Winnipeg 72 10	As substitute
<u>1086</u>	McLaughlin Hugh	DNFT	-----	Winnipeg 70 6	
1087	McAree James	1201	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
1088	McAskill Donald	1439	Grocer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1089	McDonnell James	1392	Labourer	Winnipeg 73 6	
1090	McDonald Roderick	DNFT	Lawyer	Winnipeg 73 5	
1091	McGinnis Kenneth	1153	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 74 9	
1092	McGregor Malcolm	1467	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75 10	
1093	McKay Aeneas	1200	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
1094	McKay Gilbert S.	1198	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1095	McKinnon John L.G.	1440	Photographer	Winnipeg 75	9
1096	McLeod James	1202	Dyer	Winnipeg 74	11
1097	McMahon Alexander	MU-DNFT	Farmer	Colling. 73	-
1098	McPherson John	1355	Clerk	Winnipeg 74	8
1099	McPherson Thomas	DNFT	Waggonmaker	Winnipeg 74	5
1100	McDermott Andrew	1197	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 74	11
1101	McDonnell(ald) Henry	1199	Trader	Winnipeg 74	11
1102	McGrath James	1482	Tailor	Winnipeg 75	9
1103	McCartney Thomas	1320	Mason	Winnipeg 75	6
1104	McKenzie Antoine	1361	None	Winnipeg 75	5
1105	McClellan Robert W.	DNFT	Teacher	Winnipeg 74	7
1106	McLean John	Deserted	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74	6
1107	McDonald William	1317	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	5
1108	McDonald Donald John	1315	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	5
1109	McEwen Peter	1316	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75	5
1110	McDonald Edward	1318	Ropemaker	Winnipeg 75	6
1111	McLeod Ezekiel	1358	Printer	Winnipeg 75	7
1112	MacKay Charles	1393	Painter	Winnipeg 74	9
1113	McCaffery George	Deserted	Tinsmith	----- 73	8
1114	McElhinney William	DFBC	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74	7
1115	MacDougall Archibald	Died	Painter	Winnipeg 74	6
1116	McGuinn Charles	1466	Farmer	Winnipeg 75	10
1117	McNaughton Peter	DNFT	Machinist	Winnipeg 76	6
<u>1118</u>	MacDonald Alexander R.	0601	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1119</u>	McMillan Daniel Hunter	0602	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1120</u>	MacDonald Donald A.	0603	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1121</u>	McMurty William J.	0604	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1122</u>	MacDonald Hugh John	0605	Officer Lawyer	Ottawa 71	7
<u>1123</u>	MacDonald Samuel	0606	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1124</u>	McLeod James F.	0607	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1125</u>	McBride Andrew	0608	Officer	----- 71	7
<u>1126</u>	Macdonald Allan	0609	Officer	----- 77	8
1127	McCaffery James	1230	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	11
1128	McLennan Donald Gabriel	DNFT	Plasterer	Winnipeg 75	11
1129	McMillan John A.	DNFT	Gentleman	Winnipeg 76	6
1130	McCloud Francis C.	----	Sailor	Winnipeg 77	8
<u>1131</u>	Nokes James	1485	Chairmaker	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1132</u>	Nixon William Stinson	0662	Printer	Winnipeg 71	4

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1133</u>	Nihan Henry	0663	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1134</u>	Nicholls Henry	0664	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>1135</u>	Noles Issac	Deserted	Carpenter	-----	
<u>1136</u>	Noble James	0665	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
<u>1137</u>	Nokes James	0666	-----	Winnipeg 71	5 See # 1131?
<u>1138</u>	Nesbitt John	0667	Joiner	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1139</u>	Nixon Thomas	0668	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1140</u>	Naylor John	0669	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1141</u>	Nimmo William	0670 1137	None	Toronto 71	7
<u>1142</u>	Nettle John	Deserted	Labourer	-----	
<u>1143</u>	Neilson John Fisher	0671	Yeoman	Pembina 71	3
<u>1144</u>	Nicol Peter	0672	Yeoman	Pembina 71	3
<u>1145</u>	Noon John	0162	Servant	Montreal 71	5
<u>1146</u>	Nesbitt Joseph A.	0673	Sailor	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1147</u>	Nilson C.	0674	-----	-----	
1148	Nellis Sylvester	1394	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72	6
1149	Neilson Daniel	1092 1442	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	10
1150	Naylor Samuel	Deserted	Painter	----- 73	8
1151	Newmarch Thomas	DNFT	Machinist	Winnipeg 73	5
1152	Neve Frederick	1203 1322	Farmer	Winnipeg 74	11
1153	Neil James	1321	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	5
1154	Nokes Edward	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	6
<u>1155</u>	Nash William Hill	0131 1145	Officer	----- 76	7
<u>1156</u>	Neilson F.L.A.	0661	Officer/Doctor	----- 71	7
1157	Nimmo Henry	----	Brushmaker	Winnipeg 77	8
1158	Nevers John Foy	----	Clerk	Winnipeg 77	8
1159	Nevers Edmund Alonzo	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 76	6
<u>1160</u>	Osborne John	0675	Printer	Winnipeg 71	2
<u>1161</u>	O'Neil Edward	0676	Stevedore	Toronto 71	7
<u>1162</u>	Orchard John	Deserted	Labourer	-----	
<u>1163</u>	Ormston Mathew	0677	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1164</u>	O'Bryan Timothy	0678	Boilermaker	Toronto 70	6
<u>1165</u>	O'Loghlan Hugh	0679	Shoemaker	-----	
<u>1166</u>	Ouellett Michel	0680	Labourer	Thunder 70	6
<u>1167</u>	O'Neil Thomas	0681	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>1168</u>	O'Dell Robert	0682	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1169</u>	O'Loghlan John	DFBC	Clerk	Montreal 71	1
1170	Owen Richard	0996	Pianomaker	Winnipeg 72	10

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1171	Oram Thomas	1204	Servant	Winnipeg 74	11
1172	Owens George A.	DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 73	5
1173	O'Dell William Alexander	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 73	5
1174	O'Hare Peter	Deserted	Clerk	Winnipeg 73	4
1175	O'Neil James	Deserted	Carpenter	Winnipeg 73	4
1176	O'Brien Patrick	1325	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	6
1177	O'Callaghan Cornelius	1324	Yeoman	Winnipeg 75	5
1178	Olsen Nils	1323	Sailor	Winnipeg 75	5
1179	O'Leary Charles	----	Axeman	Winnipeg 77	8
1180	Owens Richard	----	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 77	8
<u>1181</u>	Peel William	0689	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1182</u>	Pentland T.H.	0036	Law Clerk	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1183</u>	Perry Francis	0719 1146 1233	Clerk	Winnipeg 72	6
<u>1184</u>	Phipps Henry	0690	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1185</u>	Pritchard William	0691	Boltsmith	Toronto 71	7
<u>1186</u>	Percy Andrew	0692	Clerk	Kingston --	-
<u>1187</u>	Paquet Louis	0693	Journeyman	Kingston 71	5
<u>1188</u>	Pickard William	0694	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>1189</u>	Page Richard	0711	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>1190</u>	Palliser Joseph	0695	None	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1191</u>	Parker Frederick Wyse	0696	None	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1192</u>	Pope Thomas F.	0697	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1193</u>	Popham Charles	0698	Moulder	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1194</u>	Pridham George Albert	0699	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72	6
<u>1195</u>	Pringle William	0700	Clerk	-----	
<u>1196</u>	Patterson William	0701	Silversmith	Toronto 71	7
<u>1197</u>	Pomeroy George	0702	Yeoman	Pembina 71	4
<u>1198</u>	Parent Edouard	0703	Labourer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1199</u>	Patenaude Ludger	0704	Barber	-----	
<u>1200</u>	Perrault Alexandre	0705	Sculptor	Toronto 70	6
<u>1201</u>	Provencher Eugéne	0706	Farmer	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1202</u>	Pittis James	0707	Blacksmith	Kingston 71	5
<u>1203</u>	Pickering Richard	0708	Fruit Grocer	Kingston 71	3
<u>1204</u>	Piché David	0709	Shoemaker	Kingston 71	3
<u>1205</u>	Presho David	0720	Upholsterer	Montreal 71	5
<u>1206</u>	Puigh John	0712	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1207</u>	Piton William J.	0713	Merchant	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1208</u>	Paul Reuben	0714	Reporter	Winnipeg 71	2

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1209</u>	Pleaut Elzéar	0159	Labourer	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1210</u>	Pollock John	0716	Labourer	Montreal 71 6	
<u>1211</u>	Potter Henry	0717	Saddler	Toronto -- -	
<u>1212</u>	Patterson Robert	0718 1443	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>1213</u>	Prior Beniah Samuel	0710	Notary Public	-----	
<u>1214</u>	Patenaude Eugène	0715	-----	Toronto 71 5	
1215	Price Joseph H.	1093	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1216	Purvis Peter	1094 1445	Jeweller	Winnipeg 72 10	
1217	Phillips James Burritt	1095	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72 9	
1218	Payette Ulric	0997	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1219	Pellissier Jean-Baptiste	1096	Maitre d'Hôtel	Winnipeg 72 9	
<u>1220</u>	Prongus Anthony J.	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>1221</u>	Pentland James H.	1097	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 9	
1222	Papillon Joseph	1207	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1223	Peirce Thomas G.	Deserted	Druggist	----- 73 1	
1224	Petrie David	1444	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1225	Platt John A.	1235	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 74 5	
1226	Pringle Robert	1395	Carpenter	Toronto 73 9	
1227	Power William	Deserted	Chainmaker	----- 73 10	
1228	Pelletier Evariste	1205	Med. Student	Winnipeg 74 11	
1229	Pelletier Féréol	1206	Printer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1230	Picard Philippe	Deserted	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74 6	
1231	Pouliot Honoré	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 10	
1232	Presho David	1098	Upholsterer	Winnipeg 73 5	
1233	Price Joseph H.	Rec'd	Clerk	Winnipeg 73 5	As substitute
1234	Page Richard	Deserted	-----	Winnipeg 74 7	
1235	Palmer William R.	1326	Printer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1236	Price William	Deserted	Caulker	----- 73 7	
1237	Porter Henry	1327	RR Conductor	Winnipeg 75 5	
1238	Phair Francis	1363	Bricklayer	Winnipeg 75 8	
1239	Pinkham James	1468	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 10	
1240	Pearsoll Samuel	1469	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75 10	
<u>1241</u>	Peebles A.L.L.	0683	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>1242</u>	Parsons Wm. James Baker	0684	Officer	Kingston 70 10	Insane
<u>1243</u>	Patterson Edward T.H.F.	0685	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>1244</u>	Prevost Oscar	0686	Officer	----- 72 7	
<u>1245</u>	Peebles A.	0687	Officer	----- 77 8	
<u>1246</u>	Patterson Roderick R.S.	0688	Officer	----- 71 7	Minister

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1247	Peters James	1495	Officer	----- 73	10
1248	Percival John A.	DNFT	Yeoman	Winnipeg	75 9
1249	Perrin William	----	Labourer	Winnipeg	77 8
1250	Peck Austin Henry	DNFT	Draughtsman	Winnipeg	77 8
1251	Partington William	I-DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg	76 6
1252	Patmore John Edward	DNFT	Printer	Winnipeg	77 8
1253	Parrott William	DNFT	Machinist	Winnipeg	76 6
1254	Perreault Joseph	----	Clerk	Winnipeg	77 8
1255	Pukett James	----	Gardener	Winnipeg	77 8
1256	Parks Benjamin Walter	DNFT	Blacksmith	Winnipeg	76 6
<u>1257</u>	Quigley Joseph	0721	Machinist	Winnipeg	71 7
1258	Quintal Alphonse	0722	Joiner	Thunder	70 6
<u>1259</u>	Quinn Peter	1396	Farmer	Winnipeg	74 9
<u>1260</u>	Robinson Thomas J.	0725	Painter	Toronto	71 7
<u>1261</u>	Robinson Benjamin	0726	Hairdresser	Toronto	71 7
<u>1262</u>	Ryan Thomas	0727	Cooper	Toronto	71 7
<u>1263</u>	Robertson Thomas	0728	Moulder	Toronto	71 7
<u>1264</u>	Reynolds Frederick A.	0729 1004	Baker	Kingston	70 9
<u>1265</u>	Ritchie Alexander	0730	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 3
<u>1266</u>	Roberts Ernest	0731	Clerk	Winnipeg	71 7
<u>1267</u>	Robinson Christopher	0031	Engineer	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>1268</u>	Robertson George	0732	Farmer	Thunder	70 6
<u>1269</u>	Roblin Edward	0733	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>1270</u>	Rodgers William	0032	Moulder	Winnipeg	72 5
<u>1271</u>	Rains Noel D.	0734 1238	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 4
<u>1272</u>	Ramsay Silas Alexander	0735	Shoemaker	Winnipeg	71 7
<u>1273</u>	Russell William West	0736	Surveyor	Winnipeg	71 7
<u>1274</u>	Rourke Michael	0737	Lumberman	Winnipeg	71 3
<u>1275</u>	Rule Thomas Hodgson	0738	Draper	Winnipeg	70 -
<u>1276</u>	Roberts George	Deserted	Clerk	-----	71 2
<u>1277</u>	Ridley Henry	Deserted	Labourer	-----	71 5
<u>1278</u>	Ryan James	0739	Shoemaker	Toronto	71 7
<u>1279</u>	Reid D.F.	0740	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
<u>1280</u>	Rickaby Hamilton	0741	Farmer	Montreal	71 5
<u>1281</u>	Ridings William	0742	Moulder	Winnipeg	71 5
<u>1282</u>	Robinson Benjamin	0743	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
<u>1283</u>	Roe William Hamilton	0744	Gentleman	Winnipeg	71 7
<u>1284</u>	Rolph George	0745	Plumber	Winnipeg	71 3



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1285</u>	Rowe John W.	0746	Mason	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1286</u>	Rowles Michael T.T.	0747	Med. Student	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1287</u>	Rowsell Edward	0749 1103	Engineer	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>1288</u>	Renaud Joseph	0157	Blacksmith	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1289</u>	Renaud Joseph	0158 1104	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1290</u>	Rose (Ross) Louis	0750 1099	Teamster	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1291</u>	Ross John	0751	Book Agent	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1292</u>	Ruthven James (John)	0752	Engineer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1293</u>	Ryan Timothy	0753	Brassfinisher	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1294</u>	Robinson Joseph	0754	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1295</u>	Ryan Patrick	0019	Labourer	Kingston 71 1	
<u>1296</u>	Rutherford Daniel	0755	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1297</u>	Rogers William George	0756	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1298</u>	Ray William	0757	Musician	Kingston 70 9	Died on duty
<u>1299</u>	Rodges Alexander	0758	Farmer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1300</u>	Ross James W.	0759	Machinist	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1301</u>	Robinson George	0760	Cabinetmaker	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1302</u>	Rondeau Charles	0761	Voyageur	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1303</u>	Roy Arthur	0762	Tailor	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>1304</u>	Roy Octave	0763	Baker	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>1305</u>	Robertson Fred C.	0764	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1306</u>	Ryan John	0765	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1307</u>	Roussell Auguste	0160	Teamster	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1308</u>	Ray William	0767	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 5	
<u>1309</u>	Rae David	0768	Farmer	Toronto 70 6	
<u>1310</u>	Rolph Richard W.A.	0748 1446	Clerk	Winnipeg 76 6	
<u>1311</u>	Ramsay Robert	RTJ	-----	-----	
1312	Roussell Edouard	Rec'd	Engineer	Winnipeg 72 10	As substitute
1313	Renshaw Robert	0998	Sailor	Winnipeg 72 10	
1314	Reeves Edward	0999	Harnessmaker	Winnipeg 72 10	
1315	Ross James	1003	Mason	Winnipeg 72 9	
1316	Rancourt Charles S.	1001	Tailor	Winnipeg 72 10	
1317	Rouleau Napoléon	1002	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1318	Roe John	1100	Tailor	Winnipeg 72 10	
1319	Ross Archibald	1101	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	
1320	Ryland George Herman	1397	Engineer	Winnipeg 72 6	
1321	Ring Charles	1102	Navigator	Winnipeg 72 10	
<u>1322</u>	Reising Frederick	DNFT	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72 5	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1323	Raymond Emile	1209	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1324	Reddy William	1447	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 9	
1325	Reid David H.	1208	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1326	Rennick Frederick	Deserted	Clerk	Winnipeg 73 1	
1327	Robertson Archibald	1448	Machinist	Winnipeg 75 9	
1328	Robertson James	1210	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1329	Reddy Charles	RTJ	Labourer	-----	
1330	Rees Edward	1330	Bookbinder	Winnipeg 75 6	
1331	Redding Harry	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 73 12	
1332	Ryan Patrick	1329	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1333	Ross George Wellington	Deserted	Farmer	----- 73 8	
1334	Ross Daniel	1328	None	Winnipeg 75 6	
1335	Ryan Simon	Deserted	None	----- 73 7	
1336	Raymond Homer	Deserted	Machinist	----- 74 7	
1337	Ross William B.	1470	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 10	
1338	Robert François	1471	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 10	
<u>1339</u>	Ross Wm. Willmount	0723	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>1340</u>	Roger R.F. Marie-Joseph	0724	Officer Priest	----- 71 7	
1341	Reed Hayter	1134	Officer	Winnipeg 77 8	
1342	Reid James	DNFT	Brickmaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
1343	Robertson James	----	Fireman	Winnipeg 77 8	
1344	Rédélix Henri	I-DNFT	Clerk	Winnipeg 76 6	
1345	Rundel Edwin	----	Carpenter	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>1346</u>	Saunders Enoch	0772	Leatherworker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1347</u>	Smith Alexander William	0773	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1348</u>	Smith Alexander W.	0774	Butcher	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1349</u>	Spry Frank	0775	Sailor	Winnipeg 71 9	
<u>1350</u>	Stavelly Henry	0776 1491 1451	Sailor	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1351</u>	Steele Samuel B.	0777	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1352</u>	Shaw John	0778	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1353</u>	Stone James Gilbert	0779	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1354</u>	Sturgeon James	0780	Baker	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1355</u>	Sutton William	0781	Miller	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1356</u>	Scott Robert	0783	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1357</u>	Scott Robert	0784	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1358</u>	Scott William Thomas	0024	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1359</u>	Sheppard William A.	0787	Printer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1360</u>	Skillen William M.	0788	Farmer	Kingston -- -	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1361</u>	Smith James	0789	Shoemaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1362</u>	Squires Henry	0790	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1363</u>	Sutherland Alexander	0791	Shoemaker	Toronto -- -	
<u>1364</u>	Swetman James McD.	0792	Surveyor	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>1365</u>	Samuel David	0793	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1366</u>	Smith Charles	0794	Sailor	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1367</u>	Simpson Charles	0795	Harnessmaker	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1368</u>	Stewart Robert-John	0796	Clothier	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1369</u>	Stewart George	0797	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1370</u>	Stephenson John	0798	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1371</u>	St. Pierre Lissième	Deserted	Labourer	-----	
<u>1372</u>	Scott Robert	0782	Gentleman	Winnipeg 76 6	
<u>1373</u>	Smith John D.	0156	Lithographer	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1374</u>	Shields James	0799	Teamster	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1375</u>	Sinclair Charles	0800	Brickmaker	-----	
<u>1376</u>	Smallshare Thomas	0801	Brassfounder	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1377</u>	Smith John	0802	Machinist	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1378</u>	Stevenson William H.	----	Clerk	Toronto 70 5	
<u>1379</u>	Sullivan Patrick	0803	Carpenter	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1380</u>	Swanston George N.	0804	Machinist	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1381</u>	Scott James	0785	Tailor	Winnipeg -- -	
<u>1382</u>	Scott George	0786	Yeoman	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1383</u>	Simmons Thomas H.	0805	Engineer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1384</u>	Shyne James	0806	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1385</u>	Smith William	0807	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1386</u>	Snider William	0808 1141 1335 1240	Yeoman	Pembina 71 3 Winnipeg 72 10	
<u>1387</u>	Stait Thomas	0809	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1388</u>	Stock Ambrose	0810	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 6	
<u>1389</u>	Swinford Herbert	0811	Yeoman	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1390</u>	Seddon John	0812	Woodturner	Toronto 70 6	
<u>1391</u>	Slack Thomas	0813	-----	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1392</u>	Smith James	0814	Engine Driver	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1393</u>	Smith James	0815	Tailor	-----	
<u>1394</u>	Snoxell Edward	0816	Sailor	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1395</u>	Somerville Roger	0817	Upholsterer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1396</u>	St. Onge Alphonse	0818	Joiner	Toronto 70 6	
<u>1397</u>	Stanley James	0819	Silverfinisher	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1398</u>	Stuart John	0820	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1399</u>	Stuart Alfred	0821	Teamster	-----	
<u>1400</u>	St. Armand Pierre	0822	Painter	Kingston 70 9	
<u>1401</u>	Scales William	DFBC	Labourer	Kingston 71 4	
<u>1402</u>	Stratton James	DFBC	Baker	Kingston 71 3	
<u>1403</u>	Smith Joseph	0824	Painter	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1404</u>	Scouter Sydney	0825	Clerk	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1405</u>	Symons Thomas	0826	Butcher	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1406</u>	Sims Edmondson	0827	Waggonmaker	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1407</u>	Summers Thomas	0828	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1408</u>	Sommerset William	0128	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1409</u>	Sedly George	Deserted	Voyageur	Kingston 70 8	
<u>1410</u>	Simard Isidore	Deserted	Voyageur	Kingston 70 11	
<u>1411</u>	Stewart Robert	0829	Engineer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1412</u>	St. Pierre Moise	0830	Voyageur	Kingston 71 1	
<u>1413</u>	Saunders Alexander	0833	Labourer	Montreal 71 5	
<u>1414</u>	Sullivan John	0832	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1415</u>	Smith John	0831	-----	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1416</u>	Smith C.	0834	-----	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1417</u>	Spiers Robert	0835	Butcher	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1418</u>	Smith Albert	0836	None	-----	
<u>1419</u>	Symons Thomas	0837	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1420</u>	Sevigny Albert	0838	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1421</u>	Stuart Charles J.	0839	Shoemaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1422</u>	Scott Richard	0008	-----	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1423</u>	Sinclair William	0840	Sailor	Kingston 71 5	
1424	Saunders William Henry	1105	Painter	Winnipeg 72 9	
1425	Shepperd John	1106	Telegrapher	Winnipeg 72 10	
1426	Smith John	1005	Butcher	Winnipeg 72 10	
1427	Smith John	1006	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 10	
1428	Saunders John	1107	Leathercutter	Winnipeg 72 10	
1429	Stocky Thomas C.	U-DNFT	Grocer	Thunder -- -	
1430	Savage Sydney	Rec'd	Woodturner	Winnipeg 72 5	As substitute
1431	Sommerville Joseph H.	1138	Carpenter	Winnipeg 74 7	See #1480
1432	Simmons Thomas	1007	Sawmiller	Winnipeg 72 10	
1433	Simpson Robert	1008	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1434	Sherrington James	1108	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 72 9	
1435	Sauvé J-B. H.	1109	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 10	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1436	Sirois Théodule	1110	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 72 10	
1437	Smith Wm. P.	1009	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1438	Schneider William	0823	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 4	
1439	Scott William	1216	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1440	Seymour Frederick	1218	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1441	Seymour Francis	Deserted	Sailor	Winnipeg 74 2	
1442	Senior James	DNFT	-----	Winnipeg 73 9	
1443	Sheddon Thomas	1450	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1444	Shepperd Edward Charles	DNFT	Machinist	Winnipeg 73 5	
1445	Shepperd Arthur W.	1398	Photographer	Winnipeg 73 6	
1446	Simpson John	Deserted	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 12	
1447	Somerville Roger	Deserted	Upholsterer	Winnipeg 73 6	
1448	Sommerville George	1212	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
1449	Smith George	1399	Labourer	Toronto 73 7	
1450	Smith Osmond	1400	Baker	Toronto 73 7	
1451	Smith W. Thomas S.	1401	Painter	Toronto 73 7	
1452	Smith Jacob	1215	Baker	Winnipeg 74 11	
1453	Smith George	Deserted	Baker	----- 73 9	
1454	Smyth William	1217	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1455	Stanton Robert H.	1213	Farmer	Winnipeg 73 5	
1456	Stanton Charles	----	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
1457	Stephenson Thomas	Deserted	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 12	
1458	Stone Robert	1214	Brassfounder	Winnipeg 74 11	
1459	Stuart Alfred P.	Promoted	Salesman	Winnipeg 76 7	To Officer
1460	Swire Frederick	1449 1490	Med. Student	Winnipeg 75 9	
1461	St. George Odilon	RTJ	Navigator	-----	
1462	Seny Auguste	RTJ	Labourer	-----	
1463	Smith William	0770	Labourer	Winnipeg 73 5	
1464	Smith William	1481	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	
1465	Sprickley Morris George	1337	Roofer	Winnipeg 75 6	
1466	Sutherland Andrew	1336	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75 5	
1467	Smith James	1334	Boilermaker	Winnipeg 75 5	
1468	Sawyer George Arthur	1331	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 5	
1469	Sturney William	1402	Shoemaker	Toronto 73 11	
1470	Sirois Raymond	1332	Lumberer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1471	Smith Benjamin	1339	Farmer	Winnipeg 75 6	
1472	Sargent Thomas	1211	Bookbinder	Winnipeg 74 3	
1473	Sexsmith Millard Filmore	1338	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1474	Smith Orine	1340	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 75 6	
1475	Sullivan Thomas	1472	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 10	
1476	Smith Charles	----	-----	Winnipeg 73 5	
<u>1477</u>	Scott Thomas	0769 1133	Officer	Winnipeg 74 12	
<u>1478</u>	Smith William	0770	Officer	----- 71 7	
<u>1479</u>	Simard George	0771	Officer	----- 71 7	
1480	Sommerville Joseph H.	Rec'd	Officer	----- 74 7	Sub. Resigned
1481	Smith William Osborne	1132	Officer/Soldier	----- 77 8	
1482	Simard George	1147	Officer	----- 77 8	
1483	Street George	1243	Officer	----- 72 9	
1484	Stuart A.P.	1242	Officer	Winnipeg 74 7	
1485	Scarrow Irvine	1333	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 5	
1486	Stanfield Brererton	Rec'd	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9	As substitute
1487	Scott Robert	----	Boilermaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
1488	Scholes Adam	----	Grocer	Winnipeg 77 8	
1489	Sears William	DNFT	Painter	Winnipeg 76 7	
1490	Smith William	DNFT	Carpenter	Winnipeg 77 8	
1491	Straton Barry	----	Accountant	Winnipeg 77 8	
1492	Shaw Abner M.	DNFT	Teamster	Winnipeg 76 6	
1493	Smith John	DNFT	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 76 6	
<u>1494</u>	Tane Waldegrave	0038	Painter	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1495</u>	Terry Merrick T.	0842	Sailor	Toronto -- -	
<u>1496</u>	Thompson Joseph	0843	Labourer	Winnipeg 71 4	
<u>1497</u>	Thompson Henry	0844	Joiner	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1498</u>	Thompson Joseph	0845	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1499</u>	Turner Thomas	0850	Blacksmith	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1500</u>	Tweed Thomas	0849	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1501</u>	Thurston John	0851	Shipwright	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1502</u>	Thompson Duncan	0846 1014	Lumberman	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1503</u>	Tremblay Didin	0852	Farmer	Kingston 70 9	
<u>1504</u>	Taylor Baron	0853	Clerk	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1505</u>	Thom William P.	0854	Druggist	-----	
<u>1506</u>	Thomson Robert J.	0848	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 3	
<u>1507</u>	Thompson John	0847	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1508</u>	Trevor Thomas	0856	Clerk	-----	
<u>1509</u>	Taylor George	0857	Harnessmaker	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1510</u>	Taylor James	0858	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 71 2	
<u>1511</u>	Taylor Thomas	0859	Yeoman	Toronto 71 7	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1512</u>	Tenant Joseph Francis	0860	Blacksmith	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1513</u>	Thorne Jessie	0855	Cabinetmaker	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1514</u>	Transum Arthur	0861	Yeoman	Thunder 70 6	
<u>1515</u>	Tuson Roger	0862	Blacksmith	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1516</u>	Tuson Joseph	0863	Yeoman	Pembina 71 4	
<u>1517</u>	Tracy John	0864	Clerk	Winnipeg 74 11	
<u>1518</u>	Thursell Robert	0865	Groom	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1519</u>	Tarbath John	0013	Labourer	Kingston 71 5	
<u>1520</u>	Thomas John W.	0003 1455	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9	
<u>1521</u>	Terriault Amérid	0867	Clerk	-----	
<u>1522</u>	Thomas George	0868	Machinist	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1523</u>	Taylor Peter	0869	Lithographer	Montreal 70 12	
<u>1524</u>	Taylor George	0870	Lumberer	-----	
<u>1525</u>	Trevor James	0866	-----	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1526</u>	Tetteridge J. Mc.	0871	Weaver	Kingston 71 3	See # 1061
1527	Thom John	1011	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1528	Telford John Joseph	1111	Bookkeeper	Winnipeg 72 10	
1529	Turner Robert William	1112	Druggist	Winnipeg 72 9	
1530	Tweed Thomas	1120	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72 9	
1531	Thompson Duncan	1014	Lumberer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1532	Torrie Arthur	1010	Saddler	Winnipeg 72 10	
1533	Thompson George Temple	1012	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 10	
1534	Thompson Charles	1113	Musician	Winnipeg 72 9	
1535	Thibeault Amable T.	1114	Clerk	Winnipeg 72 9	
1536	Thompson Joshua	1356	None	Winnipeg 72 6	
1537	Turcotte Samuel	1115	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1538	Tait James	1116	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 72 10	
1539	Thom David	1013	Confectioner	Winnipeg 72 10	
1540	Thorne Edward	1117	Labourer	Winnipeg 72 10	
1541	Turnbull John	1118	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 9	
1542	Taylor Forrester	1119	Farmer	Winnipeg 72 9	
1543	Taylor Amos	1219	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1544	Terry William	1221	Confectioner	Winnipeg 74 11	
1545	Thompson Charles	1453	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1546	Thomas John W.	----	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1547	Thurston William	1403	Machinist	Toronto 73 7	
1548	Tickell William	1220	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1549	Timony Thomas	DFBC	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 4	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1550	Tomlinson Henry	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 73	5
1551	Turner Henry	1342	Tinsmith	Winnipeg 75	5
1552	Thériault Xavier	1341	Farmer	Winnipeg 75	6
1553	Tolford George	1404	Farmer	Toronto 73	11
1554	Tyrrell Edward	1343	Lumberer	Winnipeg 75	5
1555	Turner Issac James	1344	Blacksmith	Winnipeg 75	6
1556	Turner Harry	1473	Druggist	Winnipeg 75	10
1557	Thompson Alexander	Deserted	Puddler	Toronto 74	9
1558	Thom David	DNFT	Baker	Winnipeg 75	6
1559	Tritte John	1474	Clerk	Winnipeg 75	10
1560	Tétu Alphonse	0841	Officer	----- 71	7
1561	Taillefer Joseph	Resigned	Officer	----- 74	7 Resigned
1562	Taschereau J.E.M.	1239	Officer	----- 76	7
1563	Twining Charles R.F.	Dismissed	Officer	----- 74	9
1564	Tomlinson John	1454	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	9
1565	Tarbath William	1452	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75	9
1566	Trann John	DNFT	Painter	Winnipeg 76	6
1567	Terry Christopher	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 76	6
<u>1568</u>	Upham Clinton	0872	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	4
<u>1569</u>	Urquhart George	1140	Druggist	Winnipeg 72	4
<u>1570</u>	Vandervoort Albert	0875	Farmer	Winnipeg 70	11
<u>1571</u>	Volume W. S.	0876 1016	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>1572</u>	Vanmalden Thomas	0877	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1573</u>	Vidal Raymond E.	0878	Gentleman	Toronto 71	7
<u>1574</u>	Venn Edward	0130	Carpenter	Winnipeg 72	5
<u>1575</u>	Vicars Edward J. S.	0879	Clerk	Toronto 71	7
<u>1576</u>	Vaillancourt Francis	0880	Cooper	Toronto 70	6
<u>1577</u>	Virtue William	0002	Labourer	Kingston 71	5
<u>1578</u>	Voyer Napoléon	0881	Carriagemaker	Winnipeg 71	2
<u>1579</u>	Vocelle (Bellehuneur) L.	0882	Labourer	Toronto 71	7
<u>1580</u>	Vallièrè Ignace	0883	Farmer	Toronto 70	6
1581	Vincent Jean-Louis H.	1015	Bookbinder	Winnipeg 72	10
1582	Voght Frederick	1121	Hatter	Winnipeg 72	10
1583	Vallée George	1222	Joiner	Winnipeg 74	11
1584	Vaughan Edward	Deserted	Miner	Winnipeg 74	9
1585	Vigneau Gabriel	DFBC	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	1
1586	Vanderburg Hazard	1484	Carder	Winnipeg 75	9
1587	Vanwart Abraham J.	1345	Photographer	Winnipeg 75	6



#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1588	Votrow Edwin	1346	Labourer	Winnipeg 75	5
1589	Vaughan Josephus W.	0873	Officer	-----	71 7
1590	Villiers Francis	0874	Officer	Winnipeg	71 7
1591	Van Moerkerke Constantine	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg	75 9
1592	Wilkinson Charles	0886	Auctioneer	Winnipeg	71 4
1593	White William John	0888	Tinsmith	Winnipeg	71 3
1594	Walters Henry	0891	Carpenter	Kingston	71 5
1595	Wellington William	0893	Ins. Agent	Kingston	70 9
1596	Wetenhall Roonly James	0894	Farmer	Winnipeg	71 6
1597	Weddup Thomas	0895	Shoemaker	Winnipeg	71 4
1598	Whitelaw William R.	0896	Tinsmith	Winnipeg	71 4
1599	Whitla W.P.	0897	Farmer	Winnipeg	72 4
1600	Wilkinson John	0887	Carpenter	Winnipeg	71 4
1601	Woodlard George	0898	Painter	Winnipeg	71 3
1602	Ward James	0017	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
1603	Wilson Richard	0899	Labourer	Winnipeg	72 4
1604	Wood William Slocum	0900	Printer	Toronto	71 7
1605	Warren William Thomas	0901	Farmer	Winnipeg	72 4
1606	Webster Francis Dudley	0902	Shovelmaker	Toronto	71 7
1607	Webster Stephen M.	0903	Harnessmaker	Winnipeg	72 4
1608	Winters Wesley J.	0905	Lawyer	Winnipeg	72 5
1609	Wright Charles Edward M.	0906	Clerk	Pembina	71 4
1610	Williams William	0908	Cooper	Winnipeg	72 5
1611	White Amos	0889	Plumber	-----	
1612	Wright James	DFBC	Blacksmith	Montreal	70 12
1613	Wellond George Henry	0909	Carpenter	Winnipeg	71 2
1614	Widgery Henry Harwood	0910	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
1615	Wilson Thomas	0911	Sailor	Winnipeg	72 5
1616	Wilson William Warne	0912	Clerk	Toronto	71 7
1617	Wilton William Henry	0916	Painter	Toronto	71 7
1618	Witty (Whitby) John J.	0928 0917	Farmer	Winnipeg	72 5
1619	Walker Wellington F.	0918	Doctor	Winnipeg	71 3
1620	Walker Harry	0919 1456	Musician	Toronto	71 7
1621	Walters William Bowles	0892	Carpenter	Pembina	71 4
1622	Watson William John	0920 1241	Yeoman	Winnipeg	72 4
1623	White Charles Orford	0034	Carpenter	Winnipeg	71 4
1624	Whyte Robert	0890 1126	Yeoman	Toronto	71 7
1625	Wilson William	0913	Yeoman	Winnipeg	72 5

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
<u>1626</u>	Wilson John Forsyth	0914	Carpenter	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1627</u>	Wilson Charles	0915	Yeoman	Pembina 71	4
<u>1628</u>	Wishart Robert	0921	Mason	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1629</u>	Woods Robert James	0922	Law Clerk	Pembina 71	4
<u>1630</u>	Wright Alexander W.	0923	Woolworker	Toronto 71	7
<u>1631</u>	Wyatt John	0924	Farmer	Toronto 71	7
<u>1632</u>	Wild James	DFBC	Cottonworker	Kingston 71	3
<u>1633</u>	Wales William James	0925	Sailor	Kingston 71	5
<u>1634</u>	Whiteside Edward	0926	Jeweller	Kingston 71	5
<u>1635</u>	Wiley Hiram Ballard	0033	Sailor	Kingston 71	5
<u>1636</u>	Wright Frederick W.	0907	Clerk	Kingston 71	5
<u>1637</u>	Waite John	0927	Upholsterer	Winnipeg 71	6
<u>1638</u>	Woodall Charles	0132	Groom	Winnipeg 71	5
<u>1639</u>	Wilson John	0044	Clerk	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1640</u>	Webster George Wilson	0904	Banker	Winnipeg 71	3
<u>1641</u>	Ward James	0929	Labourer	-----	
<u>1642</u>	Williamson John (James)	0930	Butcher	Montreal 71	5
1643	Whyte Robert	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	9
1644	Wedge Issac	1017	Sailor	Winnipeg 72	10
1645	Wilson Thomas	1127	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	10
1646	Wilson Samuel	1018	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72	10
1647	Wellband William	1122	Bootmaker	Winnipeg 72	10
1648	Willoughby Peter	1019	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	10
1649	Wright A. Harland	1123	Gentleman	Winnipeg 72	10
1650	Walmsley David	1020	Fireman	Winnipeg 72	10
1651	Walsh Michael	1021	Labourer	Winnipeg 72	9
1652	Williamson Thomas	1232	Carriagemaker	Winnipeg 72	10
1653	Williamson John	1231	Butcher	Winnipeg 72	10
<u>1654</u>	Wheeler Smith	----	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	5 Time too short
1655	Whittaker Francis R.	1405	Farmer	Winnipeg 72	6
1656	Waldie Frank	Deserted	Engineer	Winnipeg 73	1
1657	Walker Allan	----	Printer	-----	
1658	Walkinton Robert George	1406	Clerk	Toronto 73	7
1659	Walkinton John H.	1407	Iron Monger	Winnipeg 74	9
1660	Ward George	Deserted	Sailor	----- 73	5
1661	Waters Richard	1408	Labourer	Toronto 73	11
1662	White Henry	1409	Felter	Toronto 73	7
1663	Willoughby George	1225	Labourer	Toronto 73	5

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1664	Willoughby William	DNFT	Cheesemaker	Toronto 73 5	
1665	Willoughby George	----	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	See # 1163
1666	Wilson William	1224	Painter	Toronto 73 11	
1667	Worthington Fred.	1457	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 9	
1668	Wright Nathaniel	1411	Farmer	Toronto 73 7	
1669	Willis Joseph Edwin	1223	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1670	Williamson Thomas	1124	Wheelwright	Winnipeg 73 5	
1671	Williamson John	1125	Butcher	Winnipeg 73 5	
1672	Wilson Daniel	1350	Surveyor	Winnipeg 75 6	
1673	Weeks James	1349	Printer	Winnipeg 75 5	
1674	Wallace Robert	1347	None	Winnipeg 75 5	
1675	Walker Samuel	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 8	
1676	Westell Joseph	1348	Carpenter	Winnipeg 75 5	
1677	Ward Harry	Deserted	Cooper	----- 73 7	
1678	Walker Joshua	1412	Labourer	Winnipeg 74 9	
1679	Winskell Henry George	1351	Plumber	Winnipeg 75 6	
1680	Wilson George	1353	Clerk	Winnipeg 75 6	
1681	Wilson William	1410	Dentist	Winnipeg 74 11	
1682	Wiley Hiram	Deserted	Sailor	Winnipeg 74 6	
1683	Wilkinson William	1352	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 6	
1684	Walsh William Patrick	1475	Cabinetmaker	Winnipeg 75 10	
1685	Wilson Henry	1476	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 10	
1686	Wilson James	1413	-----	Winnipeg 74 5	
<u>1687</u>	Walker David Marr	0885	Officer	Winnipeg 71 7	
1688	Williams Charles	DNFT	Labourer	Winnipeg 75 9	
1689	Williamson Robert	DNFT	Farmer	Winnipeg 76 6	
<u>1690</u>	Young David	0931	Farmer	Winnipeg 71 5	
<u>1691</u>	Young James	0932	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1692</u>	Young James A.	0933 1496	Labourer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1693</u>	Yates John	Deserted	Labourer	----- 71 4	
<u>1694</u>	Young George	0934	Farmer	Toronto 71 7	
<u>1695</u>	Yuill William	0936	Printer	Winnipeg 72 4	
<u>1696</u>	Young William Reid	0935	Clerk	Winnipeg 71 1	
<u>1697</u>	Youngson Chas. S.	1497	Lumberman	Winnipeg 70 10	Drowned
1698	Young Douglas	1022	Yeoman	Winnipeg 72 10	
1699	Young James	1128	Carpenter	Winnipeg 73 5	
1700	Yates Valentine	Deserted	Labourer	----- 73 6	
1701	Yvon Joseph	1493	Barber	Winnipeg 73 6	

#	NAME	BW	OCCUPATION	DISCHARGE	REMARKS
1702	Young William	1226	Farmer	Winnipeg 74 11	
1703	Young George Thomas	----	Shoemaker	Winnipeg 77 8	
<u>1704</u>	Zimmerman William	0938	Engine Driver	Winnipeg 71 4	

END

NOTE: The alphabetical order of the names reflect the manner in which they were recorded by the Militia Department in the 1870's.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIX

An "\*" indicates a piece of information for which conflicting or illegible information is available. The choice indicated is the best possible under the circumstances.

Name Name of individual according to the sources consulted.

BW Bounty Warrant Number issued. More than one number indicates two or more Warrants issued for different periods of service either as a re-enlistment or as a substitute. "DNFT" (Did not finish term) indicates that the individual did not finish serving out the term agreed upon and either supplied a substitute or not. "DFBC" (Dismissed for Bad Conduct) indicates "Discharged with Ignominy" or "Dismissed for Bad Conduct." Both mean that no Land Grant is allowed. "I-DNFT" (Invalidated-Did not finish term) indicates an "Invalidated" individual whose term was not finished through no fault of his own. "U-DNFT" (Unfit-Did not finish term) indicates a person declared "Unfit" who is usually responsible for the declaration appearing on his record. Many of these are due to alcohol related problems. "MU-DNFT" (Medically Unfit-Did not finish term) indicates an individual discharged as medically unfit who is responsible for the discharge. "----" indicates an entry for which no official reason is given why a Land grant was not made or recorded. "RTJ" (Refused to Join) indicates that this individual agreed to sign up and when faced with his attestation papers either was not present or refused to sign. Attestation Papers indicate the length and terms of service.

Occupation

The following abbreviations are used under the heading; "Med. Student" for Medical Student; "Furniture Fin." for Furniture Finisher; "Furniture Pol." for Furniture Polisher; "Emmigr. Ag." for Emigration Agent; "Ins. Agent" for Insurance Agent; "None" for when the individual listed no occupation; "-----" for when no information whatsoever is listed; "Officer" for cases where the individual is an Officer and no

other information is provided.

#### Discharge

The following abbreviations are used here; "Thunder" for "Thunder Bay;" "Pr.Arthur" for "Prince Arthur's Landing;" "Colling." for "Collingwood;" "Ft.Fran." for Fort Francis;" "Sault St." for "Sault Ste. Marie;" "Sub." for "Substitute." "Prom." stands for "Promoted;" Also "-----" indicates that no information was provided in the record for the individual.

#### NOTE:

The following are Bounty Warrant Numbers for which there are no known members of the Force serving in Manitoba listed on the Official "List of Men Enroled." Ross or Rose, Louis # 0766; Guillet, George # 1137; Burland, G.B. # 1414; There is also the possibility that there are two Butterworth John's listed. The second one has BW # 0124; Bond, George Dale # 1360. Robert Mulholland BW # 1588 does not appear on any other list except the Bounty Warrant Record and there is no other information provided as to the Battalion or date and length of service.

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PAC, RG9, II A4, Adjutant General's Office, Subject Files; Volume 18, Land Grants, Red River Force, 1872-1876, Bounty Warrants #'s 1-1500. All grants are for 160 acres.

PAC, RG15, D II, 9C, Dominion Lands Records, Aperture Card Book # 43, Military Bounty Grant Register, First Expedition, 1870.

APPENDIX IV

ASSIGNEES FOR BOUNTY WARRANTS

RED RIVER EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1870

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
01	James F. Feilde	Toronto, Ontario	48
02	George Stephen	Montreal, Quebec	44
03	Dufresne and McGarrity	Montreal, Quebec	32
04	Alexander McMicken	Winnipeg, Manitoba	28
05	Arthur McMahan	Montreal, Quebec	20
06	Charles T. Hurrell	Toronto, Ontario	19
07	Arthur H. Griesbach (RREF)	Kingston, Ontario	17
08	Henry J.H. Clarke (Att. Gen.)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	17
09	Albert Monkman	Toronto, Ontario	16
10	George Alexander	Toronto, Ontario	16
11	John S. Aikens	Toronto, Ontario	15
12	A.J. Cattanach	Toronto, Ontario	15
13	Henry Torrance	Quebec City, Quebec	15
14	John H. Beatty	Toronto, Ontario	14
15	George Barry	Toronto, Ontario	14
16	Joseph Palliser (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	14
17	Alexander McDonald (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	14
18	John C.F. Cochrane	Brockville, Ontario	14
19	Kenneth McKenzie	Burnside, Manitoba	11
20	Samuel E. West	Winnipeg, Manitoba	11
21	George B. Spencer (Coll.Cust.)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	11
22	John F. Bain	Winnipeg, Manitoba	10
23	Archibald Young	Toronto, Ontario	10
24	William N. Kennedy (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	9
25	Hon. Alfred Boyd	Winnipeg, Manitoba	9
26	Richard W. Barrow	Kingston, Ontario	9
27	Arthur Harvey	Toronto, Ontario	9
28	Duncan MacArthur	Winnipeg, Manitoba	8
29	A.G.B. Bannatyne	Winnipeg, Manitoba	8
30	William Robert Dick	Winnipeg, Manitoba	8
31	William Hespeller	Winnipeg, Manitoba	8
32	Gilbert McMicken (Dom. Lands)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	8
33	Mary H. Herchmer (Wife of LW)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	7
34	William H. Emery	Chicago, USA	7
35	Thomas B. Robinson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	7
36	Hugh Grant	Winnipeg, Manitoba	7
37	James Penrose	Winnipeg, Manitoba	7
38	Patrick G. Close	Toronto, Ontario	7
39	Allister M. Clark	Toronto, Ontario	7
40	John L. Blaikie	Toronto, Ontario	6
41	George Amer	Owen Sound, Ontario	6
42	John C. Kirkpatrick	Toronto, Ontario	6
43	Richard H. Kirkpatrick	Goderich, Ontario	6
44	Thomas B. Robertson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	6
45	Anne Theresa McMicken (Gilbert)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	6
46	John Ginty	Toronto, Ontario	6

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
47	Horace Thorne	Toronto, Ontario	6
48	Joseph Davidson	Toronto, Ontario	6
49	Robert W. Prittie	Toronto, Ontario	6
50	Donald N. Milloy Wharfinger	Toronto, Ontario	6
51	Alexander McDonald Brown	Winnipeg, Manitoba	6
52	Ezra Bray	Halton, Ontario	6
53	John Bowman	Almira, Ontario	6
54	Robert Simpson (RREF)	Toronto, Ontario	6
55	Alfred W. Burrows	Winnipeg, Manitoba	5
56	David Thompson	Indiana, Ontario	5
57	Donald Robertson	Queenston, Ontario	5
58	Alfred Hoskin	Toronto, Ontario	5
59	Edward U. Sayers	Cayuga, Ontario	5
60	Philip Beaupré	Winnipeg, Manitoba	5
61	Vernon B. Wadsworth	Toronto, Ontario	5
62	George F. Duggan	Toronto, Ontario	5
63	James B. Davis	Toronto, Ontario	5
64	Nicol Milloy	Winnipeg, Manitoba	5
65	Charles Mair	Portage la Pr., Man	5
66	Edwin Comber	Winnipeg, Manitoba	5
67	John White	Halton, Ontario	5
68	Nathaniel Higginbotham	Guelph, Ontario	5
69	Tullins H. O'Neil(HK)	Toronto, Ontario	5
70	William F. Powell (Sheriff)	Carlton, Ontario	5
71	Andrew McBride	Elora, Ontario	5
72	Andrew Riddell	Scotland	5
73	Samuel Westman (HK)	Toronto, Ontario	5
74	Alexander Thomas Chisholm	Toronto, Ontario	5
75	James McKay (Hon.)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
76	William S. Finch	Toronto, Ontario	4
77	Richard A. Bradley	Wawa, Ontario	4
78	James S. Millar	Montreal, Quebec	4
79	Orlando P. Jackson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
80	Henry T. Champion(RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
81	Wilken B. Butler	Toronto, Ontario	4
82	William Laing (RREF)	Ste. Anne, Manitoba	4
83	Robert J. Woods (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
84	Smith P. Logie	Ingersoll, Ontario	4
85	Denis Brady	Montreal, Quebec	4
86	John Holmes	Huntley, Quebec	4
87	Frank Jackman	Toronto, Ontario	4
88	John Scott	Kildonan, Manitoba	4
89	Rev. James Robertson	-----	4
90	Thomas Murray	Toronto, Ontario	4
91	James A. Grant MD	Ottawa, Ontario	4
92	Samuel J. Jackson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
93	James Cowan MD	Portage la Pr., Man.	4
94	George A. Brouse	Dundas, Ontario	4
95	Donald Lorne McDougall	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
96	William Smith (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
97	Hugh Kelly (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
98	Andrew E. Wilson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
99	Alexander McIntyre	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
100	Samuel S. McDonnell	Toronto, Ontario	4
101	Francis Evans Cornish (Mayor)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	4
102	John B. Laing	London, Ontario	3
103	Beniah S. Prior	Toronto, Ontario	3
104	Robert Beatty	Toronto, Ontario	3
105	Charles McMichael	Toronto, Ontario	3
106	Thomas McGarrity	Ottawa, Ontario	3
107	John W. Harris	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
108	Rusk Harris	Toronto, Ontario	3
109	Frederick Turner Bradley	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
110	Hon. Alex. Morris (Lt. Gov.)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
111	John Allan (RREF)	Montreal, Quebec	3
112	James Henry Morris	Toronto, Ontario	3
113	John Francis Grant	Selkirk, Manitoba	3
114	James Malcolm Fraser	Elora, Ontario	3
115	Alexander D. Irish	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
116	James Philip Gildersleeve	Kingston, Ontario	3
117	John Allen Orchard	Drummondville, Ontario	3
118	Walton F. Hyman	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
119	Edward Fidler (RREF)	Kingston, Ontario	3
120	Lyster Hayward	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
121	William Palmer Clark	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
122	George Winks	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
123	James Moffatt	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
124	Washington Frank Lynn	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
125	David Kilgour	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
126	George Henry Stephenson	Saskatchewan	3
127	Alexander Murray	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
128	Wm. Richardson (HK)	Toronto, Ontario	3
129	Sheldon Shoemaker	Montreal, Quebec	3
130	Donald & Catherine Milloy	Ontario	3
131	Donald A. McDonald	Ottawa, Ontario	3
132	Duncan Campbell	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
133	George Rowcliff	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
134	Josiah Jones Bell	Goderich, Ontario	3
135	George Gilbert Crompton	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
136	Joseph Lodge	Toronto, Ontario	3
137	P. Burns and Company	Calgary, Alberta	3
138	John J. Mellon	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
139	Henrietta Amelia Hooper	Napanee, Ontario	3
140	Samuel L. Bedson (Warden, RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
141	Josiah Adams	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
142	Peter Reid Robertson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	3
143	Adam Oliver	Ingersoll, Ontario	2
144	David Young (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
145	Edward Ellis (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
146	Alexander Kennedy	Burnside, Manitoba	2
147	Lachlan Kennedy (Dom. Lands)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
148	Onis Monchamps (HK)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
149	James Warren	Acton, Ontario	2
150	John Thompson (RREF)	Ottawa, Ontario	2



#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
151	Dickson Anderson	Montreal, Quebec	2
152	John James Bew	Quebec City, Quebec	2
153	William McDonald (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
154	William Tait	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
155	Thomas William Boddy	Marquette, Manitoba	2
156	Rev. George Clark	-----	2
157	Zachariah Wilson (Coll. Cust.)	Ottawa, Ontario	2
158	Eliza Holmes	New Zealand, Ontario	2
159	John G. Blewett	Edmonton, Alberta	2
160	Basil Blewett	Edmonton, Alberta	2
161	Harriet Jemima Burrows	Ottawa, Ontario	2
162	Frederick McKenzie	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
163	Moses Henry Aikens MD	Manitoba	2
164	William Beatty	Simcoe, Ontario	2
165	Archelanus Willis	Markham, Ontario	2
166	Daniel F. Horner	Ontario	2
167	Thomas Joseph Jones (Dentist)	St. Catherine's, Ont.	2
168	Columbus H. Green	Ontario	2
169	Benjamin W. Clarke	-----	2
170	Joseph Ryan	Portage la Pr., Man.	2
171	Major Donald R. Cameron	Toronto, Ontario	2
172	Thomas Howard (RREF,MLA)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
173	S.A. MacPherson	Toronto, Ontario	2
174	Thomas Johnston Montgomery	Toronto, Ontario	2
175	Samuel P. Jarvis (RREF)	Kingston, Ontario	2
176	Hugh McEwen	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
177	Henry DeBeaumont Randolph	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
178	Robert Green	Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan	2
179	Sedley Blanchard	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
180	Maxwell Lauterman MD	Montreal, Quebec	2
181	John Lauder(RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
182	John A. Kenny	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
183	Félix Chénier (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
184	Edward C. Malloch MD	Ottawa, Ontario	2
185	George Malloch	Ottawa, Ontario	2
186	Arthur T.H. Williams	Port Hope, Ontario	2
187	Edmund J.H. Burton (RREF)	Port Hope, Ontario	2
188	Robert A. Davis	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
189	William Anderson	Toronto, Ontario	2
190	Charles Arthur	Prince Edward Island	2
191	William Grant	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
192	George Brown	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
193	William F. Buchanan (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
194	Andrew J. McCord	Toronto, Ontario	2
195	Edward Adolphus Heiffer (HK)	Quebec City, Quebec	2
196	Charles L. Fellows	Ottawa, Ontario	2
197	Moffatt Caldwell	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
198	James D. Warde	Toronto, Ontario	2
199	Herbert Swinford (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
200	Charles Stewart	Boyne Settlement, Man.	2
201	Robert Ralston	Hamilton, Ontario	2
202	Roderick Courneen	Toronto, Ontario	2

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
203	William Gay	Elora, Ontario	2
204	Joseph A. Little	Portage la Pr., Man.	2
205	Alexander Crawford	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
206	James Blythe	Chatham, Ontario	2
207	Daniel H. McMillan (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
208	Issac Simpson	Kingston, Ontario	2
209	William N. Turner MD	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
210	John Chapman	Hespeler, Ontario	2
211	John Lee	London, Ontario	2
212	Michael Lynch	Fort Garry, Manitoba	2
213	Christopher Bosomworth	Pilkington, Ontario	2
214	Molyneux St. John(RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
215	Timothy Kavanagh	Ottawa, Ontario	2
216	Walter A. Piers	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
217	John D. Parr	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
218	Thomas Huddlestone	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
219	Jesse Carl Biggs	Edmonton, Alberta	2
220	Donald Ferguson	White Mud, Manitoba	2
221	James Stapleton	Montreal, Quebec	2
222	William McLane	Rockwood, Manitoba	2
223	Walter Davison (HK)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
224	Gertrude Servos	Grantham, Ontario	2
225	John Fraser Caldwell	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
226	Thomas Morrison	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
227	Wm. Ward Banning	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
228	James Trow Sr.	Perth, Ontario	2
229	Edward Armstrong(Sherrif,RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
230	James H. Rowan	Winnipeg, Manitoba	2
231	Alexander R. Stephen	Collingwood, Ontario	2

NOTE: "RREF" stands for Red River Expeditionary Force.  
"Coll. Cust." = Collector of Customs.  
"Att. Gen." = Attorney General.  
"Lt. Gov." = Lieutenant-Governor.  
"HK" = Hotelkeeper.  
"MD" = Medical Doctor.  
"Dom. Lands" = Dominion Lands Office employee.  
"-----" indicates unknown location.

The following assignees hold just one assignment apiece. The individuals (from #232 to #265) are listed as examples.

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
232	John Robb	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
233	George Guillet (RREF)	Cobourg, Ontario	1
234	Peter Campbell (RREF)	Boyne River, Manitoba	1
235	John Taylor	Headingley, Manitoba	1
236	James Stewart	High Bluff, Manitoba	1
237	Hugh Ralston	High Bluff, Manitoba	1

#	NAME	RESIDENCE	#BW'S
238	The Forman Family	Scotland	1
239	Adelaide Warner	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
240	Burns Foundation	Edmonton, Alberta	1
241	Rev. William Clarkson	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
242	Bridget Diamond(Boarding House)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
243	Lawrence W. Herchmer (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
244	Alloway and Champion's Bank	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
245	Mary Anne Kennedy (W.N. wife)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
246	William Henry Lyon	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
247	Donald Campbell (RREF)	Boyne River, Manitoba	1
248	Acheson G. Irvine (NWMP,RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
249	George Putnam	Chinook, Montana, USA	1
250	Edwin Doidge	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
251	E. L. Barber	Point Douglas, Manitoba	1
252	James S. Wheeler	Dakota, USA	1
253	George Newcomb (Mapleton)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
254	George Rolph (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
256	George Sexsmith (RREF)	Boyne River, Manitoba	1
257	B. Thibeau	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
258	W.H. Fowler	New Hampshire, USA	1
259	Merchant's Bank, A. Macarthur	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
260	Joseph A.N. Provencher	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
261	Rev. George Dugast	St. Boniface, Manitoba	1
262	George Ritchie	Albany, New York, USA	1
263	Thomas Scott (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
264	Roger Tuson(RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1
265	Adam J.L. Peebles (RREF)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1

The balance of the assignees are not listed by name herein and hold only one assignment apiece. They total 358 single assignees, which, with the 265 already listed gives an aggregate of 623 assignees.

The latter non-listed assignees (# 266-623) break down according to the following categories;

From	Toronto, Ontario	54
From	Ottawa, Ontario	12
From	Kingston, Ontario	8
From	London, Ontario	3
From	Ontario	66
From	Montreal, Quebec	8
From	Quebec City	7
From	Winnipeg, Manitoba	114
From	Boyne River, Manitoba	3
From	Manitoba	27
From	Saskatchewan	10

From	Alberta	15
From	United States	4
From	Scotland	2
From	Unknown Locations	25
<hr/>		
TOTAL UNLISTED		358
TOTAL LISTED #'s 1-265		265
<hr/>		
GRAND TOTAL		623

Overall the following statistics are evident:

Women	10
French Persons	7
Hotel Keepers	7
RREF Members	38

Balance: Farmers, Businessmen, Lawyers, Merchants. All of whom are individuals not directly connected to the RREF.

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