

**ROSEAU RIVER ANISHINABE FIRST  
NATION – PROVISION OF BENEFITS  
UNDER TREATY 1**



**HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
AND ANALYSIS**

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for  
ROSEAU RIVER ANISHINABE FIRST NATION**

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## ROSEAU RIVER ANISHINABE FIRST NATION – PROVISION OF BENEFITS UNDER TREATY 1

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## **Introduction and Overview**

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Under the written terms of Treaty 1, the Crown promised to provide various monetary and other benefits to those adhering to treaty. These benefits included reserves, a present of three dollars for each person belonging to the signatory bands, the maintenance of a school on each reserve, and an annual payment of three dollars to each person (paid in articles or cash). Many of the promises made to the signatory bands during the negotiations for Treaties 1 and 2 were not included in the written text of the treaties, and by Order in Council P.C. 424, dated April 30, 1875, a memorandum of “Outside Promises” was appended to the treaty. The contents of this memorandum laid out additional benefits to be provided to the signatory bands under Treaties 1 and 2, including triennial clothing for Chiefs and Councillors; a buggy for each Chief; livestock, pigs, and other farm animals; and a plough and harrow for each settler cultivating the ground. The Order in Council settling the “Outside Promises” also raised the annual payment (annuity) to \$5 per person.

The Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation<sup>1</sup> was a signatory to Treaty 1 and entitled to the aforementioned benefits. At the time of treaty, and up to 1887, the three factions of the Roseau River Band under Chiefs Na-na-wa-nan, Ke-we-tay-ash, and Wa-ko-wush were collectively known as the Pembina Bands, as they resided between Pembina and Fort Garry. This report presents information uncovered in our attempts to document what the Roseau River First Nation received in terms of benefits under Treaty 1.<sup>2</sup>

Section 1 provides a brief history of the Treaty 1 negotiations and signing, and the issue of the “Outside Promises.” Section 2 discusses the survey and establishment of IR 2 for the Roseau River First Nation, as well as the establishment of the Roseau Rapids portion of the Band on IR 2A. Section 3 provides a summary of early agricultural activity on the reserves. Section 4 discusses the provision of various treaty benefits to the Roseau River First Nation, including agricultural implements and tools, buggies and wagons, livestock and farm animals, a school, and triennial clothing. Some additional information is provided on benefits not set out in the written text of Treaty 1 or the “Outside Promises,” where relevant.

Records on the early distribution of agricultural benefits and provisions are sometimes incomplete and often reported only at the level of the treaty area or Indian agency, and at times it is difficult to determine exactly what quantity, if any, was received by a particular band. This

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<sup>1</sup> For the sake of consistency, this report will refer to the Roseau River First Nation and the Pembina Band(s)—as the various groups which comprised the Roseau River First Nation were often referred to in departmental correspondence until the mid-1880s—unless quoting directly from a historical document. The Fort Garry Band, under Chief Na-sha-ke-penais, was also originally to receive a reserve along the Roseau River, but subsequently decided to relocate to Broken Head River. See Ronald C. Maguire, “An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty (Treaty One, 1871)” (Ottawa: Research Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1980), p. 25 [Doc. 381].

<sup>2</sup> Note: The monetary provisions of Treaty 1—i.e., annuities, gratuities, and augmented payments (salaries) for Chiefs—will be dealt with in a separate report.

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problem is exacerbated by the Roseau River First Nation's division into four (then three) separate groups at the time of treaty.

Following Section 4 is a "Summary of Findings" which outlines the findings of the research in table form for ease of reference. Note, however, that the aforementioned limitations of much of the available records (i.e., only available at agency level or treaty level, combined statistics for the Pembina Bands), make it difficult to discern whether some of the treaty benefits were provided to the Roseau River First Nation. Only the benefits included in the written text of Treaty 1 and the memorandum of "Outside Promises" are listed in this table.

Appendix A provides population figures for the Roseau River First Nation for the period 1871–2000.

Appendix B contains a table listing the various treaty benefits discussed with or claimed by the Roseau River First Nation from 1871 to 1875, and whether the benefit was recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs.

## **1. The Making of Treaty 1**

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### **a) Prelude to Treaty 1**

In anticipation of the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to the Canadian government, surveyors had begun preliminary work in Assiniboia, and plans to open up a road for emigrants between Lake Superior and Red River were well known. According to Ronald Maguire, Deputy Chief of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' Treaties and Historical Research Centre, "the Indians<sup>3</sup> were justifiably worried that their campsites would be destroyed, trails ploughed up and game driven away."<sup>4</sup>

Evidence indicates that a treaty was contemplated as early as the spring of 1870, when S. J. Dawson indicated to Under Secretary of State E. A. Meredith that negotiations should be entered into with the Indians in the summer of 1871. In the meantime, newly appointed Agent R. J. N. Pither was instructed to ascertain what was desired on the part of the Indians, and told to impress upon the Chiefs "that they will be liberally and fairly dealt with as the Indians ever have been within British territory."<sup>5</sup>

On July 15, 1870, the old District of Assiniboia, "enlarged by the settlement at Portage la Prairie" became the new Province of Manitoba. According to Ronald Maguire, the instructions to the new Lieutenant Governor, Adams G. Archibald, demonstrated the Dominion government's intentions to extinguish the Indian title in the North-West:

1. You will, with as little delay as possible, open communication with the Indian Bands occupying the country lying between Lake Superior and the Province of Manitoba, with a view to the establishment of such friendly relations as may make the route from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry secure at all seasons of the year, and facilitate the settlement of such portion of the country as it may be practicable to improve.  
...<sup>6</sup>

Archibald immediately met with two large Indian delegations, one headed by Chief Henry Prince at the mouth of the Red River, the other at Fort Garry. He provided them with food and ammunition and promised to sign a treaty with them the following spring. He also asked Molyneaux St. John to report "on the whole question of land titles in the Province, Indian claims, and the Selkirk Grant."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The terms "Indians" and "Indian Bands" are used throughout this report as that is the terminology used in the historical documents which form the basis of this report.

<sup>4</sup> Maguire, "An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty," 1980, pp. 3-4 [Doc. 381].

<sup>5</sup> S. J. Dawson to R. J. N. Pither, Fort William Lake Superior, January 6, 1870 [Doc. 1]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5337.

<sup>6</sup> Maguire, "An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty," 1980, p. 9 [Doc. 381].

<sup>7</sup> Maguire, "An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty," 1980, p. 9 [Doc. 381].

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St. John's preliminary report regarding "the extent of land occupied and claimed, and the existence of any circumstances calculated to facilitate or embarrass the government of Canada in the disposition of the unsettled lands,"<sup>8</sup> was submitted to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in January of 1871. The 21-page report details the contestations regarding the land that had been ceded to the Hudson's Bay Company. Among those he noted were that the Indians alleged that the land had not been granted in perpetuity,<sup>9</sup> and that the Salteaux had not been in possession of the land at the time of Selkirk's arrival and had no right to part with any of it.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, St. John asserted that it did not appear that any "serious protest"<sup>11</sup> had been made regarding the occupation. Despite this, a number of settlers were reported to have staked out claims in parts of the country in which Indian title had not yet been extinguished.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, though the bulk of the report focused on Half-Breed and white settler claims, St. John closed his letter by noting that disputes had already arisen between the Indians and settlers, particularly around the matter of cutting timber: "The Indians allege that they had not received any consideration for the country and that until they have been indemnified for their lands the settlers will not be permitted to fell timber." If a treaty was not signed, the dispute would only worsen, he concluded.<sup>13</sup>

In the spring of 1871, the Indians in Manitoba immediately began pressing Lieutenant Governor Archibald for the promised treaty. They prevented settlers from proceeding beyond the HBC surveys and presented Archibald with a statement of resolutions outlining fines they would exact for intrusions. By an Order in Council dated April 17, 1871, Wemyss M. Simpson was appointed Indian Commissioner to negotiate a treaty with "the bands inhabiting the tract between Thunder Bay and the Stone Fort."<sup>14</sup> Simpson, who had familial relations in the HBC, had been employed at a number of HBC forts throughout the west.<sup>15</sup> On April 25<sup>th</sup>, another Order in Council was passed which appointed Robert Pither and S. J. Dawson to assist Simpson in dealing with the approximately 2,500 Saulteaux and Ojibwe Indians occupying the country "from the water shed of Lake Superior to the North West Angle of the Lake of the Woods and from the American border to the height of land from which the streams flow towards Hudson's

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<sup>8</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, p. 1 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>9</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, pp. 2-3 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>10</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, p. 3 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>11</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, p. 4 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>12</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, p. 7 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>13</sup> Molyneux St. John to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 3, 1871, pp. 19-20 [Doc. 3]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5537.

<sup>14</sup> Sheldon Krasowski, *No Surrender: The Land Remains Indigenous* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2019), p. 40 [Doc. 437].

<sup>15</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, p. 42 [Doc. 437].

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Bay.”<sup>16</sup> Pither was also formerly employed by the HBC until he was appointed as an Indian Agent;<sup>17</sup> of the three, Dawson had the most experience with the Anishinabe communities due to his experience with Public Works, where he had begun working in 1851.<sup>18</sup> On May 9<sup>th</sup>, Secretary of State Joseph Howe wrote to Archibald regarding the instructions given to Simpson, Dawson, and Pither as Indian Commissioners. The letters that Howe enclosed were intended to familiarize Archibald with the scope, power, and duties of the Commissioners, including with respect to Archibald as Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.<sup>19</sup>

In July, Indian Commissioner Wemyss Simpson and James McKay, a former HBC trader, met with Archibald and agreed upon a course of action to procure the extinguishment of the Indian title to all the lands in Manitoba.<sup>20</sup>

***b) Negotiation of Treaty 1***

A Proclamation was issued to the “Indians of Pembina, of Roseau Lake, of White Mouth Lake and White Mouth River, and of the south shore of Lake Winnipeg, and the Indians of Portage La Prairie and White Mud River, and Bak [*sic* – Oak] Point, Manitoba, and all other Indians living within the limits of the Province of Manitoba” to meet with the treaty commissioners at the Stone Fort (aka Lower Fort Garry, a Hudson’s Bay Company post) on Tuesday, July 25, 1871.<sup>21</sup> The commission consisted of Lieutenant Governor Archibald, Wemyss Simpson, and James McKay, a former HBC fur trader fluent in Cree and Saukteaux. Reverend Henry Cochrane, an ordained priest of Cree descent who worked for both the Church Missionary Society and the Department of Indian Affairs, was the interpreter.<sup>22</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Archibald and Wemyss Simpson arrived at the Stone Fort on July 24, 1871, but, as the Indians had not yet all arrived, the negotiations were postponed by two days, and began on Thursday, July 27, 1871, with about 1,000 “Indians from all the sections of the country to which the invitation extended” present, as well as a “considerable body of half-breeds and

<sup>16</sup> Order in Council P.C. 1871-0873, April 25, 1871 [Doc. 4]. LAC RG 2 Series A-1-a Order-in-Council 1871-0873 Reel C-3297.

<sup>17</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, p. 42 [Doc. 437]. For a letter regarding the appointment of Pither as Indian Agent at Fort Frances, see: S. J. Dawson to E. A. Meredith, Under Secretary of State, Fort William Lake Superior, January 6, 1870 [Doc. 1]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5337. In this letter, Dawson states, “Your long residence among and intimate acquaintance with the Indians of Lac la Pluie and the Lake of the Woods, will enable you to judge of the proper manner of dealing with them and securing their good will better than any instructions which I could give.”

<sup>18</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, p. 43 [Doc. 437].

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, to A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor, May 9, 1871 [Doc. 5]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5538.

<sup>20</sup> Maguire, “An Historical Reference Guide to the Stone Fort Treaty,” 1980, p. 12 [Doc. 381].

<sup>21</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson, Proclamation, July 18, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 12 [Doc. 7].

<sup>22</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, pp. 55 and 57 [Doc. 437].



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other inhabitants of the country.”<sup>23</sup> Lieutenant Governor Archibald reported that the first step was to have the Indians select Chiefs and spokesmen, which they presented on the Friday morning. Wa-sus-koo-koon (Rat Liver) was chosen as the spokesman for Chiefs Qu-a-ty-ash (Driven Round by the Wind), Na-na-wyn-an (Centre of Bird’s Tail), and Wa-ko-wish (who claimed to represent “half of the Rosseaux River Indians”); these three Chiefs represented 600 people, of whom 125 were present at the negotiations.<sup>24</sup> The spokesmen initially stated that there was “a cloud before them” and they did not wish to commence the proceedings until it was dispersed. This referred to the imprisonment of four Swampy Cree Indians, who had been convicted of a breach of contract with the Hudson’s Bay Company. The Lieutenant Governor ordered the release of these prisoners “and the sky became clear.”<sup>25</sup>

The Lieutenant Governor and Commissioner Simpson assured the Indians that they could continue to use their traditional territories for hunting, trapping, fishing, and harvesting, and that they would not be confined to reserves, leaving it to the bands to decide when and if to live on reserves and to begin farming.<sup>26</sup> Lieutenant Archibald recommended, on the Queen’s behalf, that the bands adopt agriculture, but emphasized that they would not be compelled to do so:

But the Queen, though she may think it good for you to adopt civilized habits, has no idea of compelling you to do so. This she leaves to your own choice, and you need not live like the white man unless you can be persuaded to do so with your own free will.<sup>27</sup>

On Saturday, July 29, Lieutenant Governor Archibald reported, “the Indians were invited to state their wishes as to the reserves, they were to say how much they thought would be sufficient, and whether they wished them all in one or in several places.”<sup>28</sup> The Government’s views on this matter were “imperfectly apprehended,” with the assembled bands requesting about two-thirds of the province as a reserve. Archibald and Commissioner Simpson spent the day explaining the meaning and intention of reserves, stating that the commissioners proposed to

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<sup>23</sup> Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, July 29, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 14 [Doc. 8].

<sup>24</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, p. 61 [Doc. 437].

<sup>25</sup> Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including the Negotiations on which they were based, and other information relating thereto* (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co., 1880), p. 31 [Doc. 143]. Aimée Craft provides a more in-depth discussion of this event in the treaty negotiations, noting that the release of the prisoners, while seen by Governor Archibald as a favour, demonstrated “respect for the Anishinabe treaty negotiators and ... a recognition of Anishinabe jurisdiction over their own people.” Aimée Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty: An Anishinabe Understanding of Treaty One* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2013), pp. 75-76 [Doc. 436].

<sup>26</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 2013, p. 51 [Doc. 436].

<sup>27</sup> “Memorandum of an Address to the Indians by the Lieut.-Governor Manitoba,” July 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 16 [Doc. 6].

<sup>28</sup> Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 1880, p. 34 [Doc. 143].

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allow them 160 acres for each family of five, or in that proportion.<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant Governor Archibald had stated in his opening address to the Indians:

These reserves will be large enough, but you must not expect them to be larger than will be enough to give a farm to each family, where farms shall be required. They will enable you to earn a living should the chase fail, and should you choose to get your living by tilling, you must not expect to have included in your reserve more of hay grounds than will be reasonably sufficient for your purposes in case you adopt the habits of farmer.<sup>30</sup>

On Monday, July 31, the fifth day of the proceedings, Wa-sus-koo-koon inquired what would happen if a family increased in size after settling on the reserve:

I understand thoroughly that every 20 people get a mile square, but if an Indian with a family of five, settles down, he may have more children. Where is their land?<sup>31</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Archibald responded:

Whenever his children get more numerous than they are now, they will be provided for further West. Whenever the reserves are found too small the Government will sell the land, and give the Indians land elsewhere.<sup>32</sup>

The treaty negotiations lasted eight days, with continued uncertainty on the land issue, and reports of "extravagant demands" by the Chiefs. Chief Wa-sus-koo-koon, speaking on behalf of Henry Prince, Grand Oreilles, and Kasias, detailed a list of wants, including clothes for the children in the spring and fall, furnished houses, ploughs, cattle, farm implements, buggies for the Chiefs, hunting supplies, and freedom from taxation.<sup>33</sup> According to *The Manitoban's* report on the negotiations, the Commissioner responded to these requests by joking that he would

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<sup>29</sup> Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, July 29, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]*, p. 14 [Doc. 8].

<sup>30</sup> "Memorandum of an Address to the Indians by the Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba," July 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]*, p. 17 [Doc. 6].

<sup>31</sup> See *The Manitoban's* reports on the treaty proceedings, reproduced in D. J. Hall, "'A Serene Atmosphere'? Treaty 1 Revisited," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 4, 2 (1984), p. 352 [Doc. 391].

<sup>32</sup> See *The Manitoban's* reports on the treaty proceedings, reproduced in Hall, "'A Serene Atmosphere'? Treaty 1 Revisited," 1984, p. 352 [Doc. 391]. Hall refers to this as an "extraordinary promise," and states that "the remark suggests the notion that the reserve settlement in the treaties was not necessarily final and unchangeable." See p. 326.

<sup>33</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 2013, p. 59 [Doc. 436].

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rather be an Indian if those were the terms agreed to. Aimée Craft notes that, while his comments were met with laughter, there is no indication that he refused the demands.<sup>34</sup>

*c) Signing of Treaty 1*

Treaty 1 was concluded on August 3, 1871, with the Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes represented by Mis-koo-ke-new, or Red Eagle (Henry Prince); Ka-ke-ka-penais, or Bird for ever (William Pennefather); Na-sha-ke-penais, or Flying down Bird; Na-na-wa-nanan, or Centre of Bird's Tail; Ke-we-tay-ash, or Flying Round; Wa-ko-wush, or Whippoorwill; and Oi-za-we-kwun, or Yellow Quill. The area to be reserved for each band was set out in the treaty, including "so much land on the Roseau River as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families" for the use of the Indians led by Chiefs Na-sha-ke-penais, Na-na-wa-nanan, Ke-we-tay-ash, and Wa-ko-wush.<sup>35</sup>

The written articles of the treaty also provided for:

- a present of three dollars for each Indian (man, woman, and child) belonging to the signatory bands;
- the maintenance of a school on each reserve "whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it"; and
- an annual payment to each family of five (or in like proportion for smaller or larger families) of \$15 Canadian (i.e., \$3 per person), payment to be made in "such articles as the Indians shall require of blankets, clothing, prints (assorted colors), twine or traps," or cash if Her Majesty deemed it to be in the best interests of the Indians.<sup>36</sup>

Commissioner Simpson's accounts indicate that \$1,092.00 was paid to the "Pembina Band" on August 4-5, 1871, in connection with the one-time present of \$3 per person.<sup>37</sup>

On August 21, 1871, Commissioner Simpson concluded a treaty (Treaty 2) with the Chippewa Indians inhabiting the country to the north and west of the Province of Manitoba, extending in the north to Lake Winnipegosis and the Shell River, and on the west as far as Fort Ellice. The terms were identical to the treaty negotiated at the Stone Fort (Treaty 1).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 2013, p. 59 [Doc. 436]. Also see *The Manitoban's* reports on the treaty proceedings, reproduced in Hall, "'A Serene Atmosphere'? Treaty 1 Revisited," 1984, p. 355 [Doc. 391].

<sup>35</sup> Articles of Treaty, August 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 19 [Doc. 10].

<sup>36</sup> Articles of Treaty, August 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 20 [Doc. 10].

<sup>37</sup> "W. M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner, in account with Government of Manitoba," 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 26 [Doc. 2].

<sup>38</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, August 27, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 21 [Doc. 12].

#### d) Anishinabe Understanding of Treaty 1

Historian Sheldon Krasowski notes that, in contrast to the later numbered treaties, little oral history of Treaty 1 has been published.<sup>39</sup> This makes it difficult to determine the Indigenous understanding of the treaty terms, and means there is little known about what the Anishinabe may have demanded during the treaty negotiations. Aimée Craft concludes that "Treaty One was understood by the Anishinabe not as a surrender of land, but as an agreement to share the land and its resources in the following way: plots of agricultural land for the White settlers and continued use of the land for harvesting by the Anishinabe." She cites explanations by several Elders, including Victor Courchene, who stated:

The Anishinabe understood that they never gave up everything. They threw an axe in the soil and said "this is how much we will give up" .... The Queen's representatives asked for only the top six inches of our land so that the white man could farm. They were only given this amount. That is the main thing.<sup>40</sup>

Craft further states that it is "fundamentally problematic" that the concepts of surrender and extinguishment of title were never discussed during the treaty negotiations. The Anishinabe, she argues, never would have agreed to a surrender of the land.<sup>41</sup>

#### e) The "Outside Promises"

Commissioner Simpson submitted his report on the treaty negotiations to the Secretary of State for the Provinces on November 3, 1871, after the treaty had already been ratified by Order in Council.<sup>42</sup> Simpson described the discussions that took place between July 24 and August 3, and the terms agreed upon. In addition to the terms included in the written text of the treaty (i.e., \$3 present, \$3 annuity, reserves, and schools), Simpson listed the following items promised:

As each Indian settled down upon his share of the Reserve, and commenced the cultivation of his land, he was to receive a plough and harrow. Each chief was to receive a cow and a male and female of the smaller kinds of animals bred upon a farm. There was to be a bull for the general use of each Reserve. In addition to this, each Chief was to receive a dress, a flag and a medal, as marks of distinction, and each Chief with the exception of Bozawequare, the Chief of the Portage Band, was to receive a Buggy, or light spring wagon. Two councillors and two braves of each Band, were to receive a dress, somewhat

<sup>39</sup> Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 2019, p. 63 [Doc. 437].

<sup>40</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 2013, pp. 61-62 [Doc. 436].

<sup>41</sup> Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, 2013, p. 64 [Doc. 436].

<sup>42</sup> The Order in Council was ratified on September 12, 1871. See Hall, "A Serene Atmosphere? Treaty 1 Revisited," 1984, pp. 329 and 333 (footnote 13) [Doc. 391].

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inferior to that provided for the Chiefs, and the braves and councillors of the Portage Band excepted, were to receive a buggy.<sup>43</sup>

These items were also set out in a handwritten "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort," written by Commissioner W. M. Simpson and Agent Molyneux St. John shortly after the treaty was signed, and witnessed by Lieutenant Governor A. G. Archibald and James McKay. The memorandum set out their "understanding of the Terms concluded with the Indians," which came to be known as the "Outside Promises":

For each Chief that signed the Treaty, a dress distinguishing him as Chief.  
For Braves & Councillors of each Chief, a dress, it being supposed that the Braves and Councillors will be two for each Chief.  
For each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a Buggy.  
For the Braves and Councillors of each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a Buggy.  
In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each Reserve, a Bull for each; and a cow for each Chief; a Boar for each Reserve; and a sow for each Chief; and a male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers, these when the Indians are prepared to receive them.  
A plough and a harrow for each Settler cultivating the ground.  
These animals, and their issue, to be Govt property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence & control of the Indian Commissioner. The Buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given.<sup>44</sup>

In February 1873 Indian Agent Molyneux St. John, who had been present at the treaty and assisted in preparing the memorandum of "Outside Promises," reported at length to Deputy Superintendent General Spragge on how the additional terms came to be considered part of the treaty, and stated, "This list expressed our understanding of the matter, but it by no means covered the understanding or expectations of the Indians...." St. John noted that this misunderstanding caused distrust of the commissioners, and several instances of bands—including the Pembina Band in 1871—refusing to accept their annuity payments until the promises were fulfilled.<sup>45</sup>

Within months of the treaty being signed, some of the Chiefs and Headmen complained that the terms, as interpreted and understood by them, had not been carried out. In reporting on the complaints, John Schultz stated that "the Indians have good grounds for their present state of

<sup>43</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B Taylor, 1872), p. 28 [Doc. 13].

<sup>44</sup> W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871," ca. August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101. Also printed in Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 1880, pp. 126-127 [Doc. 143].

<sup>45</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104.

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dissatisfaction” and urged the Department of Indian Affairs to give the matter its immediate attention.<sup>46</sup> Wemyss Simpson subsequently reported that when he left Red River “the Indians were quite satisfied with what had been done that year” and understood that the presents promised them could not be procured there and could not be brought to Fort Garry until the steamboat was running in the spring. Simpson also noted that the treaty promises for a plough and harrow were only to be provided when a family settled down on the reserve and began to farm. He opined that only one third of the heads of families would ever farm, and recommended that 100 common ploughs and harrows be sent to Red River for distribution the following summer.<sup>47</sup>

In December 1872, however, several Treaty 1 Chiefs appeared before a Justice of the Peace and enumerated the articles which they understood to have been promised in addition to the treaty money:

That these articles enumerated were Agricultural implements for the Chiefs and headmen, waggons, horses, harness and suits of clothing, work oxen, Bulls, Cows, Hogs, Sheep, Turkeys, and fowls, on each reserve, medical aid, a school, and school master, if they wished to take their treaty money in goods they would be supplied at Canada price.<sup>48</sup>

With respect to these items not being included in the written text of the treaty, the Chiefs stated:

That Governor Archibald and Commissioner Simpson did both promise to the Indians that the things demanded should be given, but said that we will not put all these things in the Treaty Paper, but we will promise to make a separate paper which will do as well, and you will be sure of the things.<sup>49</sup>

Included with Agent St. John’s February 1873 report is a copy of the memorandum listing the “Outside Promises,” with marginalia indicating that several of the items had been supplied, including the “dress” (suits of clothing) for the Chiefs and Headmen, light wagons for the Chiefs, 12 head of cattle, 50 ploughs, and 50 harrows. Additional marginalia, initialed by A.C. [Alexander Campbell, who became Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior in 1873], instructed the recipient to supply the pigs and the “male and female of each animal used

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<sup>46</sup> John Schultz to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 4, 1872 [Doc. 17]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098.

<sup>47</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, Indian Branch, March 24, 1872 [Doc. 26]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3569 File 95 Reel C-10100.

<sup>48</sup> David Prince, James Settee Sr., Henry Chief, Thomas Flett, William Bear, and Thomas Spence, December 30, 1872 [Doc. 37]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098. The Pembina Bands (Roseau River) were not part of this deputation.

<sup>49</sup> David Prince, James Settee Sr., Henry Chief, Thomas Flett, William Bear, and Thomas Spence, December 30, 1872 [Doc. 37]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098.

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by a Farmer" to each Chief.<sup>50</sup> St. John's memorandum also enumerated other articles understood by the Indians to have been promised them:

The Indians claim that each head of a family was to receive, as he settled down on his share of the Reserve, a male and female of all animals used by Farmers. (Horses I think were especially exempted during the discussion about the Buggies). They claim a Plough and a Harrow, a spade [marginalia: 2 spades], and axe [marginalia: 2 axes], and a hoe [marginalia: 2 hoes] for each head of family, a yoke of oxen with yoke and chain. A farmer to teach them to cultivate the land, and a Blacksmith and carpenter to assist them in Building &c. Seed wheat and implements to cut their crops; and other matters.

Clothing for themselves and their families and food when they require it in the winter.

As most, if not all, of these things were spoken of during the negotiations of the Treaty, and as the Indians never understood the line of assent and dissent of the Commissioner, the latter has given, in those cases where he deemed it expedient, such articles as he thought would really benefit the Indians.<sup>51</sup>

Each item in these paragraphs is also initialled by Campbell, and some of the marginalia indicates agreement with the additional terms: the number of spades, axes, and hoes are changed to two; comments next to the farmer, blacksmith, and carpenter read "yes, if it can be arranged"; and "yes" is written next to the seed wheat and implements. There is also a comment about the clothing that reads, "as far as understood to be provided – yes [A.C.]."

In the same memo, Agent St. John also reported on a meeting held with a large deputation from the Pembina Bands, listing their demands and his replies, with marginalia initialled by A.C. noting approval or other comments. The Pembina Bands enumerated 18 demands relating to ploughs & harrows, a farmer, a schoolmaster, dresses [clothing] for children, a copy of the treaty, wood cut on the Reserve last spring, pigs, sheep, hens, another yoke of oxen, sick men, houses, a store at Rivière Marais, hay for oxen, locations to be set aside for 30 families, using wool of sheep, Kewatayash's brother-in-law moving from an American band, a reaper, and a surveyor. Some of these items were not spoken of during the treaty negotiations, or mentioned in the "Outside Promises." Others were approved, including additional ploughs and harrows "when the Government are satisfied that those already given are used as intended"; a farmer to show them how to plough to be sent in the spring; pigs and hens, but not sheep; a second yoke of oxen "if fair use can be made of them"; and scythes or cradles instead of the requested

<sup>50</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104.

<sup>51</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See pp. 18-19.

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reaper. St. John also promised the Pembina Bands that a surveyor would be sent as soon as the Commissioner returned, and recommended the immediate survey of the reserves, "not only defining the outer lines but laying off a sufficient number of quarter sections (as per Treaty) in order that some families may settle down at once." He noted that the Pembina deputation had informed him there were 34 families who wished to take up their locations at once.<sup>52</sup>

The Indigenous parties to Treaty 1 made repeated complaints in the early post-treaty period concerning articles they alleged had been promised to them that were not included in the treaty, and in March 1874 the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended a settlement of these issues. The Board, consisting of the Indian Commissioner and the Lieutenant Governor, with Agent St. John acting as secretary, submitted the following recommendations to the Minister of the Interior, "as a supplement to their existing annuities & other benefits under the Treaty":

- 1<sup>st</sup> one plough & harrow for every four families on their actually settling on the Reserve and commencing to farm
- 2<sup>nd</sup> one axe, two hoes, one spade, a scythe for each head of a family
- 3<sup>rd</sup> one pair of oxen for every ten families settled on the Reserve
- 4<sup>th</sup> A cow to every chief not already having received one.
- 5<sup>th</sup> A Bull for each Reserve if required.
- 6<sup>th</sup> Tools for building purposes, for each Reserve, of such amount as the Commissioner may deem necessary.
- 7<sup>th</sup> The Schools to be maintained as provided for by the Treaty, the importance of which is strongly urged.
- 8<sup>th</sup> The Commissioners to be authorized to employ, from time to time, a Farmer and a Carpenter, for such limited period of engagement as shall be found necessary, to aid the Indians in farming on any Reserve, or in Building on the same.
- 9<sup>th</sup> A supply of simple medicines to be provided for each Reserve, and placed in the custody of some suitable person.
- 10<sup>th</sup> Seed Wheat, Potatoes, and garden Seeds.
- 11<sup>th</sup> Certain Staple articles of goods to be purchased by the Indian Department and kept on stock to be distributed to the Indians at cost price on account of their annuities by local agents.
- 12<sup>th</sup> Ammunition and twine, fifteen hundred dollars per annum for the Treaty.
- 13<sup>th</sup> Clothing for chiefs and four officers once every three years.
- 14<sup>th</sup> A flag and Silver medal for each chief.
- 15<sup>th</sup> Twenty five dollars to each chief and fifteen dollars to each of four councillors these payments to the chiefs and councillors to be approved by the Chief Indian Agent as to their rank as such, and its continuance dependent on their good conduct, and further, that an addition to be made

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<sup>52</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See pp. 21-22, 26-27.



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to the annuity of two dollars per head, and that the annuities may be payable semi-annually in the event of sub-agents being appointed and its being found expedient.<sup>53</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Morris submitted the Board's minutes to the Minister of the Interior on March 16, 1874, stating that the existing treaty should not be interfered with, and recommending that the proposed additions be authorized by an Order in Council, in "final adjustment" of the "matter which causes dissatisfaction amongst the Indians."<sup>54</sup> Three days later, on March 19<sup>th</sup>, Indian Commissioner Provencher referenced the Board's decision in a letter to the Minister of the interior, noting that he had not yet received any instructions to purchase the additional items. He reminded the Minister "that the season for meeting the Indians is approaching, and that a satisfactory adjustment of the existing differences is a matter of grave impact."<sup>55</sup> As discussed below, the Board's recommendations did not come to fruition.

The matter of the "Outside Promises" was settled the following year with the passage of Order in Council P.C. 424, which contained two important clauses. First, the written memorandum of "Outside Promises" (i.e., that written by Simpson and St. John immediately after Treaty 1 was signed) was considered as part of Treaties 1 and 2, and the Indian Commissioner instructed to carry out the promises contained therein, if any were outstanding. The use of the Commissioners' 1871 memorandum rather than the recommendations of the Board issued in 1874 meant that the proposed additional terms relating to building tools, farming instructors and carpenters, ammunition, seed wheat, and other provisions were excluded from the benefits officially to be provided under the terms of Treaty 1. Second, annuity payments were raised from \$3 to \$5 per annum, with Chiefs to receive \$25. Each Chief and two Headmen per band were also to receive a suit of clothing every three years. Importantly, each person who received the increased annuity "shall be held to abandon all claim whatever against the Government in connection with the so called 'Outside Promises', other than those contained in the Memo: attached to the Treaty."<sup>56</sup>

"In order to give as much weight as possible to the proposed new arrangement with the Indians," Lieutenant Governor Morris, the Indian Commissioner, and Mr. McKay visited the Treaty 1 and 2 bands to inform them of the new arrangement proposed by the Government. Each Chief was presented with a copy of the Order in Council, "handsomely printed on parchment"; a second copy was signed by the Chief "as formal acceptance of the new terms" and returned to the Department. The instructions to Morris, dated July 7, 1875, forwarded a copy of the memorandum, but stated that it was not necessary to print the memorandum with

<sup>53</sup> Molyneux St. John, Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 13, 1874 [Doc. 58]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105. Some of these benefits reflected terms of Treaty 3, which had been completed in 1873 (i.e., annuity of \$5, ammunition, and agricultural assistance).

<sup>54</sup> Alex. Morris, Lieutenant Governor, to the Minister of the Interior, March 16, 1874 [Doc. 59]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105.

<sup>55</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, March 19, 1874 [Doc. 60]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105.

<sup>56</sup> Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

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the Order in Council, "as the promises embodied in that memo: have for the most part been already carried out."<sup>57</sup> In his annual report for 1875, David Laird, Minister of the Interior, informed the Governor General that "His Honor and the Indian Commissioner report their several missions to the Indians in connection with these negotiations as being entirely satisfactory; every Indian Band, with one exception,<sup>58</sup> having cheerfully accepted the terms offered by the Government, and expressed their satisfaction with the liberality with which they were treated."<sup>59</sup> The Roseau River First Nation signed its acceptance of this amendment on September 8, 1875.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> [David Laird, Minister of the Interior,] to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, July 7, 1875 [Doc. 72]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>58</sup> The "exception" was Yellow Quill's Band of Portage la Prairie, due to a dispute in reference to their reserve, as well as a division within the Band. The Yellow Quill Band agreed to accept the terms of the Order in Council in July 1876. See "Copy of an Order in Council Dated July 21/76," July 21, 1876 [Doc. 94]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>59</sup> D. Laird, Minister of the Interior, to Sir Frederic Temple, Governor General of Canada, January 31, 1876, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1876), pp. vi-vii [Doc. 89]. A copy of the "Memorandum of Things Outside of the Treaty Which Were Promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, Signed the 3<sup>rd</sup> Day of August A.D., 1871" is attached to Laird's report as Appendix A (p. xix).

<sup>60</sup> Chiefs and Headmen, Roseau River, September 8, 1875, in Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders From 1680 to 1890.—In two volumes*, Vol. I (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1891), pp. 290-291 [Doc. 11]; and A. E. St. Louis, Archivist, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, March 23, 1954 [Doc. 327]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 8594 File 1/1-11 Pt. 2 Reel C-14225.

## **2. Survey and Establishment of IR 2**

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In March 1872 F. T. Bradley, a customs collector and justice of the peace, wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba in relation to a visit from members of the Roseau River First Nation. The Band complained that their reserve had not yet been surveyed, and that timber was being cut on the land set apart for them.<sup>61</sup> Bradley subsequently visited Roseau River to investigate the complaints, on instruction from the Lieutenant Governor, and found them to be correct. He met with the various timber trespassers and reported on action taken in each case. With respect to the extent and location of the proposed reserve, Bradley stated:

I have not seen Mr. de Montaigne, the gentleman appointed to enumerate the Indians, but learn from the Indians that their tribe must number 1000 souls, placing it at the lowest figure, and as there was no final agreement as to the exact locality of their Reserve on the River it was understood by them to include two miles on either side of the River, and extending to a point called "Le Bois Percé" which is supposed to be situated about 15 miles from the junction of Roseau River with Red River.

According to my calculation, supposing the Indians to number 1000 people and also supposing the "Bois Percé" to be fifteen miles distant, a grant of 1 1/6 miles in breadth on either side of the River would give them the desired number of acres according to their Treaty.<sup>62</sup>

Bradley assured the Roseau River First Nation that a census of their Band would be taken immediately, and then a surveyor commissioned to set out the boundaries of their reserves; in the meantime, he assured them the Government would deal with those who had trespassed on their reserves. He enclosed with his report a sketch of the Indian Reserve at Roseau River, indicating the boundaries according to Chief Wa-ko-wush and the location of Indian houses.<sup>63</sup>

The Lieutenant Governor's Private Secretary responded to Bradley's report on March 19, 1872, stating the Lieutenant Governor's opinion that the Indians "have largely overrated their numbers" and that "they are certainly wrong in supposing that any point up the River was fixed as the extreme limit of the Reserve." The Lieutenant Governor noted that neither the breadth nor depth of the reserve had been decided upon, recommended that the reserve form more of a square than a narrow strip along the river, and submitted the matter to the Land

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<sup>61</sup> F. T. Bradley to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, March 6, 1872 [Doc. 21]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>62</sup> F. T. Bradley to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, March 10, 1872 [Doc. 22]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098. See pp. 7-8. Marginalia next to Bradley's calculation reads: "Paylist of Aug 1871 gives 181 [families?] Red River Band 1166."

<sup>63</sup> F. T. Bradley to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, March 10, 1872 [Doc. 22]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098. See pp. 11 and 14.

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Department's attention.<sup>64</sup> A memorandum written by Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs W. Spragge in March 1872 estimated the population of the "Band of which Nashakepenais, Nanawananaan, Kewetaash, & Wakowash are Chiefs" at 218 persons.<sup>65</sup>

In April 1872, three representatives of the Indians at Roseau River, including Chief "Wa-ho-wash," wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories to thank him for "the kind protection of our wood lands given us under the treaty," as the surveyor sent had caused the trespassers to cease cutting "and thereby saved our best trees and woods, without which we could not well exist." They also called the Lieutenant Governor's attention to two families who had been living for the past 20 years "on that portion of land lying between the mouth of the River Roseau and the north easterly bank of the Red River," and wished for those lands to be included as part of their reserve.<sup>66</sup>

M. McFadden visited the Roseau River Reserve in April 1872 and reported on the boundaries desired by the Indians:

It is the wish of the Indians for whom the Reserve is intended that two miles as nearly as possible on either side of the River Roseau from its mouth up the stream should be set apart as their reserve, such a division would secure to them their fishing and hunting grounds as shown on the plan and at the same time give them plenty of prairie & bush land, and keep their present homes within their own boundaries.<sup>67</sup>

A tracing of the survey plan indicated that the reserve was to the extent required for 500 families, and that changes had been made in the proposed shape to take in the existing houses.<sup>68</sup> Although McFadden conducted a survey of part of the reserve in March and April 1872,<sup>69</sup> the outlines of the Roseau River Reserve still had not been defined by the fall of 1872. In July 1872 Chief Nashakepenais of the "Fort Garry Band" requested that the reserve for his 324 people be moved to the Broken Head River, and refused to take annuity payment until the

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<sup>64</sup> Henri Bouthillier, Private Secretary of the Lieutenant Governor, Manitoba, to F. T. Bradley, Deputy Collector, North Pembina, March 19, 1872 [Doc. 23]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>65</sup> W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, "Memo in connection with the Official letter of 8 March 1872 relative to surveys of Indian Reserves made under Treaties Nos. 1 & 2 in the Province of Manitoba and North West Territories," March 23, 1872 [Doc. 24]. LAC RG 15 Series D-II-1 Vol. 228 File 755 (1872) Reel T-12176.

<sup>66</sup> H. Bouthillier to F. T. Bradley, April 14, 1872 [Doc. 32]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5539.

<sup>67</sup> M. McFadden to Lindsay Russell, Inspector of Surveys, Province of Manitoba, April 8, 1872 [Doc. 29]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098. Russell's instructions, dated March 23, 1872, have not been located.

<sup>68</sup> Lindsay Russell, Inspector of Surveys, Tracing, April 23, 1872 [Doc. 33]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>69</sup> M. McFadden, "Field Notes of survey of the South West part of Indian Reserve, Roseau River, Manitoba," April 8, 1872 [Doc. 30]. Natural Resources Canada FB272 CLSR MB.

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matter was corrected.<sup>70</sup> The change was approved by J. C. Aikins, "provided private rights or Indian claims if any exist are not interfered with."<sup>71</sup>

In January 1873 Lieutenant Governor Morris strongly recommended that the reserves for the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories under Treaties 1 and 2 be surveyed "with as little delay as possible ... so soon as the season will admit of it."<sup>72</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, dated March 14, 1873, stated that the reserves "specified in the treaties entered into in 1871, are about to be surveyed under a requisition made by the Department for that purpose...."<sup>73</sup> A statement of "Indian Reserves in the Province of Manitoba and the North West Territories" published in the Annual Report for 1874 listed the Roseau River Indian Reserve (mistakenly referred to as IR 3), and noted that it contained 13,554 acres.<sup>74</sup> In addition, a quarter section was reserved from Township 3, Range 4 East, where "sub-chief Wakowash has made his improvements."<sup>75</sup>

In September 1874, Chiefs Kee-we-ya-yash, Wa-na-wan-na-nang, and Wa-quse wrote to the Lieutenant Governor, complaining, among other things, that a railroad was being constructed through their reserve. They stated that, when they made the treaty, they took three reserves – "one at portage la prairie the other at la Riviere au mort down the Indian Settlement and the other one at la Riviere au Marais were [sic] we are now."<sup>76</sup> In a meeting held with Minister of the Interior David Laird on October 1, 1874, the "Indians residing on the Reserve at Rosseau River" again noted that the railway would "take away a good part of the best of our reserve," and requested an equivalent amount of land.<sup>77</sup>

In his annual report for 1875, Indian Commissioner Provencher reported that the Pembina Bands, under the three Chiefs who were party to Treaty 1 and numbering 480 souls, contended that their reserve as surveyed "is not in conformity to the conventions of the Treaty, and they claim the grant of the land on both sides of the Rosseau River, running east." Provencher stated that the requested lands had already been set aside for Halfbreed claims, or for settlers who had already taken possession, so the request could not be granted. He noted that the Pembina

<sup>70</sup> G. McMicken to J. G. Aikins, July 31, 1872 [Doc. 34]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3579 File 609 Reel C-10102.

<sup>71</sup> J. C. [Aikins] to G. McMicken, August 1, 1872 [Doc. 35]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3579 File 609 Reel C-10102.

<sup>72</sup> Secretary of State for the Provinces to J. C. Aikins, Secretary of State of Canada, January 9, 1873 [Doc. 38]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098.

<sup>73</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872* (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1873), p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>74</sup> "Indian Reserves in the Province of Manitoba and the North West Territories" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1875), p. 101 [Doc. 62].

<sup>75</sup> J. S. Dennis, Surveyor General, to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, April 6, 1875 [Doc. 67]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>76</sup> Chiefs Kee-we-ya-yash, Wa-na-wan-na-nang-le, and Wa-quse, to the Lieutenant Governor, September 30, 1874 [Doc. 64]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104.

<sup>77</sup> "Report of an Interview between the Honorable the Minister of the Interior, and certain Indians residing on the Reserve at Roseau River, at Winnipeg, Oct. 1st 1874," October 1, 1874 [Doc. 65]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104.

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Bands' claims of large settlements at the places claimed were unfounded, as there were no more than six houses built at those locations.<sup>78</sup>

In February 1877, Rat Liver wrote a letter requesting "some document, or other other [sic] evidence by which they may show that the point from Marias up to the Roseau, is included in their reserve." The spokesperson indicated that other parties are trying to claim it, but this point was promised to them by Governor Archibald, who had also promised to send surveyors to draw out the lines.<sup>79</sup> Acting Indian Superintendent Provencher wrote a memorandum to the Deputy Minister of the Interior on February 26, 1877, recommending, "if it does not interfere with established rights or the system of survey," that the southern boundary of the reserve be changed to include parts of Sections 9, 10, and 11, Township 3, "as are south of Roseau River, leaving out the northeast corner of their proposed reserve that is North of Roseau River." Provencher noted that this change would make the boundary better defined and better understood by the Indians.<sup>80</sup> Meredith responded that it was "impossible" to carry out this suggestion, however, as those sections had already been granted.<sup>81</sup> As of June 1877 the reserve boundaries had still not been defined, which caused issues in locating the school house.<sup>82</sup>

In his annual report for 1883, Indian Agent Francis Ogletree described the Roseau River Reserve as consisting of 13,554 acres, "situate at the mouth of the Roseau River where it enters the Red River." He noted that the Band consisted of 149 heads of families, with three Chiefs and 12 Councillors.<sup>83</sup> Although no information has been found on the final survey and/or confirmation of IR 2, this exact same acreage implies that the reserve was unchanged from that set apart for the Roseau River First Nation in 1874.

**a) Roseau Rapids**

A faction of the Roseau River First Nation, under the leadership of Nashwashwope (son of the deceased Chief Nanawananan), lived at and had made significant improvements at Roseau Rapids, although that location was not considered part of the Band's reserve. Agent Ogletree, writing in the spring of 1885, remarked that there was great dissatisfaction among the Indians at the Rapids. "There is a very strong feeling," he wrote, "that the Government is not carrying out the terms of the treaty with them in not giving them the Reserve at the Rapids ... I strongly

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<sup>78</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1875, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1876), p. 40 [Doc. 86].

<sup>79</sup> Rat Liver to Unknown, February 9, 1877 [Doc. 110]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>80</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, to E. A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior, February 26, 1877 [Doc. 111]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>81</sup> E. A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, May 18, 1877 [Doc. 114]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>82</sup> John Black to J. A. N. Provencher, June 8, 1877 [Doc. 115]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>83</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1883, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1883* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1884), p. 54 [Doc. 162].

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recommend that some person of influence be sent among them to settle these disputes about Reserves for all time to come. Otherwise there will be dissatisfaction all the time.”<sup>84</sup> In 1886 Agent Ogletree stated that the Indians resident at the Rapids were anxious to be granted a reserve there, and were willing to give up their claim to the reserve on the mouth of the river. Ogletree noted that, with the exception of two or three, their improvements were on a school section, and would not interfere with settlers.<sup>85</sup>

A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, wrote a letter to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs on July 11, 1888, discussing the “complications” with the Indians at the Roseau Rapids. He stated that the reserve at the mouth of the Roseau River was sufficiently large “to more than cover the quantity required by the terms of the treaty to supply the needs of all the Indians belonging to the Roseau Bands, of which these now at the Rapids formed a part.” He lamented that “these Indians” had not been removed to the reserve when the treaty was first concluded, and indicated that the Department did not have the funds to purchase lands at the Rapids to establish another reserve for this Band. However, Burgess stated:

... taking into consideration the fact that some of these people were located upon what is now Section 11, Tp. 3, Range 4, East, prior to the survey of this Township, I am prepared to recommend for the favorable consideration of the Minister of the Interior, that the whole of Section 11, and the S.E. ¼ of Section 10, in this Township be transferred to the Department of Indian Affairs for the benefit of these Indians, upon the understanding and condition that the Department of Indian Affairs will agree to remove any of these Indians who may be located upon any other lands in this Township....<sup>86</sup>

On August 29, 1888, Chief Nashwashooke and seven other “Councillors and Indians of the Chippewa Tribe now residing at or near the Rapids of the said Rosseau River,” signed an agreement with the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, as represented by Agent Ogletree, to surrender their interest and claim in the Indian reserve at the junction of the Roseau and Red Rivers. In exchange they were to be granted the whole of Section 11 and the SE ¼ of Section 10, Township 3, Range 4, East of the Principal Meridian; i.e., the areas occupied by them at the Rapids, as recommended by A. M. Burgess.<sup>87</sup>

The “Roseau River Rapids Reserve” is discussed as a separate “reserve” for the first time in Agent Ogletree’s 1896 annual report, although the vital statistics, occupations, and other headings are still combined with the “Roseau River Reserve Proper.” Ogletree describes the

<sup>84</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, May 21, 1885 [Doc. 165]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3713 File 20888 Reel C-10125.

<sup>85</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1887), p. 44 [Doc. 174].

<sup>86</sup> A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 11, 1888 [Doc. 183]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>87</sup> Chief Nashwahooke and others, Roseau Rapids, Agreement, August 29, 1888 [Doc. 184]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

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Rapids reserve as “situate on the Rosseau River eighteen miles from its mouth,” containing only 800 acres.<sup>88</sup> Roseau River Rapids IR 2A appears in a published “Schedule of Indian Reserves in the Dominion” in 1897, and is shown to have an area of 1.25 square miles.<sup>89</sup>

***b) 1903 Surrender***

In January 1903 the Roseau River Indians resident on both reserves surrendered 12 square miles (7,708 acres) of IR 2 for sale. Inspector Marlatt reported that the sale realized \$99,782.50, of which 10% was expended for the Band’s “immediate requirements” as per the terms of the surrender.<sup>90</sup> Under the terms of the surrender, the Department was to purchase, from the capital funds of the Band, two sections of land adjacent to Roseau Rapids IR 2A; however, W. A. Orr reported in August 1903 that no land in the vicinity was available at the disposal of the Department of the Interior, so “nothing further has been done in the way of securing land.”<sup>91</sup> In December 1903 Inspector Marlatt recommended that lands offered for sale by W. W. Fraser in Sections 13, 14, and 24, Township 3, Range 4, East of the Principal Meridian, be purchased in fulfilment of the surrender’s terms.<sup>92</sup> The Chiefs and Councillors of the Roseau River First Nation approved the purchase in a council held for that purpose on January 8, 1904.<sup>93</sup> An advance of the funds to purchase the lands, noted to be an addition to IR 2A, was approved by Order in Council on February 6, 1904.<sup>94</sup> In his 1904 inspection report, S. R. Marlatt noted that the Roseau Rapids Reserve contained 2,080 acres, having been enlarged “by the purchase, from the capital funds of the band, of 1,280 acres of pasture and hay-land.”<sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 22, 1896, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1896* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen’s Printer, 1897), p. 129 [Doc. 224].

<sup>89</sup> Roseau River IR 2 is listed with an area of 20.86 square miles in this schedule. “Schedule of Indian Reserves in the Dominion” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1897* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen’s Printer, 1898), p. 343 [Doc. 225].

<sup>90</sup> Chiefs and Principal Men of the Roseau River Band to the King, January 30, 1903 [Doc. 240]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3565 File 82 Pt. 29 Reel C-10100; and S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1903, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1903* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King’s Printer, 1904), p. 110 [Doc. 247].

<sup>91</sup> W. A. Orr to the Deputy Minister, August 7, 1903 [Doc. 246]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>92</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to J. A. J. McKenna, Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 28, 1903 [Doc. 248]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3731 File 26306-2 Reel C-10127.

<sup>93</sup> Chiefs and Councillors of the Roseau River Band, January 8, 1904 [Doc. 249]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3731 File 26306-2 Reel C-10127.

<sup>94</sup> Order in Council, February 6, 1904 [Doc. 250]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3731 File 26306-2 Reel C-10127.

<sup>95</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1904, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1904* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King’s Printer, 1905), p. 105 [Doc. 252].



### **3. Synopsis of Early Agricultural Activity on Roseau River IR 2**

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A petition dated circa 1872 signed by Nasha Kee Peenais and others addressed the matter of the Band's livelihood. The signatories stated, "We would humbly ask how are we to live this winter we are poor .... And ... we would [ask] if you are able in any way assist us to make a living for ourselves during the coming winter," and requested an interview with Governor Archibald.<sup>96</sup> Another letter, also dated circa 1872, also addressed the matter of the Band's livelihood by noting that the hunt had failed and that the Band found itself in starving conditions.<sup>97</sup> An interview given that February between Lieutenant Governor Archibald and Kee-wee-tah-yash's brother also indicated that the Band found itself in a destitute condition. Kee-wee-tah-yash's brother closed the interview by asking if they would have their seed early in the spring as they were anxious to get to work as soon as the weather allowed them to.<sup>98</sup>

On March 1, 1872. Lieutenant Governor Archibald issued a proclamation stating that the Indians had no right to cut wood or timber on land not within the limits of the reserve allotted to them and that they were not permitted to cut wood to sell or to give to settlers or traders.<sup>99</sup> Less than a week later, F. T. Bradley wrote to Archibald regarding a visit from a number of individuals from Roseau River. In addition to making a grievance that the surveyor had not yet arrived, Wa-ko-wash explained that he had cut wood from points around the river because it was his only means of subsistence until such times as agricultural operations were started.<sup>100</sup>

In April 1872 Chiefs Che-we-te-as, Wa-ko-wash, and Ma Ma-tah-com-tup wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba regarding their desired reserve lands. Although the reserve had not yet been surveyed, the Chiefs indicated that two families wished to settle during the present spring, with a view to raising some corn and potatoes, and asked that the families be provided with oxen, ploughs, and seed.<sup>101</sup> The Lieutenant Governor's Private Secretary assured the Chiefs, among other things, that the Indian Commissioner would be there in the spring to give them the aid promised at the time of the treaty.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Nasha Kee Peenais et al., Roseau River, to A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, circa 1872 [Doc. 14]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5539.

<sup>97</sup> Kee wee ti ash to A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, circa 1872 [Doc. 15]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5539.

<sup>98</sup> Interview between Archibald and Kee-wee-tah-yash's brother, February 23, 1872 [Doc. 19]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5538.

<sup>99</sup> A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, Proclamation, March 1, 1872 [Doc. 20]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5539.

<sup>100</sup> F. T. Bradley to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, March 6, 1872 [Doc. 21]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>101</sup> Chief Che-we-te-as, Chief Wa-ko-wash, and Ma-Ma-tak-com-tup, to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, April 1872 [Doc. 28]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>102</sup> Henri Bouthillier, Private Secretary of the Lieutenant Governor, to Ke-we-ty-ash, Ma-ko-wash, and Mama-tah-com-tup, April 13, 1872 [Doc. 31]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

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In August 1872 Wemyss Simpson reported that the Pembina Bands had declared "their intention of living in peace and harmony with the white man and by degrees adopting his habits of agriculture." Seeing that some of them were preparing to cultivate the land in the spring, Simpson gave the reserve a yoke of oxen "in addition to the other things promised them, as without these, what we have already given them would be more or less useless."<sup>103</sup> Agent St. John met with a deputation from the Pembina Bands in September 1872, at which time the Bands indicated there were 34 families who desired to take up their locations on the reserve at once.<sup>104</sup> When Indian Agent Molyneaux St. John visited the three Pembina Bands in the summer of 1873 he noted they had made "some little progress towards cultivating the ground" and stated his opinion that "the greater part of the Indians of Manitoba would be converted into actual settlers" given some rearrangement of the terms of the treaty.<sup>105</sup> In his annual report for 1873, Indian Commissioner J. A. N. Provencher noted the "astonishing progress" of some bands, adding that "One-half at least of the Bands of St. Peter, Pembina, Fort Alexander and Fairford are in the meantime addicted to agriculture." Provencher noted that "a good deal of inconvenience" was experienced due to the reserves not having yet been surveyed, but that by the end of the year the surveys were all complete so those difficulties should be diminished.<sup>106</sup>

In February 1874 Member of Parliament John Schultz reported to the Minister of the Interior on the "very great destitution" which prevailed among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians located at and near the mouth of the Red River. These Indians, Schultz reported, mainly subsisted in the winter on grain and potatoes they cultivated, and on the produce of the fall fisheries, but both sources had failed last year, leaving them in "absolute want, and very great danger of starvation."<sup>107</sup> In view of this destitution, Order in Council P.C. 196, passed on March 7, 1874, authorized the Indian Agent to pay annuities in April that year instead of July, so as to enable the Indians to purchase seed grain; it further authorized a distribution of flour and pemmican to the value of \$1,000.<sup>108</sup>

In November 1877 the Department of Indian Affairs sent a circular letter to Agents in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, requesting that they submit information respecting the number of cattle, implements, etc. given to the Indians under the treaty, the number of implements purchased for their agency still remaining on hand, the amount of stock in the possession of the Indians and how well they are cared for, the extent to which the Indians are cultivating the land,

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<sup>103</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1872 [Doc. 36]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3580 File 683 Reel C-10188.

<sup>104</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 27.

<sup>105</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, Winnipeg, to Colonel J. A. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, October 22, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1875), p. 60 [Doc. 48].

<sup>106</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, December 31, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1875), p. 57 [Doc. 50].

<sup>107</sup> John Schultz to the Minister of the Interior, February 24, 1874 [Doc. 56]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3041 Reel C-11063.

<sup>108</sup> Order in Council P.C. 196, March 7, 1874 [Doc. 57]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3607 File 3008 Reel C-10105.

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the probable quantity of implements required during the coming season, and whether the Indians are satisfied with the manner in which the treaty is being carried out.<sup>109</sup> Geo. Newcomb, who had just been appointed as Indian Agent at Emerson in July, responded to the circular on November 21, 1877, providing the following information with respect to the extent to which the Roseau River First Nation engaged in cultivating the land:

Two or three of the Indians have from four to six acres, but the balance of those who have built houses have as yet only a small garden patch varying from a  $\frac{1}{4}$  to an acre and a half, upon which they grow potatoes and corn. The Indians on the Reserve at Rosseau Rapids appear to be making better attempts at farming than those at the mouth of the River, one Indian having quite a stock of cattle (his own private property) and has raised quite a crop of wheat and Barley this year. A good number on both reserves have built houses.<sup>110</sup>

In his annual report on his inspection of the Manitoba Superintendency for 1878, E. McColl stated that the general progress of the Indians in agriculture was "extremely gratifying." He pointed to their decreasing dependence on hunting and noted the good use they had made of the implements at their disposal:

Numerous instances can be cited where the members of Bands with ploughs and harrows, but without cattle or horses, have actually harnessed themselves and ploughed and harrowed their fields—ingenious use of ropes and portage straps. In other cases they have made train dogs do the work of the ox and the horse rather than make no use of the implements provided. They use the grub hoe very successfully in the absence of more suitable implements in the cultivation of their garden patches, from a fraction to six or seven acres in extent. Excellent crops of wheat and other grain have been raised on some of the Reserves by the use of no other implement.<sup>111</sup>

Agent Newcomb reported the following year, however, that the Indians of the "Rosseau River Agency" were not making as much progress as he would like, "from want of knowledge, want of means, and from the fact that, for the past two years, it has been too wet during the breaking

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<sup>109</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to George Newcomb, Indian Agent, Emerson, et al., November 6, 1877 [Doc. 120]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>110</sup> Geo. Newcomb to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114. Whippletrees, trace chains, scythes, and snaiths are not included in the implements required to be provided under the terms of Treaty 1 or the "Outside Promises."

<sup>111</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1878, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1878], p. 54 [Doc. 134]. McColl did not report on any specific bands.

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season for them to get new breaking done to advantage with the means at their command."<sup>112</sup> Inspector McColl further reported in 1879 that the "Roseau River bands" comprising Newcomb's agency, "have a very superior reserve for farming and grazing purposes, but notwithstanding this advantage there are only a few families cultivating the soil to any extent."<sup>113</sup> McColl repeated this sentiment the following year, stating, "This reserve is very fertile, and, if properly husbanded, would produce abundance of food for the sustenance of man and beast, but I regretted to notice that so few houses and gardens had been made within the past year."<sup>114</sup>

Indian Superintendent Graham commented in 1882 that, although the Roseau River First Nation "have one of the best reserves within the Superintendency, very few of them reside on the reserve or cultivate the soil." He indicated that a yoke of cattle would be given them next spring "to encourage them in husbandry."<sup>115</sup> Inspector McColl reported that same year that "only about a dozen" of the 150 families belonging to the Roseau River First Nation were cultivating or residing on the reserve. He noted the only a few families were ever seen in the area, except at annuity payment time, and reported that there was "no progress in farming" on the Roseau River Reserve, with only a few small patches of land under cultivation. McColl did note, however, that Chief Nanawanan and his followers, "living at the rapids," had made considerable improvements, including "nine houses and five stables and large gardens which they claim were cultivated before treaty was made with them."<sup>116</sup> Agent Ogletree was asked to report on this last point, as "the Indians referred to are not on their Reserve."<sup>117</sup> Ogletree met with the leading Councillor of the Indians at the Rapids (Chief Nanawanan having died since the last annuity payment), who confirmed that they had large gardens under cultivation previous to the treaty being made with them "and never signed away their right to those gardens." Ogletree informed the Band that no more seed would be supplied until they settled on the reserve, and

<sup>112</sup> George Newcomb, Indian Agent, Roseau River Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 70 [Doc. 140].

<sup>113</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 60 [Doc. 142].

<sup>114</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1880, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1880* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1881), p. 58 [Doc. 144].

<sup>115</sup> James F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), p. 156 [Doc. 158].

<sup>116</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 28, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), p. 154 [Doc. 159].

<sup>117</sup> Rob Sinclair, for the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to James F. Graham, Indian Superintendent and Commissioner, May 18, 1883 [Doc. 160]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

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recommended to the Indian Superintendent that the gardens be dealt with as improvements and the Indians induced "to surrender their claims for a trifling amount."<sup>118</sup>

In September 1883, Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent for the Portage la Prairie Agency, reported that the "Roseau River Bands" were supplied with 100 bushels of seed potatoes and a quantity of garden seeds last spring; 70 bushels of seeds were planted on the reserve, and the remaining 30 given to the "Rapids Indians." Under instructions from the Department, Ogletree also purchased a yoke of oxen, "which was loaned to them to enable them to break more land." When he visited the reserve to pay annuities in July, Ogletree noted that the crops looked "promising, and Chief Shagwagash's garden was looking remarkably well." Agent Ogletree reported that Chief Nashwashwope (Nanawanan's son, who was chosen Chief of the group at the Rapids) and his followers "cling very strongly to their gardens; they say they were settled there previous to any Treaty having been made with them, and claim that the land is much better for farming than the reserve." The portion of the Band at the Rapids stated that they would willingly give up their portion of the reserve if they were allowed to remain at the Rapids.<sup>119</sup>

In his annual report for 1884, the Superintendent General noted a "marked improvement" in the Roseau River First Nation. He reported, "These Indians appear to be now desirous of following agriculture. It is only within the last year that they have shown any disposition to cultivate land."<sup>120</sup>

In 1885 Agent Ogletree provided a detailed report on the progress of agricultural activities on the Roseau River Reserve that year:

The Rosseau River bands put down this year the following quantities of seed on the reserve: sixteen bushels of wheat, six bushels of barley, seventy-five bushels potatoes, five pounds of turnip seed, two pounds carrot seed and three pounds of onion seed, also one bushel of beans, and at the time I was making the payments the crops looking remarkably well.<sup>121</sup>

Ogletree also reported that a wire fence has been put up around the nine acres which had been broken on the reserve the previous year, and that an additional 20 acres had been broken. The portion of the Band residing at the Rapids had put down 70 bushels of potatoes, 15 bushels of

<sup>118</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, to James G. Graham, Indian Superintendent, June 11, 1883 [Doc. 161]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>119</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1883, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1883*, p. 54 [Doc. 162].

<sup>120</sup> John A. Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to Marquess of Lansdowne, Governor General of Canada, January 1, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1884* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1885), pp. xxxv-xxvi [Doc. 164].

<sup>121</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), p. 43 [Doc. 171].

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wheat, five bushels of barley, and garden seeds, but Ogletree had not visited the area and could not report on how those crops looked. He stated, however, that he had purchased a yoke of oxen "for those Indians who are living at the rapids, in the spring, in lieu of a bull and one cow still due to them under treaty stipulations."<sup>122</sup>

In 1886, the nine acres of wheat cut was destroyed by fire. Agent Ogletree further reported that the soil on the reserve was not well adapted for potatoes, but that it was also difficult to get the Indians to care for the potatoes properly, as "after they plant them they go away to hunt, and do not return until after the potatoes should have been cultivated." Ogletree reported that twenty more acres had been broken that year and sowed with wheat, but he expected the crops to be light that year due to the extreme dry season.<sup>123</sup> Both the Agent and Inspector consistently reported into the 1890s that the "Roseau River bands" preferred to hunt and to dig and sell seneca snake root rather than cultivate their crops and gardens.<sup>124</sup>

In February 1889, the Chief and Council of the Roseau River Reserve addressed a petition to Superintendent E. McColl. They noted the danger of starvation to which they were exposed, and requested that he submit their request to the Indian Department. The petition asked that portions of their field be allotted to each man to farm for his own use, and requested two more yoke of cattle to replace the old ones, a mower and self-binding reaper, 20 pigs "to be distributed amongst those of our men who wish to remain on the reserve and farm," and provisions during the coming winter.<sup>125</sup> Agent Ogletree reported on the petition, advising that the subdivision not be made until the Indians showed a desire to begin cultivating the land in earnest. He also thought "other parties" might be behind the request, but he did not specify who he suspected.<sup>126</sup> The petition and Ogletree's report were forwarded to Inspector McColl on March 14, 1889.<sup>127</sup> That year, Agent Ogletree reported that there were only eleven Indians "who did anything" with respect to putting in the crops, "and but five of them helped to harrow

<sup>122</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885*, pp. 43-44 [Doc. 171].

<sup>123</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 43 [Doc. 174].

<sup>124</sup> See, for example, E. McColl, Superintendent and Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 7, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1887), p. 156 [Doc. 176]; and Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Indian Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1891, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December 1891* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1892), p. 45 [Doc. 207].

<sup>125</sup> Alexandre Wajashkokow and Antoine [Egashie], Roseau River Reserve, to E. McColl, Superintendent, February 25, 1889 [Doc. 185]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3812 File 55994 Reel C-10142.

<sup>126</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, March 5, 1889 [Doc. 186]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3812 File 55994 Reel C-10142.

<sup>127</sup> [Department of Indian Affairs] to L. I. Arthur Leveque, Indian Office, Winnipeg, March 14, 1889 [Doc. 187]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3812 File 55994 Reel C-10142.

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the wheat and make the fence.”<sup>128</sup> Ogletree wrote to Inspector McColl on September 17, 1889, making recommendations for several conditions which should be met if the Band’s request for subdivision of their lands was to be granted.<sup>129</sup> Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs L. Vankoughnet informed Inspector McColl on October 1, 1889, “that the Dept approves of the proposition to give lands in severalty to those of the Band who desire and are able to work farms for themselves, and that the same be subdivided by survey into lots of such size as may be considered sufficient none however to exceed 100 acres.”<sup>130</sup> Inspector McColl subsequently informed Agent Ogletree that the subdivision would receive attention as soon as a government surveyor could be spared for that purpose, but he also expressed his surprise at the request given that the Band had shown no capacity for cultivating the land already prepared for that purpose.<sup>131</sup> When Surveyor J. C. Nelson arrived at Portage la Prairie on November 1, 1889, he found the Roseau River Indians “were all away gathering snake root,” and advised against the subdivision of the reserve.<sup>132</sup>

By 1890, Agent Ogletree reported that only three Indians were assisting with the crop on the reserve, although the yield was 2,400 bushels of wheat and 360 of potatoes.<sup>133</sup> By 1894 there was only one man farming on the “reserve proper,” as well as the Chief and two other men resident at the Rapids. Thirty-three acres were under crop on the reserve by the sole farmer, in addition to 94 acres “cropped by the department.” The Indians at the Rapids had some wheat, potatoes, and corn under crop. Agent Ogletree again indicated that the Bands “will not take to farming much as long as they can get twenty to twenty-five cents a pound for Seneca (snake root), and there seems to be no falling off in the quantity available from year to year.”<sup>134</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 16, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1890), p. 45 [Doc. 192].

<sup>129</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, September 17, 1889 [Doc. 193]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3829 File 61367 Reel C-10145.

<sup>130</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, October 1, 1889 [Doc. 194]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3829 File 61367 Reel C-10145.

<sup>131</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to F. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, October 9, 1889 [Doc. 195]; and E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 12, 1889 [Doc. 196]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3829 File 61367 Reel C-10145.

<sup>132</sup> John C. Nelson, Indian Reserve Surveys, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 31, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1890), p. 307 [Doc. 197].

<sup>133</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1890, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1891), pp. 30-31 [Doc. 199]; and E. McColl, Superintending Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 18, 1890, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1890*, p. 198 [Doc. 200].

<sup>134</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1894, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1894* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1895), p. 49 [Doc. 221].

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A Farming Instructor was appointed to the Roseau River Reserve in 1898, which Inspector Marlatt felt "should have good effect." The main reserve, he reported, was well adapted to mixed farming, with immense quantities of wild hay and a large amount of "very choice grain land," with 90 acres under crop. The reserve at the Rapids he noted as grain land, with 65 acres under crop.<sup>135</sup> However, reports of the Indian Agents and Inspector in the early 1900s continued to express disappointment in the progress being made with respect to grain-growing and stock-raising on the Roseau River reserves.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1898, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1898* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1899), p. 76 [Doc. 233].

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, R. Logan, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie and Manitowapah Agencies, to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, April 1, 1912, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1912* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1912), p. 110 [Doc. 282].



#### **4. Provision of Treaty Benefits to the Roseau River First Nation**

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Given Canada's attempt to settle the issue of the "Outside Promises" to Treaty 1 with the April 30, 1875, Order in Council, which included a provision limiting claims to additional outside promises, there are four documents that may be considered together to consist of the final agreed upon treaty terms:

- 1) The original Treaty 1 document of August 3, 1871;
- 2) The undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871";
- 3) Order in Council P.C. 424 of April 30, 1875, which made the Memorandum of Outside Promises part of the treaty and increased the annuity to \$5 per year, among other things; and
- 4) The Roseau River First Nation's ratification of Order in Council P.C. 424 on September 8, 1875.

The treaty benefits noted in the four documents that may be considered as the final agreed upon treaty terms are discussed below. Additional benefits that were discussed during the negotiations and/or later claimed by the Indian bands are also included, where relevant. The "Summary of Findings" included after this section only lists the government-recognized treaty benefits as set out in the "official" Treaty 1 documents stated above. See Appendix B for details on additional items requested or claimed as treaty benefits by the Roseau River First Nation.

##### **a) Agricultural Implements and Tools**

The memorandum of "Outside Promises" included the provision of a buggy for each "Chief, brave, and councillor," and a plough and harrow for each "settled Indian." As discussed in Section 3, the Roseau River First Nation did not undertake farming on the main reserve to any great extent; the largest number of families engaged in farming was "about a dozen" reported by Inspector McColl in 1882.<sup>137</sup>

In the spring of 1872, the Chief and Councillors of the Roseau River Band submitted a petition to Lieutenant Governor Archibald. In it, they requested that a certain piece of land lying between the mouth of the Roseau River and the North Easterly branch of the Red River occupied by two families be included "as part of their reserve." They also requested the land lying between the mouth of the river and Roseau Lake. Finally, they reminded the Lieutenant Governor that they were promised at treaty time that as soon as any of the Band should go on Reserve for the purpose of raising crops and making homes, that they would be provided with oxen, ploughs,

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<sup>137</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 28, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882*, p. 154 [Doc. 159].

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and seed. As such, they requested the necessary means by which to raise some corn and potatoes during the coming winter.<sup>138</sup>

In August 1872 Wemyss Simpson reported that the Pembina Band had declared "their intention of living in peace and harmony with the white man and by degrees adopting his habits of agriculture." Seeing that some of them were preparing to cultivate the land in the spring, Simpson gave the reserve a yoke of oxen "in addition to the other things promised them, as without these, what we have already given them would be more or less useless."<sup>139</sup> Simpson does not specify what the other items were.

In February 1873, Agent St. John reported on a meeting held with a large deputation from the Pembina Bands in September [1872], listing their demands and his replies, with marginalia initialled by A.C. noting approval or other comments. The Pembina Bands enumerated 18 demands, several of which related to agricultural implements. With respect to ploughs & harrows, Agent St. John recommended, "Perhaps more may be given when the Government are satisfied that those already given are used as intended." Marginalia initialled by A.C. reads "Approved."<sup>140</sup> In reply to the Bands' request for another yoke of oxen (and the accompanying yoke), Agent St. John stated, "Only one promised can do all the work they want at present"; however, A.C.'s marginal comments read, "Give two if any fair use can be made of them."<sup>141</sup> The Pembina Bands also requested a reaper, which Agent St. John did not consider necessary. Marginalia initialled by A.C. indicated that the Bands should be provided with scythes or cradles instead.<sup>142</sup>

Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, commented on the purchase of 50 ploughs and 50 harrows by Commissioner Simpson "to be delivered to such Indians as were prepared to enter upon the cultivation of land."<sup>143</sup> He did not provide any additional information on the recipients of these implements.

In April 1873 Agent St. John requested the immediate issue of implements "additional to those delivered already to the Chiefs and Councillors," to be purchased at Fort Garry to save time.

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<sup>138</sup> Chief Che-we-te-as, Chief Wa-ko-wash, and Ma-Ma-tak-com-tup, Roseau River Band, to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, April 1872 [Doc. 28]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 43 Reel C-10098.

<sup>139</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1872 [Doc. 36]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3580 File 683 Reel C-10188.

<sup>140</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 20.

<sup>141</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 21.

<sup>142</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 22.

<sup>143</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

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Order in Council P.C. 465, dated April 26, 1873, approved the purchase of 500 spades, 500 large hoes, 500 large axes, and 200 scythes with handles.<sup>144</sup>

An Estimate of implements to be provided to Indians of Treaties 1 and 2 in 1874 indicated that there was a total of 1,069 heads of families, with 800 estimated to commence to cultivate land that year. The Estimate indicated that the following implements would be required: 800 ploughs, 1,600 spades, 1,600 axes, 800 harrows, 1,600 hoes, and 400 scythes, for a total cost of \$46,300.<sup>145</sup> However, Indian Commissioner Provencher subsequently stated that he felt one plough and harrow to every four families "should be sufficient to enable them to start in agricultural pursuits," which would reduce the requisition considerably.<sup>146</sup> The actual expenditures on agricultural implements and farming stock for Treaties 1 and 2 in the 1874-75 fiscal year, according to the published returns, was \$10,572.04.<sup>147</sup>

In May 1875, Indian Affairs Accountant Robert Sinclair commented on Indian Commissioner Provencher's "excessive" Estimate of the agricultural implements and cattle required under Treaties 1, 2, and 3 for the 1875-76 fiscal year. Provencher required, for Treaties 1 and 2, 120 ploughs, 120 harrows, 1,000 hoes, 1,000 spades, 600 axes, 350 scythes, in addition to cattle and harness totalling \$2,970. Sinclair noted in his memorandum that the Indians under Treaties 1 and 2 had already received 52 ploughs, 51 harrows, 1,596 hoes, 1,000 spades, 1,085 axes, 150 scythes, and cattle & harness in the amount of \$1,380. If Provencher's requisition should be carried out, Sinclair noted, the total distributions under the treaty (based on a total of 4,500 Indians, or 900 families) would amount to 1 plough and 1 harrow to every 5 families; over 3 hoes, over 2 spades, and nearly 2 axes to each family; and more than one scythe to every two families.<sup>148</sup>

In July 1875 Indian Commissioner Provencher submitted a request to the Minister of the Interior for additional tools to be provided to the Indians of Treaties 1 and 2. He stated that they wished to build houses for their families and barns and stables for their cattle, but were prevented from doing so by want of tools. Provencher stated that \$498.92 in tools had been provided last summer, and made "very good use of, but this quantity is getting too small for the growing demands." He requested an additional \$500, to be charged to the grant for agricultural implements.<sup>149</sup> The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs approved Provencher's request,

<sup>144</sup> Order in Council P.C. 465, April 26, 1873 [Doc. 45]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3600 File 1729 Reel C-10104.

<sup>145</sup> "Estimate for Implements for Indians of Treaties Nos. 1 and 2 as per letter of Instruction from Deputy Superintendent Spragge - dated 18th July 1873," circa 1874 [Doc. 51]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3607 File 3023 Reel C-10105.

<sup>146</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, February 16, 1874 [Doc. 55]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3607 File 3023 Reel C-10105.

<sup>147</sup> "Return D (5) Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1876), p. 73 [Doc. 70].

<sup>148</sup> R. [Sinclair], Department of Indian Affairs, May 10, 1875 [Doc. 69]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3614 File 4116 Reel C-10107.

<sup>149</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, July 19, 1875 [Doc. 73]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3624 File 5134 Reel C-10109.

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"provided care is taken to give the tools to those Indians only who are likely to make good use of them."<sup>150</sup>

In his annual report for 1875, Indian Commissioner Provencher stated that the practice "of distributing agricultural implements, some tools and some cattle, has met the requirements of the Indians, and nothing more will be claimed by them." He further indicated, "The use they make of these articles, and the care they give to the cattle, exonerates the Government from all further responsibility."<sup>151</sup>

In submitting his estimates for 1876-77, in a letter to the Minister of the Interior dated November 4, 1875, Provencher further indicated that almost all of the Indians were now settled, or would be settled on their reserves by next year, and he believed that "next spring the nine tenths of the Indians of Treaties Nos. 1 and 2 will have required the amount of the Implements promised to them by the Government." Provencher also stated that it was sometimes difficult to apportion the quantity of each kind of implement according to the Government's stipulations, and some articles had been given in larger quantities than at first seems to have been allowed. In explanation, he noted that the Indians' "rather primitive system of agriculture" utilized more hoes than ploughs, so more of the former had been distributed and few ploughs. He included in his estimates a quantity of 200 hoes, "though they will have then received the full quantity that they are entitled to." The number of ploughs, likewise, was reduced. Provencher also noted that the axes "are of daily use for the Indians, not only for those who are settled, but even for the others." While these items were to be given "only once and for all," Provencher stated that he did not think "it would be advantageous to apply that principle very rigidly; refusing such articles of an absolutely necessary use." Without axes, Provencher noted, the Government would have to support the Indians with provisions and other presents.<sup>152</sup>

Despite Provencher's statements that the Government's treaty obligations had been met, Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris wrote the Minister of the Interior in October 1876 stating that "only a very small proportion of the Indians who are cultivating" had received the plough and harrow to be provided under the memorandum attached to Treaty 1. He proposed that the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Manitoba Superintendency (Provencher) be asked to provide "an accurate statement of all cattle and implements, already delivered to the Bands, cultivating the soil, together with an Estimate of the quantities of cattle, animals, and implements required to fulfil the terms of the revised Treaties, and make provision for there

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<sup>150</sup> Department of the Interior to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, August 2, 1875 [Doc. 76]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3624 File 5134 Reel C-10109.

<sup>151</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1875, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875*, p. 33 [Doc. 86].

<sup>152</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, November 4, 1875 [Doc. 87]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3623 File 5091 Reel C-10109. See pp. 6-9.

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[sic] distribution next season.”<sup>153</sup> Provencher was subsequently instructed to provide the requested information.<sup>154</sup>

In November 1877 the Department of Indian Affairs sent a circular letter to Agents in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, requesting that they submit information respecting the number of cattle, implements, etc. given to the Indians under the treaty, the number of implements purchased for their agency still remaining on hand, the amount of stock in the possession of the Indians and how well they are cared for, the extent to which the Indians are cultivating the land, the probable quantity of implements required during the coming season, and whether the Indians are satisfied with the manner in which the treaty is being carried out.<sup>155</sup> Geo. Newcomb, who had just been appointed as Indian Agent to the Roseau River First Nation in July, responded to the circular on November 21, 1877, providing the following information with respect to cattle and implements given under treaty:

The following were given this year

1 cross plough, 3 breaking ditto, 4 Harrows, 8 setts Whippletrees, 1 Harrow Whippletree, 3 setts [sic] Trace chains, 10 scythes & snaiths,

And the Indians inform me that they received previously 8 cows, 11 oxen and 1 Bull 9 ploughs 6 Harrows, 9 setts Whippletrees 9 setts Trace chains, and 18 scythes & snaiths.<sup>156</sup>

Newcomb was unable to provide an estimate of what quantity of implements was still due the Roseau River First Nation, as he had “been unable to get a copy of the law relating to the Indians or a copy of the Treaty.”<sup>157</sup>

On May 28, 1878, James F. Graham, the new Acting Superintendent of the Manitoba Superintendency, submitted several statements of agricultural implements, tools, cattle, etc. that had been provided to bands under Treaties 1 and 2 from the date of treaty to December 31, 1877.<sup>158</sup> The distributions of agricultural implements and tools to the “Pembina Band” are listed in Table 1 below. Another statement (“D”) indicates that 12 hoes and 12 axes were

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<sup>153</sup> Alex. Morris, Lieutenant Governor, to the Minister of the Interior, October 26, 1876 [Doc. 100]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>154</sup> [E. A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior,] to Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, November 6, 1876 [Doc. 101]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>155</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to George Newcomb, Indian Agent, Emerson, et al., November 6, 1877 [Doc. 120]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>156</sup> Geo. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114. Whippletrees, trace chains, scythes, and snaiths are not included in the implements required to be provided under the terms of Treaty 1 or the “Outside Promises.”

<sup>157</sup> Geo. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>158</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, May 28, 1878 [Doc. 125]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

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distributed to the Roseau River First Nation in 1872.<sup>159</sup> These statements indicate that the Pembina Band (Roseau River First Nation) received many implements and tools not specifically set out in the treaty; of items to be provided under the provisions of Treaty 1, they received 11 plows and four harrows. An accompanying statement of "Articles required for Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5" indicates that no articles were owing to Geo. Newcomb, Agent to the Roseau River First Nation.<sup>160</sup>

In his annual report for 1879, Acting Indian Superintendent Graham listed additional implements which had been distributed to the bands in the Manitoba Superintendency that year, including 48 ploughs, 52 harrows, 156 hoes, 70 spades, 218 axes, 92 scythes and snaiths, 56 scythe stones, four grindstones, 1 chest of tools, 2 crosscut saws, and 1 hay fork.<sup>161</sup> The distribution of these items to individual bands is not known.

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<sup>159</sup> "Statement of Cattle and Implements distributed in the years 1872-73-74 as showing by letters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, herewith attach [sic] Treaties Nos. [1 & 2]," January 28, 1878 [Doc. 124]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>160</sup> "Articles Required for Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5," 1878 [Doc. 123]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>161</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendenct, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 59 [Doc. 141].

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Table 1: Implements and Tools distributed to the Pembina Band from date of Treaty to December 31, 1877<sup>162</sup>

Date	Plows	Harrows	Hoes	Scythes	Axes	Planes	Harness	Carts	Pit saws	Augers	[Grooving] Picks	Squares	Grooving Planes	Oil Stone	Hammers	Scythe stones	Hay Forks	Compasses	Chisels	Files
Oct. 5, 1875	3		36	18	36	6	4	4	3	3	3	3	6	1	3	3	3	3	3	36
Nov. 4, 1876	4		24		15															
Nov. 20, 1876																				
May 26, 1878	4	4		10																
July 28, 1878																				
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>36</b>

<sup>162</sup> "B. Statement of Implements, Cattles [sic], Tools &c distributed to the several Bands of Indians under Treaty Nos. 1 and 2 from date of Treaty to the 31st December 1877," December 31, 1877 [Doc. 122]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114. Columns with no entries relating to the Roseau River First Nation have been deleted to conserve space; i.e., spades, pit saws, whipple trees, trace chains, adzes, rakes, trowels, [draw] knives, ice chisels, cross-cut saws, Spt. [splitting] axes, [illegible], rulers, and grindstones.

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The Roseau River First Nation was provided with a fanning mill in 1879.<sup>163</sup> While the Auditor General's Report for the 1878-79 fiscal year notes an expenditure of \$2,088.95 on implements, cattle, and tools for Treaties 1 and 2, this expenditure was far below the \$8,650 estimated for those purchases and the report contains a statement that "Agents generally reported no more cattle, tools or implements were wanted."<sup>164</sup>

The Roseau River Reserve was provided with two breaking ploughs, four sets of trace chains, four sets of whiffletrees, and two harrows in the 1880-81 fiscal year, at a total cost of \$95.60.<sup>165</sup> In 1884, the statement of departmental expenditures on agricultural implements in the Treaty 1 area includes an entry for "Implements for Roseau River band," totalling \$11.85<sup>166</sup>; however, the type of implements is not stated and it is unknown whether they were provided as a treaty benefit.

In 1886, Agent Ogletree reported that the "Roseau River Bands" received "an excellent lumber waggon, and several smaller implements."<sup>167</sup>

At the request of Agent Ogletree, in 1889 the Roseau River First Nation was provided with a seeder.<sup>168</sup>

In 1890, the Roseau River First Nation was provided with 12 axes, one double wagon, and 12 scythes, amounting to \$110.24. An additional \$24.23 was expended by Agent Ogletree on repairs to the Band's implements.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>163</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba," June 30, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 254 [Doc. 135].

<sup>164</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts of the year ended 30th June, 1879* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1880), p. 201 [Doc. 139].

<sup>165</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba and North-West," June 30, 1881, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1881* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1882), Part II, p. 117 [Doc. 150].

<sup>166</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1884, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1884* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1885), Part II, p. 143 [Doc. 163].

<sup>167</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 43 [Doc. 174].

<sup>168</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin; Queen's Printer, 1890), Part II, p. 48 [Doc. 191]; and E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1889 [Doc. 188]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3812 File 55994 Reel C-10142.

<sup>169</sup> "Manitoba Superintendency – Details," June 30, 1890, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1891), Part II, p. 49 [Doc. 198].



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In 1891 a deputation from the Roseau Rapids met with Inspector McColl with respect to several requests for implements and cattle. They stated they had only received three ploughs, only one of them was fit for use, and that one required two yoke of oxen to draw it. Inspector McColl stated in a letter to Agent Ogletree:

If these representations are correct the distributions made to the different Bands not only of cattle but also of ploughs and other articles was most irregularly done, as our Statement shows that the Roseau River Band collectively received in excess of Treaty stipulations, whereas this Band did not receive their quota of those articles.<sup>170</sup>

In his report back to McColl, Agent Ogletree indicated that the Roseau Rapids First Nation had been supplied with trace chains in 1886 and a complete chest of tools in 1887. He did not feel they could use the requested saws and fanning mill. He also stated that their statement about having only received three ploughs might be correct, as they had received only two during the time he was dealing with them.<sup>171</sup>

***b) Ammunition and Twine***

Ammunition and twine are not mentioned in the written text of Treaty 1 or the memorandum of "Outside Promises." Although the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended in March 1874 that \$1,500 per annum be provided to the bands in Treaty 1,<sup>172</sup> this benefit was not included in the settlement of the "Outside Promises," as directed by Order in Council P.C. 424 on April 30, 1875.<sup>173</sup>

There is some evidence, however, of ammunition and twine provided by the Department to bands in Treaty 1. For example, in 1878, the Department's statement of expenditures under Treaty 1 included \$735.31 for powder, shot, and twine, although it is unknown whether these were provided as a treaty benefit, as relief, or repaid from Band funds.<sup>174</sup> Similarly, the 1879-80 fiscal year recorded an expenditure of \$1,186.04 on ammunition and twine for the bands of

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<sup>170</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to F. Ogletree, Indian Agent, April 17, 1891 [Doc. 201]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>171</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, April 20, 1891 [Doc. 202]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>172</sup> Molyneux St. John, Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 13, 1874 [Doc. 58]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105. Some of these benefits reflected terms of Treaty 3, which had been completed in 1873 (i.e., annuity of \$5, ammunition, and agricultural assistance).

<sup>173</sup> Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108; and W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug. 1871," August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>174</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba," June 30, 1878, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1878], p. 182 [Doc. 126].

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Treaties 1 and 2.<sup>175</sup> In his annual report for 1879, Acting Indian Superintendent Graham confirmed the total distributions of powder, shot, gun caps, and twine for nets to bands in the Manitoba Superintendency, distinguishing these articles from items provided as relief.<sup>176</sup> The distribution of these items to individual bands, however, is not known.

The statement of Indian Affairs expenditures on ammunition and twine in the Treaty 1 area for the 1881-82 fiscal year included \$108.51 for the Roseau River Band.<sup>177</sup> Statements of departmental expenditures for the Portage la Prairie Agency published in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports up to the end of 1919 include ammunition and twine provided under "Supplies for Destitute."<sup>178</sup> Again, it is unknown whether the Department considered this ammunition and twine to be a treaty benefit, relief, or another type of expenditure.

Statements of hunting and fishing allotments provided to First Nations in the areas covered by the numbered treaties are found in departmental files dating from the 1970s to the 2000s. For Treaty 1, these statements include the statement, "Not entitled to Hunting and Fishing Allotment under Treaty #1."<sup>179</sup>

*c) Buggies & Wagons for Chiefs*

According to the Memorandum of "Outside Promises" each Chief (except Yellow Quill), and the "Braves and Councillors" of each Chief, were to receive a buggy, "to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given."<sup>180</sup>

Simpson's statement of account for 1872 includes a December 24, 1872, payment for freight of 11 wagons transported by steamer to Pembina, but there is no indication of which bands or Chiefs were to receive them.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts of the year ended 30th June, 1879*, p. 201 [Doc. 139].

<sup>176</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 59 [Doc. 141].

<sup>177</sup> "F. — Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), Part II, p. 141 [Doc. 154].

<sup>178</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1918-1919" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1919* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1920), pp. I-19 [Doc. 306].

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, "1985-1986 — Manitoba," 1985 [Doc. 392]. DIAND NCR-E 4058-4/34.4 UNC Vol. 2.

<sup>180</sup> W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871," ca. August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>181</sup> Wemyss Simpson, "Indian Department Cash Account 1872," February 22, 1873 [Doc. 39]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1407 Reel C-10103. See p. 9.

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Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, commented on the delivery of "various presents" under Treaties 1 and 2, including "light express waggons for the chiefs and councillors of the bands who were parties to these treaties...."<sup>182</sup>

Upon settlement of the "Outside Promises" in 1875, Indian Commissioner J. A. N. Provencher addressed the Minister of the Interior on the subject of the provision of buggies to Chiefs and Councillors. He stated that this would involve "a large outlay of money, for which no provision was made in the estimates proposed by me for this fiscal year," noting that he would not take any action on the matter until given special authorization to do so. Marginalia on Provencher's letter initialled by E. A. Meredith indicates that the required buggies should be provided for in next year's estimates.<sup>183</sup> The Deputy Minister of the Interior, however, informed Provencher on August 2, 1875, that the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs considers buggies "quite unnecessary for the Indians," and recommended that Provencher induce the Chiefs and Councillors entitled to receive them to take agricultural implements or tools instead.<sup>184</sup>

In a letter to the Minister of the Interior dated November 4, 1875, Indian Commissioner Provencher noted the requirement of the Order in Council that a buggy be given to "each Brave from Treaties Nos. 1 and 2, amounting to 64." He informed the Minister:

According to your instructions, I have refrained myself as far as possible to mention the fact to them and I hope that only few will be required, but as the amount is to be expended in some other way I have placed it in the Estimates.<sup>185</sup>

In 1879-80 \$800 was set aside in the Estimates for the purchase of wagons for bands in Treaties 1 and 2, but none of this amount was used; the Auditor General's report notes "not purchased."<sup>186</sup>

Little additional correspondence has been found on the provision of buggies to the Chiefs and Councillors in Treaty 1; however, an 1897 statement of "Agricultural and Industrial Statistics"

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<sup>182</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>183</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, July 19, 1875 [Doc. 74]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>184</sup> Deputy Minister of the Interior to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, August 2, 1875 [Doc. 77]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>185</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, November 4, 1875 [Doc. 87]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3623 File 5091 Reel C-10109. See pp. 6-9.

<sup>186</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts of the year ended 30th June, 1879*, p. 201 [Doc. 139].

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indicates that there were 31 buggies in the Portage la Prairie Agency by that year, in addition to close to 200 wagons, carts, and sleighs.<sup>187</sup>

**d) Farm Instructors and Carpenters**

Farm instructors and carpenters are not mentioned in the written text of Treaty 1 or the memorandum of "Outside Promises." However, they are mentioned in Agent St. John's February 1873 report, which discussed other articles understood by the Indians to have been promised them: "... A farmer to teach them to cultivate the land, and a Blacksmith and carpenter to assist them in Building &c." Marginalia next to these items, initialled by A.C., reads, "yes, if it can be arranged." In response to the Pembina deputation's demand for a farmer, Agent St. John stated, "Someone will be employed to show them how to plough. (Mr. Todd Atkinson to devote one [man] to this end, in the spring.)"<sup>188</sup> Although the Board of Indian Commissioners also recommended in March 1874 that a farmer, carpenter, and tools for building purposes be provided to the bands in Treaty 1,<sup>189</sup> this benefit was not included in the settlement of the "Outside Promises," as directed by Order in Council P.C. 424 on April 30, 1875.<sup>190</sup>

At a meeting held on March 23, 1877, the Roseau River First Nation requested that a farmer be employed "to reside on the Reserve to oversee and teach them the different branches of Agriculture." The Band also requested that a house be built for the farmer and his family, and requested that Daniel Harlow be appointed to the position.<sup>191</sup>

In 1898 the Department appointed two Farming Instructors in the Portage la Prairie Agency, including one to be stationed on the Roseau River Reserve. The proposed instructor was stated to be a "halfbreed resident on the reserve."<sup>192</sup> These instructors were not provided as treaty benefits by the Department; in his letter approving Inspector Marlatt's proposal, Secretary

<sup>187</sup> "Agricultural and Industrial Statistics" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1897* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1898), pp. 426-427 [Doc. 227].

<sup>188</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See pp. 18 and 20.

<sup>189</sup> Molyneux St. John, Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 13, 1874 [Doc. 58]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105. Some of these benefits reflected terms of Treaty 3, which had been completed in 1873 (i.e., annuity of \$5, ammunition, and agricultural assistance).

<sup>190</sup> Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108; and W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871," August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>191</sup> John Scott, Presbyterian Missionary, March 23, 1877 [Doc. 113]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>192</sup> J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to the Deputy Minister, March 2, 1898 [Doc. 229]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3983 File 162550-1 Reel C-10168.

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McLean stated that the instructors' salaries were to be paid "by an assessment on the products of the Indians of ten cent, which will be funded here for this purpose."<sup>193</sup>

***e) Flags & Medals***

Flags and medals are not mentioned in the written text of Treaty 1, but are included in the memorandum of "Outside Promises" and Commissioner Simpson's report on the treaty.

Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, commented on the delivery of "various presents" under Treaties 1 and 2, including clothing, medals and flags, &c. &c."<sup>194</sup> He does not provide any additional information on the recipients of these medals and flags.

In March 1873, Indian Agent Molyneux St. John informed Deputy Superintendent Spragge that at least one Chief's medal and four medals for councillors were required that year. He also noted that the medals supplied so far were poor quality, turned black, and could not be kept clean. Some of the recipients had asked to have them exchanged for silver ones, and some bands had refused to accept them altogether.<sup>195</sup> The Department of Indian Affairs expended \$427.21 in the 1871-72 fiscal year on "Medals, flags, &c." for Indians in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, but additional information on their distribution is not provided. The statement of expenditures the following year also includes an entry for "30 silver medals."<sup>196</sup>

Upon settlement of the "Outside Promises" in 1875, the original medals were replaced by silver ones. In his instructions to Lieutenant Governor Morris, dated July 7, 1875, Minister of the Interior David Laird stated:

Silver medals were on the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst sent to your address by Express. Some of them are intended to replace those of base metal originally issued to the Indian Chiefs interested in Treaties Nos 1 & 2. You will have the goodness to obtain the medals of base metal from the parties who received them, giving each Chief one of the new medals instead & returning the others to the

<sup>193</sup> J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to S. R. Marlatt, Inspector, Portage la Prairie Inspectorate, March 17, 1898 [Doc. 230]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3983 File 162550-1 Reel C-10168.

<sup>194</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>195</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 19, 1873 [Doc. 43]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3600 File 1580 Reel C-11063.

<sup>196</sup> "Return E (2) – Statement of Special Payments, Contingent and Incidental Expenditure by the Indian Branch, Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, during the year ended the 30th June, 1873, from the funds of Manitoba and the North West Territories" in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Minister of the Interior, for the year ended 30th June, 1873* (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1874), p. 21 [Doc. 46].

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Department. You will also give a new medal to each Chief who had not previously received one.<sup>197</sup>

Laird described the medals as engraved with "the number and year of the Treaty to which it relates."<sup>198</sup>

In July 1878, Indian Agent Newcomb forwarded a request to the Acting Indian Superintendent from Ah-ne-oon, one of the Chiefs of the Roseau Indians, who had been appointed a few years ago in lieu of Wah-coowash (deceased), for the medal and flag to which he was entitled.<sup>199</sup> Acting Indian Superintendent Jas. F. Graham forwarded the letter to the Minister, stating that he had three medals for Treaty 1 on hand and could forward one if instructed to do so.<sup>200</sup> Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs L. Vankoughnet responded to Graham on August 10, stating that the medal and flag given to the now-deceased Chief should have been passed to his successor, but if those articles could not be located, Graham could send one of the medals in his possession and the Department of Indian Affairs would forward a flag.<sup>201</sup> Agent Newcomb reported that the medal and flag given to the deceased Chief had been buried with him, and the new articles were forwarded for Chief Ah-ne-oon.<sup>202</sup>

At a Band meeting held on the Roseau Reserve on November 5, 1909, the death of one of the Councillors was noted. Inspector Jackson reported that the Band "have the medal belonging to the late Councillor, and want to give it to his successor."<sup>203</sup> Upon further inquiry, the Band in question was reported to be Roseau Rapids and the request to fill the vacant Councillor position was not granted as the Band's population of 30 only entitled it to a Chief and one Councillor.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> [David Laird, Minister of the Interior,] to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, July 7, 1875 [Doc. 72]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>198</sup> [David Laird, Minister of the Interior,] to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, July 7, 1875 [Doc. 72]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>199</sup> G. C. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba, July 17, 1878 [Doc. 128]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3666 File 10171 Reel C-10117.

<sup>200</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba, to the Minister of the Interior, July 29, 1878 [Doc. 129]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3666 File 10171 Reel C-10117.

<sup>201</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba, August 10, 1878 [Doc. 130]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3666 File 10171 Reel C-10117.

<sup>202</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba, to the Minister of the Interior, September 4, 1878 [Doc. 131]; and L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to Jas. F. Graham, September 16, 1878 [Doc. 132]; and Jas. F. Graham to the Minister of the Interior, October 18, 1878 [Doc. 133]. All on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3666 File 10171 Reel C-10117.

<sup>203</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1909 [Doc. 267]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3943 File 121698-27 Reel C-10165.

<sup>204</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1909 [Doc. 270]; and J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, January 5, 1910 [Doc. 271]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3943 File 121698-27 Reel C-10165.



**f) Livestock and Farm Animals**

In August 1872 Wemyss Simpson reported that the Pembina Bands had declared “their intention of living in peace and harmony with the white man and by degrees adopting his habits of agriculture.” Seeing that some of them were preparing to cultivate the land in the spring, Simpson gave the reserve a yoke of oxen “in addition to the other things promised them, as without these, what we have already given them would be more or less useless.”<sup>205</sup>

In February 1873, Agent St. John reported on a meeting held with a large deputation from the Pembina Bands in September [1872], listing their demands and his replies, with marginalia initialled by A.C. noting approval or other comments. The Pembina Bands enumerated 18 demands, several of which related to livestock. In reply to the Bands’ request for another yoke of oxen (and the accompanying yoke), Agent St. John stated, “Only one promised can do all the work they want at present”; however, A.C.’s marginal comments read, “Give two if any fair use can be made of them.” With respect to the Bands’ request for pigs, sheep, and hens, Agent St. John replied yes to the pigs and hens, “when I see where they are going to keep them,” but no to the sheep.<sup>206</sup> These actions, too, were approved by A.C. No documentation has been found to indicate that pigs and hens were provided to the Pembina Bands at this time.

Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, noted that Commissioner Simpson had purchased several head of farming stock, which were “delivered to the chiefs for whom they were intended.”<sup>207</sup> Spragge does not provide any additional information on the recipients of this stock, but does state that more will be provided:

And it is proposed to continue to provide stock for such others as are entitled to receive such animals, under agreements made by the late Lieutenant Governor in conjunction with Commissioner Simpson, so soon as the local officers of the Department are in a position to state that the chiefs have made arrangements for taking care of them.<sup>208</sup>

The statement of Indian Affairs expenditures in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories for the 1872-73 fiscal year includes \$630.39 for “cattle and oxen.”<sup>209</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Wemyss M. Simpson to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1872 [Doc. 36]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3580 File 683 Reel C-10188.

<sup>206</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 21.

<sup>207</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>208</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>209</sup> “Return E (2) – Statement of Special Payments, Contingent and Incidental Expenditure by the Indian Branch, Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, during the year ended the 30th June, 1873...,” in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Minister of the Interior, for the year ended 30th June, 1873*, p. 21 [Doc. 46].

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An extract from a "Supply Book" provided estimates for livestock to be provided to bands in Treaties 1 and 2 under the terms of the "Outside Promises," for reserves, Chiefs, and 745 individual settlers, as follows:

Under Memo called "Outside Promises" they should have further

1 Bull for each Reserve = 13 Bulls  
1 Cow for each Chief = 13 Cows  
1 Boar for each Reserve = 13 Boars  
1 Sow for each Chief = 13 Sows  
also  
For each Settler  
2 Pigs [\$]12  
2 Sheep [\$]8  
2 Chickens [\$] 2                      \$22.00 ea.  
to 745 persons =                      \$16,280.00<sup>210</sup>

An Estimate by Indian Commissioner Provencher of cattle and animals to be provided to the Indians of Treaties 1 and 2 in 1874 included the following: 15 boars, 15 cows, 1,600 pigs, 800 couples of fowls, and 10 yokes of oxen, for a total of \$12,875.<sup>211</sup> However, marginalia on the Estimate reads "no provision" and it is unclear if these animals were provided. The actual expenditure on farming stock for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874, was \$500.<sup>212</sup>

In his annual report for 1875, Indian Commissioner Provencher stated that the practice "of distributing agricultural implements, some tools and some cattle, has met the requirements of the Indians, and nothing more will be claimed by them." He further indicated, "The use they make of these articles, and the care they give to the cattle, exonerates the Government from all further responsibility."<sup>213</sup> In his Estimates for 1875-76 Provencher provided for all the animals remaining to be distributed in accordance with the Order in Council, including 30 pigs and 200 other animals.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>210</sup> "Extract from Supply Book, in Indian Office at Ottawa," November 27, 1873 [Doc. 49]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101. The total cost for the animals to be provided to individual settlers appears to be incorrect: \$22 x 745 = \$16,390.

<sup>211</sup> "Estimate of the Cattle and Animals to be given to Indians according to Treaties No. 1 & 2," circa 1874 [Doc. 52]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3607 File 3023 Reel C-10105.

<sup>212</sup> "Return D (4) – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1875), p. 31 [Doc. 61].

<sup>213</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1875, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875*, p. 33 [Doc. 86].

<sup>214</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, November 4, 1875 [Doc. 87]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3623 File 5091 Reel C-10109. See p. 14.



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Despite Provencher's statements that the Government's treaty obligations had been met, Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris wrote the Minister of the Interior in October 1876 observing that the memorandum attached to Treaty 1 "is very wide in its terms as regards animals." Morris expressed his opinion that "each kind of animal raised by farmers" should include stallions and mares. He proposed that the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Manitoba Superintendency (Provencher) be asked to provide "an accurate statement of all cattle and implements, already delivered to the Bands, cultivating the soil, together with an Estimate of the quantities of cattle, animals, and implements required to fulfil the terms of the revised Treaties, and make provision for there [*sic*] distribution next season."<sup>215</sup> Provencher was subsequently instructed to provide the requested information.<sup>216</sup>

A statement of account with J. B. Lapointe indicates that three cows and one yoke of oxen were provided to the "Roseau Reserve Indians" on November 20, 1876.<sup>217</sup>

J. A. N. Provencher, now Acting Superintendent of the Manitoba Superintendency, wrote to the Minister of the Interior in September 1876 on the subject of the memorandum's requirement to provide each band with a "male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers." Provencher informed the Minister that some of the bands had expressed a desire to have cattle instead of the smaller farm animals, and asked what value or quantity would be considered appropriate.<sup>218</sup> Deputy Minister of the Interior E. A. Meredith responded to Provencher on October 7, 1876, providing the Superintendent General's approval of the substitution, noting however, that cattle should only be given to bands that "would make good use of, and take care of them." Meredith also instructed Provencher not to provide the whole value of the animals promised at one time, and to estimate himself the proper value of the smaller animals promised.<sup>219</sup> As noted above, the total cost of the small animals had been estimated at \$22 in 1873<sup>220</sup> and Provencher's proposal to the Minister of the Interior did not differ from that previous estimate. He valued the small animals as follows:

2 pigs @ \$6.00 each	\$12.00
2 sheeps @ \$4.00 "	\$8.00
2 chickens @ \$1.00 "	\$2.00

<sup>215</sup> Alex. Morris, Lieutenant Governor, to the Minister of the Interior, October 26, 1876 [Doc. 100]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>216</sup> [E. A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior,] to Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, November 6, 1876 [Doc. 101]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>217</sup> The Indian Department in account with J. B. Lapointe, November 20, 1876 [Doc. 103]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>218</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, September 25, 1876 [Doc. 98]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>219</sup> E. A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, October 7, 1876 [Doc. 99]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>220</sup> "Extract from Supply Book, in Indian Office at Ottawa," November 27, 1873 [Doc. 49]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

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The total \$22.00 being the amount to which each family cultivating the land might be entitled to under this head.<sup>221</sup>

Provencher stated that it was not intended to give each band the full amount now, but proposed that a "very small proportion only might be allowed every year, or as the Indians may be in need of."<sup>222</sup> In providing explanations for some of his account for 1876, Provencher explained to the Minister of the Interior that the accounts for cattle "represent the value of smaller animals promised to the Indians by the Treaty 1." He noted that he procured younger cattle, "as the value and not the quantity only is promised to the Indians," and this would enable them to get a greater number.<sup>223</sup> Provencher was instructed on December 26, 1876, to provide an estimate of the number of Indians of Treaties 1 and 2 entitled to the smaller animals under the "Outside Promises," and what sum would be required to "discharge the whole obligation of the Govt in in this particular." The Department estimated that about 745 people were entitled to receive cattle in lieu of the smaller animals, and suggested that one-fourth of the aggregate amount be discharged each year for four years.<sup>224</sup>

Geo. Newcomb, who had just been appointed as Indian Agent to the Roseau River First Nation in July, responded to the Superintendent General's circular on November 21, 1877, providing information with respect to cattle given under treaty. He did not list any distributions of cattle in 1877, but noted that "the Indians inform me that they received previously 8 cows, 11 oxen and 1 Bull."<sup>225</sup> With respect to stock in the present possession of the Roseau River First Nation, Newcomb reported:

Of original stock, 2 oxen have died, and 3 have been killed leaving 8 cows, 6 oxen and 1 bull, and they have about 8 head of young stock including calves. As far as I have seen and can learn, the stock is well taken care of.<sup>226</sup>

While these statements indicate that by 1877 the Roseau River First Nation had received the stock due under treaty, Agent Newcomb also indicated in his response to the circular that the

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<sup>221</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, December 2, 1876 [Doc. 104]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>222</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, December 2, 1876 [Doc. 104]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>223</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, December 5, 1876 [Doc. 105]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>224</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, December 26, 1876 [Doc. 107]; and Rob. Sinclair, Department of Indian Affairs, Memorandum, December 19, 1876 [Doc. 106]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>225</sup> Geo. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>226</sup> Geo. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

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Band complained "that they were promised some pigs, sheep, and chickens which have not yet been given."<sup>227</sup>

On May 28, 1878, James Graham, the new Acting Superintendent of the Manitoba Superintendency, submitted several statements of agricultural implements, tools, cattle, etc. that had been provided to bands under Treaties 1 and 2 from the date of treaty to December 31, 1877.<sup>228</sup> The distributions of cattle and other animals to the Pembina Band are listed in Table 2 below. This statement indicates that the Pembina Band (Roseau River First Nation) received more cattle than specified under treaty, but none of the smaller animals and swine. An accompanying statement of "Articles required for Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5" indicates that no articles were owing to Geo. Newcomb, Agent to the Roseau River First Nation.<sup>229</sup>

**Table 2: Cattle and other animals distributed to the Pembina Band from date of Treaty to December 31, 1877**<sup>230</sup>

Date	Bulls	Cows	Oxen	Pigs
Oct. 5, 1875	--	3	[8?]	--
Nov. 4, 1876	--	--	--	--
Nov. 20, 1876	--	3	2	--
May 26, 1878	--	--	--	--
July 28, 1878	--	--	1	--
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>

While the Auditor General's Report for the 1878-79 fiscal year notes an expenditure of \$2,088.95 on implements, cattle, and tools for Treaties 1 and 2, this expenditure was far below the \$8,650 estimated for those purchases and the report contains a statement that "Agents generally reported no more cattle, tools or implements were wanted."<sup>231</sup> Acting Indian Superintendent Graham also stated in his annual report for 1879 that 87 head of cattle were

<sup>227</sup> Geo. Newcomb, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>228</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, May 28, 1878 [Doc. 125]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>229</sup> "Articles Required for Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5," 1878 [Doc. 123]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>230</sup> "B. Statement of Implements, Cattles [sic], Tools &c &c distributed to the several Bands of Indians under Treaty Nos. 1 and 2 from date of Treaty to the 31st December 1877," December 31, 1877 [Doc. 122]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>231</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts of the year ended 30th June, 1879*, p. 201 [Doc. 139].

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supplied in the Manitoba Superintendency that year to the "different bands entitled to them" and that all bands in Treaties 1 and 2 had now received their quota of cattle.<sup>232</sup> Inspector McColl noted in his 1880 annual report that the Roseau River First Nation possessed two bulls.<sup>233</sup>

On January 8, 1881, Deputy Superintendent General L. Vankoughnet requested that Indian Superintendent Graham provide a statement showing the number of cattle supplied to the Treaty 1 and 2 bands in lieu of the smaller animals set out in the memorandum of "Outside Promises."<sup>234</sup> Graham responded on January 19, enclosing a "Statement of Cattle distributed to the several Bands of Indians under Treaties No. 1 and 2 from date of Treaty to date 19th January 1881," which indicated that the Roseau River First Nation had been supplied with six cows and eight oxen between 1875 and 1877; however, by June 1882 Agent Ogletree wrote Superintendent Graham that "The Chiefs present say they have no oxen and wished to inform you that they cannot farm without them."<sup>235</sup> In his January 1881 cover letter, Graham remarked that he was not aware of *any* cattle that had been supplied to bands in lieu of the smaller animals, except to one band in Treaty 2. Graham also commented that, as many of the bands have received more cattle than they were entitled to under treaty, as shown in the attached statement, it was up to the Department of Indian Affairs to decide whether "they be considered full, or part, compensation for the smaller animals mentioned in Memorandum attached to the Treaty."<sup>236</sup>

Indian Superintendent Graham commented in 1882 that, although the Roseau River First Nation "have one of the best reserves within the Superintendency, very few of them reside on the reserve or cultivate the soil." He indicated that a yoke of cattle would be given them next spring "to encourage them in husbandry." Graham stated, more generally, "There are yet some cattle to be supplied within Treaties 1, 3 and 5, some of which will be delivered this winter and the

<sup>232</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 59 [Doc. 141].

<sup>233</sup> "Supplement to Inspector McColl's Report, giving Additional Information regarding the Indians of Manitoba and Keewatin, their Education, Religion, Farming Implements, &c.," November 25, 1880, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1880* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1881), pp. 64-65 [Doc. 145].

<sup>234</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to James F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, January 8, 1881 [Doc. 147]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>235</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, to James F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, June 17, 1882 [Doc. 151]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3768 File 33579 Reel C-10135.

<sup>236</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 19, 1881 [Doc. 149]; and "Statement of Cattle distributed to the several Bands of Indians under Treaties No. 1 and 2 from date of Treaty to date 19th January 1881," January 19, 1881 [Doc. 148]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

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remainder in the spring.”<sup>237</sup> He did not specify the bands to which these cattle would be provided.

Despite the Roseau Rapids portion of the band not being resident on the Roseau River Reserve, Agent Ogletree reported in 1885 that he had purchased a yoke of oxen “for those Indians who are living at the rapids, in the spring, in lieu of a bull and one cow still due to them under treaty stipulations.”<sup>238</sup>

In 1886 Agent Ogletree reported that the Roseau River First Nation “were supplied with the remainder of their cattle,” receiving “four very good cows and four calves with them.”<sup>239</sup> The statement of departmental expenditures for cattle provided in the Treaty 1 area indicates that the four cows cost \$232.<sup>240</sup>

In 1891 a deputation from the Roseau Rapids met with Inspector McColl with respect to several requests for implements and cattle. They stated they had only received one cow, two oxen, and no bull. Inspector McColl stated in a letter to Agent Ogletree, “If this statement is correct they certainly are entitled to three cows and one bull yet and the other two Bands must have been supplied with more oxen and cows than they were entitled to.” He asked Ogletree to report on this, and other matters, at once.<sup>241</sup> Agent Ogletree reported back to McColl on April 20, denying the claims of the Roseau Rapids Band and stating that they had received two oxen and two<sup>242</sup> cows “after the first treaty was made with them.” The Roseau Rapids Band had also received a yoke of oxen in 1885 in lieu of the two bulls still owed them, as authorized by Inspector McColl, for which he had a receipt signed by the Chief. Ogletree also stated that in 1886 he had delivered four cows to the Roseau River Bands “two<sup>243</sup> of which were taken to the Rapids so

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<sup>237</sup> James F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882*, pp. 156-157 [Doc. 158].

<sup>238</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885*, pp. 43-44 [Doc. 171].

<sup>239</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 43 [Doc. 174].

<sup>240</sup> “C. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West,” June 30, 1887, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1887* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1888), Part II, p. 154 [Doc. 177].

<sup>241</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to F. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, April 17, 1891 [Doc. 201]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>242</sup> In a subsequent letter, Agent Ogletree corrected this to read two oxen and *one* cow. Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, April 30, 1891 [Doc. 203]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>243</sup> In a subsequent letter, Agent Ogletree corrected this to read *one* cow. Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, April 30, 1891 [Doc. 203]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

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that according to my information those Indians received with the exception of the bull more cattle than they were entitled to.”<sup>244</sup>

In 1894, the portion of the Band residing at Roseau Rapids received two yoke of oxen “purchased by the Department for them.”<sup>245</sup> This expenditure amounted to \$190.00 including harness and whiffletree, but it is unclear whether these oxen were provided under treaty benefit.<sup>246</sup>

As of 1898 there were no sheep, pigs, or poultry listed in the possession of the Portage la Prairie Agency.<sup>247</sup> The first indication of pigs in the Portage la Prairie Agency is in a statement of “Agricultural and Industrial Statistics” published in the annual report for the year ending June 30, 1901, which lists two breeding sows and nine pigs, but does not specify which band(s) they were in the possession of.<sup>248</sup>

In his inspection report for 1910, S. J. Jackson stated that the Roseau River reserves had 48 horses, 99 head of cattle, 20 pigs, and 70 head of poultry.<sup>249</sup> This is the first mention of the Roseau River First Nation having pigs or poultry on either reserve, and it is unknown whether these animals were given under treaty (unlikely given the late date), purchased by the Indians themselves, or provided for in another way.

Despite these numbers, a February 1914 petition from the Band requested their land money be paid in the amount of \$50 each for two years to be invested in livestock and working the soil. Thomas Henry wrote on behalf of various other signatories, “The reason we ask you is here we are with out [sic] anything to work with no stock no horses no oxen nor anything we have lots of land here that the young fellows would like to work it.”<sup>250</sup> Early the following month, the secretary of the Department responded to the petition and noted that the request could not be

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<sup>244</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, April 20, 1891 [Doc. 202]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>245</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1893, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1893* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen’s Printer, 1894), p. 44 [Doc. 213].

<sup>246</sup> “Portage la Prairie Agency,” in Canada, *Report of the Auditor General for the year ended 30th June, 1894* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1895), p. F-13 [Doc. 220].

<sup>247</sup> “Agricultural and Industrial Statistics,” June 30, 1898, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June 1898* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen’s Printer, 1899), p. 478 [Doc. 232].

<sup>248</sup> “Agricultural and Industrial Statistics,” June 30, 1901, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1901* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King’s Printer, 1901), Part II, p. 209 [Doc. 238].

<sup>249</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1910, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1910* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King’s Printer, 1910), p. 95 [Doc. 274].

<sup>250</sup> Thomas Henry to [Department of Indian Affairs], February 23, 1914 [Doc. 286]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

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granted as the Band's interest fund was not sufficiently large. McLean noted that horses could be purchased from the Band's capital funds should a resolution be passed. He added that implements and harnesses, on the other hand, could not be purchased from the Band's capital funds unless a loan was made and the funds repaid within a specified period. McLean closed the letter by noting that "some years ago" the Indians had been supplied with oxen and implements.<sup>251</sup> At the end of March 1914, Inspector S. J. Jackson reported that a dozen Indians of the Band were desirous of oxen to farm. "With reference to the oxen and implements that were furnished to these Indians some years ago," Jackson wrote, "they say that they did a lot of good work with them ... [but that] the implements were worn out and the oxen either died or were killed when they got too old to work."<sup>252</sup>

**g) Medicine**

There is no reference to medicine or medical aid in the written text of Treaty 1 or the memorandum of "Outside Promises."

In December 1872, however, several Treaty 1 Chiefs appeared before a Justice of the Peace and enumerated the articles which they understood to have been promised in addition to the treaty money, including "medical aid."<sup>253</sup> Agent St. John responded to this point specifically in a letter to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, in March 1873, stating, "I do not remember any promise of this nature and I have never heard the subject mentioned until the receipt of your letter."<sup>254</sup> In February 1873, Agent St. John reported on a meeting held with a large deputation from the Pembina Bands in September [1872], during which they also requested care for "sick men." Agent St. John informed the Bands that they must take care of their own sick; however, a marginal comment written over this reply reads, "Say will give medicines & do so."<sup>255</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, remarked that the Department had "been called upon to furnish medical assistance to various bands when the appearance of the small-pox—so fatal to Indian people—exhibited itself in the vicinity of their reserves; and the immediate adoption of precautionary measures, by resorting without delay to vaccination...."<sup>256</sup> Spragge did not specify if any reserves in the Treaty 1 area received this medical aid, but noted later in his report that "it is proposed to extend to Manitoba and the North West Territories the system of providing

<sup>251</sup> J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, March 2, 1914 [Doc. 287]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>252</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Affairs, to Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, March 30, 1914 [Doc. 288]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>253</sup> David Prince, James Settee Sr., Henry Chief, Thomas Flett, William Bear, and Thomas Spence, December 30, 1872 [Doc. 37]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098.

<sup>254</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, March 1, 1873 [Doc. 41]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3555 File 7 Reel C-10098.

<sup>255</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 21.

<sup>256</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 5 [Doc. 42].



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medical treatment for the Indian population, which in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec has been productive of such valuable and satisfactory consequences.”<sup>257</sup>

Although the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended in March 1874 that a “supply of simple medicines” should be provided for each reserve in Treaty 1,<sup>258</sup> this benefit was not included in the settlement of the “Outside Promises,” as directed by Order in Council P.C. 424 on April 30, 1875.<sup>259</sup>

Vaccines, medicine, and medical attendance were provided to bands in Treaty 1 (and in the Portage la Prairie Agency specifically) in many years, however, and included in the expenditure statements under “Supplies for Destitute Indians.”<sup>260</sup>

While departmental expenditures for hospitals, medical attendance, and medicine for the Portage la Prairie Agency increased significantly in the second decade of the 1900s,<sup>261</sup> Roseau River Trust Account statements published in the Annual Reports also indicate that by 1913, the Roseau River First Nation was paying the salary of a medical attendant, as well as for medicine and burial supplies, out of its Interest Account.<sup>262</sup>

#### **h) School**

The written text of Treaty 1 calls for the maintenance of a school on each reserve “whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.”<sup>263</sup> When the Pembina Band deputation met with Agent

<sup>257</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>258</sup> Molyneux St. John, Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 13, 1874 [Doc. 58]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105. Some of these benefits reflected terms of Treaty 3, which had been completed in 1873 (i.e., annuity of \$5, ammunition, and agricultural assistance).

<sup>259</sup> Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108; and W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, “Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug. 1871,” August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>260</sup> See, for example, “H. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West,” June 30, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), Part II, p. 162 [Doc. 167]; and “Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1908* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King’s Printer, 1908), p. I-41 [Doc. 264].

<sup>261</sup> See, for example, “Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1910* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King’s Printer, 1910), p. I-49 [Doc. 273]; and “Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Northwest Territories” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1917* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King’s Printer, 1918), p. H-25 [Doc. 300].

<sup>262</sup> See “62. – Roseau River Band, Man.” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1913* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King’s Printer, 1913), p. H-132 [Doc. 285].

<sup>263</sup> Articles of Treaty, August 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]* (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1872), p. 20 [Doc. 10].



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St. John in September 1872, he reiterated that a schoolmaster would be sent when the Reserve was ready for one.<sup>264</sup>

Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, commented that the "requisite steps" had been taken for sustaining the several schools to be provided under Treaties 1 and 2.<sup>265</sup> In his annual report for 1873, Indian Commissioner J. A. N. Provencher stated that schools had already been established at St. Peter, Fort Alexander, Pembina, and Fairford, adding, "Some of these establishments were temporarily discontinued, but the first step has been taken, and this suspension will not be of long duration."<sup>266</sup> No further correspondence has been located to indicate a school was in existence on the Pembina reserves in 1873, but an Estimate by Indian Commissioner Provencher of salaries required for 1874 included provision for six schoolhouses and six (later amended to 12) schoolteachers' salaries.<sup>267</sup> An estimate of Indian Department expenditures for the year commencing July 1, 1875, included an entry for one school teacher's salary at Pembina (Roseau River).<sup>268</sup> In his annual report for 1875, Indian Commissioner Provencher reported that the Pembina Bands had requested that a school be established "amongst them next spring."<sup>269</sup>

The Roseau River First Nation applied through Rev. Scott, Protestant missionary at Emerson, for the establishment of a school among them, and in January 1876 Indian Commissioner Provencher was asked to report on the desirability of granting the request.<sup>270</sup> A church official, John Black, wrote to Lieutenant Governor Morris on March 9, 1876, stating that Rev. Scott would manage the school and secure the services of a teacher, and requesting that the Government grant the salary "and perhaps some assistance in erecting a school house."<sup>271</sup> Provencher submitted his report on March 25, recommending that a school be built for the reserve, at which there were over 40 children of school age. He requested the Department

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<sup>264</sup> Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See p. 20.

<sup>265</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 5 [Doc. 42].

<sup>266</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, December 31, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874*, p. 58 [Doc. 50].

<sup>267</sup> "Estimate for Salaries of Commissioners and agents for Indians of the North West Territories, travelling expenses, office expenses, & c. &c.," circa 1874 [Doc. 53]; and R. Sinclair, Memorandum, circa 1874 [Doc. 54]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3607 File 3023 Reel C-10105.

<sup>268</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, January 11, 1875 [Doc. 66]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3614 File 4116 Reel C-10107.

<sup>269</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1875, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1875*, p. 40 [Doc. 86].

<sup>270</sup> Department of the Interior to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, January 20, 1876 [Doc. 88]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>271</sup> John Black, Convenor, Foreign Mission Committee, to Alex Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, March 9, 1876 [Doc. 90]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

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provide \$200 towards supplies, noting that the Indians of the Band intended to build the school themselves.<sup>272</sup>

Presbyterian Church officials corresponded with the Department of the Interior for many months concerning financial, administration, and location issues for the school on the Roseau River Reserve,<sup>273</sup> but it was finally opened on December 7, 1876.<sup>274</sup> On January 6, 1877, Presbyterian missionary John Scott reported to the Minister of the Interior that it was open with 22 pupils in attendance. Rev. Scott indicated that the school house had been built with voluntary contributions, and with the exception of the Government's \$250 per year contribution towards the teacher's salary,<sup>275</sup> would be sustained from the same sources.<sup>276</sup> The church was going to cover the remainder of the teacher's salary.

On July 28, 1877, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs L. Vankoughnet recommended that the Roseau River First Nation surrender 40 acres of land for the use of the teacher and for the site of the school, "which surrender is a matter of routine" and not likely to be refused. In the same memo, Vankoughnet also recommended that the Privy Council grant the salary promised for the teacher, i.e., \$250 per annum on condition that the average attendance be kept at 20 pupils.<sup>277</sup> The grant for the teacher's salary was approved by Order in Council P.C. 758 on August 6, 1877, for the calendar year which had commenced on January 1<sup>st</sup>, with the requirement for attendance lowered to 15 pupils.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Minister of the Interior, March 25, 1876 [Doc. 92]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>273</sup> See John Scott, Presbyterian Missionary, to David Laird, Minister of the Interior, March 16, 1876 [Doc. 91]; [E. A. Meredith] to J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, May 1, 1876 [Doc. 93]; John Black to David Laird, July 21, 1876 [Doc. 95]; [David Laird] to Rev. John Black, August 1, 1876 [Doc. 96]; J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Superintendent, to E. Scott, August 1, 1876 [Doc. 97]; and John Black to E. A. Meredith, November 11, 1876 [Doc. 102]. All on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>274</sup> F. T. Bradley, Statement, March 10, 1877 [Doc. 112]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>275</sup> While the Roseau River School, under the direction of teacher A. McPherson, appears in a return of Indian Schools, departmental expenditures for the first year the school was in operation contain no reference to this teacher's salary and correspondence from Rev. Black indicates that the church paid the full salary in 1876-77. See "Return C. (5.) Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1877, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1877], p. 148 [Doc. 116]; "Return F. Statement of the condition of the various Indian Schools in the Dominion for the Year ended 30th June 1877," June 30, 1877, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1877], p. 166 [Doc. 117]; and John Black to J. A. N. Provencher, June 8, 1877 [Doc. 115]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109. Authorization to pay the teacher's salary was granted by Order in Council P.C. 758 in August 1877, and later paid for that year. Order in Council P.C. 758, August 6, 1877 [Doc. 119]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>276</sup> John Scott, Presbyterian Mission, to D. Mills, Minister of the Interior, January 6, 1877 [Doc. 108]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>277</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 28, 1877 [Doc. 118]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

<sup>278</sup> Order in Council P.C. 758, August 6, 1877 [Doc. 119]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3626 File 5763 Reel C-10109.

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At the time of McColl's inspection in 1880, the teacher, Mr. McPherson, had abandoned the school owing to the irregular attendance.<sup>279</sup>

In September 1882, Deputy Superintendent General L. Vankoughnet wrote a memorandum to the Superintendent General "relative to Indian school matters in Manitoba and the North West Territories," in response to a letter from the Bishop of Ruperts Land that the treaty provisions with respect to schools were not being met. Vankoughnet explained that the Government had "hitherto held that they were not bound under the stipulation in question to bear the expense of the erection of school houses, but that the stipulation only obliged the Government to maintain the school when established; that is, to provide the salaries for the Teachers, and school material for the pupils." He also noted a recent change in the regulations with respect to teachers' salaries, stating that the Department now guaranteed payment of \$300 per year, rather than basing the payment on the number of children in attendance.<sup>280</sup>

The next reference to a school on the Roseau River Reserve is in a statement of Indian schools published in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1886, which provides the average daily attendance of 13. The statement indicates that the teacher's salary, up to a maximum of \$300, was paid by the Government.<sup>281</sup> The statement of departmental expenditures on day schools in Treaty 1 provided more detail on expenditures specifically on the Roseau River school, including \$97.50 for the teacher's salary (December quarter 1885 and March quarter 1886) and \$18.19 for a stove and pipes.<sup>282</sup> Agent Ogletree confirmed in his annual report that the school opened on December 9, 1885, in a small house on the reserve.<sup>283</sup> Inspector of Indian Agencies E. McColl further reported that the new school was run by the Roman Catholic Mission and conducted by Mr. Norbert Nolin "in an Indian house, as there is no schoolhouse on the reserve."<sup>284</sup> Low attendance continued to be a problem.

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<sup>279</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1880, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1880*, p. 58 [Doc. 144].

<sup>280</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to John A. Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1882 [Doc. 157]; and Bishop of Rupert's Land to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1882 [Doc. 156]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3558 File 29 Reel C-10098.

<sup>281</sup> "Tabular Statement No. 3. Showing the Condition of the various Indian Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended 30th June, 1886," June 30, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1887), pp. 220-221 [Doc. 172].

<sup>282</sup> "J. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1887), Part II, p. 175 [Doc. 173].

<sup>283</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 43 [Doc. 174].

<sup>284</sup> E. McColl, Superintendent and Inspector of Indian Agencies, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 7, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 156 [Doc. 176].

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The teacher, N. Nolin, received the maximum salary paid by the Department, \$300, for the period June 1886 to June 1887.<sup>285</sup> N. Nolin was paid the teacher's salary for June to December 1888; Mrs. J. B. Gauthier assumed the teaching duties at Roseau River in December 1887. The Department of Indian Affairs paid each teacher \$150 for half the year's salary, in addition to other expenditures for repairs and a scale amounting to \$28.01.<sup>286</sup>

Mrs. Gauthier was paid a salary of \$375 by the Department of Indian Affairs for the period from March 1888 to June 1889.<sup>287</sup> At the time, departmental policy was to pay a salary of \$300 per annum, and \$12 per annum for each pupil over the number of 25, to a maximum of 42 (or \$504). There were 15 students on the roll at Roseau River school in this year.<sup>288</sup> Mrs. Gauthier received the maximum \$300 salary again in 1889-90,<sup>289</sup> and 1890-91<sup>290</sup>, and \$150 for the six-month period from June to December 31, 1891.<sup>291</sup> Inspector McColl reported on the "Roseau River School" in October 1892, noting that it was the only school in the agency, but that "after several futile attempts to keep it open, it was temporarily closed in consequence of the poor and irregular attendance of pupils."<sup>292</sup> There were 11 pupils on the roll in 1892, but average daily attendance was only three.<sup>293</sup> The school remained closed for many years afterward.

<sup>285</sup> "L. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1887, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1887* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1888), Part II, p. 179 [Doc. 178].

<sup>286</sup> "G. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1888, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1888* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, Superintendent of Printing, for Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1889), Part II, p. 183 [Doc. 181].

<sup>287</sup> "G. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1890), Part II, p. 71 [Doc. 190].

<sup>288</sup> "Tabular Statement No. 2. Showing the Condition of the various Indian Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended 30th June, 1889," June 30, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1890), pp. 256-257 [Doc. 189].

<sup>289</sup> "Manitoba Superintendency – Details," June 30, 1890, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1891), Part II, p. 56 [Doc. 198].

<sup>290</sup> "Manitoba Superintendency – Details," June 30, 1891, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December 1891*, Part II, p. 49 [Doc. 198].

<sup>291</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General for the year ended 30th June, 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1893), p. D-95 [Doc. 210].

<sup>292</sup> E. McColl, Superintending Inspector, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1892, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1893), p. 55 [Doc. 211].

<sup>293</sup> "Tabular Statement No. 2. Showing the Condition of the various Indian Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended 30th June, 1892" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1893), Part II, p. 298 [Doc. 209].

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In the spring of 1903, Inspector Marlatt noted that the construction of a new school building at Roseau Rapids had been commenced and requested an advance of \$175 to pay for the work.<sup>294</sup> This money was applied to labour, hardware, the chimney, mason work, teaming, stone and sand, lime, carpenter work and painting, and plans and specifications.<sup>295</sup>

In his 1904 inspection report, S. R. Marlatt indicated that a schoolhouse had been erected on the Roseau Rapids Reserve the previous year.<sup>296</sup> The school was non-denominational and had an initial enrolment of 28 pupils.<sup>297</sup> The Department of Indian Affairs again contributed \$300 as a yearly grant towards the teacher's salary.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>294</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1903 [Doc. 241]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-5 Pt. 1 Reel C-8644.

<sup>295</sup> Department of Indian Affairs to S. R. Marlatt, Portage la Prairie Agency, circa July 1903 [Doc. 245]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-5 Pt. 1 Reel C-8644.

<sup>296</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1904, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1904* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1905), p. 105 [Doc. 253].

<sup>297</sup> S. R. Marlatt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1904, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1904*, p. 426 [Doc. 253].

<sup>298</sup> "School Return. Statement of Day Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended June 30, 1904" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1904* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1905), Part II, pp. 44-45 [Doc. 254]; "School Return. Statement of Day Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended June 30, 1905" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1905* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1906), Part II, pp. 42-43 [Doc. 255]; "School Return. Statement of Day Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Year ended June 30, 1906" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1906* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1906), Part II, pp. 46-47 [Doc. 259]; "School Return. Statement of Day Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Fiscal Year ended March 31, 1907" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1907* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1907), Part II, pp. 46-47 [Doc. 260]; "School Return. Statement of Day Schools in the Dominion (from which Returns have been received) for the Fiscal Year ended March 31, 1908" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1908* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1908), Part II, pp. 46-47 [Doc. 262]; "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1909* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1909), p. I-52 [Doc. 266]; "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1910*, p. I-49 [Doc. 273]; "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1911* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1911), p. H-43 [Doc. 276]; "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1912* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1912), p. H-45 [Doc. 281]; "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1913* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, King's Printer, 1913), p. H-48 [Doc. 284]. In 1913, the teacher, Rose Godon, received \$200 for the six months ending September

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In November 1909, the Roseau River Chief and Band advised the Inspector of Indian Agencies that they wished to have a day school established on the Lower Reserve.<sup>299</sup> However, due to the small number of children of school age on the reserve (twelve), the Department did not take action.<sup>300</sup> The Band reiterated their request in 1911 and 1912; in the latter petition, the Chief and Council specifically indicated that the money for the school “should come from the old treaty,” not their own funds.<sup>301</sup> As a suitable building and teacher were available, the Department agreed to “give this school a trial” starting on April 1, 1912, and the Farming Instructor was told to inform the Band that its continued operation would be dependent upon regular attendance.<sup>302</sup> As of 1915, departmental statements of expenditures on day schools in Manitoba indicate that there was a Roman Catholic school at “Lower Roseau River,” and the salaries for the teachers had been increased to \$400 at Roseau Rapids and \$500 at Lower Roseau.<sup>303</sup> However, the school at the Rapids was closed in August 1920 because the “children will not attend.” At that time, the Secretary of the Department instructed Agent Ogletree to

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30, at which time the school was closed temporarily for lack of a teacher. See “Indian Education” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King’s Printer, 1914), p. H-61 [Doc. 291]; and Superintendent of Indian Education in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King’s Printer, 1914), Part II, p. 151 [Doc. 292].

<sup>299</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Lake Manitoba Inspectorate, to J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1909 [Doc. 268]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.

<sup>300</sup> J. D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, November 22, 1909 [Doc. 269]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.

<sup>301</sup> J. C. Ginn, Farm Instructor, Roseau River Reserve, to R. Logan, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, May 31, 1911 [Doc. 277]; and Chief and Councillors, Roseau River Reserve, to R. Rogers, January 17, 1912 [Doc. 278]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.

<sup>302</sup> J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to R. Logan, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, February 27, 1912 [Doc. 279]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.

<sup>303</sup> “Indian Education” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King’s Printer, 1914), p. H-61 [Doc. 291]; “Indian Education” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1917* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King’s Printer, 1918), p. H-54 [Doc. 301]; and “School Statement. Statement of Indian Day Schools in the Dominion (from which returns have been received) for the Fiscal Year ended March 31, 1918” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1918* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King’s Printer, 1918), Part II, p. 82 [Doc. 302]. The salary of the teacher at Roseau Rapids was increased to \$450 in the 1917-18 fiscal year. “Indian Education” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1918* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King’s Printer, 1918), p. H-50 [Doc. 305]. The salary of the teacher at Lower Roseau River was increased to \$575 in the 1918-19 fiscal year. “Indian Education” in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1919* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King’s Printer, 1920), p. I-46 [Doc. 308].

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dismiss the teacher and to board up the school.<sup>304</sup> Lower Roseau River Indian Day School was closed again in May 1921 on account of poor attendance.<sup>305</sup> In 1923, the Chief and Councillors along with a number of Indians requested that the Roseau River school be re-opened and promised that if it was, they would see that the children attended.<sup>306</sup> The Department responded that the school would not be reopened due to competing priorities for parliamentary appropriation.<sup>307</sup>

In 1948, Superintendent B. E. Olson noted that there should be a school at Roseau River, as sending the children to residential schools was "not giving proper educational opportunity at this Reserve." He added that there were some 20 children not attending school who should have the opportunity to do so.<sup>308</sup>

In 1949, the Indian Affairs Branch contracted with the North American Lumber and Supply Company to erect a new one-room day school and teacher's residence on the Roseau River Reserve, at a cost of \$11,200.<sup>309</sup> The tender was accepted by Order in Council on September 13, 1949.<sup>310</sup> While it was initially intended to open the school "immediately after the Christmas holidays" – i.e., in January 1950 – the school was not completed until October 1950.<sup>311</sup>

A new (Protestant) Indian Day School, Roseau River School No. 551, was completed in 1959, to commence operation on September 1.<sup>312</sup> Twenty pupils were discharged from the Brandon

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- <sup>304</sup> J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to A. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, August 11, 1920 [Doc. 309]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 1 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>305</sup> J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to A. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, April 20, 1921 [Doc. 310]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>306</sup> F. Burton, Clerk, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, July 21, 1923 [Doc. 311]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>307</sup> A. F. MacKenzie, Acting Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to A. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, July 25, 1923 [Doc. 312]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-1 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>308</sup> B. E. Olson, Superintendent, Clandeboyne Agency, March 31, 1948 [Doc. 321]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-5 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>309</sup> B. F. Neary, Superintendent of Indian Education, to R. S. Davis, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, September 19, 1949 [Doc. 323]; and Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines & Resources, "Contract Agreement," with North American Lumber & Supply Co. Limited, October 7, 1949 [Doc. 324]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 10357 File 511/6-1-014 Pt. 1 Reel T-10033.
- <sup>310</sup> Order in Council P.C. 4608, September 13, 1949 [Doc. 322]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6250 File 560-5 Pt. 2 Reel C-8644.
- <sup>311</sup> Agencies Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, October 7, 1950 [Doc. 326]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 10357 File 511/6-1-014 Pt. 1 Reel T-10033.
- <sup>312</sup> A. G. Leslie, Acting Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg Regional Office, to Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, June 1, 1959 [Doc. 330]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 8608 File 506/1-13-014 Pt. 1 Reel C-14230.

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Residential School to attend the new school on the reserve.<sup>313</sup> At the time, there also existed a Roman Catholic Indian Day School, Roseau River School No. 560, on the reserve.<sup>314</sup> In October 1965 a Kindergarten class was also opened at the United Church school. A memorandum by M. Rehaluk, the Supervising Principal in the Clandeboye Agency, indicated that the departmental expenses for the Kindergarten would include janitorial services, fuel, and lights.<sup>315</sup> In 1972 the ownership of the Kindergarten school building, an old teacher's residence which had been converted to a classroom, was transferred from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Roseau River Band. The building was deemed to be "surplus to the educational needs of the reserve," as the Kindergarten children were being bussed to Dominion City.<sup>316</sup>

*i) Seed Grain*

Seed grain is not mentioned in the written text of Treaty 1 or the memorandum of "Outside Promises." Although the Board of Indian Commissioners recommended in March 1874 that "Seed Wheat, Potatoes, and garden Seeds" be provided to the bands in Treaty 1,<sup>317</sup> this benefit was not included in the settlement of the "Outside Promises," as directed by Order in Council P.C. 424 on April 30, 1875.<sup>318</sup>

There is some indication, however, that the Department provided some seed grain to bands in the Treaty 1 area, and to the Roseau River First Nation specifically. It is not known, however, whether seed was provided by the Department as a treaty benefit, relief, another type of expenditure, or to be repaid by the bands receiving it. In 1875, for example, Indian Commissioner Provencher reported to the Minister of the Interior that the crops had failed that year and the Indians were unable to provide for seed grain. He included in his Estimates for 1875-76 an amount of \$700 for seed grain, which he hoped would be forwarded early enough to

<sup>313</sup> R. F. Davey, Chief, Education Division, to Regional Supervisor, Education Division, Attn: J. Slobodzian, June 24, 1959 [Doc. 331]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 8608 File 506/1-13-014 Pt. 1 Reel C-14230.

<sup>314</sup> R. F. Davey, Chief, Education Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to Education Division Staff, May 18, 1960 [Doc. 333]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 8608 File 506/1-13-014 Pt. 1 Reel C-14230.

<sup>315</sup> M. Rehaluk, Supervising Principal, Clandeboye Indian Agency, to Regional Director of Indian Agencies, Attn: J. Slobodzian, September 14, 1965 [Doc. 335]; and R. F. Davey, Chief, Education Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to Education Division Staff, October 29, 1965 [Doc. 336]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 8608 File 506/1-13-014 Pt. 1 Reel C-14230.

<sup>316</sup> Roseau River Band Council Resolution, March 20, 1972 [Doc. 355]; L. A. Dodds, Local Government Advisor, to Paul Bisson, District Superintendent of Education, Eastern Education District, March 27, 1972 [Doc. 356]; P. E. Bisson to C. B. Gorman, Regional Superintendent of Education, April 10, 1972 [Doc. 357]; and G. T. Ross for R. M. Connelly, Regional Director, to G. D. Cromb, Director, Education Branch, April 18, 1972 [Doc. 358]. All on DIAND WIN-O 501/6-1-273 Vol. 3.

<sup>317</sup> Molyneux St. John, Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, March 13, 1874 [Doc. 58]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3117 Reel C-10105.

<sup>318</sup> Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108; and W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871," August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.



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reach all the bands that need it before the end of the winter.<sup>319</sup> The following year the Department provided seed grain in the amount of \$1,109.52, assistance which Provencher reported "prevented great sufferings at St. Peter's, the Portage and Roseau River."<sup>320</sup> In 1878, the Department's statement of expenditures under Treaty 1 included \$1,220.36 for wheat, barley, potatoes, peas, and garden seeds.<sup>321</sup> In 1879-80 \$1,500 had been set aside in the Estimates for the purchase of seed grain for bands in Treaties 1 and 2, but none of this amount was used; the Auditor General's report notes "not required."<sup>322</sup>

Interestingly, when Indian Superintendent Graham issued instructions to the new Indian Agent for the Roseau River First Nation, J. E. Têtu, in December 1880, he included the following comments concerning seed:

You are expected to instruct the Indians under your Agency in farming. You will see the seed grain given them by the Department properly distributed and that the same been sewn, and properly harvested, and impress upon them the necessity of reserving sufficient seeds for sewing [*sic*] their ground each subsequent spring as the terms of the Treaty provide that seed grain be supplied once for all by the Department.<sup>323</sup>

The statement of Indian Affairs expenditures on seed grain in the Treaty 1 area for the 1881-82 fiscal year included \$156.12 for seed grain and potatoes for Roseau River Reserve, and \$7.22 for garden seeds.<sup>324</sup> In September 1883, Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent for the Portage la Prairie Agency, reported that the Roseau River First Nation was supplied with 100 bushels of seed potatoes and a quantity of garden seeds last spring; 70 bushels of seeds were planted on the reserve, and the remaining 30 given to the "Rapids Indians."<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, November 4, 1875 [Doc. 87]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3623 File 5091 Reel C-10109. See pp. 13-14.

<sup>320</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 1, 1877, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1877], p. 36 [Doc. 109].

<sup>321</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba," June 30, 1878, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs* [1878], p. 182 [Doc. 126].

<sup>322</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts of the year ended 30th June, 1879* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1880), p. 201 [Doc. 139].

<sup>323</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Indian Superintendent, to J. E. Têtu, Indian Agent, December 22, 1880 [Doc. 146]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3722 File 24233 Reel C-10126.

<sup>324</sup> "E. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), Part II, p. 136 [Doc. 153].

<sup>325</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1883, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1883* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1884), p. 54 [Doc. 162].

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The statement of departmental expenditures on seed grain for the Treaty 1 area for the 1885 calendar year included an entry for "Seed for Rosseau River band," totalling \$53.87.<sup>326</sup>

In 1886 Agent Ogletree reported that he supplied the Roseau River First Nation with 145 bushels of potatoes (75 on the reserve at the mouth of the river, and 70 at the rapids), as well as 20 bushels of wheat and five bushels of barley for the Indians at the Rapids. Ogletree noted that the Indians preferred to dig snake root and generally "neglected the hoeing and fencing of the crops." He recommended that they not be supplied with any more seed "until they show a desire to take care of them."<sup>327</sup>

At the request of Agent Ogletree, in 1889 the Roseau River First Nation was provided with a seeder.<sup>328</sup>

Deputy Superintendent General L. Vankoughnet, writing in the spring of 1891 in response to a letter from the Inspector of Indian Agencies, stated that Mr. Agent Ogeletree may use his own discretion in supplying seed potatoes to the Roseau River Indians at the expense of the government.<sup>329</sup>

A voucher dated to April 1894 indicates that a sum of \$73.20 was spent on seed wheat for the Roseau River Band.<sup>330</sup> A second voucher, made out on the same day, shows that an additional \$15.00 was spent on seed wheat for the Band.<sup>331</sup> A third voucher, also prepared in April 1894, shows \$14.10 for seed wheat for the Band.<sup>332</sup> Inspector McColl submitted these vouchers to the Department for payment on April 16<sup>th</sup>, although marginalia on that letter written on behalf of the Accountant notes that McColl was to be informed that "the vouchers cannot be paid at present as there are no funds available, but that when funds are voted by Parliament payment will be made."<sup>333</sup> Two days later yet another voucher shows that seed wheat was supplied to the Band; this time the total amounted to \$22.52.<sup>334</sup>

<sup>326</sup> "E. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), Part II, p. 152 [Doc. 166].

<sup>327</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1887* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1888), p. 48 [Doc. 175].

<sup>328</sup> "B. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1889, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1889*, Part II, p. 48 [Doc. 191]; and E. McColl to L. Vankoughnet, March 26, 1889 [Doc. 188]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3812 File 55994 Reel C-10142.

<sup>329</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Manitoba Superintendency, to L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1891 [Doc. 204]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>330</sup> Voucher No. 458, April 7, 1894 [Doc. 214]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>331</sup> Voucher No. 459, April 7, 1894 [Doc. 215]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>332</sup> Voucher No. 460, April 10, 1894 [Doc. 216]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>333</sup> E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, April 16, 1894 [Doc. 217]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>334</sup> Voucher No. 461, April 18, 1894 [Doc. 218]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

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In March 1916 Inspector of Indian Agencies S. J. Jackson reported a purchase of \$937.50 worth of seed for the Roseau Band. He noted in his report to Secretary McLean that seeding would likely be very late that spring due to the large amount of snow, but he intended "to see that the 500 acres of breaking is all put in with the wheat that is bought...."<sup>335</sup>

Statements of departmental expenditures on field and garden seeds continue to list provisions to the Portage la Prairie Agency until at least 1919.<sup>336</sup>

*j) Triennial Clothing*

According to the memorandum of "Outside Promises," each Chief that signed the treaty was to receive clothing distinguishing him as Chief. Two Braves & two Councillors of each Band were also to receive clothing.<sup>337</sup>

An Order in Council dated January 26, 1872, authorized the purchase of "Militia Uniforms" from contractors in England for 7 Chiefs and 28 Councillors in Treaty 1. The clothing was described as follows:

For Chiefs

7 double-breasted scarlet coats, Tunic form. Cloth same quality as the sergeants' uniforms supplied for the Canadian Militia viz: – blue cuffs and collars with white piping, gold lace on collar and cord on shoulder – but no lace on cuffs. Coats loose in sack style.

7 Paris blue cloth trousers, same quality as volunteers' & with red stripe down the outside.

7 Blue cloth caps with gold band round and chin strap, and with leathern peaks.

For Councillors

28 Double-breasted blue cloth coats, same quality as the scarlet coats, but with silver cord on shoulders and red piping on collars & cuffs

28 Pairs of Oxford Grey Trousers with scarlet cord down sides.

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<sup>335</sup> S. J. Jackson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1916 [Doc. 296]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.

<sup>336</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1918-1919" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1919* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1920), p. I-16 [Doc. 307].

<sup>337</sup> W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871," ca. August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

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28 Blue cloth caps with red bands round them, chin straps & leathern peaks.<sup>338</sup>

The buttons for the coats, made of brass and gilt for the Chiefs and white metal plate for the Headmen, were inscribed "Dominion of Canada Indians."<sup>339</sup>

Simpson's statement of account for 1872 includes an August 19, 1872, payment for 15 shirts for the Pembina Band (for 3 Chiefs and 12 Braves).<sup>340</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Spragge, in his annual report for the 1871-72 fiscal year, commented on the delivery of "various presents" under Treaties 1 and 2, including "clothing, medals and flags, &c., &c., to those principal men."<sup>341</sup> He does not, however, provide any additional information on the recipients of this clothing. The statement of Indian Affairs expenditures in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories for the 1872-73 fiscal year includes \$798.50 for "clothing for Indian chiefs."<sup>342</sup>

Following the settlement of the "Outside Promises" in 1875, Minister of the Interior David Laird informed Lieutenant Governor Morris, "The suits of clothing for the Chiefs & Headmen allowed by the O in C have been forwarded to the Ind Comr Mr Provencher for distribution if possible, at the time of the interviews with each Bands."<sup>343</sup> In July, however, Indian Commissioner Provencher informed the Minister of the Interior that an insufficient number of coats (13) had been sent for the Chiefs of Treaties 1 and 2: he listed 15 Chiefs (8 in Treaty 1 and 7 in Treaty 2),

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<sup>338</sup> "Memorandum of Clothing &c. for Indian Chiefs and Councillors of the North-West Territories Authorized by Order in Council of 26th January 1872 to be Purchased from the Contractors in England for Militia Uniforms," ca. January 1872 [Doc. 16]; and Order in Council P.C. 76, January 25, 1872 [Doc. 18]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 3578 File 522 Reel C-10102.

<sup>339</sup> "Memorandum of Clothing &c. for Indian Chiefs and Councillors of the North-West Territories Authorized by Order in Council of 26th January 1872 to be Purchased from the Contractors in England for Militia Uniforms," ca. January 1872 [Doc. 16]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3578 File 522 Reel C-10102. See also Heidi Kastner, "Treaties One to Eleven (A Synthesis of the Study 1971-1976 on the History of the Fulfilment of the Crown's Obligations)" (Ottawa: Treaty Policy and Review Directorate, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, March 31, 1994), p.13 [Doc. 426].

<sup>340</sup> Wemyss Simpson, "Indian Department Cash Account 1872," February 22, 1873 [Doc. 39]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1407 Reel C-10103. See p. 5.

<sup>341</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>342</sup> "Return E (2) – Statement of Special Payments, Contingent and Incidental Expenditure by the Indian Branch, Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, during the year ended the 30th June, 1873..." in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Minister of the Interior, for the year ended 30th June, 1873*, p. 21 [Doc. 46].

<sup>343</sup> [David Laird, Minister of the Interior,] to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, July 7, 1875 [Doc. 72]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

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including three for the Pembina Bands.<sup>344</sup> Provencher was subsequently informed that he could take the required additional coats from the extra red coats ordered for Treaty 3.<sup>345</sup>

In August 1875 the Treaty 1 and 2 Chiefs signed a document assenting to the settlement of the "Outside Promises," as expressed in the April 1875 Order in Council, but under the condition (noted to have been agreed with the "Queen's Commissioners") that the number of Braves and Councillors for each Chief would be four instead of two (as printed in the treaty).<sup>346</sup> Indian Commissioner Provencher informed the Minister of the Interior of this agreement in a letter dated September 18, 1875, noting that the number of Councillors' coats and other articles of clothing would have to be increased by at least 26, and requesting authorization to charge the expense to the contingencies account.<sup>347</sup> Robert Sinclair noted that the clothing should be charged instead to the appropriation for "Clothing and other Items," which still had funds remaining in it.<sup>348</sup> Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs L. Vankoughnet informed Indian Commissioner Provencher on October 6, 1875, that he could purchase the required clothing at Winnipeg or Fort Garry, as long as the price did not exceed 25 percent of that available at Ottawa (i.e., \$10 each for coats and \$2 each for trousers).<sup>349</sup>

By Order in Council dated July 21, 1876, the salaries for Headmen included in Treaties 1 and 2 were increased to be the same as those under Treaties 3, 4, and 5 (i.e., \$15 per year). The Order in Council also provided for up to four Headmen per band to be allowed a suit of clothing every three years.<sup>350</sup>

In 1879, the Indian Branch of the Department of the Interior spent \$1,997.51 on clothing for Treaties 1, 2, and 5. These articles included coats, trousers, shirts, boots, hats, socks, belts, and handkerchiefs. The distribution to individual bands, however, was not indicated in the statement of expenditures.<sup>351</sup> In his annual report for 1879, Acting Indian Superintendent Graham confirmed that 20 suits of clothing for Chiefs and 82 for Councillors were distributed in

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<sup>344</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, July 21, 1875 [Doc. 75]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3624 File 5141 Reel C-10109.

<sup>345</sup> Department of the Interior to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, August 4, 1875 [Doc. 78]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3624 File 5141 Reel C-10109.

<sup>346</sup> Chiefs and Headmen of Treaties 1 and 2 Bands, August 23, 1875 [Docs. 79 and 80]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2A Reel C-10101.

<sup>347</sup> J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to the Minister of the Interior, September 18, 1875 [Doc. 81]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>348</sup> Robert Sinclair, Memorandum, October 4, 1875 [Doc. 82]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>349</sup> L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to J. A. N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, October 6, 1875 [Doc. 84]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>350</sup> "Copy of an Order in Council Dated July 21/76," July 21, 1876 [Doc. 94]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>351</sup> "F. – Indians of Manitoba," June 30, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 262 [Doc. 136].

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the Manitoba Superintendency.<sup>352</sup> The distribution of these items to individual bands, however, is not known.

In 1882, the Department of Indian Affairs spent \$922.48 "for clothing for Chiefs and Headmen under Treaty stipulations," in addition to small expenditures for inspection and freight.<sup>353</sup> According to the statement of expenditures on annuities for the same year, there were 10 Chiefs and 36 Headmen paid in the Treaty 1 area,<sup>354</sup> meaning that each suit of clothing cost approximately \$20.

In 1885, \$2,128.90 was spent on triennial clothing for bands in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (covering the area of Treaties 1, 2, and 5). This expenditure included scarlet coats, striped trousers, and felt hats for 26 Chiefs; and blue coats, trousers, and felt hats for 89-91 Headmen. The expenditure also included flannel shirts, woollen socks, boots, belts, and handkerchiefs, but the distribution to individual bands is not provided in the statement.<sup>355</sup> That year's statement of annuities paid under Treaty 1 indicates that there were 9 Chiefs and 32 Headmen in the treaty area.<sup>356</sup>

In 1888, \$2,306.70 was spent on triennial clothing for Chiefs and Councillors under Treaties 1 and 2, not including freight and the boxes for shipping.<sup>357</sup> The statement of annuities paid

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<sup>352</sup> Jas. F. Graham, Acting Indian Superintendent, Manitoba Superintendency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1879, in Canada, *Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1879*, p. 59 [Doc. 141].

<sup>353</sup> "I. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), Part II, p. 152 [Doc. 155].

<sup>354</sup> "A. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1882, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1882* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1883), Part II, p. 122 [Doc. 152].

<sup>355</sup> "I. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), Part II, pp. 167-168 [Doc. 168]; and Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts for the year ended 30th June, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), p. 420 [Doc. 170].

<sup>356</sup> "A. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1885, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1885* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886), Part II, p. 140 [Doc. 169].

<sup>357</sup> "F. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1888, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1888* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, Superintendent of Printing, for Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1889), Part II, p. 181 [Doc. 180].

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indicates that there were 14 Chiefs and 50 Headmen in the two treaty areas,<sup>358</sup> so the average clothing expenditure per person amounted to \$36.04.<sup>359</sup>

In 1891, \$793.50 was spent on triennial clothing for 5 Chiefs and 16 Councillors in Treaty 1, not including freight charges.<sup>360</sup> The items provided included belts, boots, coats, hats, shirts, socks, and trousers.<sup>361</sup> The average clothing expenditure per person amounted to \$37.79.

In 1894, \$499.79 was spent on triennial clothing for 5 Chiefs and 16 Headmen in Treaty 1, including belts, socks, boots, hats, pea jackets, shirts, and trousers.<sup>362</sup> This amounts to an expenditure of \$23.80 per person.

In 1897, \$459.35 was spent on triennial clothing for 5 Chiefs and 16 Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency, not including freight. The articles provided included belts, hats, pea jackets, shirts, socks, shoes, and trousers.<sup>363</sup> This amounts to an expenditure of \$21.87 per person.

In 1900, \$560.94 was spent on triennial clothing for 5 Chiefs and 18 Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency, not including freight. The articles provided included belts, boots, hats, pea jackets, shirts, socks, and trousers.<sup>364</sup> This amounts to an expenditure of \$24.39 per person.

In 1903, \$397.52 was spent on triennial clothing in the Portage la Prairie Agency, not including freight and packaging. The Auditor General's report specified that 5 Chiefs' outfits were provided at \$21.72 each, and 14 Headmen's outfits at \$20.68 each.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> "A. – Indians of Manitoba and the North-West," June 30, 1888, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1888* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, Superintendent of Printing, for Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1889), Part II, p. 158 [Doc. 179].

<sup>359</sup> The Auditor General's report for 1887-88 provides further details on the specific items provided for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, including belts, boots, coats, handkerchiefs, hats, shirts, socks, and trousers, for 101 persons (18 Chiefs and 83 Headmen). Based on this number of Chiefs and Headmen, the average expenditure in 1887-88 would have been \$22.84 per person. Canada, *Report of the Auditor General on Appropriation Accounts for the year ended 30th June, 1888* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1889), p. E-12 [Doc. 182].

<sup>360</sup> "Manitoba Superintendency – Details," June 30, 1891, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December 1891* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1892), Part II, pp. 45 and 49 [Doc. 205].

<sup>361</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General for the year ended 30th June, 1891* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1892), p. D-105 [Doc. 206].

<sup>362</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency" in Canada, *Report of the Auditor General for the year ended 30th June, 1894*, p. F-13 [Doc. 220].

<sup>363</sup> Canada, *Report of the Auditor General for the year ended 30th June, 1897* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1898), p. 14 [Doc. 228].

<sup>364</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1900* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, 1901), p. J-18 [Doc. 236].

<sup>365</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1903* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1904), p. J-36 [Doc. 244].

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In 1906, \$388.59 was spent on triennial clothing in the Portage la Prairie Agency for 5 Chiefs and 13 Headmen.<sup>366</sup> This amounts to an expenditure of \$21.59 per person.

In 1909, \$1,047.63 was spent on triennial clothing in the Portage la Prairie Agency. The Auditor General's Report specified that 12 Chiefs' outfits were provided at \$22.33 each, and 36 Headmen's outfits at \$21.65 ½ each.<sup>367</sup>

In 1911, \$473.76 was spent by the Department of Indian Affairs to purchase material for 47 suits for the Chiefs and Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency.<sup>368</sup> These suits were made by the Kingston Penitentiary at a cost of \$384.46 and provided to 12 Chiefs and 35 Headmen the following year.<sup>369</sup>

In 1914, \$368.94 was spent by the Department of Indian Affairs to purchase material for 126 suits for the Chiefs and Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency.<sup>370</sup> Forty-six suits were provided by the Kingston Penitentiary in 1915, as well as shoes, shirts, and belts, at a total cost of \$411.84.<sup>371</sup>

In 1916, \$3,361.83 was spent by the Department of Indian Affairs related to triennial clothing for bands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories, including 57 Chiefs' suits and 128 Headmen's suits manufactured by the Kingston Penitentiary.<sup>372</sup> No breakdown is provided this year for clothing provided specifically to the Portage la Prairie Agency.

In 1918, \$6,165.98 was spent by the Department of Indian Affairs on triennial clothing for Chiefs and Headmen in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories, including 43 Chiefs' suits and 98 Headmen's suits.<sup>373</sup> Although no breakdown is provided for the expenditure per agency, the statement of annuities paid, published in the same Auditor General's report,

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<sup>366</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30 1906* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1906), p. J-21 [Doc. 258].

<sup>367</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1909*, p. I-52 [Doc. 266].

<sup>368</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1911*, p. H-43 [Doc. 276].

<sup>369</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1912*, pp. H-44-45 [Doc. 281].

<sup>370</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1914* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King's Printer, 1914), p. H-35 [Doc. 290].

<sup>371</sup> "Portage la Prairie Agency, Manitoba," in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31 1915* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King's Printer, 1915), p. H-31 [Doc. 295].

<sup>372</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1915-1916" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1916* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, King's Printer, 1916), p. H-25 [Doc. 298].

<sup>373</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1917-1918" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1918* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1918), p. H-25 [Doc. 304].



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indicates there were 13 Chiefs and 33 Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency this fiscal year.<sup>374</sup> It is not known how many of these would have been eligible for triennial clothing in 1918.

In 1919, \$5,209.70 was spent by the Department of Indian Affairs on triennial clothing for Chiefs and Headmen in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories, including 67 Chiefs' suits and 145 Headmen's suits.<sup>375</sup> Although no breakdown is provided for the expenditure per agency, the statement of annuities paid, published in the same Auditor General's report, indicates there were 13 Chiefs and 31 Headmen in the Portage la Prairie Agency this fiscal year.<sup>376</sup> It is not known how many of these would have been eligible for triennial clothing in 1919.

From 1916 to 1938, the Reports of the Auditor General do not separate triennial clothing figures by agency, but instead only calculate the total expenditure for Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories combined. Then, from 1939–1942, the reports only show expenditures at the branch level<sup>377</sup> for items such as salaries and wages, equipment, buildings, reserves and trusts, schools, hospitals, etc. When the reports of the Auditor General resumed publishing in 1947, they only contained short summaries of total revenue and expenditures per department, as well as comments on specific transactions of departmental agreements or policies. The reports continued to be published until the 1970s and provided no information related to triennial clothing.

Although information related to triennial clothing in the Department's Annual Reports and reports of the Auditor General is general and limited, after 1949 the Department of Indian Affairs maintained a handwritten account book which noted the names of the Chiefs and Headmen for whom suits of clothing, or cheques in lieu thereof, had been ordered or delivered. This account book contains entries for various Indian agencies and districts in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories. Within each agency, it notes the names of Chief and Headmen, their band, their band number, and, for various years from 1949–1985, the date triennial clothing was ordered and received. There is no record of cost. The records in this account book are not considered entirely complete by the Department, however, because vouchers regarding suits received were occasionally sent directly to Treasury Board and not recorded in the account book, and because vouchers and receipts were not preserved at the agency offices nor at Headquarters in Ottawa. As such, the

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<sup>374</sup> "Annuities paid under Statute" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1918* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1918), p. H-6 [Doc. 303].

<sup>375</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1918-1919" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1919* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1920), p. I-23 [Doc. 307].

<sup>376</sup> "Auditor General's Report, 1918-1919" in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended March 31, 1919* (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, King's Printer, 1919), p. I-6 [Doc. 306].

<sup>377</sup> The Indian Affairs Branch was administered by the Department of Mines and Resources at this time.

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handwritten account book does not always record the delivery date of suits, and may not represent the full extent of triennial clothing distributions.<sup>378</sup>

In the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Canada's policy regarding triennial clothing became more flexible and alternative methods of meeting treaty commitments were accepted. Upon request, eligible recipients could be issued one of the following in lieu of triennial clothing: made-to-measure uniforms, vouchers for business/civilian suits (in lieu of a uniform), cheques to cover their purchases, or the equivalent value in cash. The maximum amount of money allowed to eligible Chiefs and Councillors for business suits was adjusted periodically based on the average percentage of increase in the cost of business suits as calculated by Statistics Canada.<sup>379</sup> (Further details on these increases are discussed below.)

In 1956, the Director of the Indian Affairs Branch, H. M. Jones, clarified certain aspects of the Department's policy and practice in providing triennial clothing to Chiefs and Councillors elected under the *Indian Act*. He reiterated that Chiefs and Councillors were entitled to triennial clothing upon election for the first time, and also indicated that under special circumstances, such as a Chief or Councillor being re-elected upon expiration of a two-year term, consideration would be given to issuing a second suit in less than three years. A civilian business suit could also be purchased in lieu of the triennial clothing uniform, if desired, up to a value of \$52.50.<sup>380</sup> As discussed further below, this maximum amount was periodically adjusted over time.

Although the Department's aforementioned handwritten account book has not yet been made available for review, vouchers, requisitions for payment, purchase authorizations, and other financial documents found in various departmental files contain records of suits or triennial clothing allowances supplied to specific members of the Roseau River Band from 1969 to 1979. The information from this varied documentation is compiled in Table 3 below.

<sup>378</sup> See "Treaty One," in Kastner, "Treaties One to Eleven," March 31, 1994), p. 11 [Doc. 426]. The ledger is now located at Library and Archives Canada. This "Record of Triennial Clothing – Indian Chiefs and Headmen," LAC RG 10-B-3-h Vol. 12619, is restricted. It was ordered by the researcher in November 2020 but has not yet been provided for review.

<sup>379</sup> "Treaty One," in Kastner, "Treaties One to Eleven," March 31, 1994, p. 11 [Doc. 426].

<sup>380</sup> H. M. Jones, Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to E. S. Jones, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, January 18, 1956 [Doc. 329]. DIAND Claims and Historical Research Centre – Treaties – Treaty #4 Triennial Clothing."

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**Table 3: Triennial Clothing Payments for Roseau River Band Council Members, 1969–1999**

Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
1969 <sup>382</sup>	Steve Seenie (Councillor)  <i>Elected February 24, 1969 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved March 27, 1969 Delivered April 3, 1969	\$62
	Leo Hayden (Councillor)  <i>Elected February 24, 1969 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved March 27, 1969	\$62
	Donald Henry (Councillor)  <i>Elected February 24, 1969 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved March 27, 1969 Delivered July 31, 1969	\$62
1970 <sup>383</sup>	Don Nelson (Councillor)  <i>Elected February 24, 1969 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved November 2, 1970	\$78
	Scotty Meeshenow (Chief)  <i>Elected March 4, 1971 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved April 8, 1971	\$78

<sup>381</sup> Figures have only been entered into this column on the table when provided in the document. See Table 4 for the maximum values of triennial clothing for the period 1950–present.

<sup>382</sup> E. Daggitt, Superintendent in charge, Clandeboye-Fisher River District, to Head, Supporting Services Division, March 20, 1969 [Doc. 337]; J. B. Sullivan, Head, Trusts Section, to Superintendent-in-Charge, Clandeboye-Fisher River Indian District, March 27, 1969 [Doc. 338]; Payment Voucher, May 15, 1969, with attached receipt [Doc. 339]; and Payment Voucher, August 11, 1969, with attached receipt [Doc. 340]. All on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10.

<sup>383</sup> W. B. Rees, Superintendent in charge, Clandeboye-Fisher River District, to Head, Trust Section, Indian Affairs Branch, October 22, 1970 [Doc. 342]; J. B. Sullivan, Head, Trusts Section, to Superintendent-in-Charge, Clandeboye-Fisher River Indian District, November 2, 1970 [Doc. 343]; and Payment Voucher, December 9, 1970 [Doc. 344]. All on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10. According to the payment voucher, the actual cost of Nelson's suit was \$64.80.

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
1971 <sup>384</sup>	Archie Accobee (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1971 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved April 8, 1971	\$78
	Roland Martin (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1971 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved April 8, 1971	\$78
	Elizabeth Patrick (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1971 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved April 8, 1971	\$78
	Mary Roberts (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1971 for 2-year term</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved April 8, 1971	\$78
1972 <sup>385</sup>	Clarence Henry (Councillor)  <i>Elected August 16, 1971</i>	Business suit in lieu of triennial clothing	Approved January 28, 1972 Delivered February 19, 1972	\$78
1973 <sup>386</sup>	Oliver Nelson (Chief)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Requisitioned April 6, 1973 Mailed April 25, 1973	\$78

<sup>384</sup> W. B. Rees, District Supervisor, Clandeboye-Fisher River District, to Head, Trusts Section, Indian Affairs Branch, March 22, 1971 [Doc. 345]; J. B. Sullivan, Head, Trusts Section, DIAND, to District Supervisor, Clandeboye-Fisher River Indian District, April 8, 1971 [Doc. 346]; Payment Voucher, April 20, 1971 [Doc. 347]; and Payment Voucher, May 11, 1971 [Doc. 348]. All on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10.

<sup>385</sup> R. M. Connelly, Regional Director, Manitoba, to J. B. Sullivan, Head, Band Financial Management Section, January 21, 1972 [Doc. 352]; J. B. Sullivan to Regional Director, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Manitoba, January 28, 1972 [Doc. 353]; and Payment Voucher, March 3, 1972, with attached receipt [Doc. 354]. All on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10.

<sup>386</sup> Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Requisitions for Cheques, April 6, 1973 [Docs. 359, 360, 361, 362, and 363]. DIAND WIN-O 501/12-5-273 UNC Vol. 1.

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>387</sup>
	Betty Martin (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Requisitioned April 6, 1973 Mailed April 25, 1973	\$78
	John Alexander (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Requisitioned April 6, 1973 Mailed April 25, 1973	\$78
	Felix Antoine (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Requisitioned April 6, 1973 Mailed April 1973	\$78
	Alfred Smith (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Requisitioned April 6, 1973 Mailed April 1973	\$78
1975 <sup>387</sup>	Leslie Atkinson (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1975 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing allotment	Ordered April 9, 1975 Mailed May 12, 1975	\$110
	Archie Accobee (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1975 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing allotment	Ordered April 9, 1975 Mailed May 12, 1975	\$110
	Stan Nelson (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1975 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing allotment	Ordered April 9, 1975 Mailed May 12, 1975	\$110
1976 <sup>388</sup>	Felix Antoine (Chief)  <i>Elected March 4, 1975 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing allotment	Ordered March 1, 1976 Mailed March 23, 1976	\$110

<sup>387</sup> R. B. Kohls, Assistant Regional Director, Community Affairs, to V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, March 25, 1975 [Doc. 367]; and Requisition for Cheque, April 9, 1975 [Doc. 368]. Both on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 12; and R. B. Kohls, Assistant Regional Director, Community Affairs, to Bernice Antoine, Band Manager, Roseau River Band, May 12, 1975 [Doc. 369]. DIAND WIN-O 501/12-5-273 UNC Vol. 1

<sup>388</sup> R. B. Kohls, Assistant Regional Director, Community Affairs, to V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, March 25, 1975 [Doc. 367]; and Requisition for Cheque, April 9, 1975 [Doc. 368]. Both on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 12; V. G. Boulton, Acting Assistant Regional Director, Local Government – Manitoba, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to J. R. Tully, Acting Director, Local Government – Operations, February 20, 1976 [Doc. 370]; and Requisition for Cheque, March 1, 1976 [Doc. 371]. Both on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 13; and V. G. Boulton, Acting Assistant Regional Director, Local Government – Manitoba, to Mrs. Antoine, Band Administrator, Roseau River Band, March 23, 1976 [Doc. 372]. DIAND WIN-O 501/12-5-273 UNC Vol. 1.

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
	John Alexander (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1975 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing allotment	Ordered March 1, 1976 Mailed March 23, 1976	\$110
1977 <sup>389</sup>	Donald Henry (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1977 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered June 7, 1977 Mailed June 21, 1977	\$125
	Lawrence Henry (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1977 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered June 7, 1977 Mailed June 21, 1977	\$125
	Alfred Smith (Councillor)  <i>Elected March 4, 1977 for 2-year term</i>	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered June 7, 1977 Mailed June 21, 1977	\$125
1979 <sup>390</sup>	Felix Antoine (Chief)	Cash in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered August 29, 1979 Mailed September 21, 1979	\$135
	Carl Roberts (Councillor)	Cash in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered August 29, 1979 Mailed September 21, 1979	\$135
	Al Larocque (Councillor)	Cash in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered August 29, 1979 Mailed September 21, 1979	\$135
	Leslie Atkinson (Councillor)	Cash in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered August 29, 1979 Mailed September 21, 1979	\$135

<sup>389</sup> J. D. Nicholson, Director of Operations, Manitoba Region, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Director General – Operations [Attn: Local Government], May 9, 1977 [Doc. 373]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Requisition for Cheque, June 7, 1977 [Doc. 374]. Both on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 13; and V. G. Boulton, Assistant Regional Director, Local Government – Manitoba, to Bernice Antoine, Band Manager, Roseau River Band, June 21, 1977 [Doc. 375]. DIAND WIN-O 501/12-5-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>390</sup> V. G. Boulton, Regional Director General, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Manitoba, to I. Smith, Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, August 22, 1979 [Doc. 378]; and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Requisition for Cheque, August 29, 1979 [Doc. 379]. Both on DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 14; and B. W. Eardley, Acting Director – Local Government, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Manitoba, to Chief F. Antoine, Roseau River Band, September 21, 1979 [Doc. 380]. DIAND WIN-O 501/12-5-273 UNC Vol. 1.

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
1981 <sup>391</sup>	Alfred Smith (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Mailed on April 21, 1983	\$150
1982 <sup>392</sup>	Felix Antoine (Chief)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered April 15, 1982 Mailed June 1, 1982	\$150
	Carl Roberts (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered April 15, 1982 Mailed June 1, 1982	\$150
	Alphonse Larocque (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered April 15, 1982 Mailed June 1, 1982	\$150
	Lawrence Henry (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Ordered April 15, 1982 Mailed June 1, 1982	\$150
1983 <sup>393</sup>	Don Henry (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Mailed June 16, 1983	\$150
	Leslie Atkinson (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Mailed June 16, 1983	\$150
	Stan Nelson (Councillor)	Cheque in lieu of triennial clothing	Mailed June 16, 1983	\$150
1985 <sup>394</sup>	Alphonse Larocque (Councillor)  <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Cheque dated May 22, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170

<sup>391</sup> John Sutherland, Statutory Requirements Officer, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Manitoba Region, to Leslie Atkinson, Roseau River Band, April 21, 1983 [Doc. 385]; and John Sutherland to Alfred Smith, Roseau River Band, April 21, 1983 [Doc. 386]. Both on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1. Alfred Smith became eligible for the triennial clothing allowance on March 4, 1981, but did not receive his cheque at that time. Smith received his cheque in April 1983, at which point he was no longer a Councillor.

<sup>392</sup> B. W. Eardley, Director, Local Government, Indian & Inuit Affairs Program, Manitoba Region, to S. A. Roberts, Acting Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, Reserves and Trusts, April 15, 1982 [Doc. 383]; and B. W. Eardley to Chief and Council, Roseau River Band, June 1, 1982 [Doc. 384]. Both on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>393</sup> J. M. Sutherland, Statutory Requirements Officer, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Manitoba Region, to Don Henry, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 16, 1983 [Doc. 387]; J. M. Sutherland to Leslie Atkinson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 16, 1983 [Doc. 388]; and J. M. Sutherland to Stan Nelson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 16, 1983 [Doc. 389]. All on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>394</sup> Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Requisitions for Payments, April 25, 1985 [Docs. 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, and 398]; Lawrence Robinson, Director, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Alphonse Larocque, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 399]; Lawrence

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
	Richard Johnson (Councillor) <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170
	Betty Martin (Councillor) <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170
	Felix Antoine (Councillor) <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170
	Lawrence Henry (Councillor) <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Cheque dated May 22, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170
	Carl Roberts (Chief) <i>Elected April 3, 1985</i>	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1985-1986	Ordered April 25, 1985 Mailed June 11, 1985	\$170
1986 <sup>395</sup>	Stan Nelson (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1986-1987	Ordered April 25, 1986 Mailed May 26, 1986	\$170
1987 <sup>396</sup>	Donald Henry (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed May 22, 1987	\$190
	Alfred Patrick (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed May 22, 1987	\$190

Robinson to Richard Johnson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 400]; Lawrence Robinson to Betty Martin, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 401]; Lawrence Robinson to Felix Antoine, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 402]; Lawrence Robinson to Lawrence Henry, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 403]; and Lawrence Robinson to Chief Carl Roberts, Roseau River Band, June 11, 1985 [Doc. 404]. All on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>395</sup> Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Requisition for Payment, April 25, 1986 [Doc. 406]; and L. Robinson, Director, Lands, Revenues & Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Stan Nelson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 26, 1986 [Doc. 407]. Both on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>396</sup> L. Robinson, Director, Lands, Revenues & Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Donald Henry, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 22, 1987 [Doc. 408]; and L. Robinson to Alfred Patrick, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 22, 1987 [Doc. 409]. Both on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.



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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
1988 <sup>397</sup>	Lawrence Henry (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed June 6, 1988	\$190
	Alphonse Larocque (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed June 6, 1988	\$190
	Carl Roberts (Chief)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed June 6, 1988	\$190
	Felix Antoine (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed June 6, 1988	\$190
	Richard Johnson (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Mailed June 6, 1988	\$190
1989 <sup>398</sup>	Vincent Pierre (Chief)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190
	Edward Hayden (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190
	Robert Henry (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190
	John James (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190
	Betty Martin (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190
	Shane Robinson (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered March 8, 1989	\$190

<sup>397</sup> Gerald F. Kelly, Manager, Estates, Membership and Statutory Requirements, Lands, Revenues and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Manitoba Region, to Lawrence Henry, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 6, 1988 [Doc. 410]; Gerald F. Kelly to Alphonse Larocque, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 6, 1988 [Doc. 411]; Gerald F. Kelly to Chief Carl Roberts, Roseau River Band, June 6, 1988 [Doc. 412]; Gerald F. Kelly to Felix Antoine, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 6, 1988 [Doc. 413]; and Gerald F. Kelly to Richard Johnson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, June 6, 1988 [Doc. 414]. All on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>398</sup> Gerald F. Kelly, Manager, Estates, Membership and Statutory Requirements, Lands, Revenues and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Manitoba Region, to Dave Boileau, Indian Monies Directorate, Lands, Revenues and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Attn: Roger Meloche, March 8, 1989 [Doc. 415]; Gerald F. Kelly to Chief Vincent Pierre, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 416]; Gerald F. Kelly to Edward Hayden, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 417]; Gerald F. Kelly to Betty Martin, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 418]; Gerald F. Kelly to John T. James, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 419]; Gerald F. Kelly to Robert Henry, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 420]; and Gerald F. Kelly to Shane Robinson, Councillor, Roseau River Band, May 11, 1989 [Doc. 421]. All on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

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Year	Recipient (and recognized position)	Description of article or form of payment (where known)	Dates Ordered, Approved, or Delivered (as known)	Maximum value of suit <sup>381</sup>
1991 <sup>399</sup>	Martha Larocque (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance		\$190
	Charles Nelson (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance	Ordered May 13, 1991	\$190
1997 <sup>400</sup>	Martha Larocque (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1997-1998	Invoice received April 22, 1997	\$250
1999 <sup>401</sup>	Edward Hayden (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1998-1999	Invoice received February 25, 1999	\$250
	Peter Atkinson (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1999-2000	Invoice received April 20, 1999	\$250
	Michael Littlejohn (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1999-2000	Invoice received April 20, 1999	\$250
	Mitchell Larocque (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1999-2000	Invoice received April 20, 1999	\$250
	Marie Henry (Councillor)	Triennial Clothing Allowance 1999-2000	Invoice received April 20, 1999	\$250

In June 1971 E. Daggitt, Superintendent of Community Affairs, noted the "considerable delay" in having the triennial clothing uniforms supplied by the Canadian Penitentiary, and requested permission to enter into a contract with "a local tailor or a local agency in Winnipeg." Daggitt indicated that the cost of this "would probably exceed the \$78.00 allowed for business suits, however, a total permissible contract price for uniforms should be within the allowable amount given to Band Constables which is \$150.00."<sup>402</sup> V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, responded to Daggitt on August 20, indicating that "if the requirement for the Region is only 11

<sup>399</sup> Les Sumter, Head, Treaties and Statutory Requirements, Lands, Revenues and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Manitoba Region, to Martha Larocque, Councillor, Roseau River Band, April 18, 1991 [Doc. 422]; and Les Sumter to Chief and Council, Roseau River Tribal Council, May 13, 1991 [Doc. 423]. Both on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1. Chief Lawrence Henry, who had not held office between March 1989 and March 1991, was advised on May 17, 1991, that the triennial clothing allowance was paid "every three years of completed service," so he would next be eligible in March 1993. Les Sumter to Chief Lawrence Henry, Roseau River Tribal Council, May 17, 1991 [Doc. 424]. DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>400</sup> "Winnipeg Production Database 1997-1998," April 22, 1997 [Doc. 427]. DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 2.

<sup>401</sup> "Winnipeg Production Database 1998-1999," February 25, 1999 [Doc. 428]; "Winnipeg Production Database 1999-2000," April 20, 1999 [Docs. 429, 430, 431, and 432]. All on DIAND WIN-E 4058-2-273 UNC Vol. 2.

<sup>402</sup> E. Daggitt, Superintendent, Community Affairs, to J. P. McGilp, Director, Community Affairs, June 29, 1971 [Doc. 349]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10.

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uniforms it would be “uneconomical to contract with a local firm to supply the uniforms” and the cost would “far exceed the allowable amount of \$78.00.”<sup>403</sup>

In November 1973 E. Daggitt, Assistant Regional Director of Community Affairs, acknowledged receipt of a directive raising the allowance for business suits in lieu of triennial clothing from \$78 to \$95, and inquired, for those wishing to receive the uniform, as to “the amount of money we can authorize to provide the accessories, such as hats, shirts, ties, boots, etc.”<sup>404</sup> V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, wrote to the Canadian Penitentiary Services later that month on the subject. He stated that up until two years ago, the accessories had been provided with the uniform, at a total cost to the Department of \$35. Gran noted that the majority of Chiefs and Councillors take the cash allowance of \$95, or order a business suit instead of taking the uniform and accessories, but inquired, “in order that those who request uniforms may be treated fairly,” as to a reasonable amount to be allowed for accessories.<sup>405</sup> No response to this letter was located.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the maximum amounts allowed to eligible Chiefs and Councillors for business suits was increased periodically “based on the average percentage of increase in the cost of business suits as calculated by Statistics Canada.”<sup>406</sup> Ultimately, from the 1950s to 1992, the maximum amount of money that was provided for suits in lieu of triennial clothing rose from \$52.50 to \$250. In notifying the regional directors about these increases in the allowance, Indian Affairs officials at Headquarters also typically clarified other details of the Government’s triennial clothing policy and practice. In July 1981, for example, the Director General of Reserves and Trusts instructed that Chiefs and Councillors who wished to receive a suitable suit or uniform were required to make the purchase locally. Alternatively, they could opt to receive a cheque in lieu of clothing. If the price of a suit exceeded the allowable amount defined by the Department, then the difference was to be covered by the individual or by Band funds (with a Band resolution).<sup>407</sup>

At a conference held January 31–February 3, 1978, the Northern Chiefs in Manitoba passed a resolution requesting that the Department reinstitute the “Triennial Clothing Program” rather than paying individual cheques. V. G. Boulton, Acting Regional Director General, Manitoba, forwarded this request to Headquarters on May 26<sup>th</sup>, noting, “The Chiefs and Councillors are of

<sup>403</sup> V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, to Regional Director, DIAND, Manitoba, August 20, 1971 [Doc. 350]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 10.

<sup>404</sup> E. Daggitt, Assistant Regional Director, Community Affairs, to V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, November 19, 1973 [Doc. 365]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 12.

<sup>405</sup> V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, to R. J. Thompson, Acting Director of Industries, for Commissioner, Canadian Penitentiary Services, November 27, 1973 [Doc. 366]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 12.

<sup>406</sup> “Treaty Provisions: Triennial Clothing,” circa 1972 [Doc. 351]. See also C. I. Fairholm, Senior Administrative Officer to Unknown, May 12, 1964 [Doc. 334]. Both on DIAND Claims and Historical Research Centre – Treaties – Treaty #4 Triennial Clothing.”

<sup>407</sup> J. D. Leask, Director General, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Directors General (Indian and Inuit Affairs), and Regional Directors (Indian and Inuit Affairs), July 22, 1981 [Doc. 382]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

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the strong opinion that, not only do the uniforms enhance their offices but they also are a representation of a symbol of the treaties which were signed between the Indian people and Her Royal Majesty.” Boulton listed two types of uniforms available for purchase in Manitoba, one older cloth-like tunic (with cap and pants, \$170.60), and a new type of RCMP-style tunic jacket (with cap and pants, \$125.60), and requested Ottawa’s “advice and direction” before replying to the Northern Chiefs.<sup>408</sup> R. B. Kohls, Acting Director of the Membership and Statutory Requirements Branch, responded to Manitoba’s Regional Director General on June 29<sup>th</sup>, providing a brief summary of departmental practice in issuing “a suitable suit of clothing” to Chiefs and Councillors, and the change to the cash system. Kohls stated, “Nationally the Department must be consistent – for instance, we cannot give a greater allowance to one group of chiefs and councillors merely because they wish a uniform or suit of clothing of a particular style or quality.” Kohls noted that the allowance had been increased to \$125 the previous year, and that the Northern Chiefs would be able to purchase the desired uniform and “to supplement the amount of the allowance personally or from band funds.”<sup>409</sup> As shown in Table 3, Council members of Roseau River Band continued to receive cheques in lieu of triennial clothing.

Table 4 shows the increase in maximum values allowed over time for triennial clothing.

**Table 4: Maximum value provided for suits in lieu of uniforms, 1950s–present**

Effective Date(s)	Maximum Value to be provided for suits in lieu of uniforms
circa 1950s–1964 <sup>410</sup>	\$52.50
1964–1969 <sup>411</sup>	\$62.00
1970–1973 <sup>412</sup>	\$78.00
July 1973 <sup>413</sup>	\$95.00

<sup>408</sup> V. G. Boulton, Acting Regional Director General, Manitoba Region, to Director General, Program Support, Indian and Inuit Affairs, Attn: S. Roberts, Acting Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, Reserves and Trusts, May 26, 1978 [Doc. 376]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 14.

<sup>409</sup> R. B. Kohls, Acting Director, Membership and Statutory Requirements Branch (Reserves and Trusts), to Regional Director General, Manitoba, June 29, 1978 [Doc. 377]. DIAND NCR-O 501/12-5 UNC Vol. 14.

<sup>410</sup> H. M. Jones, Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to E. S. Jones, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, January 18, 1956 [Doc. 329]; and C. I. Fairholm, Senior Administrative Officer, to Unknown, May 12, 1964 [Doc. 334]. Both on DIAND Claims and Historical Research Centre – Treaties – Treaty #4 “Triennial Clothing.”

<sup>411</sup> C. I. Fairholm, Senior Administrative Officer, to Unknown, May 12, 1964 [Doc. 334]. DIAND Claims and Historical Research Centre – Treaties – Treaty #4 “Triennial Clothing.”

<sup>412</sup> J. B. Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister (Indian and Eskimo Affairs), DIAND, to J. J. Le Vert, Regional Director, Saskatchewan Region, April 21, 1970 [Doc. 341]. DIAND PRI-O 674/12-5 Vol. 1.

<sup>413</sup> V. M. Gran, Chief, Band Management Division, to District Supervisor, Yorkton Indian District, August 3, 1973 [Doc. 364]. DIAND NCR-E 4058-2/34.3 UNC Vol. 1.

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Effective Date(s)	Maximum Value to be provided for suits in lieu of uniforms
February 1975 <sup>414</sup>	\$110.00
March 1977 <sup>415</sup>	\$125.00
April 1979 <sup>416</sup>	\$135.00
July 1, 1981 <sup>417</sup>	\$150.00
October 1, 1983 <sup>418</sup>	\$170.00
April 1, 1986 <sup>419</sup>	\$190.00
April 1, 1992 <sup>420</sup>	\$250.00

In 2002, staff in DIAND's Indian Moneys and Estates Directorate proposed the need for a single national approach to the payment of triennial clothing obligations under the various treaties, noting that there were several different practices or approaches in place. For example, while some regions paid allowances to Chiefs and Councillors upon their taking office and every three years thereafter, other regions paid the allowances on the same fixed date every three years regardless of who held the office at that time. The Acting Head of Individual Moneys, Jim Allen, explained that these variations made the Department "vulnerable to legal challenges ... [particularly] if a treaty area extends into two or more regions of the department and there are differences between regions in the payment of triennial clothing allowance." Allen asked the regional managers to provide information on the approach taken by their region, and the reasons why, and to comment upon the proposed work plan for moving towards a national

<sup>414</sup> Laurel Clow, Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Director General, Saskatchewan Region, April 7, 1986 [Doc. 405]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>415</sup> Laurel Clow, Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Director General, Saskatchewan Region, April 7, 1986 [Doc. 405]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>416</sup> J. D. Leask, Director General, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Directors General (Indian and Inuit Affairs), and Regional Directors (Indian and Inuit Affairs), July 22, 1981 [Doc. 382]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>417</sup> J. D. Leask, Director General, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Directors General (Indian and Inuit Affairs), and Regional Directors (Indian and Inuit Affairs), July 22, 1981 [Doc. 382]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>418</sup> F. Singleton for J. D. Leask, Director General, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Directors General (Indian and Inuit Affairs), Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, and Regional Director (Indian and Inuit Affairs), NWT Region, August 25, 1983 [Doc. 390]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>419</sup> Laurel Clow, Chief, Statutory Requirements Division, Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Director General, Saskatchewan Region, April 7, 1986 [Doc. 405]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 1.

<sup>420</sup> Gregor MacIntosh, Director General, Registration, Revenues and Band Governance, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Regional Directors General and Regional Directors, Indian and Inuit Affairs, All Regions (except Atlantic, Quebec, Yukon), July 16, 1992 [Doc. 425]. DIAND FOR-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 4.

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approach for the payment of triennial clothing obligations.<sup>421</sup> Based on the research undertaken to date, it is unclear how this issue proceeded or if consensus was reached on a national approach.

In 2006, the calculation for the triennial clothing allowance was reviewed to determine if it should be increased. Pierrette Guitard explained in an email to the National Indian Moneys Team that the triennial clothing allowance was compared to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for men's clothing published by Statistics Canada, and found to have increased by \$6.34 since 1991. Departmental policy, she explained, is that the amount would be increased only if the change exceeded \$10; therefore, the clothing allowance for 2006 remained at \$250, to be reviewed again the following year.<sup>422</sup>

In 2007 the Treaty Policy Directorate at DIAND Headquarters indicated that "from this point forward" triennial clothing payments should be made to Chief and Council "every three (3) calendar years, regardless of office turnover (elections)."<sup>423</sup> The author of this email indicated that this should be communicated to the Chief and Council of affected First Nations.

No evidence was located in our research to indicate that the maximum allotment was increased from \$250 in subsequent years.

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<sup>421</sup> Jim Allen, Acting Head, Individual Moneys, Indian Moneys and Estates Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, to Distribution List, March 8, 2002 [Doc. 433]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2-02.03 PRB Vol. 1.

<sup>422</sup> Pierrette Guitard to National Indian Moneys Team, March 9, 2006 [Doc. 434]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 9.

<sup>423</sup> Brenda Forseth to Carmen Amyotte et al., December 31, 2007 [Doc. 435]. DIAND REG-E 4058-2 UNC Vol. 9.

## Summary of Findings

The following table lists the relevant items promised to the Roseau River First Nation under the terms of Treaty 1 (as set out in the written text of the treaty, the memorandum of "Outside Promises," and the 1875 Order in Council) and summarizes the items distributed according to the available historic information. The table does not include any conclusions or assessments regarding whether any particular treaty benefit was satisfied.

Treaty Term/Item	Comments
<b>Distributed once upon signing Treaty</b>	
Flag and medal for Chief	The original medals were of base metal. They were replaced with silver ones in 1875, engraved with "the number and year of the Treaty to which it relates." <sup>424</sup>  Correspondence from 1878 confirms that a flag was provided to Chief Wah-coowash upon treaty signing.
<b>Agricultural implements</b>	
Buggy for each Chief, brave, and councillor	"Light express waggons" were supplied to the Chiefs and Councillors who were party to Treaty 1 in 1872. <sup>425</sup>
Plough and harrow for each settled Indian	Received 13 ploughs and 10 harrows as of November 1877. <sup>426</sup>  The Roseau Rapids faction claimed to have received only three ploughs by 1891. <sup>427</sup> It is unknown if these are included in the total for the Band resident on the main reserve.
<b>"Once for all" distribution of livestock, per band</b>	
Yoke of oxen	Received November 20, 1876. <sup>428</sup>
Bull	Received as of November 1877. <sup>429</sup>

<sup>424</sup> [David Laird, Minister of the Interior,] to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, July 7, 1875 [Doc. 72]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>425</sup> William Spragge, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1873, in Canada, *Annual Report on Indian Affairs for the year ended 30th June, 1872*, p. 6 [Doc. 42].

<sup>426</sup> Geo. Newcomb to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

<sup>427</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Roseau River, to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, April 20, 1891 [Doc. 202]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3730 File 26306-1 Reel C-10127.

<sup>428</sup> The Indian Department in account with J. B. Lapointe, November 20, 1876 [Doc. 103]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>429</sup> Geo. Newcomb to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 21, 1877 [Doc. 121]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3654 File 8904 Reel C-10114.

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<b>Treaty Term/Item</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Cow (for each Chief)	Received three on November 20, 1876. <sup>430</sup> Agent Ogletree reported in 1886 that the Roseau River First Nation received "the remainder of their cattle this year." <sup>431</sup>
Boar	There is no indication that the Roseau River First Nation was provided with pigs.
Sow (for each Chief)	There is no indication that the Roseau River First Nation was provided with pigs.
A male and female "of each kind of animal raised by farmers"	There is no indication that the Roseau River First Nation was provided with smaller farm animals.
<b>School and Schoolmaster</b>	
"Maintain a school" on each reserve	<p>A school was first established on the Roseau River Reserve on December 7, 1876, run by the Presbyterian Church; it operated until 1880. On December 9, 1885, a new school was opened under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church; it operated until 1892. In 1904 a nondenominational school opened at Roseau Rapids.</p> <p>The Department of Indian Affairs contributed an annual sum towards the teacher's salary, and occasionally provided additional funds for repairs and other items.</p>
<b>Triennial Clothing</b>	
A suit of clothing every three years for each Chief and four "Headmen"	Statements of Indian Affairs Department expenditures indicate that the Chiefs and Headmen in Treaty 1, and later the Portage la Prairie Agency, received clothing every three years. These articles included coats, trousers, shirts, boots, hats, socks, belts, and handkerchiefs.

<sup>430</sup> The Indian Department in account with J. B. Lapointe, November 20, 1876 [Doc. 103]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

<sup>431</sup> Francis Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1886, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 31st December, 1886*, p. 43 [Doc. 174].



## Appendix A: Population Statistics for Roseau River Band, 1871–1985

Figures have been taken from treaty annuity paylists and Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports for the years included in the table. Other sources of population data are footnoted individually.

Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1871	364 (paid gratuity) 309 (paid first annuity)	309		107	2	0	Pembina Band, Ke-wee-tay-ash Chief, paid August 4, 1871.
1872	312	312	218 <sup>434</sup>	84	3	3 Councillors + 3 Braves	Pembina Bands, Keeweetayash, Wahcoowash, and Nanawanawan Chiefs, paid July 1872.
1873	309	309		84	0	0	Pembina Bands paid August 1873.
1874	45 + 332 = 377	309		15 + 85 = 100	0	0	Roseau (formerly Pembina) Bands paid in 1874.

<sup>432</sup>

The figures in this column reflect the total population given each year in the Annual Reports, comprising individuals "on reserve" and absent. Figures provided in the Annual Reports often reflect the population totals from the year prior to publication. Although the Annual Reports from 1880–1892 provide figures for the year in which they were published (since the reports for those years were published in December), the Annual Reports from 1893–1929 actually reflect figures for the year prior to their publication (since these reports were published in either March or June and before annuity payments were made for that year). For example, the population of 250 listed under Roseau River in the 1895 Annual Report actually reflects the Band population for the year 1894 and is therefore entered as such in the table. The census records for 1939, 1944, 1949, 1954, and 1959 reflect population figures for the same years in which they were published. See Docs. 27, 47, 63, 71, 145, 208, 212, 219, 222, 223, 226, 231, 234, 235, 237, 239, 242, 251, 256, 257, 261, 263, 265, 272, 275, 280, 283, 289, 294, 297, 299, 318, 325, 328, and 332.

<sup>433</sup>

No documentation to date has been found stating the Department's definition of a family unit. In preparing the table, each head of family paid was considered head of a "family" unit. The numbers of families thus provided indicate the maximum number of families within the Band for each given year. All families that were present and paid annuities for that year are included in the calculations. Family names that were listed on the payroll, but whose members were not recorded as paid that year, were not counted.

<sup>434</sup>

A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to F. T. Bradley, March 23, 1872 [Doc. 25]. LAC MG 27 IC 10 Reel M-5539.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1875	457	380		99	3	0	Pembina Bands paid in 1875.
1876	564			114	1	12	Pembina Band paid on July 12, 1876.
1877	522			109	3	12	Pembina Band paid in August and September 1877.
1878	571			122	3	12	Pembina Band paid in July, August and September 1878.
1879	571			124	3	12	Rosseau River Band paid July 8, 9, and 10, 1879.
1880	548	548		117	3	12	Rosseau River Band paid in 1880.
1881	563			117	3	12	Rosseau River Band paid at Reserve on July 7, 1881.
1882	583			119	3	11	Rosseau River Band paid at Reserve on July 7, 1882.
1883	558			119	3	11	Rosseau River Bands paid at Rosseau River on July 7, 1883.
1884	586			125	3	11	Rosseau Band paid at Rosseau River in July 1884.
1885	431			102	3	11	Rosseau Bands paid at Rosseau River Reserve on July 6, 1885.
1886	231			94	3	12	Rosseau Band paid at Rosseau River Reserve on July 6, 1886.
1887	260			95	3	12	Rosseau Band paid at Rosseau River Reserve on July 5, 1887.
1888	281			104	3	12	Rosseau River Band paid at Reserve on July 6 and 7, 1888.
1889	263			96	3	12	Rosseau Band paid at Rosseau River on July 5 and 6, 1889.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1890	254			89	3	12	Roseau's Bands paid at Roseau River on July 4 and 5, 1890.
1891	252	252 <sup>435</sup>		92	3	12	Roseau Band paid at Roseau Reserve on July 6, 1891.
1892	241	241		92	3	12	Roseau Band paid at Roseau Reserve on July 6, 1892.
1893	249	249		90	3	12	Roseau Band paid at Roseau Reserve on July 5, 1893.
1894	250	250		91	3	12	Roseau Band paid at Roseau Reserve on July 5, 6, and 7 1894.
1895	251	251		93	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau on July 5 and 6, 1895.
1896	255	261		98	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Reserve on July 4 and 6, 1896.
1897	261	264		88	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Reserve Proper and at the Rapids on July 5, 6, and 7, 1897.
1898	239	244		81	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Reserve Proper and at the Rapids on July 11 and 12, 1898.
1899	220	250		80	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Reserve Proper and at the Rapids on July 10 and 11, 1899.

<sup>435</sup> The population as published in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports for the years 1891-1917 includes the portion of the Band resident at Roseau Rapids (IR 2A).

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1900	236	244		84	3	12	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau Proper and at the Rapids on July 9 and 10, 1900.
1901	220	218		81	3	11	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau Proper and at the Rapids on July 10 and 11, 1901. Note that while "Chief" only appears twice on this paylist, No. 12 Antoine was paid the Chief's salary and a receipt was blocking the notes where "Chief" would have been indicated. No. 12 Antoine has been included in the No. of Chiefs on the paylist.
1902	209	217		81	3	9	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on July 10 and 11, 1902.
1903	201	196		76	3	10	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on July 8, 1903.
1904	194	186		74	3	10	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on July 6, 1904.
1905	186	183		73	3	10	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on July 8, 1905.
1906	183	183		74	3	10	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on July 7 and 9, 1906.
1907	181	181		70	3	9	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 10 and 11, 1907.
1908	175	175		69	3	8	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 14 and 15, 1908.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1909	181	181		68	3	9	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 14 and 15, 1909.
1910	186	186		69	3	7	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 13, 1910.
1911	188	188		66	3	7	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 28 and 29, 1911.
1912	186	186		67	3	7	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 9 and 10, 1912.
1913	197	197		68	3	7	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 8 and 9, 1913.
1914	200	200	195 <sup>436</sup>	73	3	7	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 7 and 8, 1914.
1915	198	198		69	1	6	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 22 and 23, 1915.
1916	200	200		64	2	6	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 12 and 13, 1916.
1917	210			65	2	6	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 10 and 11, 1917.
1918	206			64	2	6	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 16, 1918.
1919	187			59	2	4	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 16, 1919.
1920	186			60	2	4	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 20, 1920.

<sup>436</sup> F. Paget, Accountant, Department of Indian Affairs, to Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, April 20, 1914 [Doc. 293]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7600 File 10127-5 Reel C-11568.



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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1921	171			52	2	4	Rosau Band paid at their reserve on April 20, 1921.
1922	181			55	2	4	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 22, 1922.
1923	191			55	2	4	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 18, 1923.
1924	195			55	2	4	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 23, 1924.
1925	201			53	1 <sup>437</sup>	3	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 21, 1925. Note that No. 51 Mashee-penais is identified as a Councilor but as his death is also reported on this payroll he has not been included in the number of headmen.
1926	204			56	1	3	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 20, 1926.
1927	208			58	1	2	Roseau Band paid at their reserve on April 21, 1927.
1928	209			57	1	2	Roseau Band paid at reserve on June 14, 1928.

<sup>437</sup> Though Pierre Laroque is indicated as a Chief on the payroll, the family of six was paid \$30.00 and the remarks note that he was deposed by Order in Council on November 26, 1924. For a letter from the Secretary of the Department to the Indian Agent regarding this deposal, see: J. D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to A. Ogletree, Indian Agent, Portage la Prairie Agency, January 7, 1925 [Doc. 313]. For a letter that states that no appointment would be made for a new Chief unless a "progressive Indian" was selected, see: J. D. McLean to A. Ogletree, April 15, 1925 [Doc. 314]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 7939 File 32-127 Reel C-13510.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1929	208			59	1	2	Roseau Band paid at reserve on June 13, 1929.
1930	208			59	0 <sup>438</sup>	3	Roseau Band paid at Roseau on June 17, 1930.
1931	214			64	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on July 21, 1931.
1932	215			65	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on July 12, 1932.
1933	206			64	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on July 1, 1933.
1934	220			67	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on July 4, 1934.
1935	222			65	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on July 4, 1935.
1936	233			66	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on July 20, 1936.
1937	239			65	1	1 <sup>439</sup>	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 22, 1937.
1938	246 <sup>440</sup>			71	1	1	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on May 19, 1938.

<sup>438</sup>

Tom Henry was appointed by Chief following the annuity payments that year. See: A. F. MacKenzie, Acting Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to E. McPherson, Indian Agent, July 12, 1930 [Doc. 315]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7939 File 32-125 Pt. 2 Reel C-13509.

<sup>439</sup>

For a letter that indicates that one of the Councillors passed away in 1937, see: Chief James [Rouen] to Unknown, February 17, 1937 [Doc. 316]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7939 File 32-125 Pt. 2 Reel C-13509.

<sup>440</sup>

Total shown on payroll is 242 but payment for a family of four on Ticket No. 258, originally marked absent, was later handwritten in.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1939	250	242		70	1	0 <sup>441</sup>	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 6, 1939.
1940	257			75	1	0 <sup>442</sup>	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 10, 1940.
1941	255			79	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 8, 1941.
1942	255			82	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 7, 1942.
1943	261			82	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 19, 1943.
1944	265			79	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River I.R. on July 11, 1944.
1945	274			85	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on July 12, 1945.
1946	280			90	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on July 23, 1946.
1947	290			90	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at reserve on July 25, 1947.
1948	301			96	1	2	Roseau River Band paid at Roseau River on May 13, 1948.

<sup>441</sup>

For a document that states that the last remaining Councilor of the Band passed away, see: E. McPherson, Indian Agent, to the Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, May 9, 1939 [Doc. 317]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 7939 File 32-125 Pt. 3 Reel C-13509.

<sup>442</sup>

Joe Pierre and Pierre Laroque were confirmed as Councilors for the Roseau River Band on July 10, 1940 [Doc. 319]; and Pierre Laroque, Declaration, July 10, 1940 [Doc. 320]. Both on LAC RG 10 Vol. 7939 File 32-125 Pt. 3 Reel C-13509.



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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1949	303	328		94	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on April 13, 1949.
1950	332			109	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on May 18, 1950.
1951	334			106	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on May 9, 1951.
1952	324			105	1	2	Roseau River Band paid on May 7, 1952.
1953	353			126	1	3	Roseau River Band paid on May 6, 1953.
1954	382	385		116	1	3	Roseau River Band paid at Portage la [illegible] on May 12, 1954.
1955	383			118	1	3	Roseau River Band paid at Portage on May 11, 1955.
1956	404			127	1	3	Roseau River Band paid at reserve on May 18, 1956.
1957	428			138	1	3	Roseau River Band paid on May 17, 1957.
1958	448			140	1	3	Roseau River Band paid at reserve on May 9, 1958.
1959	471	492		144	1	3	Roseau River Band paid at reserve on May 8, 1959.
1960	494			152	1	3	Roseau River Annuity paid at reserve on May 13, 1960.
1961	486			145	1	6	Roseau River Band paid in 1961.
1962	503			148	1	5	Roseau River Band paid in 1962.

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1963 <sup>443</sup>							
1964							
1965							
1966							
1967							
1968							
1969							
1970	630						
1971	616			203	1	3	Roseau River Band paid in 1970.
1972	621 <sup>444</sup>			209	1	3	Roseau River Band paid in 1971
1973	672			209	1	3	Roseau River Band paid in 1972.
1974	681			243	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1973.
1975	685			259	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1974.
1976	736			268	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1975.
1977	752 <sup>445</sup>			335	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1976.
1978	759 <sup>446</sup>			312	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1977.
				305	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1978.

443

The Roseau River paylists for 1963–1969 are not available from DIAND's Genealogical and Archival Research Unit.

444

The first page of this payroll appears to be missing. The totals provided on the final page indicate that 645 people were paid annuities, and that four Councillors were paid salaries.

445

Paylist total states number paid as 744. Our total includes people on the last five pages of the payroll who had their payments "trans to savings accts. Ottawa," but they are not included in the family count.

446

Paylist total states number paid as 752. Our total includes people on the last seven pages of the payroll who had their payments "trans to savings accts Ottawa," but they are not included in the family count.

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Year	Population based on paylists, by the number paid	Population based on Annual Reports <sup>432</sup>	Population based on other sources	Number of families, based on paylists <sup>433</sup>	Number of Chiefs (paylist)	Number of Headmen (paylist)	Notes
1979	761 <sup>447</sup>			309	1	3	Roseau River Band paid in 1979.
1980	800 <sup>448</sup>			329	1	4	Roseau River Band paid on June 10, 1980.
1981	801 <sup>449</sup>			327	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1981.
1982	813 <sup>450</sup>			316	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1982.
1983	814 <sup>451</sup>			331	1	4	Roseau River Band paid in 1983.
1984 <sup>452</sup>							
1985	839			397	1	3	Roseau River Band paid in 1985.

- <sup>447</sup> Paylist total states number paid as 670. Our total includes people on the last eight pages of the paylist who had their payments sent to savings accounts in Ottawa, but they are not included in the family count. Also note that the paylist recapitulation states two Councillors were paid, but we identified three: Nos. 506 Carl Roberts, 455 Alphonse Laroque, and 559 Larry Henry.
- <sup>448</sup> Paylist total states number paid as 707. Our total includes individuals on the last ten pages of the paylist who had their payments sent to savings accounts, but they are not included in the family count.
- <sup>449</sup> Paylist total states number paid as 712. Our total includes individuals on the last nine pages of the paylist who had their payments sent to savings accounts in Ottawa, but they are not included in the family count.
- <sup>450</sup> Paylist total states number paid as 711. Our total includes individuals on the last nine pages of the paylist who had their payments sent to savings accounts in Ottawa, but they are not included in the family count.
- <sup>451</sup> Family count does not include the individuals paid on the last 10 pages of this paylist who had their money paid to savings, though they are included in the population total.
- <sup>452</sup> The Roseau River paylists for 1984 are missing.

## Appendix B: Treaty Benefits Discussed with or Claimed by Roseau River or Pembina Band(s), 1871–1875

This appendix provides tables of treaty benefits that are referred to in the following documents:

- 1) The original Treaty 1 document of August 3, 1871,<sup>453</sup>
- 2) The undated “Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871”,<sup>454</sup>
- 3) Treaty Commissioner Simpson’s November 3, 1871, report concerning the treaty negotiations,<sup>455</sup>
- 4) Indian Agent Molyneux St. John’s report of February 24, 1873,<sup>456</sup> which itself contains references to a number of other documents:
  - a. His own written copies of “an unsigned list” and a “fragment of a memorandum,” which he states were originally in “Mr Archibald’s handwriting....”
  - b. A copy of his own memorandum of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of the “wants” of a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and “the substance of” his replies to them.
- 5) Order in Council P.C. 424 of April 30, 1875,<sup>457</sup> which made the Memorandum of Outside Promises part of the treaty and increased the annuity to \$5 per year, among other things; and

<sup>453</sup>

Articles of Treaty No. 1, signed August 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]*, pp. 19–21 [Doc. 10].

<sup>454</sup>

W. M. Simpson and M. St. John, “Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd Aug, 1871,” circa August 1871 [Doc. 9]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3571 File 124 Pt. 2 Reel C-10101.

<sup>455</sup>

Wemyss M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, in Canada, *Report of the Indian Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces [1871]*, pp. 27–32 [Doc. 13].

<sup>456</sup>

See Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3608 File 3084 Reel C-10105.

<sup>457</sup>

Order in Council P.C. 424, April 30, 1875 [Doc. 68]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3621 File 4767 Reel C-10108.

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- 6) The Roseau River First Nation's ratification of the Order in Council on September 8, 1875.<sup>458</sup>

The benefits are grouped under the following headings: Reserve, Annuities, School, Clothing, Buggies, Animals, Animals – Other, Implements and Tools, Farming Instruction, Blacksmith and Carpenter, Seed, Winter Food Provisions, Medicine, Houses, Store, and Gratuity [one-time payment].

**Reserve**

Benefit	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' Recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Reserve</b>	"... will furnish one hundred and sixty acres [64.75 hectares] for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families" and an additional area of 25 square miles [64.75 km <sup>2</sup> ] reserved for the Portage Band (now Long Plain, Swan Lake and Sandy Bay bands).	Treaty 1, August 3, 1871.	Yes
<b>Reserve</b>	A reserve set apart for each band, of sufficient size to allow one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five person, or in like proportion as the family might be greater or less than five.	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes

<sup>458</sup> Chiefs and Headmen, Roseau River, September 8, 1875, in Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, Vol. I, pp. 290-291 [Doc. 11]. Note: Two copies of the (handwritten) signed statement of the Treaty 1 and 2 Chiefs agreeing to accept the terms of Order in Council P.C. 424 were located in our research—both signed August 23, 1875 [Docs. 79 and 80]—but neither includes signatures of representatives of the Roseau River Band. However, Alexander Morris's report on the mission confirmed that Indian Commissioner Provencher "succeeded in obtaining the adherence of the Bands at Fort Alexander, Broken Head and Rosseau River, to the new terms and has handed me the copies of the Order in Council with their assents indorsed thereon." Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, to the Minister of the Interior, October 11, 1875 [Doc. 85]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3625 File 5495 Reel C-10109.

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Benefit	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' Recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Reserve</b>	"They say it was promised them that their Reserves should be laid out at once – so I believe it was." [marginalia: The Secy of State has [three words illegible] by Off' letter been requested to have the Reserves surveyed] [marginalia: Carry out the supposed [illegible] A.C.]	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 14.	Yes
<b>Reserve – Locations for 30 families</b>	Locations for 30 Families	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873.	Yes. St. John replied to deputation: Shall be attended to.  Campbell initialled his approval.
<b>Reserve – Surveyor</b>	Surveyor	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873	Yes.  St. John replied to deputation: "To be sent as soon as commissioner returns."  Campbell initialled his approval.



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**Annuities (Goods)**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' Recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Annuities or goods</b>	"... in every year ensuing the date hereof ... pay to each Indian family of five persons the sum of fifteen dollars Canadian currency, or in like proportion for a larger or smaller family, such payment to be made in such articles as the Indians shall require of blankets, clothing, prints (assorted colours), twine or traps, at the current cost price in Montreal, or otherwise, if Her Majesty shall deem the same desirable in the interests of Her Indian people, in cash."	Treaty 1, August 3, 1871	Yes
<b>Annuities</b>	"... every Indian was to receive a sum of three dollars a year in perpetuity...."	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes
<b>Annuities – Raised for each Indian under Treaty Nos. 1 and 2</b>	"... raise the annual payment to each Indian under Treaties Nos. 1 and 2, from \$3 to \$5 per annum...."	Order in Council, April 30, 1875	Yes
<b>Annuities – Raised for each Chief under Treaty Nos. 1 and 2</b>	"... make payment over and above such sum of \$5, of \$20 each and every year to each Chief...."	Order in Council, April 30, 1875	Yes

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**School**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' Recognition of Treaty Benefit
School	"... Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it."	Treaty 1, August 3, 1871	Yes
School	"They refer to the promise mentioned in the Treaty that a school should be maintained on each Reserve when the Indians were ready for it." [marginalia: Yes the school will be maintained when they are ready & scholars forthcoming A.C.]	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 14.	Yes
School -- per reserve and whether Indians are to pay for schoolmaster	"My report to Mr Commissioner Simpson, of 15 September last, pressed this subject on his attention, and in his letter to the Department, of 21 <sup>st</sup> September you will observe that he asks for certain authority to be given that the matter may be set at rest. Failing the Government school on the St. Peters Reserve the Indians were assessed for the money to pay for the schoolmaster &c and regarding this as a tax imposed by the government which they were [found to] pay they made grievous complaint of the non-fulfillment of the Treaty promises.  They have since learnt that it was a Parish assessment, not a government tax and the clergyman of the Reserve who has more than once asked for relief in this matter, tells me that the Indians will not pay anything towards the school till the government have fulfilled the undertaking contained in the Treaty.	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, pp. 15-17.	Yes, one school per reserve.  Unclear from document what the Indian Agent and Campbell thought regarding the Indians paying for schoolmaster.



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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' Recognition of Treaty Benefit
	<p>[marginalia: Aid but to one School on each Reserve can be claimed under the Treaty]</p> <p>There are two schools on this Reservation and the method in which I proposed to deal with the matter – the government being bound to maintain only one School – was submitted for the approbation of the Department by Mr Commissioner on the 21<sup>st</sup> September 1872.”</p> <p>[marginalia: Deal with it as recommended A.C.]</p> <p>[marginalia: Those two Schools will be added to the same [illegible]].</p>		
School – Schoolmaster	Schoolmaster	<p>Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of “wants” from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and “the substance of” St. John’s replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873.</p>	<p>Yes. St. John replied to deputation: “Will be sent when Reserve is ready for him.”</p> <p>Marginalia [from Campbell]: “approved.”</p>

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Clothing

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Clothing – Chiefs	"For each Chief who signed the treaty, a dress distinguishing him as Chief."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."	Yes
Clothing, Flag and Medal – Chiefs	"... each Chief would receive a dress, a flag, and a medal, as marks of distinction...."	[This document forms part of Treaty 1.] Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes  While the promise of the clothing was captured in the "memorandum of things outside of the Treaty..." neither the flags nor the medals were noted in either the treaty text or the subsequent memorandum.  Simpson's report suggests that the clothing, medals, and flags were provided. He stated, "All the collateral expenses..., including dresses, medals, presents to the Indians, etc. etc., will not appear in the expenses attending to during future payments." (p. 42)

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Clothing – Chiefs	"For each Chief that signed the treaty a dress distinguishing him as Chief." [marginalia: Supplied [initials illegible]]	"...copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes – clothing supplied
Clothing – "Braves and Councillors"	"For braves and for councillors of each Chief a dress; it being supposed that the braves and councillors will be two for each Chief."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."	Yes
Clothing – "braves and councillors"	"For two Braves and two Councillors for each Chief a dress, it being supposed that the Braves and Councillors will be two for each chief." [marginalia: Suits of clothes supplied]	[This document forms part of Treaty 1.] "... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes – clothing supplied
Clothing – Chiefs and Headmen, allowing <u>two</u> Headmen to each band	"...a suit of clothing every three years to each Chief and each Headman, allowing two Headmen to each band..."	Order in Council, April 30, 1875.	Yes
Clothing – Clothing provision every three years augmented to <u>four</u> Headmen per Chief	"... the number of braves and councillors for each Chief shall be four, as at present, instead of two, as printed."	Canada, <i>Indian Treaties and Surrenders From 1680 to 1890.</i> —In two volumes, Vol. I (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, Queen's Printer, 1891), p. 290.	Yes

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Clothing – "themselves and families"	[They claim...] Clothing for themselves and their families....	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Alexander Campbell initiated his authorization on Indian Agent's 1873 report, but added comment, "As far as understood to be promised."
Clothing – Dresses for children	Dresses for children	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 20.	Unclear. St. John replied to deputation: "Cannot say anything at present – by and by when children are at school perhaps government may allow me to do something."  Marginalia from Campbell states, "Do what is [usual] about this."

**Buggies**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Buggies – Chiefs	"For each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy." "The buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."  [This document forms part of Treaty 1.]	Yes

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Buggies – Chiefs</b>	"... each Chief with the exception of Bozawequare, the Chief of the Portage Band [Yellow Quill] was to receive a buggy or a light spring wagon."	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes  This benefit is part of the "memorandum" officially appended to the treaty.
<b>Buggies – Chiefs</b>	"For each chief except Yellow Quill – a buggy." [marginalia: light [express] Waggon supplied]  "The Buggies to be the individual property of the Indians."	"... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, pp. 12-13.	Yes – Light waggon supplied
<b>Buggies – "braves and councillors"</b>	"For the braves and councillors of each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy." "The buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."	Yes
<b>Buggies – "braves and councillors"</b>	"...the braves and coucillors of the Portage band excepted, were to receive a buggy."	[This document forms part of Treaty 1.] Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes  This benefit is part of the "memorandum" officially appended to the treaty.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Buggies – "braves and councillors"</b>	"For the Braves and Councillors of each chief except Yellow Quill a Buggy."  "The Buggies to be the individual property of the Indians."	"... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, pp. 12-13.	Yes – light Waggon supplied
<b>Buggies – Horses for Buggies</b>	"(Horses I think were especially exempted during the discussions about the Buggies)."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	No

*Animals*

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Animals – bull for reserve</b>	"In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each reserve, a bull for each [reserve]...."  "These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."  [This document forms part of Treaty 1.]	Yes
<b>Animals – bull for reserve</b>	"There was to be a bull for the general use of each reserve."	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes.  This benefit is part of the "memorandum" officially appended to the treaty.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Animals – bull for reserve	"In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each reserve, a bull for each [reserve]...."	"... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes – cattle supplied
Animals – oxen	"Another yoke of oxen."	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	St. John replied to deputation: "Only one promised can do all the work they want at present."  In marginalia Campbell wrote, "Give two if any fair use of them can be made of them."
Animals – Cow for Chiefs	"...A cow for each Chief...."  "These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."	Yes
Animals – Cow and assorted animals for Chiefs	"Each Chief was to receive a cow and a male and female of the smaller kinds of animals bred upon a farm...."	[This document forms part of Treaty 1.] Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes  This benefit is part of "memorandum" officially appended to the treaty.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Animals – Cow for Chiefs</b>	"... a cow for each chief...." [marginalia: Mr. Simpson supplied in all last [season] 12 head of cattle charged for on [his accounts]]	"... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting...." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes – cattle supplied
<b>Animals – Sow for Chiefs</b>	"... a sow for each Chief..." "These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."	Yes
<b>Animals – Sow for Chiefs</b>	"... a sow for each chief." [marginalia: No pigs yet supplied] [marginalia: Supply the pigs A.C.]	[This document forms part of Treaty 1.] "... copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting...." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes
<b>Animals – Boar for Reserve</b>	"... a boar for each reserve..." "These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871." [This document forms part of Treaty 1.]	Yes



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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Animals – Boar for Reserve	"A Boar for each Reserve..." [Marginalia: No pigs yet supplied] [Marginalia: Supply the pigs A.C.]	"...copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 12.	Yes
Animals – Assorted farm animals – for Indians when "...prepared to receive them"	"...a male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers, these when the Indians are prepared to receive them."  "These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner."	Benefits set out in an undated "Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871."  [This document forms part of Treaty 1.]	Yes
Animals – Assorted farm animals	"There was another promise – a promise the Indians never omit to mention – that they should be supplied with a male and female of each animal used by a Farmer." [Marginalia: Supply them to each Chief A.C.]	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 13.	Yes
Animals – Assorted farm animals – for each head of a family	"The Indians claim that each head of a family was to receive, as he settled down on his share of the Reserve, a male and female of all animals used by Farmers." [Marginalia: Yes. A.C.]	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, pp. 17-18.	Yes <sup>459</sup>

<sup>459</sup> Alexander Campbell wrote "yes" next to this, but earlier in this document Campbell had indicated that the male and female of each animal was to be supplied to the Chief. Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873 [Doc. 40]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 3598 File 1447 Reel C-10104. See pp. 13 and 17-18.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Animals – Assorted farm animals	Pigs, Sheep, Hens.	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of “wants” from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and “the substance of” St. John’s replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	St. John replied to deputation: “Pigs – Yes. Sheep – No, because of [illegible]. Hens – Yes when I see where they are going to keep them.”  Campbell initialled his approval.

*Animals – Other*

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Animals – Other	Hay for Oxen	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of “wants” from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and “the substance of” St. John’s replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	No  St. John replied to deputation: “Must cut their own Hay.” Campbell initialled his approval.
Animals – Other	Using wool of sheep	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of “wants” from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and “the substance of” St. John’s replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	No  St. John replied to deputation: “Nonsense.” Campbell initialled his approval.

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**Implements & Tools**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Tools – Plough and Harrow</b>	"As each Indian settled down on his share of the reserve, and commenced cultivation of his land, he was to receive a plough and harrow ...."	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , p. 39.	Yes
<b>Tools – Plough and Harrow</b>	"A plough and harrow for each person cultivating the ground." [marginalia: Mr Simpson was supplied with the 50 Ploughs & 50 Harrows paid for by Dept]	"...copy of an unsigned list [of outside promises] in Mr Archibald's handwriting..." in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, pp. 12-13.	Yes – Department paid for 50 ploughs and 50 harrows
<b>Tools – Plough and Harrow</b>	Ploughs & Harrows	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 20.	Yes. St. John replied to deputation: "Perhaps more may be given when the government are satisfied that those already given are used as intended."  Campbell initialled his approval.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
<b>Tools – Assorted</b>	"They claim a Plough and a Harrow, a spade, an axe and a hoe for each head of family."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Yes. Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell initialed each of these items, and increased the number of spades and hoes to 2.
<b>Tools – Yoke and Chain for Oxen</b>	[They claim...] "A yoke of oxen with yoke and chain."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Yes. Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell initialed each of these items.
<b>Tools – Yoke for Oxen</b>	"Yoke for oxen"	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	Yes. St. John replied to deputation: "Yes. [illegible] and get them one.
<b>Tools – Crop Cutting</b>	"Seed wheat and implements to cut their crops"	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Campbell initialed his approval and wrote "Give two."
			Yes. Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell wrote "yes" next to both these items.

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Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Tools -- Crop Cutting	Reaper	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 22.	St. John replied to deputation: "Not necessary for [illegible] places."  Campbell instructed, "Give them scythes or cradles."

*Farming Instruction*

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Farming Instruction	"They claim ... A farmer to teach them to cultivate the land and a Blacksmith and a carpenter to assist them in Building &c."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Yes. Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell wrote, "yes if it can be arranged."
Farming Instruction	Farmer	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 20.	St. John replied to deputation: "Someone will be employed to show them how to plough. (Mr. [Todd] Atkinson to devote one week to this end, in the spring.)  Campbell initialled his approval.

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**Blacksmith and Carpenter – Housing**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Blacksmith and Carpenter	"They claim ... A farmer to teach them to cultivate the land and a Blacksmith and a carpenter to assist them in Building &c."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell initialed his authorization, with note "yes if it can be [arranged]."

**Seed**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Seed – Wheat	"They claim ... Seed wheat and implements to cut their crops."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 18.	Yes. Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and Minister of the Interior, Alexander Campbell wrote "yes" next to both these items.

**Winter Food Provisions**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Provisions – "food when they require it in the winter"	"They claim ... food when they require it in the winter."	Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 19.	No

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**Medicine**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Medicine	Demand regarding "Sick Men"	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	Yes.  St. John replied to deputation: "Must take care of their own sick."  Campbell instructed "Say will give medicines & do so."

**Houses**

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Houses	Houses	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	No.  St. John replied to deputation: "Never promised." Initialled by Campbell.



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Store

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Treaty Benefit
Store	Store at Riviere Marais	Copy of a memo of September 6, 1872, which details the discussion of "wants" from a large deputation from the Pembina Bands and "the substance of" St. John's replies, in Molyneux St. John, Indian Agent, to W. Spragge, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February 24, 1873, p. 21.	No  St. John replied to deputation: "No. Never promised. Useless." Initialled by Campbell.

Gratuity [one-time payment at treaty]

Benefits	Benefit Details	Source	Indian Affairs' recognition of Benefits
Gratuity	"Every Indian was to receive a gratuity of three dollars, which, though given as a payment for good behaviour, was to be understood to cover all dimensions for the past."	Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner, to Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, November 3, 1871, printed in Alexander Morris, <i>The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories</i> , pp. 39-40.	Yes – paid  "...I paid to each person present only three dollars—the gratuity...."