

**Tales of Empowerment:
Cultural Continuity within an Evolving Identity
in the Upper Athabasca Valley**

by

Richard Andre Ouellet
B.A., Simon Fraser University, 2003

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Archaeology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2006

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ISBN: 978-0-494-23991-9

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ISBN: 978-0-494-23991-9

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Abstract

A holistic examination of Métis society, culture, and identity that extends from the contact period in North America to the present day is missing in available literature. Questions relating to identity remain a vexing condition of Métis culture. Resulting from this framework for identity are communities which exist outside contemporary definitions of Métis. A broad outline defining Métis as descendants of European and Amerindian families who wish to remain free of colonial control is more inclusive. The use of historical phenomenon as a description of Métis allows modern groups such as those whose territory exists in and around Jasper National Park, to retain an existence that expands contemporary definitions. The possible heritage opportunities at Jasper National Park may offer a beginning point of Métis control over their own history and analysis through Internalist Archaeology. The “inevitable” conclusion may be that Métis is both a process and a classification of peoples.

Keywords:

Métis Studies, Working with Elders, Jasper National Park Human History, Historical Archaeology

Dedication

To my ancestor Suzanne Kwaragkwante and her children, my grandparents Felix and Caroline, my parents Lena and Andre, and my culture of extended kin who provided a worldview that has served this project well, in particular, my beloved aunt Mary Desjarlais, who joined our ancestors as this MA was completed.

To my partner in life Marlee and children Dylan, Aurora, and Vincent who embraced the change and provided the love that graduate work requires from those who are closest to them.

To the descendents of the people of this land who have guided me along my way, in particular the FNSA who gave me extreme optimism for our future.

Acknowledgements

The Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park are the heart and soul of this thesis. Their contributions cannot be overstated. They are in alphabetical order:

Charlie Delorme, Gordon Delorme, Mary Desjarlais, Alfred Findlay, Daniel Findlay, Gloria Findlay, Jim Findlay, Helen Hallock, Louis Joachim, Frank MacDonald, Jane MacDonald, Adeline Moberly, Allen Moberly, Emcie Moberly, Emile Moberly, Mike Moberly, Walter Moberly, Lena Ouellet, Ida Pelletier, Jim Plante, and Garry Plante.

Dr. Eldon Yellowhorn's contribution is also an essential aspect of this thesis. He has become an enormous presence in my academic life. He has provided the dialogue which has allowed me to approach, learn, and apply aspects of archaeology from the perspective of my culture. His influence on my ability to complete this project cannot be overstated.

Dr. David Burley has been influential for his wealth of knowledge in many aspects of this thesis and for his willingness to take seriously the need to recruit Indigenous people into professional archaeology.

Dr. annie ross has made a very positive contribution. I very much appreciate her comments and discussion on this thesis.

My examining committee is special not only for their work on my thesis, but also for their continuous support for joint projects with Indigenous students attending Simon Fraser University.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The discipline of archaeology in North America has undergone significant changes in recent decades, particularly in its relationship with Aboriginal people. At present the examination of the past has become something of a multi-disciplinary activity. In addition to the natural link with anthropology; aspects of history, linguistics, climatology, and even evolutionary psychology are becoming common components of archaeological inquiry. This broader approach to the past is complemented by the inclusion of Aboriginal academics whose worldviews originate in their cultures. The resulting discourse will inevitably influence the objective of bridging academic and Aboriginal worlds.

In Academic discourse Métis people are often portrayed as constructing non-hierarchical communities (Burley et al. 1992; Devine 2001; Payment 2001). In my community which is made up of the descendent population of Métis and Iroquois who migrated to the upper Athabasca Valley at the turn of the 18th century, elders, loosely defined as the oldest living generation, lead the community.

“There is no central or cursive authority, and the decision making is collective. Leaders (elders) rely on their persuasive abilities to achieve a consensus that respects the autonomy of individuals, each of whom is free and remain unaffected by the collective decision” (Alfred 1999: 25).

This thesis is an attempt to include their teachings, guidance, and worldview into academic inquiry about our culture.

The field of Métis studies can greatly benefit from historical archaeology because many aspects of the historic Métis culture persist only in oral history, which is a central part of their self-awareness. The oral narrative and the archaeological record represent natural book-ends to Métis studies because neither relies on textual data. However, the varied and often contradictory nature of Métis culture and identity must be taken into consideration, since not all of their communities regard themselves in the same analytical framework. This is symptomatic of the Métis diaspora, which began two centuries ago as small bands dispersed in the vast territory that is North America. Their descendent communities set down roots in many locations, often blending well into the vein of local histories, thus making comprehensive generalizations difficult. By opening the definition of Métis to mean the union of European and Amerindian peoples who strive to maintain independence from colonial authorities, links can be made in some communities that extend back 200 years or more.

Individual communities benefit from opportunities to express their own unique histories. They can then liberate theirs from the generalized Métis who are often the romanticized object of Canadian history texts and promote the continuation of their localized Métis culture. The above definition is similar to other generic markers of identity, such as First Nation or Indian. It represents the whole without affecting the uniqueness of specific communities. My community of Upper Athabasca Métis, also referred to as Grande Cache Métis (Nicks and Morgan 1985), are a case in point. Descendents of a population removed from Jasper National Park, we only identify as Métis if the broader definition becomes the norm. Our history is not linked to Red River, buffalo hunts, nor did we live and die with the fur trade. Inter-marriage with various local

aboriginal groups, wayward Iroquois following the fur trade and long association with the Mountain Cree bring a singular character to the population.

The notion of maintaining independence from outside authorities is strongly ingrained among the Upper Athabasca Métis. Unlike the Michele Métis Band, which has strong family ties to the same Iroquois along the Eastern Rockies and held similar intermarriage patterns, we have rejected the nineteenth century treaty process. The community also does not identify with the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA) especially in matters pertaining to their ancestor's homesteads within Jasper National Park boundaries. While the concept of identity within this small scale society is problematic for many outsiders and officials, the local culture remains the strongest source for understanding identity, history, and place.

The opportunity arose for me to pursue a university education and this proved to be a new approach for relating to my culture. By applying the tenets of internalist archaeology I could bring academic research to my home. This also led to opportunities for heritage studies at Jasper National Park. My chosen discipline, archaeology, provided the methods that fostered resolution on a long held grudge against a 20th century road that paved over ancestral burials.

Throughout time, Métis people, have dealt with changing paradigms of economy and autonomy. This history illustrates consensus building that promotes loose coalitions that orbit individual concerns and which operate best with customary leaders. Thus, my role with this research was to channel the tools I had obtained through education in order to resolve the highways dispute and to voice the terms of reference when dealing with Parks Canada officials from Jasper National Park. My function as a conduit prevented me from imposing my agenda. Instead I allowed the elders to determine the

content of our actions. They have experienced assimilationist attempts of recent history and have emerged as the strongest leadership block for our community. They represent continuity by linking us to our ancestors and they instill confidence by acting for their constituency

My role for the elders was to voice their initiatives which in turn became my motivation for research and community activism. The results presented here provide a community driven case study in which Métis culture, identity, heritage, and historical archaeology integrate to form the parameters of inquiry loosely framed as Métis Studies, it articulates one side of the dialogue on Canadian culture and identity. In light of the recent *Powley* decision, which affirmed Métis rights to harvest game for subsistence and introduced a requirement of identity to receive these rights (MNA 2005), this type of research on Métis communities is timely. It contributes information to contemporary issues germane to Métis Studies, as well as the relationship between Métis communities and the Canadian state.

My community was expelled from Jasper National Park upon its creation in 1910. Our ancestors have continually pressed our case for reparations since that time, but only recently have our voices been heard. As the relationship between the elders and Jasper National Park officials progressed, their initial trepidation evolved to subsequent affability and good will. The major gain in this relationship is the status of community elders who steadfastly maintained their claims as the descendents of those evicted from park lands. The Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park has no hierarchy and conducts their leadership in the custom of Métis. Fortunately, Parks Canada officials, in particular the Superintendent, Ron Hooper, recognized this customary form of

representation. This in itself is unique and is a critical aspect of the case study presented here.

Historic Métis homesteads at Jasper National Park are now viewed as holding value that as cultural property, where elders are integral to the maintenance of their ancestral sites. This is different from a former framework where they were a cultural resource, where sites were managed through a set standard of professional archaeological practice. The twenty-five elders involved are the children and grandchildren of the original homesteaders. Their perspectives of the sites are influenced by a history that is within living memory. Less than one year after the first Elders Council meeting with Parks Canada officials, the federal heritage minister, the Honourable Stéphane Dion recognized the elders' leadership on matters concerning their heritage sites (See appendix B). Perhaps the informal nature of negotiations allayed their concerns, but park officials overcame their reticence and proceeded to seek mutually beneficial solutions regarding heritage development. For their part, the Elder's Council was delighted that its voice was the catalyst for action.

August 9, 2004 proved to be the day when archaeology registered on the radar of Métis elders in and around Jasper. It was the occasion of the first meeting of the Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park and park officials. Coincidentally, the first archaeological dig conducted solely by the Métis community was planned on this date. After the meeting I was speaking to Emile Moberly whose father and grandfather had houses in the park before their removal in 1910. He asked some questions about archaeology and what it could accomplish. In particular he asked if I would be able to remove the body of our ancestor Maqua Tojorlais from under the Bighorn highway that connects Grande Prairie and Grande Cache (See Figure 1.1). I told him we needed a

disinterment permit from the province and should be able to do it ourselves. He liked the idea and asked me to proceed after relating the story of Maqua's death.

These two events, the elders meeting and Emile Moberly's request, provided me with the material to write this thesis. I have taken the perspective that my culture continues to participate in an internal dialogue about their relationship to the past and their ancestors. In turn, it affects the ideas expressed in this thesis. My interest is in providing an opening for future Aboriginal/Métis academics to explore the potential of archaeology in their community. I believe that it can be just as potent a tool for other aboriginal cultures as it has been in my own. Blending the methods of the western academic world with the academic world of my culture follows closely the Métis custom of incorporating novel approaches into traditional culture.

The western paradigms informing the professional academic tools I had obtained extended far beyond anything an archaeologist might encounter. A long tradition of hierarchical leadership continues to haunt the descendent communities who remain in the area. For example, the Aseniwuche Winewak Nation of Canada (AWN), created in 1994, became the organization that claimed to speak on behalf of Métis communities near Grande Cache. This resulted in a unique and evolving political and legal situation between the Grande Cache elders and the hierarchy of the AWN. While provincial government officials and business representatives favour the idea that the AWN is in effect the governing body of the communities, their authority is challenged by my community and elders.



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Figure 1.1 The author talking with Emile and Adeline Moberly about Maqua Tojorlais. August 2004, Jasper Alberta.

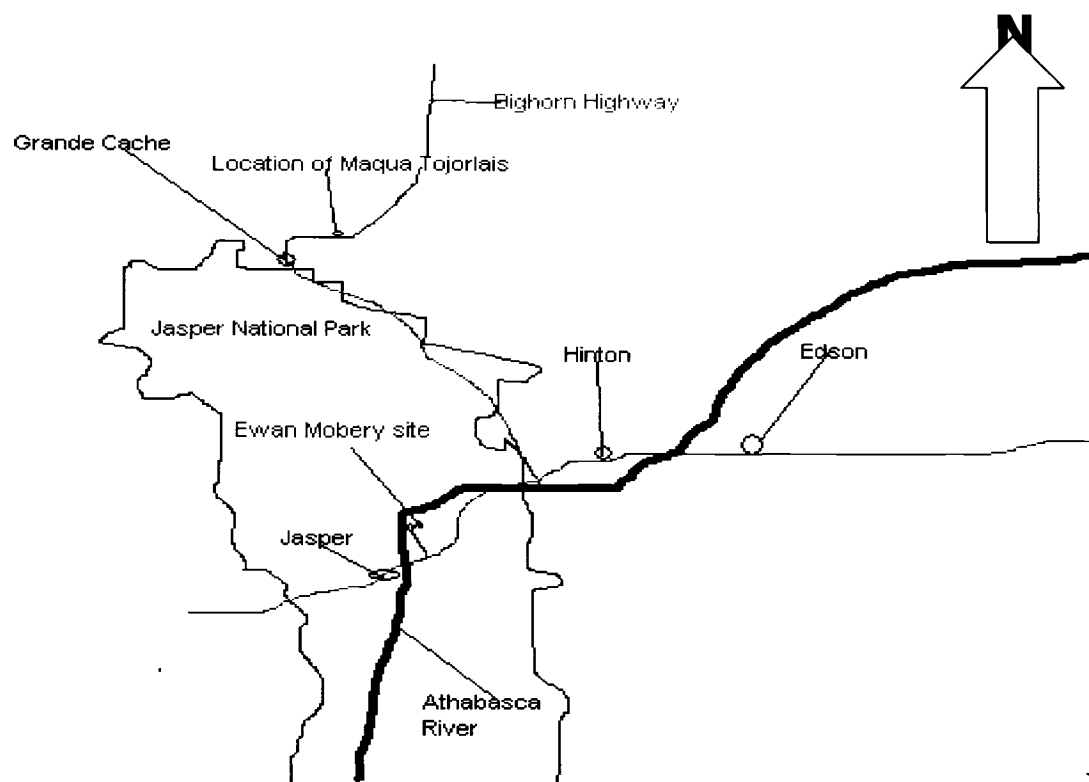
My education and determination to work for my elders, as they directed, gave them additional confidence to express their desire to stem the power of political groups that claimed to lead the community. I understand the information that I have gained as only the tip of the enormous local knowledge that the elders hold in trust. This information is often sought by groups who wish to use it for their own purposes. From the elder's perspective, this information represents who we are, as does the way in which we use it. Uniting academics and elders remains my work as I attempt to answer questions that have become very significant to my culture. The scope of this work can only illustrate the evolving situation to this point. It demonstrates that archaeology can achieve practical and political results that benefit the whole community.

The importance of providing a close representation of the dynamics and cultural worldview of the elders who participated in this project require that I use a narrative format. The history of Métis in the upper Athabasca region were revealed to me through narratives and as these are the intellectual property of The Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park, I retell them without reference to specific people. The Elders are named in the acknowledgements. The stories are our understanding of our history, passed down generation to generation and orated by them. These stories were discussed among the elders and an agreed upon version was related to me.

Much of what happened, particularly with the disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais, was unplanned when I went back home to conduct research. The documentation of elders as they illustrated traditional forms of respect and customary ways of action while disinterring Maqua Tojorlais provided an unexpected aspect of this thesis. I am confident their willingness to have me record these actions will provide valuable guidelines for other researchers who wish to include the voice of elders in their work. As well, the telling of a story is, in Aboriginal culture becomes intertwined with oral history. The story of Maqua's reburial will become one of the stories that will be retold into the future. In my culture ancestors are remembered for the interesting things they did and how these actions inform to our worldview. Stories begin as we recall the exploits of living people. In this sense the ancestors are alive and their teachings are retold to guide our present day.

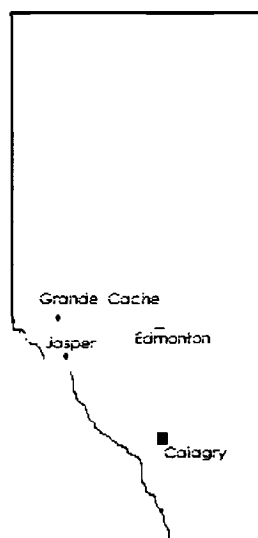
My thesis progresses in the following order. Chapter two discusses briefly the evolution of problems associated with indigenous archaeology and explores how the recent development of internalist archaeology is valuable for groups such as the Métis of the upper Athabasca Valley. Chapter three examines the parameters of Métis identity

from the earliest genesis of Métis to contemporary questions over a single Métis culture. Chapter four further explores this concept focusing on Métis evolution in the upper Athabasca Valley and how the incorporation of internalist archaeology can benefit the desire to represent the culture's heritage in the area (See Figure 1.2). Chapter five recounts the relationship between The Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park and Parks Canada. Chapter six provides a narrative account of the disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais from under the Bighorn Highway (See Figure 1.2). While the event was a disinterment not an archaeological dig, the use of elder's voices and their embracing the methods of archaeology (in this case permits and ground penetrating radar) opens new lines of inquiry. As a final chapter, my conclusion, examines prospects for future work in this area.



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Figure 1.2 Métis Homesteads and location of Maqua Tojorlais.



Chapter 2

Cognitive Chasm

Introduction

Indigenous archaeology has undergone significant changes during its short history. Contemporary archaeological practices are no longer foreign to most Indigenous people. The changing paradigm of archaeology has resulted from Aboriginal people contributing an informal voice to the broader dialogue (Yellowhorn 1996). Among its intellectual traditions the direct historical approach of archaeology is consistent with the internal discourse of many Aboriginal communities (Linklater 1994).

As Aboriginal students began to attend post secondary institutions their interests in scholarly research led some to choose archaeology as a career path. The emergence of internalist archaeology differs from indigenous archaeology because it seeks to include the local aboriginal narratives and discourse at every stage of inquiry. Internalist archaeology offers a framework with which First Nations can research their internal discourse concerning their history. Internalist archaeology is a long way from maturation, but a significant milestone accompanies each Aboriginal community that can conduct its own archaeology. Already some cases are beginning to appear in disparate places and the example of the Métis of the upper Athabasca Valley demonstrates the efficacy of internalist archaeology.

Bridging the Gaps: Métis History and Internalist Archaeology

The development of Internalist archaeology filled a significant gap created by the approaches to archaeology developed throughout the world. Bruce Trigger (1984: 358-68) defined these approaches in three categories; first the Nationalist Approach seeks to define the past in relation to contemporary nations; second Colonialist Approaches explore the dimensions of colonial history and focuses on the past as it relates to colonization; and third, Imperialist Archaeology exports a particular brand that influences territories where it is practiced by exporters such as the United States or Britain. The problem for Aboriginal people is the lack of an approach to archaeology that suits their interests. The perspective of Aboriginal communities does not fit into Imperialist, Colonialist, or Nationalist objectives. As entities with a unique internal discourse they have been at odds with the reasons behind archaeological inquiry. As such, Aboriginal people have been left out of the discussion of archaeology on their own territory. Internalist archaeology seeks to remedy that imbalance.

Beyond the written word, and outside the range of spoken words, lies the folk history that is discernable using archaeological methods (Deetz 1977). The subfield of historical archaeology offers much to the examination of the historical period. The biased documents of explorers and traders in the hinterlands of places such as the upper Athabasca River Valley do not represent the people who resided there year round. The examination of architectural features and material remains can add and offer alternative evidence to the limited range of written material. This is particularly so at a time when questions relating to identity, economy, and culture are much debated. Historical archaeology is a comfortable approach for Métis who fall outside contemporary definitions, yet hold significant value to the analysis in the early period of Canadian

expansion into the Northwest. The internal discourse of the Métis of this area is comfortable with revising and elaborating on this underdeveloped aspect of their history.

Historical archaeology is an approach that encourages the inclusion of divergent opinion to underscore complex relationships and histories in a way that is open to interpretation. Schools of thought such as critical theory and direct historical approaches allow public interpretation as a line of analysis (Leone 1996). The approach of working from the data outward has yielded interesting results in places such as the early settler communities in New England (Deetz 1977). These attempts to use archaeology in the historic period is interesting to the general public and is in line with the goals of the modern descendants of the early Upper Athabasca Métis. They feel that their history is untold and is needed for a better understanding of their culture and perspective. Such a course of action is particularly germane since Parks Canada is the venue for this study.

Archaeology and First Nations: A Troubled History

Successful transfers of much territory from Aboriginal people to colonial governments gave rise to the notion that shrinking Indigenous populations were in their last days. Anthropologists initially found their mission in recording something of these Indigenous cultures for posterity. Researchers such as Franz Boas undertook extensive anthropological studies of societies that were deemed to be losing everything of their former culture (Marshall 1990). Their efforts greatly influenced generations of academics to study extant cultures, but the study of ancient cultures fell to archaeologists. Archaeologists, thus, learned to see themselves as the only legitimate interpreters of First Nations antiquity in America. The decades preceding and following the dawn of the 20th century marked the nadir of Amerindian control over the course of their lives and consequently the archaeological record.

The huge amounts of material gathered during this early period of archaeology sustained the antiquarian interests of private collectors and public institutions such as museums (Willey and Sabloff 1993; Cole 1990). As the discipline of archaeology developed, 'discovery' remained much more prestigious than the analytical aspect and in many ways it continues today. In addition, the Indigenous cultures, whose ancient homelands filled the American landscape, tended to be held in very low regard by researchers (Cole 1990). In this milieu, archaeology served to alienate Indigenous people from the antiquity evident in artifacts and features. The evolutionary perspective that correlated anthropological analysis of contemporary tribal societies with prehistoric peoples gained favour among influential anthropologists such as Louis Henry Morgan (Morgan 1963). They sought to explain the past in a way that placed societies on a gradient from primitive to civilized (Trigger 1991). Once again the perspectives of Amerindian populations were not seen as providing anything other than a place for anthropological study. The idea that First Nations elders could add to the analysis had few adherents among those who trained archaeologists. People who came from traditional Indigenous societies were thought to have given up their emic perspective if they pursued a career in archaeology. Descriptions of past Amerindian societies in much of the archaeological world remained the domain of white intellectuals (Watkins 2000).

Bruce Trigger summed up the troubled history and changing paradigm of the relationship between archaeologists and Aboriginal people in his banquet address to the Canadian Archaeological Association in Whitehorse on May 13, 1990. He stated "most archaeologists have shown little interest in...living descendents" (Trigger 1990: 780). He heralded a new era of aboriginal participation in archaeology:

Above all, archaeologists must strive to transcend their own colonial heritage by sponsoring a vigorous program of affirmative action to train

and recruit native people as professional archaeologists....If archaeologists fail in this task, regardless of how hard they strive to interpret their data objectively, serious doubts must remain concerning the intellectual and moral legitimacy of the enterprise in which they are engaged (Trigger 1990: 785).

Trigger's call for change must be acknowledged by young archaeologists such as myself, who have benefited from the ability to study archaeology from a perspective consistent with my Métis culture.

The Changing Nature of Aboriginal Thought

The watershed event for advancing an Aboriginal perspective which began to change these 200 or so years of archaeological thought was the publication of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s (1969) classic Indian manifesto, Custer Died for Your Sins. Deloria critically analyzed the historical and contemporary position of anthropologists and archaeologists and the ways they failed to respect modern American Indians. His suggestion that First Nations dig up the Arlington Cemetery for archaeological analysis stuck like a burr in the craw of older generations. His assertion that a white man digging up an Indian grave gets a PHD, while an Indian digging a white grave would be regarded as a criminal won him no fans among archaeologists (Deloria 1969: 90).

Activism by groups such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) challenged the professional assumptions of anthropologists and archaeologists. The lightning rod for protest over the activities of archaeologists was the disturbance and treatment of human remains. Passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 in the United States began a slow process of applying standards to archaeologists in their work on First Nation sites (Watkins 2000). These legal and professional changes heralded the

emergence of a class of archaeologists sympathetic to the cause of contemporary Indigenous societies.

The work of individual First Nations archaeologists in Canada has also led to changes which indicate that a small but emerging core of Aboriginal archaeologists will make their presence felt in the near future. While the legal and activist realms of action altered the landscape of archaeology in North America, archaeologists and historians provided the much-needed change in the public perception of past manifestations of First Nation societies. The changes that shifted the position of the Indigenous presence were evident in the reconstruction of Canadian history in which the role of Aboriginal people in the contact period became more clearly understood. Early proponents of ethnohistorical perspectives in the analysis of the past included McGill University professor Bruce Trigger who illustrated the Huron influence on the actions of the French in their early contact (Trigger 1969). Trigger's position underscored the importance of considering archaeological remains when addressing the impact of Aboriginal peoples in constructing Canada. His 1985 book Natives and Newcomers, which focused on the dynamics of cultures experiencing novel circumstances, influenced the way First Nations were subsequently portrayed in Canadian history. Such an enlightened perspective ensured that Trigger would attract students from Aboriginal communities into the discipline of archaeology.

University of Alberta professor Olive Dickason, whose research on First Nations history coincided with the constitutional protection of First Nation cultures in 1982, is the first example of Aboriginal academics influencing perspectives on the past of North America. Her dissertation (Dickason 1984) presented the critical need to understand First Nations history as a prerequisite for understanding North American history. The

thin edge of the wedge of First Nation historical studies is her lasting gift to Aboriginal academics such as myself. Dickason must be regarded as introducing the Aboriginal perspective to the academic community. By indicating the need to incorporate Aboriginal influence when examining the past, she paved the way for First Nation and Métis academics.

The Advent of Internalist Archaeology

Internalist archaeology was coined with Eldon Yellowhorn's 2002 PhD dissertation, which sought to construct a framework for contextualizing the goals of First Nations in all aspects of contemporary archaeology and which continues a long line of internalist perspectives from First Nations. The legitimacy of oral tradition plays a particularly important part in the examination of ancient conditions. Creation myths that describe cataclysmic events compare favourably to discoveries made in geology and climatology suggesting tantalizing parallels. Such is the case when Yellowhorn 2002: 44-45) identifies melting glaciers creating the huge glacial Lake Agassiz as the source of the Blackfoot origin story. The myth recalls what must have been a very human reaction to deglaciation. The inclusion of folklore as a source for interpreting the archaeological record is seen as engaging a debate internal to First Nations on the nature and purpose of archaeology. The same can be said for the case of the ammonite fossils, or buffalo stones, found in ancient Blackfoot medicine bundles, which implies great time depth to oral stories such as 'the woman who married a buffalo' (Yellowhorn 2002: 207). As well, the equation of the Lost Boys constellation of Blackfoot star lore with instructions necessary to operate buffalo jumps at predetermined times provides another example of the value of folklore in contributing to the analysis of the ancient Amerindian world (Yellowhorn 2002: 158).

Internalist archaeology informs the theoretical framework I have employed for analyzing the historical archaeology of my culture. It provides an apparatus to link traditional ways of doing things with academic research. In bridging the parallel dialogues of the academic arena and the Métis community, I am using my research to test the potential of an Internalist research project, which I hope may bridge the gap between my cultures intellectual tradition and that of the mainstream. My self-identification with this particular community then becomes an advantage. With one of my primary objectives being to introduce the methods of archaeology to my elders, I became integral to the blending of academic and traditional ways of looking at the past. At the same time, my culture dictates that the elders are the leaders and overseers of any activities they undertake. Thus, I am provided a close proximal viewpoint from which to gather data and to participate within a cultural entity. My main motivation for adopting an internalist perspective is to examine my culture while still being a participant within it. The potential for bringing in new perspectives and narratives to archaeology will benefit and advance the discipline. However the opportunity to provide an example for other academics who wish to research my culture remains of paramount importance to this thesis.

The evolution of an internalist approach to archaeology is a necessary foundation of incorporating archaeological thought into the discourse of Aboriginal people. The ability to recruit Aboriginal students into careers as archaeologists is dependent upon including their perspectives and approaches to this field of study. The gap in the written historical record leaves much to be analyzed because North America's past is often portrayed as a wide recurrence of historical events which emanate from a nationalist or colonialist perspective. The dissemination of local histories offers an antidote to this

monologue on the past in North America. The potential here is to advance a perspective in which Aboriginal people examine their internal dialogue, using archaeological methods to understand themselves.

Regarding Cultural Resource Management

In addition to the theoretical contributions that Internalist archaeology offers it provides a counterweight to the problems that have emerged with the move to manage the archaeological record as a resource. Cultural resource management (CRM) is the normative paradigm that defines North American concepts of heritage conservation. It assumes that the archaeological record can be managed by provincial and federal legislation (Burley 1994). In effect only a trained professional class of archaeologists is responsible for deciding how sites and material culture is analyzed and managed. The biases inherent in non-Aboriginal archaeologists interpreting Aboriginal identity and controlling Aboriginal heritage sites are often unnoticed by proponents of CRM. This approach is one that Trigger (1984) identified as colonial archaeology because the dominance of non-Aboriginal interpretation have often legitimized colonial history in Canada.

As tribal governments began to hire professional archaeologists who were non-Aboriginal, they brought the CRM approach with them to First Nations. The obligation of hiring locally for labours and trainees led to the contemporary situation where CRM is the standard practice among First Nations. The inherent disadvantage of CRM lays in its legally sanctioned appropriation of First Nations antiquities. The consideration of First Nations artefacts as resources also bestows control on provincial governments while trampling on the rights of Aboriginal people with regard to their past (Yellowhorn 2002).

The underlying philosophy of CRM provides a clear theoretical framework which continues the denial of Aboriginal entitlements. It presupposes that First Nations did not own their ancient homelands and that their tenure was limited to occupation. This perspective effectively exempts cultural resources that are found on the land which First Nations claim. Yellowhorn suggests that an alternative to CRM begins with First Nations viewing their heritage within a Cultural Property Model. The example of a generations-old family cottage with family burials plots being considered a family heirloom that is retained due to its cultural and spiritual value is an appropriate analogy (Yellowhorn 2002).

Today CRM archaeologists routinely adopt ritual methods of respect and are required to consult with First Nation Communities. Native protests and land claims litigation have led to these changes and the appearance of internalist archaeology will likely support more First Nations involvement in archaeology.

In the Jasper National Park area, inquiry is limited to CRM archaeology. For example, work done in 2000 by Peter D. Francis and John Porter of Parks Canada reveals the extent to which CRM dominates archaeology in the public service. The summary of their work refers to a survey of unrecorded archaeological sites including "cabin sites associated with the brief homesteader phase prior to the establishment of the National Park" (Francis 2000: 9). The six Métis families and their history from 1861 to 1910 is summarized as a 'brief phase' and this illuminates the bias of archaeology when placing sites in context to a timescale of white occupation.

In 2003 Francis, Porter, and Perry conducted a Ground Penetrating Rader (GPR) survey near the grave site of "Suzanne Cardinal...The aim of the GPR survey was to try and detect putative unmarked graves in the vicinity of the well known and frequently

visited gravesite” (Francis 2004: 14). Conspicuously absent is the correct name Suzanne (Kwaragkwante) Moberly. Miss-identifying her as Suzanne Cardinal further widened the gap between archaeologists and the elders who hold the most information concerning the sites. In 1998 Métis elder Lena Ouellet had obtained a copy of Suzanne Kwaragkwante and Henry John Moberly’s marriage certificate (See Figure 2.1).

The eventual disruption that emerged after placement of a name plate on Suzanne Moberly’s grave could have been avoided through incorporation of the knowledge of the direct descendents from the sites. The gap between the objectives of CRM as it is practised by park archaeologists and the Métis descendents created the problems. The gravesite locations were known to park archaeologist only after the Council of Elders conducted their survey in the spring and summer of 2005.

Certificate of Marriage

This Certifies That

Henry Moberly and Suzanne Karakontis
were united in

HOLY MATRIMONY

According to the Rite of the Roman Catholic Church and in conformity with the Statutes of the

Province of Quebec

In La Crosse France Church, at La Crosse
on the 9th day of October 1961

The Rev. Albert Lucande officiating

as appears from the Marriage Register of this Church.

Issued by Paul-Eustache Huchon
RECTOR.

Witnesses { Alexis Nant
Richard Karakontis

Date Jan - 27 / 1976

CATHOLIC PARISH

RECTOR

Printed with permission of Lena Ouellet

Figure 2.1 Marriage certificate of Henry John Moberly and Suzanne Kwaragkwante.

Chapter Summary

As archaeology moved through its evolution, slowly accepting and incorporating Aboriginal input, a distance remained between academic and Aboriginal thought. The emergence of Internalist archaeology coincided with a new generation of Aboriginal academics who position themselves to bridge the distance between Aboriginal internal discourse and their acceptance in academic paradigms.

Contemporary populations have come to appreciate the contributions of Aboriginal people to the history of their country. Researchers such as myself are presented with the twin dilemmas of representing and researching our communities' internal discourse in a culturally appropriate manner. This necessarily demands developing and identifying potentially important lines of academic inquiry. The management of the archaeological record also reflects divergent opinion among non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal archaeologists. Therein lies a possible solution to a historical imbalance. Allowing Elders to view their ancestral sites in Jasper National Park in a way that respects their cultural property may provide a valuable component of the desired reconciliation between parks officials and Aboriginal people. As a community of Aboriginal academics emerges, the union of Aboriginal and academic thought will become the norm in disciplines such as archaeology.

Chapter 3

Locating Identity

Introduction

Although the cultural history linked to Jasper National Park extends to the distant past, well before European migration to North America, the focus of my work begins with migrations of Métis and Iroquois to the area along the eastern Rockies around 1790. This event also opens the Canadian historical narrative, which introduces local peoples and creates the tension between written and spoken history. This chapter reviews the direct historical approaches such as text-based ethnohistory and the memory culture extant in spoken stories that produce a balance in the telling of history at places such as Jasper National Park.

Métis remains an enigmatic label in Canada and has grown to include a whole range of interpretations that illustrate some aspect of the union of European and Amerindian cultures. In recent years especially, the role of Métis culture has become a catch-all that has seen the inclusion of upwards of 250,000 people loosely lumped under the same category (Statistics Canada 2001).

Locating Métis Identity

Alberta is the only jurisdiction that recognizes any significant Métis organization (Sawchuk 1998), the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA), must explicitly state who benefits under its regime. Thus a legal definition states:

A Métis is an Aboriginal person who declares himself/herself to be a Métis person, and can produce satisfactory historical or acceptable legal proof that he/she is a Métis, or has traditionally held himself/herself to be a Métis, and is accepted by the Métis people as a Métis (Sawchuk 1998: 24).

The historical connection to fur trading, buffalo hunts and Red River carts are a central aspect of the culture promoted by the MNA. Predictably, the father of the Alberta Métis is, as elsewhere in Canada, Louis Riel (Russell 2005).

This promotion of Métis identity has been very successful, with many Métis understanding themselves as the historic masters of the plains, friend to both the Indian and white culture and central to the development of western Canada. Canadian history, for its part, has come to depict the Métis in an ever-changing role that precedes the settling of the west. Marcel Giraud's first hand account in the 1930s painted the historic Métis in much the same way as he observed them (Giraud 1986). Transferring his impressions into the 19th century distilled the role of the Métis in Canada's history.

Since 1982, when Canadians patriated their constitution, Métis influence has returned after a century-long hiatus. Once again Métis occupy the role of bridging Canadian and First Nation communities. This new depiction of historic Métis culture owes more to contemporary nuances than historic accuracy.

Historians and anthropologists may haggle over the role of Métis people in Canada but most agree on one central point; the genesis of Métis culture exists only in a time before Canada claimed the west (Giraud 1945; Helgason 1987; Harrison 1985; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Potyondi 1995). The free spirited people of the plains found a niche between two worlds and built their version of freedom there. Their heritage is the stuff of legend and adventure, often found in cowboy novels and old west tourist traps. Contemporary Métis, proud and aware of their past, are more refined

and informed and they have come to accept the modern world and hold their past in memorates. At least this is now the contention of most historians and many Métis.

For the descendent population of Métis in the upper Athabasca Valley, this presentation of history does not apply to them. The unique connection to the Iroquois and their cultural contribution to the mix of Métis in the area are often absent in historical descriptions. The vast territory Métis settled on needs to be incorporated into analysis so those local situations, such as the Iroquois migrations, are included in the historical narrative concerning Métis.

Métis Origins to 1816

The idea of Métis eludes definition. Those proffered in the literature have inherent problems of excluding significant populations that maintain cultural and political affiliations outside the classic meaning. Defining Métis in terms of their historical contribution to North American society in the 18th and 19th centuries can be problematic if clear, inclusive criteria are not adopted. Métis must be defined in a cultural, rather than biological, context. Populations that form the link between the cultures of Europe and North America were born in the first decades of trade relations between these continents. One of the central aspects of early Métis communities was the desire to remain free of outside influence. The rejection of colonial governments was a cornerstone in the genesis of a Métis political worldview (Kees 1993; Dickason 2002). These characteristics continue to reverberate through the lines extending to modern communities.

The spread of the fur trade in the 18th century encouraged Métis communities to flourish along major transportation routes. The frontier of New France, in the North American landscape, was the heartland of early Métis settlement. Places such as Sault

Ste. Marie, Michilmakinac and Detroit formed the epicentre of a distinct identity for the resident populations (Kees 1993: 289). *Gen Libres*, *Métisage*, *Canadien*, and *Bois Brule* were the names given to different communities of this population, which was alternatively a buffer and sponge between Europe and North America. Their homelands originated in the Ohio valley, the area formerly known as *Pays D'en Haut*, as well as Red River and the frontier of the Northwest (Kees 1993; Payment 2001).

Since Métis emergence occurred within the historic period, their genesis, from descriptions in journals and archival documents, is often discussed. The picture is incomplete but European perceptions of the mixed populations can reveal much about early Métis culture and identity. Journal accounts describe a people whose demand and pursuit of independence was born in a desire to govern themselves. They believed in their right to conduct their own affairs to their best advantage (Ens 2001; Wershler-Henry 1993). The leverage they obtained by way of trade activity encouraged this perspective; they could remain independent traders, reject the monopolies of corporations and call themselves *Gen Libres* or 'freemen' (Kees 1993). Considering this 'political' perspective among early and later populations, the ability to remain free of French and British control in the fur trade fostered a culture of independence.

Another tradition of aligning with their Amerindian relatives accompanied early Métis society. Given the choice, Métis preferred the hinterlands unencumbered by hegemonic governance. They admired the freedom of the Aboriginal populations rather than colonial society. The rebellions of Tecumseh and Pontiac were joined by young Métis inspired by a wish to resist colonial influence, or who chose refuge well beyond the reach of colonial authority (Kees 1993; Wershler-Henry 1993). After the fall of New France some members of the Iroquois confederacy chose to join Métis populations in

the hinterlands of the northwest (Nicks and Morgan 1985; Grabowski and St. Onge 2001). Together they formed the nucleus of the community that remains visible today near Grande Cache, Hinton and Edson, Alberta.

Northwest Homelands 1816-1870

Métis nationalism is often said to have awakened in the aftermath of the Battle of Seven Oaks on the outskirts of Red River (Harrison 1985; Frideres and Gadecz 2001; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Theobald 1974). Like other imagined milestones, this one excludes the forms of cultural expressions that add to the common identity of Métis people. To avoid confusion between political action and cultural identity this thesis adheres to a definition that situates these vast communities of mixed Amerindian and European peoples in an overarching desire to remain independent from political authority. The notion that communities of Métis did not exist before Seven Oaks ignores the significant contribution of Métis fighters in the campaigns of Tecumseh and Pontiac (Kees 1993: 294-98). Following the United States' war of independence, the American frontier was lost as a potential homeland. However the old Northwest did figure prominently in the Métis Diaspora, with communities appearing there at least half a century before Seven Oaks. These families were not aligned with the Métis who proclaimed Cuthbert Grant 'general of all half-breeds', yet they must be considered Métis within the broader parameters of their customary lifeways.

Herein lies the point being revised by academics in their analysis of Métis peoples (Kees 1993; Dickason 2002; Payment 2001). Mid 20th century historians, notably Marcel Giraud (Gallager 1988: 61-3), did not accept that Métis people could escape their prescribed role in the fur trade. References often portray them as the stalwart proletariat of the advancing European front. Little inquiry has focused on those early

communities that lay west, beyond the Red River. The historian's Métis have been split along lines that identify connection to Red River, and subsequently the resistance at Seven Oaks. They prescribe authenticity for Métis, whereas communities not conforming to the mould receive only an incidental nod of recognition. Their communities situated in proximity to their Aboriginal brethren, beyond the zone of contact between indigenous and colonial worlds, are invariably omitted from this analysis.

Accepting an inclusive identity for Métis peoples contrasts with attempts to confine them within the narrow terms of written history, which invariably gravitates to the population at Red River. Thus, far western Métis challenge the parameters which are convenient only for historians. Métis, as a unified nation, reiterate the comfortable stereotypes that eschew diversity. Their culture is easier to grasp if they are identified in similar ways as 'First Nations' or 'Indians'. The term Métis acts as a shield that obscures diverse populations with variable ethnicities. Métis, thus defined, includes people who have been incorporated into individual Aboriginal nations, or who have treaty arrangements or who developed unique societies over time.

The 19th century Métis are commonly recognized by historians as representing a group who embodied a lifestyle and/or traditions associated with an idealized mixed race people, even though that perspective is largely constructed by sources outside of their societies (Giraud 1945; Helgason 1987; Harrison 1985; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Potyondi 1995). The result of this type of labelling is the reduction in space and time of a phenomenon that is more widespread and older than the historian's Métis. The internal dialogue of Red River descendents gives voice to one conversation that expanded to represent the entire spectrum of contemporary Métis (Giraud 1945).

Recent attempts to create a more inclusive picture of Métis identity pay more attention to western populations. The limited range of historical documentation requires creative use of direct historical approaches, notably those of oral history and archaeology. Such research is refreshing and necessary given the sporadic body of academic work. A major part of this problem is the significant absence of a Métis contribution in the first person singular perspective. The living memory of contemporary Métis communities reaches to the 18th century and its maintenance in oral history means its interpretation is best understood through emic scholarship. The gulf between Métis and academic communities is said to lack a mediator who can decipher the historical roots of their modern identity (Burley et al 1992). Their diverse nature continues to elude small scale attempts to provide a comprehensive understanding, or survey, of its implication for ethnicity in the present. The complexity of contemporary Métis society may offer the opportunity to shed light on the poorly understood diversity of the 19th century.

Historical renditions notwithstanding, Métis communities consolidated cultural expressions throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The assumption that those who possessed similar family affiliations and who married locally constitute the whole culture is in revision. Métis who removed to distant places must be recognized for their contribution to the awakening of nationalist sentiments among disparate groups. The desire to control the perception of a romanticized Canadian settling of the Northwest also requires a paradigm shift. This reconstruction of Métis identity will affect the entrenched notions of colonial history.

Resistance and Marginalization 1870-1905

Few names haunt Canadian history like that of Louis Riel. His namesake rebellion of 1870 remains a hotly debated event for Canadian scholars. Riel has come to represent a significant symbol of Métis resistance to colonial authority. His ability to understand both the legal elements of the Canadian state and the rights and privileges of Métis populations made him a formidable opponent to colonial machinations. His first rebellion in 1870 was a Métis cause; it challenged the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to sell Rupert's Land to Canada. Like Cuthbert Grant before him, historians recognize Riel as the political leader of the rural Hivernant Métis even as their ethnicity was expressing distinct characteristics (Harrison 1985; Wershler-Henry 1993). Their flourishing population had little, if any, interest in the events of a far off quarrel with Ottawa, consequently the first Riel rebellion held little significance to those people whose connection to Red River was tenuous (Nicks and Morgan 1985; Payment 2001). The political understanding obtained by Riel during his education in Montreal was remote from the reality of Métis whose neighbours were the First Nations who shared their space on the prairies and foothills. Western populations, who never visited that far east, would have understood little of the actions then occurring at Red River.

Research on the period between rebellions seems to define Métis in the way that they were dealt with by the Canadian government (Sprague 1988). The result has been the apotheosis of Louis Riel who maintained his position as the central figure of post-confederation Métis struggles. The divide in Canada over the marginalization of the western provinces ironically finds expression in a political position first espoused by Riel. Like the image of Cuthbert Grant consolidating Métis nationalism, Riel embodies the struggle of the buffalo hunter resisting encroaching settlements. The reification of Riel's

image has been enhanced by reducing the complexity of Métis to stereotypes orbiting his cause (Giraud 1945). This dynamic of Canadian history has little to do with an understanding all of Métis society; rather it crystallizes the dimensions of Métis identity and political perspective into one man - Louis Riel.

The 15 years between rebellions witnessed the move of many Métis further west. Like the early years on the American frontier, the services of able bodied Métis were actively sought out in the development of colonial infrastructure (Dickason 2002; Tough 1989). The trickling of settlers and continuance of indigenous groups were incorporated into the ever changing Métis communities in the area. Without Riel, the Métis of this time exhibit the same patterns of adaptation as the *Gen Libres* of the previous century.

Like their ancestors they did not wish to be governed; they preferred a sort of collective independence, with a strong familial structure. Examination of ethnographic accounts of the early Métis reveals a horizontally organized community with little apparent hierarchy (Kees 1993, Wershler-Henry 1993). An investigation into their building structures along the South Saskatchewan River corroborates this lack of recognized authority within Métis society. The development of Métis vernacular architecture originated in the consensualism and non-hierarchical nature of Métis society. Open building plans and multifunction living/work space allude to the inherent egalitarianism of Métis culture (Burley et al 1992).

The brief unity of plains populations in rejecting the colonial expansion of Canada is better represented as Métis attempts to preserve their independent prairie society. Their decision to summon Riel does not indicate a break from tradition. Riel represented the link to government. He could translate legal jargon and understood the right for hinterland populations to participate in developing

Before Riel arrived to deal with the actions of the Canadian government, non-native settlers of the plains sympathized with and supported Métis concerns. Some First Nations, for their part, considered the Métis allies almost to the point of joining the rebellion (Sprague 1987). The Métis had been instrumental in settling land and transportation concerns and believed they were entitled to maintain their rights as free peoples. Riel quickly alienated the European settlers by including the First Nation concerns in his communication with the government. Most Indians did not join the Métis resistance at Batoche, nor did many Métis communities, such as those in Lac Ste. Anne and the Eastern Rockies (Nicks and Morgan 1986; Harrison 1985). Thus, these landmarks in Métis political evolution hold considerably less significance for such communities.

The average age of fighters involved with the standoff at Batoche was 47 years and included many of the same participants in the first rebellion. The foot soldiers represented the last generation of Métis who chose to live free on the plains after their victory at Seven Oaks in 1816. They won their homeland by skirmishes with the Sioux in 1851, making their claim to a place among the prairie nations, the rebellion in 1870 was their first defence of it (Dickason 2002; Harrison 1985). During this era, several strands appeared as they adapted to trapping, guiding, packing, transportation and self-reliance that made up the barter economy of the fur trade. However, the changing prairies offered economic opportunities for younger Métis who had no memory of the buffalo hunting days and this fact likely dissuaded some from joining the second rebellion.

The eastern Rocky Mountain Métis populations did not hold the same regard for buffalo hunts, or other hallmarks of Riel's Métis. They had subsisted much farther afield from Canadian expansion, establishing towns such as Lac Ste. Anne and maintaining the

buffer between Canadian and First Nation societies. However, this fact did not influence governmental action. For example, the signing of Treaty 8 in 1899 also extended the policy of issuing of scrip, along the model first attempted in Manitoba to settle Métis claims. As far as the Canadian government was concerned this solved the Métis situation (Sprague 1986).

The creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 imposed new government hierarchies on the disparate Métis who remained on the edge of Canadian influence. The resistance in the Manitoba and Saskatchewan territories stood in contrast to Alberta's eventual recognition of the Métis there with the creation of Métis colonies in 1938 (Sawchuk 1981). Despite these much heralded events that portrayed the end of Métis rights, their claims of alienation from federal government has been adopted by provincial leaders since the 1960s and western federal politicians in recent times.

The Paper Métis of Canadian Academia

Political actions took various forms as provincial governments came into existence during the first decades of the 20th century in the Northwest Territories. Official Métis protest over denial of their claims for recognition began 11 years after the 1885 rebellion and remained a constant ingredient of country politics throughout the last century (Sawchuk 1998). Meanwhile, Métis became historical subjects who inspired their own line of inquiry. The definitive historical work was the huge volume written by Marcel Girard in 1945 entitled, The Métis in the Canadian West. The mythology of the nomadic buffalo hunter who had sprung from the fur trade only to be overrun by civilization was the basic outline of Giraud's Métis. That Métis were unable to cope with Canadian settlement of the west has become somewhat ingrained in the settler mythology of the Canadian Northwest. Coeval with Giraud, two Métis patriots, Malcolm Norris and Jim

Brady, proposed an alternative image that grew from their perception of history and modernity (Tough 1989).

Academic analysis of Métis history began with Giraud's his work relied almost exclusively on textual data present in fur trade documents and ethnographic research. However, Giraud saw the extant Métis at the nadir of their existence coloured by their absolute poverty during the 1930s (Tough 1989). Racially motivated marginalization became the backdrop for Giraud's ethnographic study. His prose portrayed Métis peoples as comprising a fallen society; rich in history, but essentially unable to accept civilization. His belief was grounded in the assimilationist dogma current in his day, so he saw them as many of his time saw them. While a few became farmers, most were mired in some pothole on the road to civilization. The acceptance of European lifeways represented for Giraud the natural destiny of Métis society (Giraud 1945). Communities that retained nomadic tendencies were dismissed as unevolved. His ethnographic examination ignored the unwritten histories of western populations and those who practised non-sedentary, non-European customs.

Nevertheless, Giraud's work was a pioneering effort in the fledgling discipline of ethno-history. The racist depiction of Métis who lived as Amerindians reflects the inability of academics of the day to accept 'Indian' history as worthwhile. The sedentary aspect of some Métis in the 1930s appealed to those who anticipated the eventual assimilation of Aboriginal populations. Giraud inadvertently exposed those misperceptions, so his work should be understood with that in mind. The assumptions he created have had a long run as the definitive Métis history and those serious flaws were not fully questioned by his academic colleagues.

In 1982, the government of Canada enacted the Constitution Act, which formally recognized Métis as Aboriginal People. Thereafter, a new generation of scholars began to re-visit the Métis question (Brown 1983; Driben 1985; Kees 1993; Nicks and Morgan 1985). They brought a new perspective that was more critical of textual data and their criticisms extended to the biases of their predecessors. Historical writing was also enhanced by the appearance of Métis scholars who brought an internalist perspective to their research.

Olive Dickason, for example, was born to a Métis family in 1920 and only began graduate studies in 1970. The work of Giraud remained the standard Métis history. Dickason wished to include the unwritten history of Canada's First Nations into the mosaic of North American history. Her doctoral dissertation, The Myth of the Savage, was published in 1984 and was a seminal work in analyzing First Nations contributions to Canada's history. This eventually led to her book, Canada's First Nations, in 2000 which is a standard text in Canadian universities. Her insights about First Nations issues have become staples in the curriculum of many university courses. Dickason's work brought a welcome change to historical analysis of Métis issues. While political resurgence altered contemporary perspectives during the 1980s, Dickason uncovered major gaps in the history of North America, and Canada in particular. Her research liberated Métis history from the restrictions placed on it by outside authorities situated within the academic world. Their separate worldviews paled in comparison to a historian whose first person perspective distinguished her from her peers. Academics that depended heavily on literature to understand the nuances of pre-literate societies could not approach the topic in the same manner as Dickason. Her understanding of the complexity of First Nation/Métis issues set the standard for historiography in the 1980s.

Heather Devine has tenaciously examined Métis history and identity from an internalist perspective. Her ties to the historic Desjarlais family in Canada have led her to research the unique history of her culture. In The People who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family, 1660-1900 (2004), she follows the exploits of the descendants of the Desjarlais family as they navigate the parameters of Indian, Métis and White ethnicities over time. Devine is symptomatic of many academics who wish to explore the weaknesses in long-held assumption concerning the changing face of Canadian society since its inception. Her position as critical historian closely parallels the approaches of historical archaeology. She also demonstrates the potential for Aboriginal academics to explore history and contribute to the larger field of Canadian studies.

The recent publication of Binnema, Ens, and Macleod's (2001) edited volume From Rupert's Land to Canada is a strong indication of the growth of Métis studies. It incorporates a diversity of questions relating to fur trade historiography by Michael Payne, identity and ethnicity by Gerhard Ens, marriage by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Heather Rollason Driscoll, Iroquis/Metis diaspora by Jan Grabowski, Nicole St-Onge and Heather Devine, Hivernant populations by John E Foster, and most importantly revisions and development of Métis Studies by the above authors articulated by Frits Pannekoek. These discussions are the basis for future research and contribute to motivating Métis Studies. In the case of the upper Athabasca Valley Métis the work of Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan (1985) on the relations between wayward Iroquois and the people they encountered along the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains began a line of historical investigation that has yet to be followed. Their contribution to The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America (Peterson and Brown 1985) identified the

relationship between early Iroquois travelers to the upper Athabasca River Valley and the Métis of Grande Cache. As the ambit of Métis Studies expands, this case will elaborate on its evolving aspects and contribute new understanding on Métis. Descriptions of historic communities continue to reveal the fluid nature of Métis cultures and they will shed light on contemporary relations within Métis communities. The *Powley* decision rendered in the Supreme Court in 2003 has made the discussion more urgent because research now has legal implications.

The trait common to all Métis populations was the varied cultural context from which they grew and this created a unique culture in the emerging world order. Aspects of these cultures are still visible in modern Métis celebrations that hint at their many cultural affiliations. For example the independent political actions of 'freemen' (*Gen Libres*) created a unique culture distinct from its European and Amerindian roots (Dickason 2002; Payment 2001). The act of blending a range of cultural influences defines Métis society, including their language, Michif. Unlike most Creole languages, it does not lean toward a dominant mother language; rather it mixes Cree animate/inanimate frameworks with French possessives (Crawford 1985).

While Métis are heralded for their love of the open plains and mobile lifestyle; their ability to situate themselves between Amerindian and colonial trade and to create their own form of governance and settlements has generated little scholarly interest. Only among western Canadian Métis does the illusion of an ongoing line of political and social growth remain. However, from the early colonial era, the various Métis societies have each played their role. During the latter half of the 18th century the nomadic Métis had occupied many territories across North America. This is not to suggest that these populations were cohesive, only that the expanded definition of Métis includes diverse

populations during the decades preceding and following the turn of the 19th century. While some lived in towns such as Detroit, the western plains contained others who preferred the unencumbered environs of Lac Ste. Anne (Devils Lake) as their entry point to the eastern Rocky Mountains (Kees 1993; Devine 2001). They were joined by Iroquois whose employment in the Northwest Company liberated them from colonial intrusion and resulted in a new alliance (Nicks and Morgan 1985).

The loss of Métis political power in the United States imposed another unwelcome outside authority and by the turn of the 19th century any Métis influence had diminished. The battle of Seven Oak's is commonly regarded as the awakening of Métis nationalism (Frineres and Gadacz 2001; Harrison 1985; McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004). However, for the established Métis populations it was a lost autonomy and influence, which makes the battle more of a last stand than a genesis of nationalism. Thus, the difficulty of defining Métis identity and society has been present since that point. Of course, such challenges did not impede the emergence of shared symbols and common markers of identity. The written record has shone little light on the possible links between the different strands of Métis culture as it evolved in hinterland communities. The situation is further complicated by descendants of Red River who understand the term Métis in a much different context than hinterland descendants and who maintain their hard won recognition in Canada.

Modern Challenges to Métis Identity

A closer look into Métis identity however, reveals the vast differences within groups which claim Métis heritage. This becomes problematic when a single identity continues to be the lens through which all Métis are viewed. The term is now understood as a generic label in the same way as First Nations, a convenient umbrella

covering the many communities which coalesce under it. A case in point is the population which moved to the eastern Rocky Mountains in the mid-18th century in locales such as Jasper National Park, Grande Cache, Hinton, and Edson, Alberta where they established their customary lands and life ways. Their experience falls outside the paradigm often given to Métis peoples since traits of many Aboriginal cultures come together in this community of 400 people.

I had been exposed to the academic interpretations and theories concerning the development of Canada and the influence of the mixed cultured peoples since I began my undergraduate degree in 1998. During that time I was dismayed by the lack of first hand knowledge from within these communities. The general theme, which all outside researchers seemed to advocate, relegated the golden age of Métis culture to a long ago period of time which was dependent on the special social and political conditions of the day (Girard 1945, Ens 2001, Payment 2001). I slowly realized that the community from which I was born has remained free from such academic analysis, yet they live the conditions that shed light on the history of westward expansion of the Canadian state.

Beginning with the people indigenous to the area, who are considered by the community to have lived in the area for thousands of years, numerous visitors have intermarried and created a unique culture. From the fur trading voyageurs (Métis), western Cree expansion, and Iroquois in the 18th century to the Stoney, Shuswap, Beaver, and Ojibwa in the 19th and 20th century, indigenous intermarriage is a constant. As well, both the French and Scottish cultures are deeply rooted in the 19th century marriages with historic traders such as Henry John Moberly, Jacob Findlay and Colin Fraser.

As a general and unspoken rule the men tend to marry locally and stay, or marry outside the culture and move. Women marry and stay. The community is clearly matri-local, with no break between historic and contemporary practice. Despite the significant connection to aboriginal cultures the people refused treaty negotiation and do not fall under the authority and political dependency of the MNA. As a result the community remains ambiguous and free from control by the dominant society, which grows denser with each passing decade.

Métis is used in a much different way than in other parts of the Canadian academic, political or social landscape. For the people who reside in this area it describes a way of being. Living Métis values tends to be more significant than the biological link to families in the area. In the local dialect of Métis/Cree, or Michif, '*Otipemisowak*' is understood to describe people who rule themselves. To act in this way is essential to being a part of the community. In general the men who move to the area and intermarry learn this worldview and embrace it. The contemporary situation is different from the historical one only in the actions that are required to maintain the ability to act Métis.

Not all members of the community consider Métis an appropriate description of their identity. Even in this small scale society, which does not impose restrictions (other than the maintenance of autonomy and freedom from control by outsiders) much variation exists when constructing identity. For some the better label is First Nation, while others see themselves as the first people in the area, and others see no need to define themselves for the outside world. The elders, for their part, see '*Otipemisowak*' or 'the people who rule themselves' as their term for identification.

Chapter Summary

For most historians the heroic age of Métis society began with the Battle of Seven Oaks and ended with the 1870 Riel rebellion. The expansion of colonial society and the romantic nature of nomadic buffalo hunters have come to represent the common perception of Métis peoples during this period. In effect, the link between Red River and the western plains represents the locus of Métis political manifestations (Frideres and Gadacz 2001; Kienetz 1983; Harrison 1985; McMillan 1988). Little academic thought is devoted to the established Métis families that chose to remain free of Canadian society. Analysis is very limited as they are not generally regarded as a vibrant part of Métis history. The resulting schism defines the two groups of Métis; those who assimilated into Canadian society and those who remained associated with Amerindian (usually Cree or Ojibwa) society. Generally this occurs in early volumes on Métis peoples after the 1885 rebellion (Giraud 1945).

The work of Olive Dickason altered the paradigm of Métis studies by introducing First Nations history as a component of Canadian history. The examination of Métis culture focuses on the last three centuries to a nascent stage. Issues surrounding identity either transient or permanent, occupy the centre of the current debate (Ens 2001; Wershler-Henery 1993; Sawchuk 2002). This leaves a significant gap in understanding many rural Métis populations that still exist on the fringes of Canadian society. One such group is the Métis population that lived along the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, in the area of Jasper National Park. This population exhibits many of the historic aspects of Métis identity. Its origins extend to independent Métis traders James Findlay Sr. and James Findlay Jr. who reached the Rocky Mountains in 1759 (Nicks 1990). They, and their Iroquois kin, who first established a community at Lac Ste.

Anne in 1780, intermarried with local Stony, Beaver, and Shuswap peoples and saw the establishment of a fur trade post at Jasper (Nicks and Morgan 1985). Their identity is strongly linked to the Métis tradition of pursuing independence. A form of Michif known as Métis Cree is spoken by many modern members of this group. The continuance and development of the Michif spoken in this area is typical of the non-stratified aspects identified in linguistic analysis of Michif (Rosen 2000).

Chapter 4

Métis Settlers in the Upper Athabasca River Valley

Introduction

The removal of the families who lived in the area that became Jasper National Park is the subject of this chapter. Eviction ended their occupancy, although the ability to remain relatively independent has continued to the present day. Contemporary Métis in this area find their traditions within the generic Métis culture that nurtured varied manifestations, which grew from 18th century influences in North America. While recent archaeological inquiry by Parks Canada (Francis 2000, 2004) into Métis homesteads and grave sites has ignored the local descendents, the local elders find much value in incorporating the methods of archaeology into their examination of their past. Unlike other Métis communities, this one has opted to embrace archaeological methods to shed light on their history. Positive developments include the invitation to participate in archaeological research at Jasper National Park. Examining their presence in Jasper National Park sites by referring to the archaeological record can contribute to a broader current understanding of Métis society.

Despite the recent shift in situating historic and contemporary Métis in the cultural, historical, and legal landscape of Canada, some histories have yet to be examined. Enclaves of Métis, such as those around Jasper National Park, have remained outside the sedentary farming life since their Métis and Iroquois ancestors arrived in the area around 1790 (Nicks and Morgan 1985). Prior to this period the ancestral population

of Amerindians, sometimes referred to as the Mountain Cree, or Aseniwuche Winewak, formed a unique local history that also received little academic attention. The removal of Métis from Jasper National Park to outlying areas was not the last time some residents would be forced from their homes. The elders speak of the year after their grandparents settled at Prairie Creek after being removed from Jasper National Park; Adam and Frezine Joachim and Ewan and Adeline Moberly were again forced to move their families to Grande Cache. Those who left the park region moved to three main locations, near where the towns of Grande Cache, Edson, and Hinton appeared. The families remained close and continued trapping, guiding, and hunting for subsistence. They practiced this mobile lifestyle from their bases outside park boundaries. They were on the verge of being formally recognized by the Alberta government; however the combined reluctance to remain sedentary and the enormous natural wealth of their land prevented both Métis and provincial authorities from reaching agreement in the area (Sawchuk 1981).

After Riel

The first recorded meeting of a post-1885 Métis political group in the area was chaired by Michele Plante in 1896. The Métis of the Lac Ste. Anne area gathered at the newly formed town of St Albert. They were expressing grievances regarding the lack of recognition of their rights (Sawchuk 1998). While the government denied the existence of their claims, the Métis felt their rights remained because they had not participated in the armed resistance against Canada. The oral history of my community recognizes this meeting as important because it distinguished a community apart from those who participated in the 1885 resistance. The government had used this rationale to end, for a time, Métis claims in Canada by deliberately ignoring their concerns while covering much of the Northwest Territories with treaties.

Neither the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, nor the forest reserve at Jasper in 1907, changed the lifestyle of the local Métis people. Finally in 1910 the creation of Jasper National Park forced out the last six Métis homesteaders. Formalizing the park boundaries had the effect of shrinking their traditional territory. This group reluctantly joined their relations in settlements at Grande Cache, where the culture remained unchanged by outside institutions until a coal mine opened in 1960 (Sawchuk 1981).

After Eviction

An analysis of the communication between government representatives and evicted Métis reveals much of marginalization of Aboriginal people in the early 20th century. In a report by forest Ranger Shand Harvey in 1912 he relates the story that has come to represent much friction over the years “they each received a sum of money and a verbal permission was given to them to settle anywhere outside of the said Jasper Park limits” (See Appendix D). Harvey was requesting a trespass to allow land to be taken up near Grande Cache.

Then on January 15, 1916 forest supervisor MacFeyden outlined his position:

For fear of any misconception I should say that those people while called half breeds, are, except in the eyes of the law, to all intents and purposes, Indians...It appears that at the time they released their interests in Jasper Park that no very definite direction were given as to where they could settle and roaming unmolested so they now feel that they are being imposed on when asked to pay dues of any kind” (See Appendix E).

On December 30 1916 a letter by barristers Short and Cross chastised the government’s action toward the Métis and outlined their position:

When the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was given its right to carry its line of railway through this pass, there were found in the pass the Moberly’s

and allied families. By a show of force supplemented by cajolery and wheedling, these people were driven out of the land which they and their predecessors had held since the early seventies or before...Being descendent from native aristocracy, they were easy marks, and the government of the day wrought its will with them...the refuge which they sought, was far enough away from civilization to render them free from anxiety (See Appendix F)

On March 8th 1917 the community responded through a letter from Ewan Moberly to the Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior which was signed by representatives of all 144 Métis residing at Grande Cache and Entrance:

We have recently been informed that complaints have been made against us by white man (sic), and that reports have been published by forestry officials accusing us of destroying the big game in the Grande Cache country. We have received letters ordering us off the forest reserve before the first of March, and telling us that after that time all our buildings, stables, fences will be forfeited to the forestry. We feel confident that things have been grossly misrepresented to the government, and we wish you to know the truth, so that justice shall be done...we are law abiding citizens: crime is unknown among us. Outside of a little grazing, the country is only fit for trapping and hunting. There is no timber of any commercial value near Grande Cache or any agricultural land, and we are all making an honest living interfering with no one (See Appendix G).

The discourse and tension between the forestry officials and the Métis continued after the death of Ewan Moberly in 1918 from the Spanish Flu. Governments did not make a decision and the Métis remained. Communication began again in 1920 when Ewan's son Dolphus wrote the Department of the Interior:

Would like to know if we could get a grant of land at Grande Cache. It is in the forest reserve but we were there before there were any natives. We moved out the Park before, but we were told that we could go any place we like...Would like to get an answer, would like to know as we can't find out anything out here. That's the only country we like to be (sic), (See Appendix H).

The Director of forest reserves in Alberta was quick to respond to Dolphus's claim.

Dolphus Moberley is an illiterate and unable to read or write even his own name and consequently some other person translated it and deliberately misinformed him as to the letter in reply with a view of blocking the

movement on foot to get the breeds located on land outside the reserve and as a result the Moberley family have taken out more agricultural machinery to Grande Cache with a view of staying there...There is just one legitimate businesslike way of getting rid of the trespass and that is first, to have the act passed this coming session of parliament including the territory north of the 15th base line in the Athabasca forest, a few of the breeds are located north of that line, and secondly, issuing instructions to the Athabasca forest officials to seize them by the necks and land them outside the reserve and let them shift for themselves, that is the only way they can be made to realize that the seat of the government is at Ottawa not Entrance (See Appendix I).

By 1922 the stalemate had been acknowledged by all sides. The Métis had decided not to leave unless compensated and became squatters, a term that described them when they were evicted from Jasper National Park. This term still describes them today. A letter dated March 28, 1921 best describes the unresolved issue of the Métis claim in the upper Athabasca Valley and their relationship with the federal and provincial governments. It states:

...regarding the status of the Moberley case and regret to report that there have been no recent developments. The reason seems to be that the half-breeds have been advised not to move unless paid to do so. The result is that these people are simply waiting to see what we will do. It is out of the question to propose any form of settlement wherein payments will be made to them. This being the case there are only two courses open to us as I see it. We can either forcibly remove the half-breeds from the reserve or we can refrain from drastic action but crowd them so badly that they will choose to move. The latter course seems to be the most practicable (See Appendix J).

Nothing happened subsequently and the towns of Grande Cache, Hinton, and Edson appeared. The Métis have adapted to this urban milieu, yet remain true to their claims.

Twentieth Century Politics and Identity

Even though it continued to ignore the situation in the upper Athabasca Valley, the Government of Alberta responded to the petitions of Métis organizations and created Métis colonies in 1938 (Dobbin 1981). The governing system of the colonies was

strongly debated by members of the Métis association executive council; the desire was to create an opportunity for self-government. However, the colonies fell short of meeting Métis aspirations and their participation meant a weakened political structure. Later analysis would reveal the extent of influence provincial officials wielded over the lives of Métis who lived on them (Driben 1985; Sawchuk 1995).

Scrip entitlements had long been sold to speculators and derogatory terms followed Métis peoples to their new status under colonial authority. Names such as road allowance people or gopher Métis became the standards terms of intolerance for them (Harrison 1985). The poverty that befell their communities, combined with their ability to pass as Euro-Canadians, gave truth to the appearance of assimilation. This argument was part of the 1930s rhetoric that purported to assume how Métis peoples had been dealt with under Treaty 8. The Alberta colonies became another government act designed to eliminate the growing protests over the marginalization of Métis people. The Ewing commission appointed by provincial cabinet in 1934 to "make enquiry into the condition of the Half-breed population of Alberta" (Dobbin 1981: 88) perpetuated the removal of aspects of Métis society by applying narrow statements about compensation and land being granted only to those seen to be 'living the life of a Métis' as constructed by then (Dobbin 1981).

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Malcolm Norris and Jim Brady, two Métis patriots, worked to improve social conditions by recording Métis history and organizing through their communities. This effort succeeded despite the loss of political, economic, legal, and social status (Dobbin 1981). The organizational strength grew throughout the 1930s and Métis soon rekindled their claims against the Canadian government. Their uneasy relationship with provincial governments is illustrated by Depression era prairie

politics. The election of a socialist government in Saskatchewan led by Tommy Douglas was made possible in part because Norris and Brady campaigned on his behalf in northern Saskatchewan, hoping that a left leaning government would support Métis claims. The success of Douglas did not filter to them as his constituents; rather he ignored their concerns, fearful that a racist backlash would result if the government accepted Métis rights (Dobbin 1985).

The work of early 20th century activists eventually bore fruit in the 1960s when governments began funding larger Métis organizations (Sawchuk 1998). This was much to the chagrin of Malcolm Norris, however, who with his cousin, Felix Plante (my grandfather), promoted the importance of maintaining economic and political autonomy in our Métis community (Lena Ouellet Personal communication 2005). He would later tell Maria Campbell, shortly before his death in 1967, that Métis organizing would suffer if it became dependent on government funds (Dobbin 1981). This advice proved true as local political organizations were subjected to a hierarchical model of power distribution. Within this system, funding became a tool through which governments could manipulate the agenda of Métis organizations (Sawchuk 1998). Little of the resource revenues reached the rural residents, while meagre funds supported only token allowances to Métis 'leaders'. Small economic opportunities were portrayed as significant gifts from caring, benevolent governments (Sawchuk 1998).

Growth in Métis organizations revealed inherent problems when attempting to deal with diverse peoples under an umbrella organization. The assumption that shared experiences would pull communities together and overlook fissures of separate, local histories made consensus impossible. Dealing with Métis peoples in this way indicates much about the value of using apolitical organizing to mitigate any political outfall from

inaction over their concerns. Government funding has been oriented toward goals of financial gain from the sale of resources. Thus, the funding of Métis organizations is the 'business as usual' outcome (Sawchuk 1998). The move to provincial organizations does not hold historic relevance to Métis because the provincial boundaries post-date their claims. However, each provincial Métis organization is limited by the willingness of the province in which they happen to reside; historical claims extending beyond one province's jurisdiction further fractures any cohesive claim.

The significant event for the Métis in the 20th century was their inclusion in the Constitution Act of 1982. It marked a new era in Métis history, adding to their twin principles of continuance and modernity (Sawchuk 1998). Prelevant issues concerning identity, ethnicity, culture, social structure, and nationalism became subjects for historical, sociological, and anthropological studies (Dickason 2002). In the last decades of the 20th century, Canadian scholars belatedly came to accept alternative views of Métis peoples in Canadian history. While the myth and hero status of Riel continues in many respects, other historical and contemporary figures such as Gabriel Dumont, Malcolm Norris, Jim Brady, and Maria Campbell have expanded the scope of Métis contribution to Canadian history and identity (Campbell 1973: Dobbin 1981). At the dawn of the 21st century, the understanding and examination of Métis complexity continues to elicit more questions than answers. Relationships with various levels of governments, as well as continuous cultural mixing with non-Métis communities, have perpetuated the gap in identifying, defining, and understanding them as Aboriginal people. The inclusion of their voice in conducting this analysis presents a real opportunity for developing Métis studies, with works that inspire others who take serious the exploration of Métis identity.

The political perspective of the upper Athabasca River Valley community was represented by people such as Michel Plante, descendent of the early Iroquois/Métis, who chaired the first Métis association meeting in 1896. Malcolm Norris then donned the mantle of activism and embodied their political aspirations from the 1920s through to the 1960s. However, the prominence of these men in the written history of Métis activism created the erroneous notion that Métis women contributed nothing to community life. Métis society is notable by the prominence of women's roles and their absence from historical text is an obstacle for historical analysis (Brown 1983; Gallagher 1988). That women are central to Métis society is still clearly evident in the Upper Athabasca Métis for example, by custom men who married into other communities left to live with their in-laws, while women brought their husbands to join them along the eastern Rockies. A patrilineal line extending to the early Iroquois in the area has been maintained and recognized (Ross 2001), but matrilineal links have been largely overlooked in historical analysis.

Upper Athabasca Valley Homesteaders

Métis homesteads in Jasper National Park are tangible reminders of the region's history emphasizing the central role of their presence. Fur trade journals and first hand accounts in the area are central to the Canadian historical imagination. David Thompson, the Overlanders, the Hudson's Bay Express, Henry John Moberly and Walter Moberly all find their place in the annals of Canadian history. Walter Moberly's time at Jasper is legendary; he is credited with discovering the Yellowhead pass and guided the survey work through Rogers Pass (Sleigh 2003). The accounts they leave behind often relate their dependence on the services of local people, but seldom dwell on their roles.

Louis Kwaragkwante, a charismatic Iroquois leader, came to the region of High Prairie along the eastern slopes of the Rockies with Iroquois Freeman in the late 18th century (Ross 2001). They settled in Métis communities such as Devil's Lake (later renamed Lac Ste. Anne) and in the region of High Prairie and the upper Athabasca River valley. The territory of the Beaver, Stony, and Shuswap converged in this mountainous region. A long line of people, often referred to as the Mountain Cree occupied the area well into the past, although this aspect of lineage is rarely examined outside the community. Intermarriages added to the cultural mix, which tended to add ambiguity to mid-20th century ideals regarding the construction of identity (Nicks and Morgan 1985). Problems that stem from biological explanations for identity are clearly evident in populations such as those that emerged in the eastern Rockies. They demonstrate that biology shapes the genesis, but that cultural criteria are better representations of the Hivernant populations. Throughout the 20th century, marriage with Ojibway, and other Aboriginal peoples, has continued to contribute new modes of cultural expression into this group (Mary Desjarlais personal communication 2004).

The Iroquois transplant Kwaragkwante is the patriarch of a line of descent that is well known due to his close association with Father Lacombe, O.M.I. His entry into the Upper Athabasca Valley came via the same route as his Iroquois kin. He served his time in the 18th century fur trade with the North West Company (NWC) and instigated an alliance with the Métis of the time (Ross 2001). Kwaragkwante's marriage to Marie La Sakanise in the early 1800s resulted in the birth of Suzanne Kwaragkwante in 1824. While documents and accounts of the fur trade era are available to researchers, less well known are the subsequent decades.

Oral history of the homesteaders, before the Jasper National Park era, relate how, in 1861, Henry John Moberly took his country born children, John and Ewan, along with their mother, Suzanne Kwaragkwante to Lac Ste. Anne to formalize baptisms and be married in the church by Father Lacombe. He was 23 and Suzanne was 35 at the time. The marriage of Henry John and Suzanne at Lac Ste. Anne is significant. Suzanne Kwaragkwante was born to Iroquois descendents in the area. Her marriage and the baptism of her children indicate the degree to which the Iroquois had contributed to the ways of local Métis in elevating the status of matriarchy. The marriage was also interesting because it marked the end of the relationship between Suzanne and Henry John. They did not part from Lac Ste. Anne together and never lived in the same community again. John wandered the northwest until settling late in life at Duck Lake Saskatchewan, where he died in 1931; Suzanne returned to the Upper Athabasca Valley with her children after wintering at Lac Ste. Anne.

In a rare link to the Métis further east the wedding and baptismal ceremonies were performed by fabled Catholic priest Albert Lacombe, who had accompanied Gabriel Dumont to Lac Ste Anne (Woodcock 1976). This date 1861 also begins the period when Suzanne emerged as the matriarch of homesteaders in the Upper Athabasca River Valley. While country marriages were a staple of the fur trade, those preformed and recognized in the Catholic Church were less common. Oral accounts hold that Henry John Moberly intended to leave his family shortly after giving them his surname. When the elders retold the story to me in August 2005, they related how Suzanne refused to accompany him elsewhere and they separated mere hours after marrying. He left word that she could charge anything to his account with the HBC, However, she refused to be dependent on him and only used the offer to get suits for her boys when they took their

first communion at Lac Ste. Anne. The subsequent decades of history, at least until 1910, informs the local oral tradition.

Susanne Moberly grew to be the central figure for understanding the local Métis experience. She remained in the Athabasca River Valley after the fur trade post was abandoned by the HBC and raised her two boys. They in turn started families that embodied the unique blend of cultures. The mobile lifeways brought the Métis from the mountains around Tete Jaune Cache to Fort Edmonton. They mingled with Beaver bands to the north and Stoneys to the south. When British Columbia joined confederation in 1871 and the federal government sent commissions to negotiate Treaties Six and Seven in 1877, the process of dividing the territory among agencies and departments of new governments began. However, even this slow encroachment of the 1870s did not reach to the upper Athabasca River Valley.

Change has always been an important aspect for the culture that developed in and around Jasper. The French term *Métisage* was used to illuminate the act of blending divergent cultures into a Métis worldview (Ens 1996). While this act of blending occurred as an event, and while the new culture became one of many in the new world, the community of Métis settlers hold a different perception. Change cannot occur without a willingness to blend and adapt to new situations. The fur trade economy was far removed from the economic lifeblood of people such as Henry John Moberly's sons a quarter century after his departure. By the time Jasper National Park was established, John and Marie Moberly, Ewan and Adelaide Moberly, Isadore Findlay and Adam Joachim had established a comfortable lifestyle as landowners in the area. They all had cattle, horses, and farm implements for their ranches, while guiding outfits and trap lines supplemented their incomes. The cabins of William and Adolphus Moberly (Ewan &

Adelaide's sons) had been built and a new generation was preparing to continue habitation in the area when their eviction notices arrive

A Place for Narratives

As the community of Métis descendents faced further disruptions to their seasonal rounds, they once again had to adopt and blend the new aspects of a changing world into their extant culture. The events of this time comprise the narratives related by elders who hold dear the history of their community. Thus while the eviction has had much impact in the legal realm of land claims and political wrangling, the elder's focus continues to be on the history and lifeways of their ancestors. Suzanne Moberly in particular, has obtained mythological status as matriarch and well spring of historical legitimacy of their claims in the park. Since her death in 1905 her gravesite has occupied a very special place in the hearts and minds of her descendents. She died before they lost use of the area appropriated for the park and she did not witness the major challenges to the culture that came with the removal of families in 1910.

The lifeways recounted by the elders about the park are attributed to her influence. Her strength and resilience are a source of pride for her grandchildren. Suzanne Moberly represents the nexus between the historical and modern period of both Canadian and Métis history in the area. Although she is rarely a subject of written history, her memory lives on in the oral history of her great-grandchildren. When this history is combined with the textual record the resulting interpretations are attempts to accurately represent the prior history of their habitation.

Archaeology and its Contributions to Métis Studies.

Whereas archaeology has received limited attention by most Métis communities this one has embraced its potential. One line of inquiry which holds potential for future work is discussed in Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity by David V. Burley, Gayel Horsfall, and John D. Brandon (1992). While this research greatly contributed to the advancement of Hivernant Métis studies, the subject of archaeology about Métis did not advance beyond it. Their study is significant in its attempt to discover aspects of Métis habitus within the building structures and artefacts found at South Saskatchewan Hivernant communities (Burley et al 1992).

The concept of Métis identity presented to the researchers led to specific ways of approaching the analysis of the archaeological record. The Hivernant sites expressed Métis culture in ways that encouraged consensualism and egalitarianism. Vernacular architecture presented a line of interpretation that produced encouraging data identifying aspects of Métis life. While "social identity could be distinguished through language, specific symbols such as the L'Assomption sash, decorative arts and day to day behaviours reflecting and reproducing Métis habitus" (Burley et al 1992: 38) are visible in the archaeological record.

The concept of habitus presents an interesting line of research that could certainly be applied at the Hivernant homesteads in the Upper Athabasca River valley. In addition, participation of Elders in the analytical aspect would make a project at Jasper National Park an excellent case study for incorporating oral history into archaeology. It also resurrects a line of inquiry that holds potential for discovering Métis ethnicity at specific sites. An interesting point, one that Burley et al (1992) and other works present, is the cumulation of Métis ethnogenesis by 1860. The situation in the upper Athabasca may

challenge this assumption of a static identity after this time. Here one history holds that the local Métis culture did not merge until after 1861. Nevertheless, the resurrection of this branch of historical archaeology is long overdue as it represents an important topic for Métis studies.

The Paradigm of Internalist Métis Archaeology

My work on the Métis heritage of Jasper National Park, and the later disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais and a little known Iroquois ancestor, are the first attempts to bring archaeological methods to the Métis descendents in the area. Fortunately, the actions of pothunters or grave robbers have been limited. Previous surveys of Métis sites in the park did not include participation or consultation with the Métis descendents. I presented archaeology to the Elders not as a foreign or academic concept; rather it was presented as an English term that was identified with respecting and learning from the past. This definition has a much more eloquent and profound place in the Métis-Cree spoken by the elders. In this framework archaeology fits the worldview of the elders and underscores their determination to develop a sympathetic way to handle the remains of ancestors.

Louis Binford (1962) coined the phrase 'archaeology is anthropology' and this opinion, albeit in a considerably different way, applies to my position in this study. I cannot find a perspective outside my culture because I cannot remove myself from it. Now that textural referents are routine, I am introducing a new array of tools to accompany my experience in graduate school. Yet, when I am with my Elders, I am learning about local culture, history, political structure, language, and worldview. These tools of post-secondary training provide a novel avenue of academic research that was not considered earlier. This small scale society holds much potential for applying many

aspects of archaeology and anthropology, as well as history and law. Their unique convergence in this community reveals an unbroken line of families who, despite drastic settlement and development in their territory, wish to articulate their history in any forum possible.

Oral history is closely associated with the people who are investigating their presence in the archaeological record of the area. The half-century gap in the written historical trajectory is within the living memory of the Elders who are the last generation to have direct contact to this period. The burgeoning participation of my generation in advanced education is another symptom of blending cultural components through a process familiar to Métis. The history and culture will continue regardless of statements about, or recognition of, the culture by outsiders. This is not a salvage or morally prudent undertaking. This normative approach to academe will ultimately prove mutually beneficial and non-dependent. It will become a valuable component in the advancement of Métis studies of the past.

The work being pursued in Jasper National Park marks the community's introduction to archaeology. Its paramount objective is to find gravesites and have them respected and protected by constructing spirit houses. The dig near Grande Cache was undertaken only because of the hurt that continued to haunt the elders and the inability to build a spirit house where the bodies lay. Excavating graves to conduct osteological analysis is not the intent of archaeology in this Métis community. Along the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains archaeology can augment memories of the society they built; which was not dependent on the fur trade and did not disappear with advancing Canadian-style civilization. Examining this unwritten history refines a significant gap in

the larger picture of Canadian history and is greatly advanced through the Métis take on internalist archaeology.

Applying Métis Internalist Archaeology

The lack of academic archaeology in the region that is Jasper National Park is surprising considering its significant history and unique cultural traces. Since my research remains one of the few examples that seek to expand the academic inquiry in this region by incorporating the Elders, my community offers a rare case study for a developing relationship between government officials and Métis peoples with regard to the interpretation of their heritage. The objectives of internalist archaeology intersect with Métis aspirations of controlling the public presentation of their past. Their successful appeal to Jasper National Park officials in this respect also reveals the willingness of Parks Canada to respond to Aboriginal people who wish to co-manage heritage sites (Fox 1995).

Jasper National Park was carved out of land long used by Métis peoples who wished to practice their livelihood beyond the control of outside authorities. In this respect, the cultural history of the park is steeped in the experience of Métis and must be included among the loci where later Métis culture developed in North America. Sometime during the turn of the 19th century, groups such as the Iroquois, Stoney, Shuswap, Cree, Scottish and French created a unique Métis people who do not count the Red River Métis among its progenitors (Nicks and Morgan 1985). As a result, the Upper Athabasca River Métis constitute a distinct society that does not fall within the usual pattern of country born offspring of the fur trade

Since this independent Métis community was an unaccepted aspect of Parks Canada's textual record, the Red River Métis became, by default, the cultural template

within the park. Internalist archaeology has brought some parity for local Métis once heritage representation of their past became a concern. Interpretive signs and heritage promotion was developed with little regard to the local variant on Métis identity. The organizations that guided heritage interpretation of the Métis story in the park did not act out of malice; however they failed to include the internal discourse of local Métis in the move toward heritage representation. The result was a schism which was quickly brought to the attention of those who had worked on this issue, including Parks Canada officials, and the Métis Nation of Alberta.

After a period of listening to the perspectives and internal discourse of the Métis representatives during the first meetings with The Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park, parks officials could see the value in accommodating an internalist approach to heritage interpretation. Existing displays and interpretation relied too heavily on stereotypes and they were rejected by the twenty-five elders present. Their alternative was forwarded to park officials in August 2004, who in turn incorporated their ideas in the planning framework which outlines the presentation of history. This new working relationship will also influence approaches to archaeology carried out on their ancestral sites. As the relationship is in its fledgling stage, the success of integrating internalist archaeology into national parks policy is yet to be determined. However, the questions and approaches under negotiation have already created a more positive atmosphere for both heritage development in Jasper National Park and the internal dialogue of Suzanne Moberly's descendents.

Chapter Summary

The ancillary benefits of employing archaeological methods are readily observable in this case. For example, while grave sites are identified and protected,

analysis of space utilization and gravesite locations can provide insights into the society in the Upper Athabasca valley. Furthermore, the planned reconstruction of homesteads may continue the line of inquiry initiated on south Saskatchewan sites, except with a contemporary society of Métis with a customary leadership to aid analyses. The hallmarks presented in the study by Burley, Horsfall, and Brandon (1992) can be re-oriented to the elders working within Jasper National Park. As the murky waters of Métis identity remain a constant struggle for outsiders, the elders offer insights rarely obtained elsewhere. This study advances their stated goal of breathing new life into local recognition of their history and culture.

The legal issues resulting from the eviction and decades following attempts to find a place to exist outside the colonial control exemplified by the officials of the forest reserve are an important part of this history. The legal status of the people who moved to Grande Cache remains undefined and represents an opportunity to expand on the history of people who fell outside of 20th century legal recognition. This situation may well expand on the understanding of Métis rights and entitlements.

The move from a cultural resource management approach to heritage, to one of cultural property outlined by Yellowhorn (2002) has become the basis for reconciling the relationship between Jasper National Park and the descendents of the former Métis inhabitants. The Métis have no interest in removing their ancestral homesteads from park lands, citing the protection of the sites as the reason. The cultural property approach provides the apparatus for Métis to assert some control over their heritage and representation of their past. Protection of this heritage falls within the ambit of Parks Canada, which has the legal strength to enforce preservation. The future of internalist archaeology will benefit from a growing list of people, governments, and organizations

who wish to reconcile old grievances. Groups such as the upper Athabasca Métis may provide a template for involving internalist archaeology in negotiation and reconciliation, rather than legal regulations. In this respect, internalist archaeology creates an inclusive point from which First Nations sustain a dialogue on archaeology.

Chapter 5

Internalist Archaeology: Métis Style

Introduction

During the spring of 2004, I returned to Grande Cache, Alberta, in order to fulfill the fieldwork component of my graduate programme. I instantly began a dialogue with my elders about my work. Within my community theirs is the voice of authority. They, in turn, took an immediate interest in the skills I brought with me. Our conversations led me directly to the projects that would comprise my thesis research.

My first days back taught me a lesson in serendipity and how it could alter the scope of my work. My community elders had decided to take things into their own hands, as custom dictates, and for the first time they formalized their position by articulating their place as community leaders. On a sunny day in mid June 2004, they convened a meeting. After a period of reflection they formed 'The Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park' (See figure 5.1). I was immediately hired to act as their advisor in all things which required a strong understanding of written English.

Despite their cursory knowledge of archaeology, they understood that I could provide the information they needed to advance their concerns. I proceeded to be their voice during our meetings with Parks Canada officials and I acted as their medium with archaeology.



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Figure 5.1 The Author with the Council of Elders of Jasper Park. Left to right: Emile Moberly, Gordon Delorme, Jim Findlay, Alfred Findlay, Lena Ouellet, Daniel Findlay, Ida Pelletier, Madeline Findlay, Emcie Moberly, Mike Moberly.

Starting the Quest

Early in the spring of 2004 the community had recommended me to give a short speech at the opening of the Ewan Moberly site. This was a site on which Parks Canada and the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA) had placed interpretive signage on for public education. The event named Proud Heritage was the culminating celebration of these forces which had come together to restore the homestead of Ewan Moberly and develop Métis heritage at the site. Park and MNA representatives would also be speaking and descendent families were allowed to erect tepees and have displays. A few of the elders had mentioned to me how the panels depicting the history were flawed and they requested that I chastise the process that appropriated our history to fit the agenda of the MNA.

This partnership had awakened a hurt that had been brewing among the descendents of Suzanne Moberly for a long time. Over the years attempts to recognize Métis historic sites were stopped by park officials who viewed the area as the pristine wilderness so often promoted to tourists. When the human history of the park became a selling point the partnership between MNA and Parks Canada flew in the face of descendents who felt their history was ignored: the MNA was in fact providing money to develop heritage that fit its prescribed history.

The panels at the Ewan Moberly site represent flaws in the heritage that depicted him as an English speaking man who played "ragtime music" on his phonograph. In another, the date of the exodus is wrong. The elders were particularly offended by the final panel that sat in front of the grave of Suzanne Kwaragkwante Moberly, the matriarch of the three extended families that occupied the park before their forced removal in 1910. On that panel was a statement which heralded the relationship

between the MNA and park officials. It's text was accompanied by a picture of MNA and Parks Canada officials with the backs of the heads of local elders. In effect, a sacred grave site was being promoted as a tourist destination with political impact. As a young man with direction from my Elders I pointed out the problems with ignoring a culture that extended two centuries and still maintained itself as it always had. I criticized the park for not working with local people and the MNA for attempting to impose cultural components, such as Red River carts, which were not part of the history in the area.

My speech certainly ruffled a few feathers; however, nothing I said was untrue. Those elders present began to see my skills as an important tool in obtaining their objectives. Their decision to employ me was made on that day. The problems I had pointed out were well-known to them which made me the ideal spokesperson to the English speaking world. Likewise in speaking for them I discovered that my research was converging with their concerns and this presented an ideal opportunity for us both. My community's leaders had decided to use me in a way that articulated neatly with my academic objectives. I came to realize that my culture offered a research programme that would fulfill the requirements of my academic goals. My elders saw my role as protecting the intellectual property of my culture.

A meeting had been called in Grade Cache with the Elders and prominent members of the MNA. Local, regional and provincial leaders were present to explain and justify their role in promoting Métis culture in Jasper National Park. I was not told of the meeting except by elders who insisted I attend. Again I took the position that we were not a part of Métis history promoted by the MNA and did not consider ourselves members of the MNA. We merely wished to control our own heritage and represent it properly at Jasper National Park. My words were strong and they resonated with the

elders who were present. In short order they confirmed what I had said in English to the Métis/Cree translator.

These events marked a turning point in the recent history of the community and a return to written communication and negotiation with government officials. While this has always been a part of our history it has generally been maintained in Cree. The people who have examined our situation and represented us in English have not had the privilege of being from the culture. As with previous changes to adapt to outside influences I had taken a role which has long been a part of my culture. The use of English as a tool for explaining our position and perspective should be understood as a tool for the Métis/Cree community rather than as a loss of cultural components.

What's in a Name?

The first order of business in this project was a name for the group of elders who had hired me. Our careful consideration of English words was not just a semantic exercise. We had to convey the significance, power, and legitimacy of elders within our community. Finally after much deliberation we settled on the name, The Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park. The second meeting produced a document that proclaimed the elders to be the legitimate group to develop heritage interpretation concerning Métis sites in the park. A copy was signed and presented to park representatives for their records (See Appendix A). My first task was to deliver the document to Ron Hooper, Superintendent of Jasper National Park and attempt to secure a meeting between the elders and park officials.

I decided that the best way to further our cause was to arrive before the administrative offices opened and personally present the document to Mr. Hooper. I was able to secure a short meeting during which a frank discussion provided me with

knowledge as to the extent of MNA involvement in Jasper National Park. Mr. Hooper and I exchanged perspectives about reaching out to our community elders. I believe this unplanned meeting was a significant step in cementing relations between park officials and Métis elders.

Finally the date of August 8, 2004 was set for the first meeting. The agenda concerned the development of heritage at the Ewan Moberly site through a partnership between parks and the MNA. They had developed the Métis story on panels and restored the cabin. Unfortunately, the story depicted on the panels was the standard Red River Métis culture adopted by the MNA of Alberta rather than that which exists in local oral history. This was plainly evident in the depiction of Red River carts (something never used at Jasper) on the panels and signs at the Moberly site. The elders accepted the move to develop heritage, but they were disturbed by the exclusion of history originating from local Métis/Cree sources. Their objective was to include the oral history in future changes to heritage sites, and their goal was to insert that perspective into future park plans.

The results of the first three meetings reveal the speed at which a relationship based on trust and cultural sensitivity can develop between indigenous groups and government representatives. Accepting of oral history in the legal apparatus of Canadian administration has ancillary value to public archaeology in the historic period. The most significant results so far is on agreements to alter the interpretive panels and highway signs to better reflect the local culture, including the elder's telling the story.

A Story Told

A year in the life of residents of the territory in and around Jasper Park between 1861 and 1905 was incredibly diverse and varied. As explained to me by the elders,

winters were spent in the Athabasca River valley. Provisions for the trap line, such as salmon from the upper Fraser River at Tete Jaune Cache and supplies from Fort Edmonton and Lac Ste Anne, had been gathered the previous summer and fall. Fresh meat remained steady since, sheep, mountain goat, deer and elk sought refuge in the valley forest, which had milder weather. Horses had long been a staple trade item when Shuswap and Stoney visitors passed through on their commercial routes. The varied activities associated with providing foodstuffs and transport needs to visitors in the warmer months supplemented trade and trapping income for winter supplies. Yearly trips to Fort Edmonton coincided with the annual Lac Ste Anne pilgrimage where they went to Church, had baptisms and marriages formalized, traded goods, and visited with distant relations.

Visitors travelling through in the spring and fall brought interludes that broke the alpine silence. Otherwise people would make special trips to partake in tea dances in the winter. Tea dances were the highlight of social gatherings. As the name implies, Métis drank tea and feasted for days on end. Weddings meant great celebration and these events often lasted for a week, with revellers partying day and night. The cycle of feasting and dancing was a typical cherished artifact from the union of cultures. Elders who remember these days compare the feasting and dancing to marathons.

The important lines of ancestry were those of the mother. Women of the area had a long history of holding the sense of place and culture. This custom began in the mythic past of the mountain Cree and included memories of the old stone age. The world was brought about by great figures such as the trickster, Wasekechuk. Central to the lessons taught young children was the story of Wasekechuk's wanderings. As the first human, Wasekechuk has been on a never ending journey around the world in a

quest to see everything and a long line of stories relate how he is responsible for the awesome changes to the land and the animal world. This message is told to children beginning at a very young age. The responsibility placed on the young is to alter the world to such an extent that Wasekechuk would not recognize it and would then have to continue his journey, thus securing the continuation of humanity.

Later legends arrived with the teachings of Jesus, who was quickly adopted into Métis perspectives on the sacred and profane. Their worldview tended to coalesce in the annual gathering at Lac Ste Anne, which was much more than a religious pilgrimage. In addition to providing constant refinement of the blend of Amerindian spirituality and the Catholic Church, Lac Ste Anne was a major highlight of the trade and barter economy. As well, many marriages began at this event. The faithful had participated in the pilgrimage since its inception as their Catholic Parrish in 1846. Before that, it was a sacred place for the many early Iroquois and the Mountain Cree.

One especially strong presence was Suzanne Kwaragkwante Moberly (See figure 5.2), whose position as respected leader never waned. Her marriage was formalized at Lac Ste. Anne and she ensured the annual pilgrimage was observed by those who resided with her in the valley. Since her death she has become a legendary figure. In 1905 she grew ill while gathering plants at Medicine Lake, some distance from her home. Her grandson Adolphus was with her and he took her toward home. He fired three shots, a sign of danger, and was met by other relatives who were there when she died a short distance from her home. Her funeral was held at the home of her son Ewan and she was buried at the site now commemorated in Jasper National Park.

She left behind one daughter and three sons. Laloose was the oldest. Ewan (See figure 5.3) and John's (See figure 5.4) father was her first husband Henry John Moberly.

Alex, born in the mid 1860s, was the youngest and his father is known only by his surname, Macaulay. They in turn married among the Iroquois/Métis descendants and bore 21 children; today upwards of 400 Métis can trace their lineage to Suzanne (Kwaragkwante) Moberly.



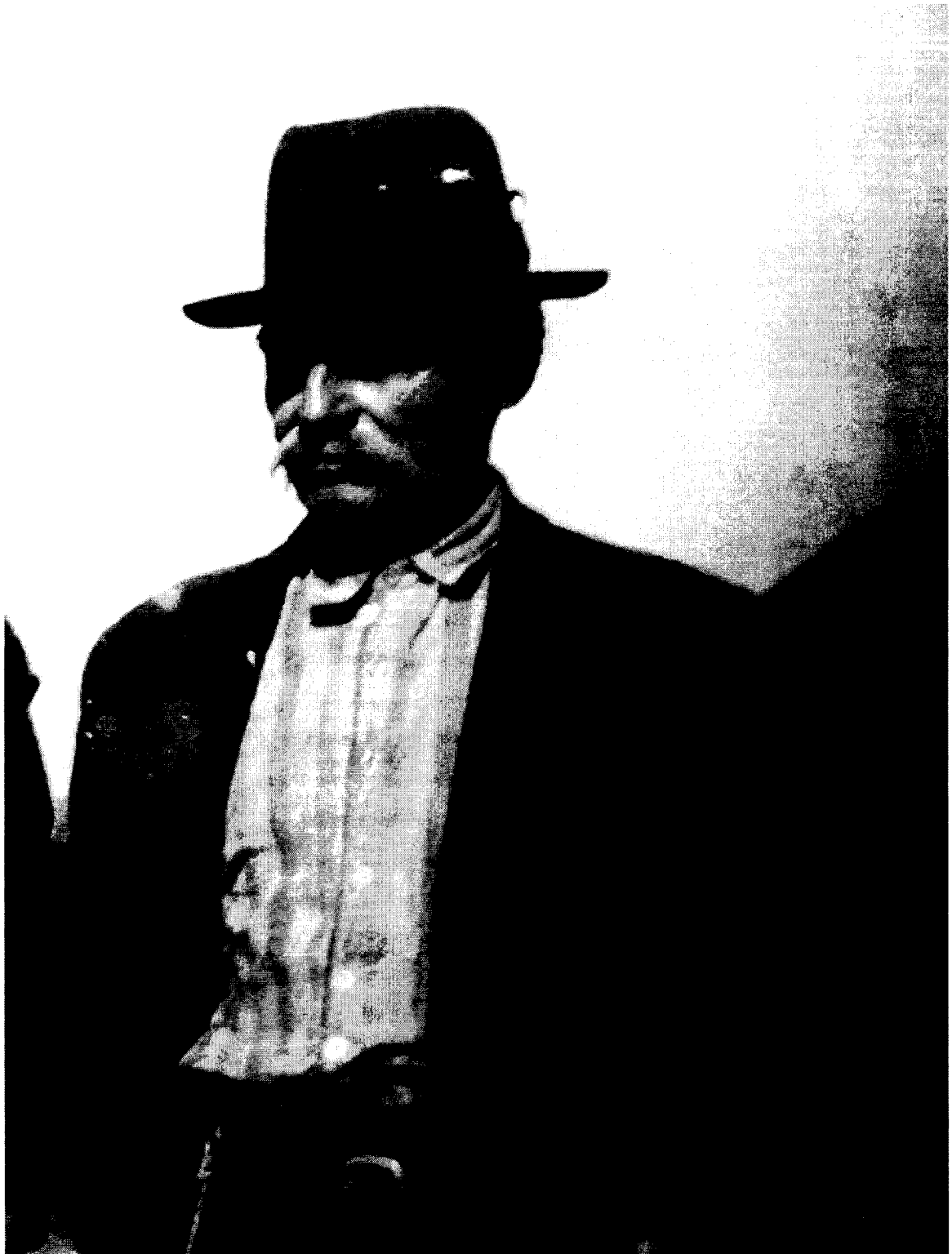
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Figure 5.2 Suzanne (Kwaragkwante) Moberly, great-great-grandmother of the author approximately 1875 upper Athabasca Valley.



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Figure 5.3 Ewan Moberly, eldest son of Suzanne (Kwaragkwante) Moberly, approximately 1909 Upper Athabasca Valley.



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Figure 5.4 John Moberly, son of Suzanne (Kwaragkwante) Moberly Approximately 1911, Prairie Creek.

Their neighbours in the valley were Isadore Findlay, who was the grandson of Jaco Findlay who surveyed the area for David Thompson in 1806 and left country born offspring to become united with the resident Métis. His wife, Philomine Findlay, was the Grand Daughter of Suzanne Moberly. Another neighbour was Adam Joachim (See figure 5.5), the son of Colin Fraser. His wife, Frezine, was the daughter of Ewan Moberly. Adam Joachim reputedly had a talent for languages and could speak French, English, Latin, Cree, Shuswap, and Stoney. His education had prepared him for the priesthood in the 1890s, but he was denied his final year of schooling because his brother had been convicted (though later found innocent) of attempted murder. He moved back to Jasper and presided over many religious functions including the funeral of Suzanne Kwaragkwante Moberly. The area that was to become Jasper National Park was the domain of these four extended families.

Along the northern hinterlands of Jasper National Park is the Smoky River Valley, which is cross cut by the Moberly trail. Nearly forgotten is the link between families residing there and those who lived along the area near present day Grande Cache. Communities such as Wanyandie Flats and Mountain Louis had existed concurrently with their relatives at Jasper and the entire area of the park was and is well known to the descendents. Jurisdictional claims by the park have failed to include transference of the local Métis knowledge of the landscape. What is more problematic is that so little of this history is known to park workers and tourists alike. As a result the Métis oral history often comes a distant second to the message of promoting the park as a pristine wilderness preserved in its primordial state.



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Figure 5.5 Adam Joachim.

Miette Hot Springs for example, is one of the major tourist attractions in Jasper National Park. Its discovery was by Ewan Moberly, yet only recently has a small picture of him been placed at the entrance of the hot springs. His story of discovery has yet to be credited, perhaps because of the legal implications of doing so. Unfortunately, this neglect of oral history silences a significant chapter in local cultural narratives. As related in spoken words, around the mid-1880s Ewan Moberly was hunting on Roche Miette Mountain during the fall. He had tracked a Big Horn Sheep to a bluff where he was able to kill it. The sheep tumbled down the bluff coming to rest along a small

stream. After cleaning and preparing the sheep for transport home, Ewan went to the creek to wash his hands. He was surprised when he burned himself on the hot water coming from the rock in the mountain. The sulphur springs soon took on a very significant place in the life of the community.

Thereafter Miette Hot Springs became known for its healing properties. Vessels containing its waters were often brought to Lac Ste Anne for blessing by a priest. Métis folklore about Miette attests to the understanding of the landscape and animal migration in the area. Perhaps this story will eventually be told to visitors to remind them of Métis contributions to the local culture.

Even the removal of the Métis from the area is best understood in the oral history. The absence of this event which coincided with the mythology surrounding the development of Jasper National Park, is also telling of the marginalization of the families. Upon removal John and Ewan Moberly were joined by Adam Joachim at Prairie Creek in 1910. Isadore Findlay went to the area around Jarvis Lake and Rock Lake a little to the north. John had decided to take a homestead in the fashion of Canadian immigrants. Shortly after that, another ranger came to demand that the families of Ewan and Adam move from their homesteads. They had their guns disabled by the same ranger who requested their departure. For two years a trail that could handle the people and supplies was built to the community of relatives at Mountain Louis near present day Grande Cache. The loss of hunting caused much hardship and two of Ewans children Lactap and Bernice died at Prairie Creek. On the third year the move commenced. A long train of people, animals, and supplies headed north to Mountain Louis. First came Ewan who had a bell on his saddle followed by the pack horses guided by the women, then cattle with the bulls as the last ones were trailed and led by the men. A six year old

Louis Joachim remembered being surprised at the length of the train of people and possessions when he retold the story to his children and grandchildren.

Epilogue

Things have continued to progress with Jasper National Park. For example, a family gathering of descendents took place inside the park in mid-July 2005. As well, Stéphane Dion, the Member of Parliament responsible for National Parks, has sent a letter confirming the elder's role in managing the Métis sites in the park (See Appendix B). What is significant in this relationship however, is the way things are done. The unwritten history is being examined in a way that is consistent with Métis culture. The elders, as traditional leaders and caretakers of the oral history, are recognized as a living repository of knowledge in a way that aligns with Métis customs.

On August 25, 2005, a meeting brought together the Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park and National Park archaeologist Marty Magne to discuss the use of archaeological methods to fulfill their objectives of identifying gravesites and rebuilding ancestral sites. While the frank discussion presented hurdles to rebuilding Adam Joachim's site, the discussion has furthered the discourse regarding the past under the paradigm of archaeology.

Common ground was established with the use of Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to confirm the location of graves at the sites. GPR works by imaging the interactions between the electric and magnetic fields in layers of earth. These images can be displayed as cross-sections of the earth (George Mason Personal Communication 2004). The use of GPR in locating graves has proven its ability at augmenting the oral recollections. In the fall of 2005 Adam and Frezine Joachim's site was surveyed with GPR to confirm the exact location of graves so that spirit houses could be constructed

for them. Initial results have confirmed the strong possibility that at least one grave is there, a final report will be made available to the elders in the winter of 2006. There are commitments from parks officials that John and Marie Moberly and Isadore and Philomine's burial locations will be surveyed.

The question of rebuilding the Adam Joachim site is more problematic. Mr. Magne did not see the perspective of the elders, suggesting that only a section of the site be excavated and preserved as it is not in danger of being damaged. He also indicated his unwillingness to allow younger descendents to work on their ancestral sites without the close supervision of archaeologists from Parks Canada. In addition the paradigms of CRM are understood as a requirement of conducting archaeology in the park. Spiritual and cultural objectives are not considered sufficient to warrant large scale excavation. Such a decision might even require approval of the heritage minister.

The nature of our conversation reveals the gap between approaches to managing the archaeological record. The elders hope to conduct archaeology at the Adam Joachim site in a way that is comfortable to their objectives. Park archaeologists have suggested I submit a proposal and the elders have asked that I try and recruit Aboriginal archaeologists to train and work with the community. They are hopeful that their relationship with parks representatives will allow this unique project to proceed.

This is also a central aspect to this research. I wish to demonstrate how the archaeological record of the upper Athabasca Valley can be empowering for descendents of the six families removed from the park. Resolving an old hurt in this case will have significant ancillary benefits to the heritage concerning the human history of the area. While the elders may want bureaucratic hurdles to disappear, what should be a positive resolution to past actions will require more patience.

Chapter 6

Maqua Tojorlais and the Bighorn Highway

Introduction

While the work that brought the elders and park officials to a place of understanding was being pursued, I was approached by Emile Moberly, Grandson of Ewan Moberly. He was concerned about the disrespect shown to one of our ancestors Maqua Tojorlais who rested under the Bighorn Highway (See Figure1.1). He spoke of a long line of people he had approached on this matter such as local politicians and police, the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA), and Aseniwuche Winewak Nation (AWN). The possibility that I might be able to help had gained his interest.

Maqua's Story

In 1905, during the winter before the death of Suzanne Kwaragkwante Moberly, Maqua Tojorlais was on his trap line along the Smoky River. His name was a blend of Cree and French common to Michif speakers. The name Tojorlais, which latter morphed into Desjarlais, was brought to the area by Métis voyageurs. Maqua is the Cree term for loon, since Maqua Tojorlais was said to produce a very believable Loon call. Community custom is to give nicknames in Cree that replace birth names. Maqua was out checking the section of his trap line that he used for procuring fisher hides. The method used for trapping fisher was a leg hold trap attached to a bent branch of an overhanging tree. The fisher becomes suspended and struggles to death. On this day Maqua climbed a tree to check his trap and fell into the frozen river. Whether Maqua drowned or died

from the fall is debatable, however he was found by a relative and buried nearby. His expedient grave was dug by his bother who later that spring built a Spirit House over it.

The function of spirit houses is an important belief that nothing should sit on top of a grave. For this reason the spirit houses sit on four legs that are placed outside the grave opening. This custom is clearly entrenched locally and the oral history on sprit houses goes back to the 18th century. The sharp pitch of the roof ensures that rain and snow are kept off. A cross that reflects the Catholic dimension of the belief system adorns the east side of the grave where the head lies, in local Métis tradition.

The site of the grave was in close proximity to the community of Wanyandie Flats where the early Iroquois first settled. In the years following Maqua's death the community took care to maintain the spirit house and pay respect. This continued until 1960 when large scale resource extraction finally hit the area and a coal mine was built near Grande Cache. The forestry division of the Alberta government began to survey these forests. An airstrip was built to facilitate their activities. To the horror of the Métis community the spirit house of Maqua Tojorlais was bulldozed in the construction of the airstrip and his grave paved over.

Limited familiarity with the English language hurt attempts by family to rectify the situation, and citizens of the new and prosperous town of Grande Cache felt no sympathy for old Métis gravesites. The hurt continued when in the 1980s the air strip was converted as a gravel road between Grande Cache and Grande Prairie. The airstrip had become part of the Bighorn Highway! Again the protest and inquiries of the elders who remembered the grave of Maqua were ignored.

Twenty-five years later, I was told of the desire to remove and rebury the body of Maqua Tojorlais. He understood archaeology as an action, notably for him the

excavation of remains. I told Emile that often the reburial of bodies accompanies large scale construction projects and I surmised that Maqua Tojorlais would most likely be treated respectfully and reburied if the highway was built in the 21st century. I understood that Emile was speaking on behalf of the elders when he asked me why we could we not rebury Maqua now. I told him that I could think of no reason and would find a way to do it in the following days.

The site was near a long-used trail in the area near the community of Wanyandie Flats which in the oral narrative has been there since the late 1700s. Emile Moberly recalled the circumstance of the burial on the natural ridge which provided easy transportation along the Smoky River. The grave was not a customary burial, but done in reaction to the sudden death in a relatively remote area at a time when transportation by one individual was out of the question. The shallow grave likely resulted from the winter soil conditions when Maqua Tojorlais was buried.

I had been aware through a cultural resource management course I had taken that I only needed a disinterment permit to remove a body for reburial. I spent a few days following the appropriate bureaucratic trail to find someone who would listen to the story of Maqua. Of course I had to leave a paper trail of request forms. The case was unusual in that no birth or death certificate was issued despite the relatively recent burial and the permit was issued based solely on oral history. This information was sent to the provincial coroner and the permit arrived a few weeks later on August 23, 2004. The police were notified the same day and supplied us with a body bag for the remains. Entering the confines of the Grande Cache police station, with Elders in tow, to request a body bag is a unique and interesting experience. The local police force appeared happy to avoid being involved, other than noting the location and time of disinterment.

The paper work aspect of the disinterment was supplemented by plans concerning the place of reburial and contacting a priest to conduct funeral rites and consecrate the grave. This has been an important spiritual tradition since the earliest days of Métis peoples, who blended Catholic traditions into their belief systems. I also contacted the department of highways and requested assistance in removing Maqua from under the highway. As the original desecration occurred under the direction of the department of forestry and mines, and not highways, I found a receptive response to my request.

The Department of Highways agreed to fund the dig by supplying an excavator and traffic control crew. They also contacted George Mason, who owns Maverick Consulting and whose company has a history in working on Métis sites. His company would do the site identification with Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR). Mr. Mason contacted me soon after my conversation with people in the archaeology section of the highways department. He arrived to confirm the location of the grave a few days before the dig was to take place. I had accompanied my parents, two of my children, and Elder Mike Moberly the day before with red spray paint and marked the site.

The methods of Métis came to the fore as the elders decided how to point out the location of the grave for Maverick consulting. We used the grave dousing method for locating the graves, while Mike and Emile Moberly recalled from memory the position of the Spirit House. Grave dousing involves holding two long pieces of metal, in this case welding rods, bent to form a handle and held loosely (See figure 6.1). The rods cross when the grave is directly underneath them. After a few minutes we had located the grave and marked the spot with the spray paint. My father and a few of the elders make a consistent income moonlighting as water doublers. Their ability and certainty in

detecting the graves was not met with scepticism within the community. Maverick Consulting, at a cost of \$3100.00, only confirmed their dousing results, much to the amusement of the elders (See figure 6.2).



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Figure 6.1 Mike Moberly grave dousing August 16, 2004



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Figure 6.2 Ground penetrating radar August 18, 2004

The trip from Edmonton by the Maverick team was not wasted, however, as the GPR picked up on another smaller disturbance that looked similar to the grave located 3m away. The Elders discussed the computer screen that showed two obvious disturbances that they were told, through me, represented graves. They were aware that the place was paved twice and that there had also been a significant flood event prior to the construction of the airstrip. Perhaps the body broke up and both locations contained Maqua's remains. After a period of questions and further discussion amongst the Elders we decided to dig alongside both Grave locations and excavate the remains through the side. After confirming that the dig would take place a few days later on August 25, 2004, I returned with Emile Moberly to the Métis cooperative of Victor Lake. The Elders had decided to rebury Maqua at their graveyard, which contains the remains of many Moberly descendents who were removed from the park.

When I arrived Emile had started digging the grave. He told me that the young men were working or not around. I quickly relieved him of his work and finished the grave myself. I had dug such graves before. In our culture the respect shown to those who die includes the role of nephews digging the graves of their aunts and uncles. The graveyards that hold our dead are kept and maintained by the families who live closest. In this case the graveyard was only a few hundred meters from the home of Emile and Adalide Moberly. He told me that he talked to the local priest who agreed to bless the grave even though there was no memory or record of Maqua's confirmation as a Catholic. The blessing of the grave was to take an even more unusual turn when we reburied the remains we found a few days later.

On the day of the excavation (See Figure 6.3) the Highway Crew, George Mason and his apprentice, the elders, and myself gathered at the site. A few people from the

community were also present, as was a local newspaper reporter. The first site was accessible after an excavator dug down half a meter from the grave. I joined the Maverick consulting crew as we dug in from the side to disinter the remains. The heat and cold from the highway had sped up the decomposition and we soon came across a mass of decomposed material and bone fragments. The biggest piece that we found of Maqua was a fragment determined to be a piece of his ulna which was approximately 8cm long.



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Figure 6.3 Disinterring Maqua Tojorlais.



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Figure 6.4 Locating Maqua Tojorlais.

The burial was intact based on the level of the decomposed skeletal remains. We gathered up the remains and placed them in a body bag which was in turn placed in a box built by elder Mike Moberly. All aspects of the excavation were directed by the elders that were present. My role was to communicate the methods in which the elders wanted the remains handled to those involved and follow their wishes. After the remains were secured, the site was filled by the excavator and a discussion ensued confirming the decision to excavate the second site in the same way as the first.

The second site was more difficult to locate than the first. After a period of digging through the compacted rock and soil we located a small area that held fire cracked rocks in the shape of a small bowl 20cm across. The rocks were aligned in two halves that held cremated remains. This discovery came as a surprise to everyone involved.

We stopped the work while the elders discussed the next move. The elders were concerned that the remains be connected to our community and began discussing the history of the place. The Cree, Beaver, Shuswap, and Métis peoples never cremated their dead, and cremation was unknown in the memory of our community. At this point the subject of Iroquois customs came up and slowly after a long conversation in Cree long dormant memories emerged.

The first wave of Iroquois to the area occurred sometime in the late 18th century. At that time one group of migrant men had a young man with them, perhaps aged twelve to fourteen years. The adolescent was ill when he arrived in the area and soon died. The Iroquois having not yet joined the locals in marriage buried him through their own cultural tradition. As was the custom at the time people were buried near to where they died. As the Iroquois had settled in the area of Wanyandie Flats, where some of their descendents still live, the ridge that was to contain the trail Maqua Tojorlais followed to check his trap line crossed the cremation burial. It was thought to be the only known instance where the Iroquois had held their own method for burial; soon afterward the local Métis custom was practiced.

The story was a significant part of the decision to treat the cremated remains as a well-respected ancestor. If this had not been determined by the elders and was thought that the remains belonged to a culture other than those associated with ours they would have been left where they lay. I had been aware that the Iroquois had cremated their people, but refrained from saying anything as I was determined not to stray from the internalist approach during this disinterment. In all respects, I acted as an employee of the elders informing them of the situation at hand and following their directions. The dig was based on a spiritual rather than an academic or salvage

framework. Removal of the bodies of our ancestors represented the healing of an old and painful wound on the Métis culture. The fact that only community members participated in the resolution of this wound meant a lot to the elders and demonstrated the efficacy of an internalist Métis understanding during the disinterment.

The prospect of dealing with a second individual had not taken up serious consideration before the remains were found. As a way of showing respect, the Elders decided to place the cremated remains, still intact in the rock, in the same box as the remains of Maqua Tojorlais (See Figure 6.5). They would be laid to rest in the Mountain Louis graveyard and a cross would adorn both ends of the grave. I nailed the top of the box that held the remains shut and loaded it in Emile Moberly's truck before heading to the graveyard for the funeral. The priest had accepted the local tradition by performing a grave blessing and funeral (See figure 6.6). Re-interring the two bodies together, with two crosses, reflected a very important moment in the history of my culture. I wondered as I covered the grave after the funeral, how future archaeologists would interpret this particular grave and what those interpretations would say about local Métis culture.



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Figure 6.5 Excavation completed.



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Figure 6.6 Blessing of Maqua Tojorlais Grave.

Timeline:	
1905:	Maqua Tojorlais dies on his trap line and is buried soon after beside the Smoky River
1960:	Coal and timber are discovered in the area and Maqua's grave is bulldozed and paved over for airstrip.
1980s:	Bighorn Highway is built over airstrip
1960-2004:	Despite the deep hurt inflicted on the community of Métis nothing is done by local or provincial organizations that are told the story.
August 9 2004:	Emile Moberly tells Rick Ouellet the story of Maqua and requests help in reburying him.
August 10-12 2004:	Rick Ouellet contacts the provincial coroner's office and the Highways Department in Alberta to request a disinterment permit and help with removing Maqua.
August 16 2004:	Rick Ouellet and Elders use grave dousing to locate Maqua Tojorlais grave.
August 18 2004:	Maverick Consulting confirms the location of the gravesites, and finds another using Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR).
August 23 2004:	Disinterment permit arrives from coroner's office. Body bag is obtained from Grande Cache police station.
August 25 2004:	Maqua Tojorlais is disinterred from under the Bighorn Highway and re-buried at the Mountain Louis cemetery beside his community and Métis kin.
August 25 2004:	An unnamed Iroquois ancestor is found beside Maqua and is reburied in the same body bag at the Mountain Louis cemetery. Both remains are consecrated.

Figure 6.7 Timeline of the disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais

Lessons Learned

The archaeologically based discussions within the community, especially those among the elders have benefited from the internalist approach I used in my work with them. I presented archaeology in much the same way I presented my drivers license to my grandfather when I was 16. I was providing skills and abilities that he could use. By driving his truck for him and allowing him to plan and coordinate activities, such as harvesting birch and poplar for pack saddles and collecting medicines, I was not directing my grandfather, only offering to drive and accompany him whenever he wanted to go. The same idea came with my training in archaeology, I have learned the tools that facilitate digs or heritage development, yet feel the elders are best suited to direct those activities.

The disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais and an Iroquois ancestor healed an old injury that had long plagued the elders. The purpose of this disinterment benefited from the archaeology that I had been taught. The prospects for Aboriginal people to undertake aspects of post secondary training in the pursuit of their own agenda is an interesting union of Aboriginal and academic culture. The changes in disciplines such as archaeology have brought new standards for respecting the Indigenous cultures that occupy areas near archaeological sites in recent years. The disinterment of relations from under imposed developments for spiritual and cultural purposes may represent the thin edge of the wedge for Aboriginal appropriation of the methods of archaeology.



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Figure 6.8 Reburying Maqua Tojorlais.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The summer of 2004 represents a time when my life had come full circle. I had the privilege of growing up unaware of the uniqueness of my community and culture. I had internalized the worldview that is at once symptomatic of the diaspora of Métis in North America and a manifestation of the local conditions in the upper Athabasca Valley. The need to illuminate our distinctiveness from the Métis of Red River and the generalized Métis culture promoted by Métis politicians motivated my research. My post secondary education had given me the skills to understand our situation as it related to the Canadian historical narrative. I was able to develop these skills for my elders and this project is the result. It is a personal cultural awakening and also a union of my academic and upper Athabasca Métis worlds. The willingness of my elders to participate and contribute cultural knowledge is the core of my upbringing and of this thesis.

When I began this project I did not have a clear determination of my goals, other than a desire to advance the perspectives of the elders. I had been an outspoken student activist in support of expanding the woeful Aboriginal voice in the extant academic literature. My objective was made clear when my elders hired me to translate their perspective to English; my education soon proved useful to their agenda. This process provided several lines of inquiry that I followed for this thesis, which I hope to follow for further research. As they relate to academic inquiry I hope to make solid contributions to the fields of Métis Studies, historical archaeology, and law by elucidating the unknown histories of Métis. Ancillary benefits are also evident for the local

community of Métis and the heritage at Jasper National Park as well as the legal claims of descendants.

The elders in my culture have also benefited from this thesis. One of the significant aspects of this project is the introduction of a discourse which has begun to bridge the generation gap between elders, who were raised in traditional ways and younger people who have been exposed to the Canadian education system. I hope that my thesis will be a catalyst for others of my culture in the coming years. Perhaps some may use this knowledge and worldview of elders in future endeavours.

Preparing the Stage for Internalist Archaeological Research

Stories regarding the Métis occupation of the Upper Athabasca Valley indicate that oral narratives can contribute much to the study of historical archaeology and heritage interpretation in the area. Subjects such as trade and travel routes, subsistence activities, and social organization are underdeveloped aspects of textual history there. The local heritage can benefit from listening to oral history and elder's memories to interpret archaeological sites. The seminal event of the removal of the Métis families from Jasper can be revealed by studying these stories, which will greatly enhance the limited written material on the early years following the expulsion from Jasper National Park. This branch of Métis culture challenges the way Métis have been portrayed by prior generations of academics (Giraud 1945). By any standards, the evicted families had built comfortable lives and required no assistance. Their fall to a class of predominantly wage labourers in recent decades speaks volumes about marginalization of people loosely classed as Indian. Internalist discourse can offer the point from which these issues are studied.

The union of internal discourse and applied archaeology has been the framework for my foray into archaeology. This approach proved its potency by guiding my academic research in the upper Athabasca Valley, while building on my connection to the local Métis culture related by my elders. This included actions desired by the elders, such as the disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais, which appealed to my sense of social activism. This research animated my goals of conducting archaeology from the perspective of Aboriginal communities engaged in archaeological work within their traditional territory. In this instance, oral narratives were the cornerstone of internalist archaeology in my study. Thus, I was able to introduce internalist archaeology to the upper Athabasca Valley with this thesis.

One line of inquiry that has been reopened by this study is the examination of Métis building and homestead sites. For example, the reconstruction of the Ewan Moberly site in Jasper National Park did not contain an examination of the lifeways of the family that lived there. As a late example of Upper Athabasca Valley Métis vernacular architecture, the buildings may offer additional research to the question of identity and ethnicity. The Moberly family offer a tangible connection with the oral history. Their experience may help in reconstructing sites such as Adam Joachim's homestead. There is certainly much material to fuel research in this line of inquiry. However, This will depend on the future direction to conducting archaeology in national parks. Parks Canada's archaeological policy may have to be amended to allow my community to undertake archaeological inquiry on ancestral sites.

Prospects for the Community

The oral history that is maintained and told in Cree, and now English, among the elders is regarded by them as long-hidden history. During much of the early decades of

the 20th century, the story of an Iroquois/Métis homeland along the Athabasca Valley was unwelcome and ignored, especially by those outsiders who knew it to be true. The continuation of the local Métis culture did not incorporate activist action to press the issue. In a very real sense, their choice focused on remaining autonomous and free of hierarchical leadership or control by outsiders. Although this story was known, details and personalities were hidden from scrutiny and held only among members of the community. The recent shift in presenting Aboriginal people to visitors to Jasper National Park has meant inviting the elders to reveal something of their history. Ironically, the catalyst for bringing this to light came about because of actions surrounding the story of Métis at Ewan Moberly's site. The errors and omissions led to the desire to correct and elaborate on the story. People who are known in textual accounts have come to be misrepresented in heritage interpretation in Jasper National Park, which is problematic for the elders because it represents a serious erosion of their history.

The most egregious flaws were on display on the panels at the Ewan Moberly site, they depicted him as an English speaking man who played "ragtime music" on his phonograph. In another, the date of the exodus is wrong. The biggest slight to the elders was the placement of a panel that heralded the relationship between Parks Canada and the Métis Nation of Alberta. It was stood in front of Suzanne Kwaragkwante Moberly's grave, which was treated as a tourist attraction. Nowhere was the connection to Iroquois mentioned.

As oral narratives become part of the story that replaces the one on the original panels, a careful consideration of spoken history is taking place. The rapid agreement can be attributed to the absence of legal discourse. The oral history presented to park

officials has as its objective to replace misinformation with accounts told by the council of elders.

The disinterment of Maqua Tojorlais also created an opportunity for the community to become familiar with academic research, while undertaking an activity that was spiritually significant to the culture. The event marked a healing for the community; however, the elders were also aware that I was documenting their actions for use in my academic research. They knew that I wanted to bridge the divide between researchers and Aboriginal communities. Their only expectation was that I act in accordance with my position in my culture, which is also extended to researchers who may work with them. Respect and listening to my elders are the lasting lessons I hope to impart to readers of this thesis.

Prospects for Jasper Park

The illumination of the story of the Métis culture that was evicted from Jasper National Park has been constructed with mutual benefits in mind. The legal parameters are largely unknown as lawyers have been excluded from discussion thus far. This aspect of our meetings is a source of pride for both the elders and Ron Hooper, Superintendent of Jasper National Park. The unique culture that emerged after 1861 is preserved in the elder's accounts and carefully revealed to elaborate on the heritage possibilities at the Métis sites. Mr. Hooper and the elders also share sensitivity for the significance of the meetings. Despite working with numerous groups who claim connection to Jasper National Park, Mr. Hooper recognized the value of what our elders are offering with regard to history in the upper Athabasca River Valley between the closing of Jasper House in 1861 and the eviction of the six Métis families in 1910.

Rather than focusing on the eviction, the elders have offered an internal perspective of the culture that lived in the area during the half-century before the park was created. The development of this perspective at the Métis sites will have lasting benefit for Jasper National Park. It will provide additional evidence to the story of settlement of western Canada and elaborate on the limited understanding of local Métis culture.

The natural beauty apparent in Jasper National Park is well known to visitors, but the human history has yet to develop. The meeting of the council of elders and parks officials provides a venue to document and develop heritage from the perspective of descendent populations. The beginning of this work has inspired change in the story displayed on the panels at the Ewan Moberly site. The possible rebuilding, and future prospects for heritage interpretation at the Adam Joachim site will have mutually beneficial results. It will restore an old hurt and bring pride to Joachim descendents, as well as provide Jasper National Park with an opportunity to elaborate on a history that is often contentious. The continued development of heritage may result in further evolution of parks policy regarding Métis and other Aboriginal people who have sites within national parks.

The contributions that have grown from the meetings between the elders and Jasper National Park officials are numerous. Foremost is the non-hierarchical consensualism that is maintained by the elders who meet with Parks officials. This group has managed to advance their perspective while continuing their traditional form of leadership. The lack of legal advisors on both sides lends credence to the respect and good will evident at meetings. Parks representatives, such as Ron Hooper have gained direct experience with the perspectives of elders and he extends respect to them. The

elders express their admiration for his abilities to work with them. Their relationship is based on trust among the personalities involved, rather than on government policies recognizing methods for dealing with groups who have ancestral sites within National park boundaries.

The possibilities extend to enhancing the visitor experience at Jasper National Park. Free trade and horse culture are the tenants of the historic hinterland experience and depictions of the local cultures such as the upper Athabasca Métis that embraced them, are lacking in messages visitors hear. The opportunity exists for visitors to experience a more intimate account of the culture that grew in the area. Aspects of Aboriginal migration, fur trade influence, hinterland economy and especially exposure to the available culture that exists in the contemporary period, make the recent connections between Jasper National Park and the Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park remarkable.

Political Prospects

This research holds value for the legal parameters of Métis rights, which were affirmed in the *Powley* decision. Much work is required to advance the perspectives of local Métis communities that do not fall into the single-culture paradigm of Métis put forth by political organizations such as the MNA. The limited communication between government officials and the Métis descendents of the upper Athabasca Valley between 1910 and 1921 reveal much for the study of Métis legal rights. Local histories such as in the upper Athabasca River Valley exist in unique legal conditions because they do not rely on provincial or national organizations. Theirs is similar to First Nation claims, as their history extends back to the tenure of Mountain Cree. Métis rights are an addition to the legal aspects of the upper Athabasca cultural matrix. The population of descendents,

in particular the elders, may opt to pursue legal claims. However, at this time they are concerned with promoting their continuance as independent people. They do not need a court to determine their autonomy.

The growing field of Métis studies has been fuelled recently with the *Powley* decision. Canada's recognition of Métis has entered the normative era with this legal ruling. As result, Alberta has signed a harvesting agreement with the Métis Nation of Alberta, yet identity still clouds the issue (Russell 2005). While many seek to expand and organize the vast numbers of Métis in the provinces, those resident in the Athabasca Valley have maintained their local rights since before confederation. In effect their identification as Métis peoples does not fit that often provided. They fall in an interesting place in relation to new legal parameters. Métis Studies then offers a point from which to examine this important issue of identity and culture. In particular, the incorporation of numerous Aboriginal peoples into the mix of Métis.

The boundaries between Status, Non-Status and Métis are blurred in my culture. Exacerbating this condition are the prescriptions for identification, which are the domain of outsiders who struggle with identities that are natural to the population in question. The fact that we fall outside contemporary definitions is an indication of our success in attempting to maintain independence over our identity and culture. We also see ourselves connected to an unbroken line of Métis ancestors.

The relationship between the Métis Nation of Alberta and the elders involved has undergone further erosion with this study. Attempts to represent and speak for descendents during the restoration of the Ewan Moberly site soured feeling toward the MNA. This came about due to a variety of reasons, most notably the authoritarian way in which leaders of the MNA were perceived. Local elders quickly recognized a cultural

divide that could not be overcome. The attempts to unify localized Métis cultures for political purposes are preferable for groups like the MNA, provincial and federal governments, and industry alike. Yet they ignore important aspects of local history for political purposes. I propose that Métis is an umbrella term that does not dilute local cultures and allows them to pursue rights and grievances within their local territories. Within this definition I have conducted my relationship with the descendants of the historic populations of the Athabasca Valley. The elders feel that any legal redress should not include the MNA as there are different histories and objectives and the MNA is not seen as representing the best interests of our culture.

The Aseniwuche Winewak Nation (AWN), has attempted to promote the legal claims of the population since 1994, but has failed to recruit a majority of elders to the cause. Their goal is to gain recognition as Status Indians, which appeals mostly to the younger people's wishes. This objective is a challenge for the younger generation, especially those who look to the elders for leadership. In a strange coincidence the legal claims of the AWN will be falsified as the oral history is revealed. The union of AWN and various governmental and corporate representatives does not create legitimacy among most elders and is seen as serving outside interests (Personal Communication, Council of Elders 2004). The strength of incorporating descendent academics, such as myself, for written communication has yet to be fully realized; however, this is bound to change as younger people begin to examine the narratives. This is where history, identity, culture and legal rights intersect. Their voice will have lasting effect as more people listen to their elders.

Final Thoughts

The significance of this research was revealed the moment the loose association of related elders decided to organize in a way that reflected their Métis heritage. The move to address larger issues by promoting their form of non-hierarchical, consensual agreement emanated from this understanding of leadership. Since they remained free from hierarchical authority, they had the option of animating their traditional forms of leadership. There is a direct challenge to recent attempts to speak for the Métis of the upper Athabasca. In all areas that relate to historic or contemporary discourse, the elders have positioned themselves to be the legitimate body speaking on behalf of the community. The incredible speed at which things have been accomplished over the first 18 months following the official creation of the Council of elders of the descendants of Jasper park in June 2004, has demonstrated their ability to represent their culture effectively. Like generations of old, the elders have taken it upon themselves to guide the continuously evolving and changing nature of Métis culture. This thesis is a reflection of our worldview and is an attempt to contribute to academic discourse while preserving something of value to our culture. Time will reveal its success.

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Personal Communication

Telephone Conversations with Mary Desjarlais (Grande Cache) and Lena Ouellet
(Hinton) February 15-16 2004.

Conversations with the Council of Elders of the Descendents of Jasper Park, Hinton
Grande Cache, Edson, Jasper May 2004-August 2005. They are, in
alphabetical order: Charlie Delorme, Gordon Delorme, Mary Desjarlais,
Alfred Findlay, Daniel Findlay, Gloria Findlay, Jim Findlay, Helen Hallock,
Louis Joachim, Frank MacDonald, Jane MacDonald, Adeline Moberly, Allen
Moberly, Emcie Moberly, Emile Moberly, Mike Moberly, Walter Moberly,
Lena Ouellet, Ida Pelletier, Jim Plante, and Garry Plante.

Appendices

Appendix A Elders' Letter to Parks Canada

July 12 2004

The Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park request that a meeting be arranged between the Métis elders who have identified themselves as leading the descendants of the Moberly, Findley, and Joachim families, Jasper National Park Superintendent Ron Hooper, other interested park officials, and Elders' Liaison Rick Ouellet. The main purpose of this meeting is for all interested parties to introduce themselves and get to know each other.

The Elders, who also welcome additional agenda items by park officials, have drawn up a short agenda.

1. Elder passes to Jasper National Park, including free camping and passes to Miette Hot Springs.
2. A Clarification from park officials of the policy allowing the retention of cultural practices within national park boundaries.
3. Discussion on the errors that the Elders have identified on the plaques at the Ewan Moberly site and ways they must be changed.
4. Yearly gathering at the Ewan Moberly site organized and controlled by the Elders council including a weekend family reunion of descendant families.
5. Reimbursement of gas, food and related costs incurred to attend regular meetings with park officials in the form of a standard honorarium given to the Elders who attend the meetings.

Copy on file

Appendix B Stéphan Dion Letter to Elders

Minister of the Environment



Ministre de l'Environnement

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0H3

MAR 22 2005

RECEIVED MAIL

Mr. Rick Ouellet
lenaouellet@telus.net

Dear Mr. Ouellet:

I am replying to your e-mail regarding the history of Métis families in the area of Jasper National Park of Canada, a copy of which was forwarded to me by the office of the Honourable Liza Frulla, Minister of Canadian Heritage and Minister responsible for the Status of Women.

Parks Canada Agency officials have informed me that the Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park met with representatives of Jasper National Park on December 16 and 17 of last year and that the discussion was very positive. I am pleased to learn that this meeting resulted in a commitment to work together to highlight Aboriginal cultural heritage in a way that respects the traditions and values of both the Métis and the Agency.

I wholly agree with Parks Canada officials that the Elders be involved in the development of the management plans for the five national historic sites located in the Park, and I trust that this is the beginning of a rewarding collaboration between the Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park and Jasper National Park.

Please accept my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Stéphane Dion

Appendix C 2004 Disinter Permit from Province of Alberta



Box 2023
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T5J 4W7

Telephone 780 427-7013

Rick Ouellet
Metis Elders & Transportation
Box 5148
Hinton, Alberta T7V 1X3

Date: Aug 16, 2004

Service Request (SR) #: 1689888-1

Pre-Registration #:

Your Reference Number:

Name of Deceased:	Tajarlais, None	Age:	100 Years
Date of Death:	January 1, 1905	Sex:	Male
Place of Death:	Grande Cache	Marital Status:	Unknown
Usual Residence:	Alberta		

Re: Disinter/Reinter Permit - Tajarlais

This is further to our correspondence regarding the above.

The enclosed permit is authorization to disinter/reinter the body of Mr. Tajarlais.

If you have any questions, call me toll free at 310-0000 and then dialing my direct line 441-2017.

R. Reicher
Alberta Registries
Vital Statistics



Disinter / Reinter Permit

Permission is hereby granted to disinter and reinter the remains of the deceased named below.

Deceased

Last Name (at time of death)

Tajarlais

Full Legal Given Name(s)

Male

Date of Death

1905

Disinterment

The remains of the deceased are presently buried at Grande Cache-Grande Prairie Highway, approximately 11 kilometers north of Grande Cache, Alberta.

Name of Cemetery

No Cemetery

City/Town/Village

Grande Cache, Alberta

Reinterment

The remains of the deceased will be reinterred at Victor Lake Cemetery

Name of Cemetery

Grande Cache, Alberta

City/Town/Village Province/Country

Given under my hand at Edmonton, in the Province
of Alberta, dated August 16th, 2004

X

Director, Vital Statistics



Note: A copy of this permit must be retained by the cemetery owner where the remains are to be disinterred.
the cemetery owner where the remains are to be reinterred.

REG 3255 (98/03)

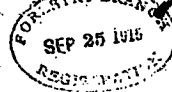
Appendix D

1912 Letter and Report on Eviction

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Forestry Branch

ATHABASCA FOREST RESERVE.

Moberley's
Grand Cache



86652

October 21st 1912.

I

Evan Moberley of Minton P.O. Alberta formerly a resident on the Athabasca River in what is now styled the Jasper Park opposite M. 99 CTF. Railroad grade, Rancher, hunter and trader. His stock comprises about 50 head of cayuses one black draught stallion and about 14 head of cattle. This summer he took in to Grand Cache a moving machine and horse on pack horses. He is reputed to have money as well in the bank. I have known him personally for the last four years and have always found him very honest, trustworthy and obliging.

His son Aldolphus Moberly, son-in-law Adam Joicheu have also settled in Grand Cache. They formerly had places in the Jasper Park as well. They both have bunches of cayuses and some cattle; and the former has a high class Percheron Stallion. Two other settlers are at Grand Cache namely Philip de l'Orme and Paulette. They both have small bunches of cayuses. Like most half-breeds they live principally by hunting, trapping and packing.

Adam Joicheu speaks, reads and write good English, Evan Moberly can only speak a little English, the other talk Cree.

II

Description of Trespass

Evan Moberly has erected four buildings namely, a dwelling house with rubberoid roof and whip-sawed lumber floor, a large store building, a cattle and horse barn and a small store-house. He has about 2 acres fenced in, which he cropped last summer (1912). As to the valuation of these and other structures at Grand Cache it is very hard to arrive at a satisfactory estimate as a great amount of the necessary materials such as rubberoid nails windows, etc. had to be brought in on pack-

horse from Hinton consequently the value of the structures are considerably higher than they would be in a more accessible spot. I do not know what Moberly and the others value their buildings at but my own valuation is about \$1200. on Moberly's place, his son has a dwelling house and small store-house which I value at \$700; his son-in-law, a dwelling house I value at \$600.

Paulette has two houses I value them at \$700. and Philip de L'Orme's house at \$300.

The settlement lies in Township 56⁴ Range 8, West of the 6th Meridian by reference to the sketch map the location of the various houses can be seen: the positions, however, are only approximate as the township is not subdivided and I did not run any lines myself.

"Grand Cache" is mostly open prairie with clumps of small poplars and willows: It is rolling and stands on a plateau above the Sulphur River and distant from the main Smoky River about 4 miles by trail: the aneroid reading is approximately 4800 feet. It is surrounded by hills which rise to about the level of timber line say 6500 to 7000 feet.

There is practically no timber of commercial value at Grand Cache Prairie or in the close vicinity.

The settlement by the aforementioned will be of a non-commercial nature, save for a little haymaking, gardening and raising a few pack-ponies; there will be no agricultural developments.

I do not consider their presence any detriment to the Forest Reserve whatever, rather an advantage as in their own interest the safe-guarding of fires, especially in the fall is very important: they do not put up any hay for their horses as they depend on the grass for their winter feed. There are only a few places where horses can winter to advantage in this section of country and in the event of the grass being burnt off in the fall it would mean the taking of the stock a very long distance to other winter quarters.

Also in the case of a large timber fire it would be of great assistance to a Ranger to know where he could depend on getting help if necessary.

III

Circumstances of Trespass

In 1909-10 the Government entered into negotiations with the Moberly's and others on the Athabaska River in order to acquire their places which were situated in what is now known as the Jasper Park. I think Mr. Maclean was Superintendent and carried through the agreement by which they each received a sum of money and a verbal permission was given to them to settle anywhere outside of the said Jasper Park limits. To the best of my knowledge, I think Mr. Thos. A. Groat of Edmonton and Hinton was present at the time of the settlement and he could probably give further particulars.

At the time Moberly and others (1911) moved to Grand Cache there was no posters, boundary stakes or other marks to show the Reserve lines and no wire Rangers to my knowledge except James Smith on the Athabaska River. This summer (1912) I travelled over the mountain and lower trails several times and only saw old fire notices south of the Hay River and no other indication of the Reserve boundary being defined in any way. Mr. Brown the present Supervisor visited my camp in August and then informed me that the 15th Base Line was the North boundary and that the East boundary was not yet completed. I informed the residents at Grand Cache accordingly. Mr. Brown visited Grand Cache but the Moberly's were away at the time.

IV. Recommendations : I do not think the Forest Reserve would suffer in any way from granting the aforementioned persons permits of settlement. In fact I think in their own interests they would guard against fire as much as possible and I strongly recommend that permission should be given them to remain.

Your obedient servant,
Sgd. J. Shand-Harvey
Forest Ranger

COPY .

573238 Forestry.

Department of the Interior.
Canada.

Ottawa, April 6th, 1910.

To His Excellency,
The Governor-General-in-Council,

The undersigned has the honour to report that an inspection which has been made of lands within Jasper Forest Park which was set apart and reserved for park purposes by an Order of Your Excellency in Council, dated the 14th September 1907, shows that there are some six persons who were located and cultivating lands within the Park prior to the reservation having been made. These persons have been located upon these lands for periods varying from fourteen years to three or four years, have built houses and stables, and made other valuable improvements and have brought considerable areas under cultivation. It is considered advisable, however, in order to provide for the proper protection of the game and the administration of the Park Reserve, that the Department should have full control of all lands therein and therefore the acting Superintendent of the Park was instructed to arrange for the removal of these squatters on the basis of giving them compensation for their improvements, and reasonable damage for removal.

A report has been received from the acting Superintendent that, on the basis mentioned,

these squatters would be entitled to the amounts herein-
after shown as compensation for their removal and that
they are prepared to vacate the premises and accept the
sums mentioned as payment in full for their rights. He
therefore recommends that payment be made to the said
squatters accordingly as shown in the following list,
upon their releasing their rights to the lands in
question and removing from the Reserve:-

<u>NAME.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION.</u>	<u>AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION.</u>
Evan Moberly	S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 17-Tp. 47-Rg. 1-W6th	\$1670.00
Wm. Moberly	S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 15-Tp. 46-Rg. 1-W6th	175.00
Adolphus Moberly		
	S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27-Tp. 46-Rg. 1-W6th	180.00
John Moberly	N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 23-Tp. 46-Rg. 1-W6th	1000.00
Isidore Finley	S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 26-Tp. 46-Rg. 1-W6th	800.00
Joachim Adam	N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 17-Tp. 47-Rg. 1-W6th	1200.00

The undersigned has the honour to
recommend that the report made by the acting Superintendent
be approved and that he be authorized to pay to the
persons mentioned in the said list from the appropriation
for Parks Reservations the amounts set opposite their
names, upon their releasing their right to the said lands
and removing from the Reserve.

Respectfully submitted,

Minister of the Interior.

Forestry Branch

Moberly's
Grande Cache

ATHABASKA FOREST RESERVE

October 21st 1912.

REPORT ON MISCELLANEOUS USE APPLICATION

I Applicants: Evan Moberly
Adolphus Moberly }
Adam Joichem } - Hinton P.O.
Paulette } Alberta
Philip de l'Orme }



86652

II Land Involved Grand Cache Prairie at present not subdivided but of T.O. 56; Rg. 8; W of 6th M. Application is for residential and grazing purposes. No prior claims are asserted to this land. The land in question is open with scattered Poplars and willows. Grande Cache Prairie proper consists of about 3000 acres of an open rolling nature

III Purpose of Application:

Residential and pasture for stock non-commercial. The permit if granted will not involve a monopoly.

IV Improvements: There are none prior to those made by the present applicants. Practically no further building timber will be required.

V Interests Involved

No apparent injury will be done to persons or Forest Reserve by granting this permit. Pasturing will have no detrimental effect on the timber.

VI Charge

The application being for a permit of non-commercial nature I consider no charge is necessary.

VII Recommendations:

The permit to be renewable annually and subject to strict observation of the Forest Reserve Regulations. As already stated in the Occupancy Trespass Report I cannot see any danger to the Forest Reserve interests by granting this permit.

Sgd. - J. Shand-Harvey
Forest Fire Ranger.

U.
Trespass
Moberly's
Grande Cache

Braseau Forest Headquarters,
via Bickerdike, Alta.

November 14, 1912.



Sir:-

Enclosed please find report by J. Shand-Harvey,
Forest Ranger on Occupancy Trespass at Grande Cache.

In Mr. Harvey's letter he said he would in-
struct Adam Joichem, the only one on the settlement who can
read and write English, to make application in writing to this
office for permit to remain at Grande Cache.

I would recommend that such a permit be grant-
ed.

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure

Sgd. R.M. Brown
Forest Supervisor.

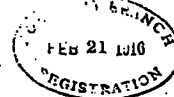
The District Inspector of Forest Reserves,
Department of the Interior,
Forestry Branch,
Calgary, Alberta.

Appendix E 1916 McFayden Letter

MEM.

Entrance, Alberta, January 15th 1916.

93373



Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 20th ult., asking that some definite recommendations be made relative to the breed settlement on the Reserve.

* For fear of any misconception I should say that these people while called "half breeds, are, except in the eyes of the law, to all intents and purposes, Indians. There is in all of them a little white blood but just enough to have them inherit the white man's vices and none of his virtues. These people are living an isolated nomadic life and the children growing up in absolute ignorance and as shiftless and irresponsible as their parents. So long as they are allowed to live under their present conditions no advancement is going to be made, they will never have anything of their own and will be a source of continual annoyance to the Forestry Branch. If the children were afforded an opportunity to attend school and be in constant touch with white people I can see no reason why they should not become as independent and thrifty as anyone. Merely given an education and then allowed to return to their nomadic life I do not believe will do any permanent good. The effect of a primary school education is lost in a short time unless they afterwards are continually associating with the white man.

These people for the most part derive a very comfortable income from the sale of furs, in fact make more

District Inspector of Forest Reserves,
Calgary, Alberta.

money than the average white man residing in this district. At the same time they are always, though poor judgement and lack of example, living under the hardest kind of conditions, poorly fed, poorly clothed and housed. The members of the settlement at Grande Cache are somewhat exceptional as in this case every member has sufficient equipment gathered around him to work a good sized farm. Had the same work been put on a homestead of their own, the members of this last settlement could have been living very comfortably. X

X While very indifferent and law abiding it is hard to explain to these people anything of the Forest Reserve Regulations and very little satisfaction can be had in the matter of collecting dues and permit fees. It appears that at the time they released their interests in Jasper Park that no very definite directions were given as to where they could settle and remain unmolested so that they now feel that they are being imposed on when asked to pay dues of any kind. The one chapter of the law that is disregarded entirely is that of the killing of game. The proper officials surely cannot realize the deplorable conditions that exist else they could be remedied. The present annual slaughter that is made by these people, in season and out, regardless of sex or age, is surely leading to the extermination of the sheep, goat, caribou, moose and deer in what is probably the finest big game country in the Dominion. It is really deplorable that a national asset as such a game country could be made is being destroyed by a few nonproducing residents. Given the proper protection and advertisement I have no doubt that this forest would yield as large and permanent a revenue from its game as from its timber resources. The only protection at present afforded to the whole district is one non-salaried game guardian residing at Hinton. It is only natural that a man receiving no remuneration cannot afford to spend the

necessary time to even attempt to enforce the laws.

In view of the foregoing and for the ultimate betterment of these people and the Forestry Branch interests I suggest that they be removed from the Reserve entirely. X
I would not attempt to make any pecuniary remuneration but would recommend that they all be given a quarter section of agricultural land in the Grande Prairie or Pouce Coupe districts. Such a grant should be non-assignable as otherwise it would be, in most cases, sold for the first offer, the proceeds squandered and the old life reverted to once more. The offer of this grant I would suggest should be held open only for a period of six months from the date of the first notice being given.

This procedure would afford each breed a chance to make an independent living and the children, being close to schools and raised where they could benefit by the observation of the white man's methods, would grow up to be thrifty and intelligent citizens.

Your obedient servant,

Sgd. C. MacKayden

Forest Supervisor.

Appendix F 1916 Short & Cross Letter

Short, Cross, Maclean, McJohn & Laidlaw
BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS, NOTARIES

8- *Edmonton, Alta.* December 30, 1916
CANADA

PLEASE REFER TO OUR FILE NO. 1- YOUR NO. 59578 Forestry

The Secretary,
Department of the Interior,
Ottawa.



Dear Sir, re Adam Joachim.

108537

Your letter of the 2nd September last herein has been handed to us with instructions to represent Mr. Joachim and the other members of the small colony in question.

This is a case that goes back to the ousting of these people from the Jasper Pass. When the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was given its right to carry its line of railway through this Pass, there were found in the Pass the Joberleys and some other allied family. By a show of force supplemented by ~~force~~ *artillery* and wheedling, these people were driven out of the land which they and their predecessors had held since the early Seventies or before. They were paid certain moneys by way of compensation for improvements which they were forced to abandon. Being descendant from the native aristocracy, they were easy marks, and the Government of the day wrought its will with them. But at that time, these peaceable citizens asked that they might have

another place of refuge out of the lands which had once belonged to their native ancestors in untrammelled freedom to which they might go and whereon they might re-erect their dwellings and live unmolested. The then Government representative, Mr. McGluggan, told them they might go to their present location freed from all fear of any future removal. It may be said that Mr. McGluggan had no authority so to say. He was, however, the instrument of the Government of that day; he it was whose activities drove them from their home and caused to be paid the trifling amount which they received in compensation for their homes; he, to them, was the Government, and in as much as he had authority to drive them out, they assumed that he had authority also to fix a place to which they might go, and in all conscience, the refuge which they sought, was far enough away from civilization to render them free from anxiety. It remains far enough away from civilization for that purpose. It is an outpost of human habitation, and will remain so for a long time to come, notwithstanding the very great anxiety of our people to cover the last foot of unexplored territory.

Under the circumstances, it seems to us that a very different attitude than that indicated by your letter is necessary to preserve even a vestige of the decency with which a Government is expected to act towards those who are, after all, really wards of the Government. We are not aware of whether these people are classed as Indians or Half Breeds. We are aware of the fact that they are native to the soil, partaking more of the Indian ancestry than of the white, and

deserve to be treated accordingly. It is upon the present Government to deal in a more honourable way than the Government that dealt with them some years ago, and although the Government view may not be favourable to that contention, they are of more use to-day where they are than almost any other place to which they could be removed.

We shall have no hesitation in opposing publicly and privately the callous brutality such as was handed to these people on the former occasion.

Yours truly,

SHORT & CROSS

per. 

Appendix G 1917 Ewan Moberly Letter

FROM EWAN MOBERLY,

Entrance P.O.

Alberta.

Dec 11 1917

To the Deputy Minister,
Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir,

We have recently been informed that complaints have been made against us by white men, and that Reports have been published by Forestry Officials accusing us of destroying the big game in the Grand Cache country. We have also received letters ordering us off the Forest Reserve before the first of March, and telling us that after that time all our buildings, stables, fences will be forfeited to the Forestry. We feel confident that things have been grossly misrepresented to the Government, and we wish you to know the truth, so that justice shall be done us.

We have lived all our lives in this section of Alberta, and quite a few of us had settled in what is now the Jasper Park. We were given to understand by Mr. McLaggan that if we removed out of this area, we should be allowed to settle and hold 160 acres any place we should select. We settled around Grand Cache in 1911. At that time there was no talk of the Forestry, and we put up our buildings, stables, corrals, fences etc in good faith, expecting to make this our permanent homes. The next year a man named Harvey came, and put up notices that we should be careful about fires. Since then we have heard rumours of us having to leave, and last Fall we received a letter from the Secretary of the Department of the Interior. Now winter is a poor time to order us off, and we feel that if we are again compelled to move it would only be fair that we should be compensated for our lands and improvements put up by us in good faith, on the strength of advice given us by a Government official.

Now as regards this cry of extermination, we wish to state that we never intended to be forced to

bones and flesh, but that we see white men come in our country: some kill game and take only the heads leaving the balance for the coyotes, while others shoot moose and cariboo, and only utilize part of the meat, the balance being left to rot. In this respect we wish to state, that years ago there were a lot more people who lived in this country and made their living only by hunting and trapping. Now owing to the bad roads and the distance (Edmonton being our nearest store) we lived almost entirely on meat, and the game certainly was not exterminated when the white men came in. We should suggest that you ask these people of the Forestry how it is, that if this promiscuous slaughter of game is going on, not one of them has ever prosecuted us, or got any proof except ^{or} hearsay of this. It is easy for them to accuse us of doing wrong, but if they speak true and it is their duty to stop it, why don't they do it?

We also have been forbidden to use nets to catch white fish, and we have been charged One Dollar to fish with a hook and line. Now in all other places we are allowed to catch fish for our own use, so that we can feed our people.

It is also stated that we keep big bunches of dogs. At the Grand-Cache settlement, where there are 9 families we have only 12 dogs: 3 of these are pups, and we use the others for packing and trailing lynx when they get away with our snares.

To conclude we are law abiding citizens: crime is unknown amongst us. Outside of a little grazing, the country is only fit for trapping and hunting. There is no timber of any commercial value near Grand Cache or any agricultural land, and we are all making an honest living interfering with no one.

If driven out of here, with improvements which we put up at the cost of considerable labour and expense confiscated, we do not know where to go or what to do, to make a living for our people.

We only ask for justice which we are not getting from the Forestry people, and hope that you will see fit to send some good man that will speak straight and tell you the truth,

bones and flesh, but that we see white men come in our country:
some kill game and take only the heads leaving the balance for
the coyotes, while others shoot moose and cariboo, and only

and that then you will tell us what to do.

Awaiting your decision,

We remain,

Your humble servant

Evan Moberly representing

Adam Joachim, wife, 8 children.
James Ouniandi " 5 "
Wassar Ouniandi, 2 daughters, e grand children.
Joe McDonald, mother, 2 children.
Abraham Gauthier, wife, 2 "
Paul Gauthier " 3 "
Edwin Joachim "
Isaac Plant "
Albert Gauthier " 4 children.
Martin Joachim, " 5 "
Jonnie Moyez "
Julia Gauthier
Abraham Plant, wife, 5 children.
Felix Plant,
Felix Bellecourt, " 2 children.
Daniel Ouniandi, " 2 "
Evan Moberly " 5 "
Dolphus Moberly " 2 "
William Moberly, " 1 child
Philippe Delorme, " 1 "
Peter Delorme "
→ Paulet Joachim, " 2 children
Joseph Agnis, " 9 "
Little bear "
Samuel Toplais " 1 child.
David Carconti " 9 children.
Peter Carconti "
Henry Kenney " 8 "
Soloman Carconti " 5 "
Dejetick Ouniandi 2 grown daughters.
Susanne Joachim,
Louis Carconti.

Appendix H 1920 Dolphus Moberly Letter

COPY

C/ALBANY
Agricultural
Moberly Family

Entrance, October 14, 1920.

To the Secretary,
Department of the Interior,
O t t a w a .

Sir,

Would like to know if we could get grant of the land at Grand Cache. It is in the forest reserve but we were there before there were any natives. We moved out the Park before, but we were told that we could go any place we like, and after we left then we got behind with everything, as it cost us a whole lot to move our stuff, and if we do move out this place we will be all broke. If we can't get grant of the land would like to get some good land and get our patent right away, and would like to get something for our improvements, as we got no money. If we leave that country we won't have anything. Would like to get an answer, would like to know as we can't find out anything out here. That's the only country we like to be.

I am,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) Dolphus Moberly,

Entrance, Alberta.

Appendix I 1921 Badgley Letter

ENTRANCE, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
FORESTRY BRANCH
ROCKY MOUNTAINS FOREST RESERVE
OFFICE OF ATHABASKA FOREST

39578 Forestry
FILE DESIGNATION
C-Athabaska
Agriculture
Moberley Family

Entrance, Alberta, January 28th 1921

(12)

BRANCH
JAN 29 1921

Keep
+ have no more records

175956

FORESTRY BRANCH
JAN 1 1921
REGISTRATION

Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your copy of a letter to Dolphus Moberley of Entrance under date of the 21st ult. in which you acknowledge receipt of his letter of the 16th of November.

Your letter of the 21st ult outlines that he has misunderstood the meaning of your letter of the 4th of November to him in reply to his letter asking for a grant of land in the Grande Cache District of the Athabaska Forest Reserve.

Dolphus Moberley is an illiterate and unable to read or write even his own name and consequently some other person translated it and deliberately misinformed him as to the true contents of the letter and also wrote the letter in reply with a view of blocking the movement on foot to get the breeds located on land outside the reserve and as a result the Moberley family have taken out more agricultural machinery to Grande Cache with a view of staying there, every effort on the part of the Forestry Branch to get rid of the Grande Cache trespass including the breeds and Fred Kavass has been secretly

The Director of Forest Reserves,

Ottawa.

and systematically blocked and successfully with the exception of Kavass who we were obliged to take into the courts before we finally got rid of him, I am now of the impression that the whole opposition to the efforts of the Forestry Branch originates in the Entrance District and possibly assisted by some outside influences they may bring to bear.

Dolphus Moberley is a son of old Avan Moberley who died a couple of years ago, and is appointed the Big Okahama by his band, he called at the Forestry office last fall and stated that they were anxious to locate on land outside the reserve and requested me to ask the Forestry Branch to assist them in finding suitable lands to locate on, evidently before he left Entrance some one got wise as to his business and set to work to undo his good intentions and wrote a letter requesting the land at Grande Cache and when the reply came they told him the letter stated it was alright to locate where they were the Government were going to give them the land.

There is just one legitimate businesslike way of getting rid of the trespass and that is first, to have the act passed this coming session of parliament including the territory north of the 15th base line in the Athabaska Forest, a few of the breeds are located north of that line, and secondly, issuing instructions to the Athabaska Forest officials to seize them by the necks and land them outside the reserve and let them shift for themselves, that is the only way they can be made to realize that the Seat of the Government is at Ottawa instead of Entrance.

I would be pleased if you would loan me the original letters from Dolphus Moberley with a view of identifying the author for our private information.

Your obedient servant,
W.W. Badgley
FOREST SUPERVISOR.

Appendix J 1921 Department of Interior Letter

ADDRESS REPLY TO
DISTRICT INSPECTOR OF
FORESTY
CALGARY, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

FORESTRY BRANCH

DISTRICT INSPECTOR FOR ALBERTA

H. O. FILE NUMBER

FILE DESIGNATION

G. Athabasca
Agricultural
Moberley Family

Calgary, Alberta, March 28th 1921.

178964



*Mr. Forestry
Mr. Moberley
Mr. Moberley to get the suit
our best money, and then
his letter to*

*Mrs
4/1/21*

I have your letter of the 21st instant file 39578 regarding the status of the Moberley case and regret to report that there have been no recent developments. The reason seems to be that the half-breeds have been advised not to move unless paid to do so. The result is that these people are simply waiting to see what we will do. It is out of the question to propose any form of settlement wherein payments will be made to them. This being the case there are only two courses open to us as I see it. We can either forcibly remove the halfbreeds from the Reserve or we can refrain from drastic action but crowd them so badly that they will choose to move. The latter course seems to be the most practicable. The first thing to do is to get the territory north of the 15th base line included in the Reserve. This is most important. The second is to build a cabin at Grande Cache and keep a Ranger there summer and winter to watch every move the halfbreeds take. If we get the right sort of man for the position I think we can make life so unpleasant for them that they will be glad to move out.

Your obedient servant,

E. H. Moberley

District Forest Inspector.

The Director of Forestry,
Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Canada.

Appendix K 1922 Palmer Report

Ref. 591,581 on 573,238 T. G. & I.

CERTIFIED Copy of a Report of the Committee of the
Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the
Governor General on the 13th April, 1910.

P. C. No 668.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the
Minister of the Interior, advise that compensation for improvements, and
damage for removal, as follows, be paid to six persons who were located and
cultivating lands within the Jasper Forest Park prior to the said Park having
been reserved, upon their releasing their rights to the lands in question and
removing from the reserve.

Name.	Description.	Amount of Compensation.
Evan Moberly.....S.W.	¼ Sec. 17, Tp. 47, Rg. 1, W. 6th, \$1,670 00	
Wm. Moberly.....S.E.	¼ " 15, " 46, " 1, " 175 00	
Adolphus Moberly.S.E.	¼ " 27, " 46, " 1, " 180 00	
John Moberly.....N.W.	¼ " 23, " 46, " 1, " 1,000 00	
Isidore Finley.....S.E.	¼ " 26, " 46, " 1, " 800 00	
Joachim Adam.....N.E.	¼ " 17, " 47, " 1, " 1,200 00	

This action is taken upon the report of the Acting Superintendent of the
Reserve.

(Signed) RODOLPHE BOUDKEAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

To the Honourable
The Minister of the Interior.

COPY

O. Athabasca
Agricultural
Moberley Family.



January 28th 1922.

197930

Sir:-

As arranged I interviewed His Grace, Archbishop O'Leary, who gave me a letter of introduction to the parish Priest, Father Beaudrey, and on Monday, January 23rd, he, acting at the request of the Archbishop met me. I may say that the church is more or less willing that these people be moved to where they can get schools, religious teaching, but title to the land is a question they are not clear about, and Father Beaudrey would not move in the matter unless the Hon. Charles Cross is consulted, so I called on this gentleman and got his views which are as follows:-

1. He has pledged himself to support them, (the Moberley family) if they don't want to move.
2. There is a letter from Sir George Foster, acting Prime Minister, saying that their rights would be protected. (Copy of this letter will be forwarded in a few days.)
3. Contends they are doing no harm
4. Thinks they may get title to land there.
5. Is doubtful if the Moberley family were compensated for the move from Jasper Park.

In view of these objections may I suggest for your consideration the following:

1. Proof that the Moberley family were compensated for the move from Jasper Park.
2. Get definite instructions from the present Minister of the Interior to effect the removal, after bringing before him the objections of the Hon. Chas. Cross.
3. Get definite instructions from the Minister of the Interior regarding title to land in the Athabasca Forest Reserve.
4. Face the question of possible compensation for the Moberleys only, and get both the Minister and Director to definitely recognize this because the Moberleys after leaving the Park were told, or they think they were told, that they could settle on any unoccupied land, and at that time the Athabasca Forest Reserve was only proposed. Father Beaudrey thinks they acted in good faith regarding the taking up land at Grand Usche at that time.

Trusting I may have helped the situation.

Your obedient servant,
Sgd. R.H. Palmer
District Fire Ranger.

The District Forest Inspector,
Calgary, Alberta.