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NEIGHBOURS AND NETWORKS: THE BLOOD TRIBE IN THE SOUTHERN ALBERTA ECONOMY, 1884–1939
by W. Keith Regular

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Notes

CHAPTER 1


5 The attempts to re-educate Natives in White-run schools are among the most painful remembered experiences of Indians. Linda Pelly-Landrie, “First Nations Cultures, Now and in the Future,” in Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey’s Inland Country of Good Report, ed. Henry Epp (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1993), 178. On a negative view of the education system as it was and is for Indians, see Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm, “We Belong to this Land: A View of ‘Cultural Difference,’” Journal of Canadian Studies 31, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 24–25; Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum, 1989), 76–79. See also the reminiscence in Basil H. Johnston, Indian School Days (Toronto: Key Porter, 1988). For the efforts to stamp out plains Indian religious practices, see Katherine Pettipas, Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994); especially chaps. 4 and 5. Similarly, see Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, An Iron Hand upon the People: The Law against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), chap. 6.

6 George Manuel and Michael Posluns, “The Fourth World in Canada,” in Two Nations,


11 Stanley, Birth, 219.

12 For an American example, see Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 32.


14 Buckley, From Wooden Ploughs, 7.


18 Goldfrank, Changing Configurations, 33.


22 Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 27.


31 Walter Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford: Constructed Visions of an Anglo–Canadian West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994), 60.


38 In a telling comment, Fred White, NWMP Comptroller, wrote ‘Townsperson
encourage the redman when he has money to spend, and it frequently happens that settlers are glad to have an Indian family or two camped near them so that they may get the benefits of their labour; and unfortunately, white men have on more than one occasion taken up the defense of the Indians and their legal right to be off their Reserves if they behave themselves.”

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 18, vol. 218, file 469, Fred White to Mr. [James] Smart, August 30, 1901.


40 Richard White, as cited in Robbins, Colony and Empire, 49.


54 John Herd Thompson, Forging the Prairie West (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 69.


57 Peter Carstens, The Queen’s People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 103.

58 Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, xvii.

59 The Bloods claim a larger number of 3,542. Lethbridge Herald, March 26, 1994, A5. The government’s figure is down from the 2,892 that were paid annuities in 1881. NAC, RG 10, vol. 1549, 4, Indian Agent to E. Dewdney, August 29, 1881.
The low is achieved by comparing the Bloods’ 1924 population of 1,158 with the total of Cardston, Fort Macleod, and Raymond for the 1926 census. The Blood population for 1926 is not available.


Paul Voisey points out that in the decade between 1881 and 1891 population increase for all of the prairies was only 118,000 with the majority of this growth in southern Manitoba. Paul Voisey, “The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871–1916,” *Histoire Sociale–Social History* 8 (1975): 82.


Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council, Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, and Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and

75 Indian Act and Amendments, 33.


77 Dempsey, Gentle Persuader, 32–33.

78 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 117, James Wilson to Amos Rae, April 28, 1894; 126–28, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, May 7, 1894; 199–200, James Wilson to A. McNab, June 5, 1894.

79 John D. Higinbotham, When the West Was Young (Lethbridge: The Herald Printers, 1978), 188, 264–65. Also see, for example, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3577, file 421, L. Vankoughnet to E. Dewdney, June 14, 1883.

80 Voisey, Vulcan, 33 and 128.


86 Cardston Record, August 6, 1898, 1.

87 House of Commons Debates, vol. 1, 1909, col. 1005. Lethbridge’s population in 1901 was 2,072. Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, 305.

88 Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, 81–82.


90 Town of Raymond, Settlers, Sugar and Stampedes: Raymond Remembered (Raymond: Town of Raymond, 1993), 4–37.


92 Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, 82.


94 Warren N. Elofson, Cowboys, Gentlemen, and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000); Warren N. Elofson, Western Cattle Ranching in the Land


99 Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, 55–60; Ray and Freeman, 'Give Us Good Measure,' 45.


102 Bastien, Blackfoot Ways of Knowing, 16–17.


107 Dickason, Canada's First Nations, 171–73.

108 Dickason, Canada's First Nations, 174.


110 Zuyderhoudt, “Accounts of the Past,” 171.


114 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7, 315–16.

115 Maureen K. Lux, Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880–1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 10–12; Alex Johnson, Plants and the Blackfoot (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Historical Society, 1987), 25.


120 Powell, A History of the Canadian Dollar.
CHAPTER 2

1 For a detailed discussion of these developments, see A.A. den Otter, “Adapting the Environment: Ranching, Irrigation, and Dry Land Farming in Southern Alberta, 1880–1914,” Great Plains Quarterly 6 (Summer 1986): 171–89.


11 The major lease holders for the prairies were given as: D. McEachran, 16,391 acres; Cochran, 73,000, 60,000, and 33,000; New Oxley Canada Ranch Co., 80,000, 62,934, 7,000, 100,000, Waldron Ranch Co. 100,000. Macleod Gazette, April 28, 1893.


15 Glenbow Archives (GA), file 2, Diary of W.F. Cochrane, Cochrane Ranch, entries for January 20, 22, and 23, 1885. Informal for the Cochrane Ranch as there is no indication of written agreement. The Bloods, however, likely considered the agreement legal and binding.


21 GA, File 2, Cochrane Ranch Letterbook, W.F. Cochrane to J.M. Browning, February 15, 1885; Diary of W.F. Cochrane, Cochrane Ranch, entry for January 21, 25 and 27; Cochrane Ranch Letterbook, W.F. Cochrane to J.M. Browning, February 7, 1885.

22 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 444–46, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, February 18, 1890.

23 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 406, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, August 3, 1891; 643, Indian Agent to Manager, Cochrane Ranch Co., December 30, 1891.

24 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 380, W. Pocklington to Maunsell Bros., July 23, 1891; 381, W. Pocklington to James McNab, July 23, 1891; 382–90, W. Pocklington to Browning Brothers, July 23, 1891; 449–51, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, August 31, 1891.


28 LAC, RG 10, vol. 3894, file 97,443, Hayter Reed to T. Mayne Dayly, January 6, 1893. MacInnes says that the Indians
killed cattle in protest because they strayed onto the reserves. I found no evidence that this was the case with the Bloods. C.M. MacInnes, *In the Shadow of the Rockies* (London: Rivingtons, 1930), 163. On trespass, see also: LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 502–3, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, September 18, 1894; 549, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, October 9, 1894; Vic Satzewich, “‘Where’s the Beef?: Cattle Killing, Rations Policy and First Nations ‘Criminality’ in Southern Alberta, 1892–1895,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9, no. 2 (June 1996): 201–3.


30 *Macleod Gazette*, March 24, 1893; Macleod and Rollason, “Restrain the Lawless Savages?,” 10; F. Laurie Barron argues that the pass system had its origins in Hayter Reed’s desire to curb the movements of the Natives. If so, he struck on a policy that many in the ranching community agreed with. F. Laurie Barron, “The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882–1935,” *Prairie Forum* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 27–29.


33 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 948–54, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, June 10, 1895.


38 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1561, 527–31, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, March 10, 1896; LAC, RG 10, vol. 1562, 316, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, February 24, 1897. Wilson may have, in part, been responsible for this situation with the Mormons as a result of a non-verbal agreement reached with them in February of the previous year when, after a meeting with C.O. Card and a committee, he agreed to “be as lenient as his superiors would let him” and agreed to accept fifty cents per head per annum for grazing. D.G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years 1886–1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 329; LAC, RG 10, vol. 1572, 480–81, James Wilson to Sterling Williams, April 27, 1897. C.O. Card wrote Wilson regarding the matter but the nature of the response is unknown. Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 405.

39 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1562, 387–89, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, March 17, 1897. Wilson did not indicate how he planned to determine who could and could not afford to pay.

40 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1572, 480–81, James Wilson to Sterling Williams, April 27, 1897. C.O. Card wrote Wilson regarding the matter but the nature of the response is

41 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1562, 332–33, James Wilson to [?], Kipp, Alberta, March 2, 1897; 335 – 337, James Wilson to Mr. Smith, March 2, 1897; James Wilson to Mr. Whitney, March 2, 1897; 493, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, April 30, 1897; 379, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, March 15, 1897. See also vol. 1562, 482.

42 For particulars, see: LAC, RG 10, vol. 1563, 29, Indian Agent to H.R. Springett, May 12, 1897; 30, Indian Agent to Glen-garry Ranche, May 12, 1897. See letters from agent to various companies in RG 10, vol. 1563, 31–34. The quality of the microfilm reproduction makes it difficult to read the names.


44 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1563, 168, James Wilson to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 19, 1897; 169, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, July 19, 1897.

45 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1563, 210–13, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, August 10, 1897. For a similar case, also see: 257–58, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, September 4, 1897; vol. 1564, 187–88, James Wilson to Messers Maunsell and Browning, December 27, 1898. See also pp. 197–98, James Wilson to E.A. Maunsell, January 13, 1899. On the inability to collect dues, see 193, Statement of Account with Alex McNab; 343, James Wilson to C.O. Card, June 20, 1899.

46 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1563, 371–74, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, October 26, 1897. See, for example, 408–10, James Wilson to R. Urch[?], November 10, 1897; James Wilson to Alexander McNabb, November 10, 1897; James Wilson to John [?], November 10, 1897.


50 den Otter, “Adapting the Environment,” 175, 178.

51 den Otter, “Adapting the Environment,” 182.


Carlyle et al., “Peopling the Prairies,” Plate 17.


*L. C. Record*, August 13, 1898, 1.

Evans, “Grazing the Grasslands,” 74.


On December 24, 1898, Wilson wrote to R. Fuller of Browning, Montana, about the possibility of Indian Department cattle or Blood Indian cattle that may have strayed across the border. In fairness, however, references of this kind were exceedingly rare in the DIA files. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 98, James Wilson to R. Fuller, December 24, 1898, 184, James Wilson to Jack Miller, December 23, 1898.

That this was expected to be the case was recognized by the pre-emption clauses, though later rescinded, of the Dominion Lands Act. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands*, 22–27. Voisey, *Vulcan*, 128, 33–52. Lyle Dick also noted the trend towards enlargement in his study of the Abernethy District of Saskatchewan. Lyle Dick, “Factors Affecting Prairie Settlement: A Case Study of Abernethy, Saskatchewan, in the 1880s,” *Canadian Historical Association* (Historical Papers, 1985), 23–24.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 3992, file 185,143, [Frank Oliver] to James Smart, June 3, 1899; J.D. McLean to James Wilson, June 7, 1899.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 3992, file 185,143, James Wilson to Secretary, Dept. of Indian Affairs, June 7, 1889; Memorandum signed by Law Clerk Reginald Rimmer, June 28, 1899.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1723, 364–65, James Wilson to James P. Low, April 10, 1900; 370–73, James Wilson to James P. Low, April 23, 1900; 371, James Wilson to James P. Low, April 23, 1900; RG 18, vol. 1546, file 76, D. Laird to Col. Herchmer, December 15, 1899.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1535, 247. Unsigned and undated handwritten account, likely by James Wilson, of cattle on reserve.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1721, 273, J. Wilson to Post Master, Spring Coulee, December 12, 1902; 275, J. Wilson to Post Master, Magrath, December 12, 1902; RG 10, vol. 1725, 8–9, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, February 24, 1903; 30–33, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, March 11, 1903. For more correspondence on these problems, see 387, James Wilson to Robert Patterson, February 28, 1903; 402, James Wilson to Alberta Ranch Co. Pincher Creek, March 12, 1903; RG 10, vol. 1721, 415–17, J. Wilson to H.S. Allen, March 21, 1903; 311, J. Wilson to [?], Cardston, January 19, 1903;
LAC, RG 10, vol. 1721, 350, J. Wilson to Al. Whitney, February 12, 1903; 11–14, Indian Agent to Messers Wallace and Co., April 8, 1902; Indian Agent to H. Williams, April 8, 1902; Indian Agent to W.B. Whitney, April 8, 1902; Indian Agent to R. Urch, April 8, 1902.

Dempsey counts 2,000 head of cattle by 1900. Dempsey, Red Crow, 201. Agent James Wilson reported that the Bloods had 3,000 horses in 1902. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1724, 497, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, April 3, 1902. On theft, see RG 10, vol. 1725, 8–9, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, February 24, 1903. On horses and cattle for this period, see Goldfrank, Social Organization, 23–25.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1725, 30–33, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, March 11, 1903.


LAC, RG. 10, vol. 3571, file 130, pt. 19, J.D. McLean to J.A.J. McKenna, July 18, 1904; J.A.J. McKenna to Secretary, DIA, July 22, 1904; Frank Pedley to Assistant Indian Commissioner, July 27, 1904.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1725, 99–104, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, April 22, 1903; vol. 3571, file 130, pt. 19, J.A.J. McKenna to Secretary, DIA, September 7, 1904.

J.A.J. McKenna hinted that Chief Crop Eared Wolf was bribed to consent to the lease. LAC, RG. 10, vol. 3571, file 130, pt. 19, J.A.J. McKenna to Superintendent General, January 5, 1904. For machinations involved in granting the lease, see Dempsey, Gentle Persuader, 26; LAC, RG. 10, vol. 3571, file 130, pt. 19, R.N. Wilson to J.A.J. McKenna, March 25, 1904.

LAC, RG. 10, vol. 1722, 279–81, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, August 4, 1904. It appears that the reserve may have been overstocked. Taylor says that because of the large numbers "that almost the entire reserve was needed for pasture." Taylor, Standing Alone, 62.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1725,103, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, April 22, 1903; 105, a listing of owners of cattle grazing on Blood Reserve 670, Indian Agent to Indian Commissioner, May 19, 1904.

Rancher E.F. Hagell makes several references to apparently intentional and illegal trespass of stock on the Blood reserve. E.F. Hagell, When the Grass Was Free (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), 13–14, 64, 74–77. Even if we conclude that with the arrival of McEwan cattle other stock would have been removed from the reserve, the reserve would still be overgrazed if McEwan stocked the reserve to the lease limit of 7,000 and the Bloods still retained their complement of 6,000. The reserve would then be overstocked by 23 per cent.

Rocky Mountain Echo, August 29, 1905.

Lupton, Cattle Ranching 3 (1967): 57.


Rocky Mountain Echo, May 1906.

90 Rocky Mountain Echo, May 1906.


92 The Rev. Martin Holdom noted that in the area of Castor, Alberta, in 1910, the farmers were ruined by an early drought and in 1911 by early frost. The lesson to farmers, he said was clear; engage in mixed farming, grow an early variety of grain and do not borrow against the crop. Voisey, A Preacher’s Frontier, 114–15; Max Foran, Trails and Trials: Markets and Land Use in Alberta Beef Cattle Industry 1881–1948 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 9, 50–52.

93 Macleod Spectator, November 5, 1912, 3.

94 Macleod Advertiser, May 29, 1913, 1.

95 Macleod Spectator, June 4, 1912, 7.

96 Cardston Globe, May 8, 1914, 1.

97 See, for example, Long, The Great Canadian Range, 4. In 1902 the company ran 30,000 head of cattle and was considered a giant in the cattle industry. Ed Gould, Ranching in Western Canada (Saanichton, BC: Hancock House, 1978), 103–4; Dempsey, Tom Three Persons, 67.

98 Macleod Advertiser, June 6, 1912, 1. Success in alienating reserve land “would mean the breaking of the restrictive bond which has hampered the development of the district to the south and east for so long.” May 29, 1913, 4.

99 Macleod Advertiser, June 6, 1912, 1. The Cardston Globe echoed these sentiments by reprinting the same article. The Cardston Globe, June 13, 1912, 1.

100 Macleod Spectator, June 4, 1912, 7. For more on this debate, see: Macleod Spectator, October 1, 1912, 6; October 8, 1912, 7; October 29, 1912, 4, 7; November 5, 1912, 3; December 31, 1912, 4; January 7, 1913, 4; January 14, 1913, 7; January 21, 1913, 1.

101 Macleod Spectator, November 19, 1912, 1. On this idea, see Macleod Advertiser, June 5, 1913, 7.

102 Macleod Advertiser, July 3, 1913, 7. See also the Family Herald, July 2, 1913.

103 Macleod Advertiser, July 3, 1913, 7. If this was the case by 1915 Roche had changed his mind and was more inclined to follow the wishes of the Bloods in this matter. House of Commons Debates, March 22, 1915, 1323–1324.

104 GA, Blood Indian Agency Correspondence (BIAC), file 62, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, June 13, 1913. The Cardston application was rejected in part because of the continued trespass and destruction of the reserve fence. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 43, Indian Agent to the Secretary, DIA, July 10, 1913; BIAC, GA, file 62, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, June 25, 1913. The Bloods also blamed Cardston residents for the deaths of Single Rider and his wife, who died after drinking Florida Water purchased at Cardston, though no conviction was made. The agent reported that “the Indians imagine that … it is a job on the Mormons’ part to poison them all off to get the Reserve.” On trespass, see: GA, BIAC, file 62 Indian Agent to W. Caldwell, November 13, 1913; Indian Agent to W. Blackmore, November 13, 1913.

105 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 43, Indian Agent to the Secretary, DIA, July 10, 1913. Emphasis added. There was some discussion on whether the rental should be $2.50 or $3.00 per head. GA, BIAC, file 62, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, June 13, 1913.

106 The Globe expressed the belief that big business interests, specifically meat packing plants in Winnipeg, were influencing Minister of the Interior, William J. Roche. See Cardston Globe, September 5, 1913, 1.

Cardston Globe, August 21, 1920, 4.

A hair brand singes the outer hairs for temporary identification of stock. When the hair grows back the brand is gone. It was generally used on cattle drives when owners wanted to temporarily identify animals. This information was provided by Hank Pallister and passed along by Douglas E. Cass, Senior Archivist, Glenbow.


123 Macleod Times, April 20, 1922, 3. The roundup of strays continued on practically a yearly basis. See: Macleod Times, July 13, 1922, 7; June 28, 1923, 1; July 21, 1927, 3; June 14, 1928, 1; Cardston News, June 14, 1928, 6. The July roundup for 1927 netted approximately 580 animals. Cardston News, July 14, 1927, 2 &c 7. For 1929, see the Cardston News, June 27, 1929, 2; July 4, 1929, 5.

124 GA, CFP, file 952, Report to R.H. Campbell, Director of Forestry, Department of the Interior, October 24, 1922; CFP, file 895, has substantial correspondence on the shortage of feed for cattle during this period.


128 John Leonard Taylor, Canadian Indian Policy during the Inter-War Years, 1918–1939

130 *Macleod Times*, March 8, 1923, 3. The Times saw a glimmer of hope in a federal government decision to “grant grazing leases of vacant Dominion lands unfit for agricultural purposes in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and which are encumbered by seed grain and relief indebtedness.” *Macleod Times*, March 22, 1923, 1. Indian farmer James Gladstone quit his efforts in 1923 when for three years running cattle from nearby ranches invaded his fields and ruined his crops. Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader*, 67. On the competition for limited space, see David C. Jones, “We’ll all be buried down here”: The Prairie Dryland Disaster, 1917–1926 (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1986), 13–15, 90.


132 Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 16–19.


134 Dawson, “‘Better Than a Few Squirrels’,” 16.


141 Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 22; Dawson, “‘Better Than a Few Squirrels,’” 18–19.

142 Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 25.


144 Dawson, “‘Better Than a Few Squirrels’,” 18.

145 To my knowledge there are no records or minutes of this convention extant. *Lethbridge Herald*, November 13, 14, 15, 1924 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,107; Mike Mountain Horse to J.T. Faunt, November 22, 1924; *Calgary Herald*, November 14, 1924, in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,107; Yale Belanger, “‘An all round Indian affair’: The Native Gatherings at Macleod, 1924 & 1925,” *Alberta History* (06/22) 2005.

146 GA, George Gibson Coote Papers, 1907–1956 (GGCP), file 137, J.T. Faunt to Duncan C. Scott, May 31, 1923. McLean also had a lease on the Peigan Reserve and was said to be of the opinion that the Indians consent to a lease was not necessary. Coote charged that McLean got the Peigan lease for the “ridiculously low” price of six cents per acre for ten years, while at the same time some lease land brought thirty cents per acre. McLean politically well-connected was described by Coote as “a member of the late Stewart administration.” GA, GGCP, file 137, G.G. Coote to the [Lethbridge?] Herald, n.d. (circa 1924); J.C. Caldwell to Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, April 17, 1924. See also: *Lethbridge Herald*, November 14, 1924; *Calgary Herald*, November 15, 1924, in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600, 107.
LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,107, A.F. Grady to C. Stewart, November 18, 1924; C. Stewart to A.G. Grady, November 24, 1924; Joseph Mountain Horse to Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, February 7, 1925.


Jones, *Empire of Dust*, 220.

M. Christianson to Secretary, DIA, May 29, 1933; Harold W. McGill, June, 1933; A.F. MacKenzie to M. Christianson, June 17, 1933. See itemized statement in LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1) Arrears totalled $3,353.56. The total lease amount was for $4,973.28 so payments were 67 per cent in arrears. On the inherent confusion, see: M. Christianson to J.E. Pugh, February 28, 19[33]; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, March 4, 1933.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), M. Christianson to Harold W. McGill, November 13, 1933; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, November 14, 1933. At this time there were twelve separate applications for grazing leases in the area.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, November 14, 1933; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, November 14, 1933.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), M. Christianson to J.E. Pugh, November 16, 1933; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, November 14, 1933.


Perhaps the best illustration of this is the difficulty collecting lease rents. LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, October 24, 1933.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to W.T. McCaugherty, November 12, 1935. The matter was further complicated by the fact that some Bloods were pressing for 600 acres to be withdrawn from the lease, although they had not been living on the leased portion of the land when the lease had been granted. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, November 22, 1935; W.T. McCaugherty to J.E. Pugh, November 20, 1935.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, January 13, 1936.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, January 13, 1936. The problems here, in part, stem from a lease transfer. This original lease had been with the now-defunct Cardston Grazing Co. and had stipulated that “The leasing of the above land will not interfere with the rights of the Indians at present residing within the limits of the proposed lease, nor will it interfere with the going to and from of the Indians of the reserve.” For similar problems, see: J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, June 24, 1937; J.E. Pugh to Messers. Smith & Kearl, July 14, 1937. See also: J.E. Pugh to Secretary DIA, May 16, 1938; J.E. Pugh to Secretary DIA, July 14, 1937.

A similar situation, also in 1935, occurred when the Town of Cardston raised objections to a portion of its desired lease being removed at the behest of Blood Indian Joe Devine who wished to live on the land. For details, see correspondence in LAC, RG 10, vol. 12649, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 2). At least one scholar seems to suggest that the Bloods’ behaviour with regard to lease land was suspect. Lawrence E. Kindt, “The Sheep Ranching Industry of Canada” (PhD diss., American University, 1939), 106. Indeed the agreement between the Bloods and the DIA stipulated that the lease agreements expire in 1934, but in 1935 they were still in effect. The extension was made necessary because of rent arrears in 1931 and that new contracts expired in 1937. Pugh observed that the latest contracts had to be reviewed by the Bloods in 1936 to allow for the mandatory one year notice to lessees before cancellation. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, December 16, 1935.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, March 14, 1936; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, December 16, 1935.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, A.D. Wymb to J.E. Pugh, January 20, 1936; J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, April 27, 1936; A.F. MacKenzie to J.E. Pugh, April 28, 1936; A.F. MacKenzie to J.E. Pugh, May 27, 1936; H.W. McGill to Secretary-Treasurer, Town of Cardston, April 30, 1936.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, Copy of vote; J.E. Pugh to Harold W. McGill, May 29, 1936. Pugh also noted that “the voters list carries 340 names, of these 322 were entitled to vote, 4 were incarcerated in jail, 14 were resident away from the reserve. A number of those who for sickness etc. were unable to attend sent in notes to express their vote, this was not allowed.”


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1538, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 18, 1936; J.E. Pugh to Representative of the Treasury, DIA, September 23, 1936. See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), Billy Heavy Runner to Dr. McGill, September 21, 1936; J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, October 15, 1936; J.E. Pugh to M. Christianson, November 18, 1936; L.E. Fairbairn to J.E. Pugh, November 30, 1936, RG 10, vol. 1538. In 1938 a request for a sheep lease was turned down on the basis of the poor condition of the grazing land and the constant “encroaching upon the Indians in one way or another.” See N.E. Tanner to Agent Pugh, April 26, 1938; J.E. Pugh to N.E. Tanner, May 3, 1938; M. Christianson to Secretary, DIA, May 10, 1934.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648, file 103/32-1-2 (pt. 1), C. Pant. Schmidt, December 17, 1937; C. Pant. Schmidt to John E. Pugh, December 17, 1937. For similar details and concerns, see LAC, RG 10, vol. 12648,
file 205/32-1, M. Christianson to C.P. Schmidt, November 26, 1937.

182 There was no correspondence in this file regarding leases for the year 1939.


CHAPTER 3

1 Hildebrandt, Views from Fort Battleford, 49. Hildebrandt gave little attention to the Cree around Battleford.

2 Samek, The Blackfoot Confederacy, 70–86.

3 See, for example, Anthony G. Gulig, “Sizing Up the Catch: Native-Newcomer Resource Competition and the Early Years of Saskatchewan’s Northern Commercial Fishery,” Saskatchewan History (Fall 1995): 3–12. Complaints about Native competition in the marketplace led to the imposition of the permit system restrict-


10 Taylor, Standing Alone, 31–32.


15 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, December 24, 1896; Deputy Superintendent General to J.E. Pugh, December 18, 1896; Deputy Superintendent General to J.E. Pugh, December 18, 1893.


17 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 321–25, James Wilson to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1894.

18 Dempsey, Red Crow, 199. I have been unable to determine why the Galt Company would need to purchase this coal. The need to fill a small contract during a temporary coal shortage is, perhaps, an explanation.

19 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, extract from copy of letter dated December
6, 1895, signed by Jas. Wilson. Because of the quality of the coal, eventually the Mounted Police refused to accept it for use at their posts. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, A.E. Forget to Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February, 17, 1896; James Wilson to Hayter Reed, September 17, 1896.

20 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, R.N. Wilson to Secretary, DIA, June 30, 1909; John Harvie to Secretary, DIA, January 17, 1907; J.D. McLean to John Harvie, January 30, 1907; GA, BIAC, file 63, Indian Agent to A.G. McGuire, July 15, 1911; Agent to A.G. McGuire July 31, 1911.


22 Raymond Leader, January 23, 1913, 4.

23 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 153–54, S. Swinford to Secretary, DIA, October 3, 1913.


25 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, Z.W. Jacobs to C.A. Magrath, January 3, 1918; C.W. Peterson to D.C. Scott, January 10, 1918; Duncan C. Scott to W.J. Dilworth, January 12, 1918; Deputy Superintendent General to W.J. Dilworth, January 21, 1918. Dilworth subsequently noted his belief that there was no coal shortage in the area.

26 Oliver was of the opinion that “educating these Indians to compete industrially with our own people” was a “very undesirable use of public money . . . ,” *House of Commons Debates*, 1899, Cols. 5725–26, June 22, 1899; Hall, “Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration,” 130.

27 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, J.T. Faunt to Secretary, DIA, February 25, 1921. The coal was being sold at $8.50 per ton. Also see Duncan C. Scott to C.S. Finnie, March 14, 1921.


33 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 631–33, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, July 10, 1890.

34 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 723–25, J. Wilson, farmer, to W. Pocklington, August 27, 1890. On hay shortages, see also 680–82, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, July 31, 1890.

35 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 730–33, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, September 4, 1890.

36 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 730–33, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, September 4, 1890.

37 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 730–33, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, September 4, 1890.
December 29, 1891; 370–71, 842, S. Swinford to Inspector Begin, July 20, 1892.


40 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1559, 495–97, James Wilson to [Indian Commissioner], October 2, 1893.


42 On October 18, 1899, Wilson billed W.S. Anderton of Macleod for $250.96 for hay delivered. It is unclear whether or not this hay originated with the reserve or was just freighted under contract from some other source. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 470, James Wilson to W.S. Anderton, October 18, 1899. See also pp. 471 and 473.

43 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 336, James Wilson to R. Burton Deane, June 12, 1899; 347, James Wilson to Superintendent Commanding, NWMP, Macleod, June 27, 1899; 474, James Wilson to R. Burton Deane, October 25, 1899. See also Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP No. 27, 1900, 138.

44 Lethbridge News, March 7, 1901, 7; Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1902, 128. See also LAC, RG 18, vol. 218, file 469, H.S. Casey to Officer Commanding ‘K’ Division, N.W.M.P., August 8, 1901; Joseph Howe to Commissioner, N.W.M.P., August 30, 1901.


46 Macleod Gazette, February 27, 1906, 2.

47 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1914, 70.

48 The previous year total contracts called for only 170 tons and haying was not completed until October 1, 1913. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 222, Unsigned letter, August 22, 1914.

49 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1915, 77.

50 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7595, file 10103, pt. 2; Contract between RNWM Police, Macleod and W.J. Dilworth, Blood Reserve, August 21, 1914.

51 There is no indication why, in this instance, the Bloods could not furnish the contract. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7595, file 10103, pt. 2, Laurence Fortescue to Duncan C. Scott, May 12, 1915; J.D. McLean to Laurence Fortescue, May 15, 1915; GA, BIAC, file 36, Indian Agent to Messers. Gordon Ironsides and Fares, August 24, 1915.

52 See GA, BIAC, file 36, Indian Agent to Messers. Gordon Ironsides and Fares, August 24, 1915.


55 See list in LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1.


58 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1559, 495–97, James Wilson to [Indian Commissioner], October 2, 1893.


60 On October 18, 1899, Wilson billed W.S. Anderton of Macleod for $250.96 for hay delivered. It is unclear whether or not this hay originated with the reserve or was just freighted under contract from some other source. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 470, James Wilson to W.S. Anderton, October 18, 1899. See also pp. 471 and 473.


62 Lethbridge News, March 7, 1901, 7; Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1902, 128. See also LAC, RG 18, vol. 218, file 469, H.S. Casey to Officer Commanding ‘K’ Division, N.W.M.P., August 8, 1901; Joseph Howe to Commissioner, N.W.M.P., August 30, 1901.

Notes

1896; 617–19, James Wilson to Commissioner, February 10, 1898.


60 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, January 12, 1899. With regard to the delivery of coal to the police, see also: James Wilson to secretary, DIA, February 15, 1898; Fred White to J.D. McLean, April 15, 1898; Fred White to J.D. McLean, April 28, 1898; Fred White to J.D. McLean, May 13, 1898; James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, June 1, 1898.


64 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 14, 1899, 133.

65 Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1915, 70; No. 27, 1917, 73–74.


70 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 208, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, March 18, 1891.


72 It is not immediately clear why the method of letting contracts was changed. It could have been in response to public pressures or may simply have been a part of efficiency measures. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 635, W. Pocklington to Inspector Steele, July 14, 1890.

73 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 635, W. Pocklington to Inspector Steele, July 14, 1890.

74 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 208, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, March 18, 1891.

75 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1557, 635, W. Pocklington to Inspector Steele, July 14, 1890.

76 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 243, James Wilson to S.B. Steele, June 29, 1894.

77 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 243, James Wilson to S.B. Steele, June 29, 1894.

78 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 244–45, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, June 29, 1894; 313, James Wilson to S.B. Steele.


80 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 446, James Wilson to W.D. Barclay, September 5, 1894.
78 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 691, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, January 4, 1895. Wilson did not explain the difficult circumstances, but it may have been due to the ample supply of coal in the region. See A.A. den Otter, *Civilizing the West: The Galt's and the Development of Western Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982), 320.


80 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, Hayter Reed to Indian Agent Wilson, August 29, 1896.

81 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, Hayter Reed to Indian Agent Wilson, September 15, 1896; Dean Freeman to Deputy Supt. Genl. Indians Affairs, September 5, 1896; James Wilson to Hayter Reed, September 8, 1896.

82 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, James Wilson to Hayter Reed, September 17, 1896; A.E. Forget to Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, February, 17, 1896.


85 Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind*, 111–12; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 258–60.

86 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1561, 93–94, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, August 14, 1895.

87 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1561, 93–94, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, August 14, 1895.


89 *Macleod Gazette*, August 2, 1895.

90 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, 14, vol. XXXI, No. 11, 1897, 135.

91 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, 14, 1897, 155. The bulk of this hay was supplied to the Cochrane Ranche Company, North West Mounted Police, and for Agency needs. Interestingly, the agent noted that the 109 tons required for the agency farmers’ horses and cattle, for the agency horses and cattle and for the hospital cows was hauled free of charge as it had been done in the two previous years. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, 14, 1897, 156. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1563, 875–76, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, May 16, 1898. The hay brought ten to twelve dollars per ton. The amount sold was not given. The agent’s report contained in the Sessional Papers states that 1139 tons was sold for approximately $5,695. At the minimum of ten dollars per ton, this should have netted $11,390. See Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 14, 1899, 133.

92 The license system was not in place to protect Whites but to enable the agent to properly protect the property and resources of the Indians. RG 10, vol. 1564, 39–40. James Wilson to Corporal in Charge Town Patrol, Lethbridge, July 23, 1898. Indians were not legally permitted to sell reserve resources without the permission of the agent. For a discussion
of the permit system, see Buckley, *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare*, 53–54.

93 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 244–45, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, June 29, 1894; 313, James Wilson to S.B. Steele, July 28, 1894.

94 Bercuson, ed., *Alberta’s Coal Industry 1919*, x.

95 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103–1, G. Finnie to D.C. Scott, February 13, 1921.


100 Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader*, 70–85.

CHAPTER 4

1 For discussion of the reserve economy, see Samek, *The Blackfoot Confederacy*, chap. 4. John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager briefly mention Indian involvement in the sugar beet industry. See John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, “Workers, Growers and Monopolists: The ‘Labour Problem’ in the Alberta Beet Sugar Industry during the 1930s,” in *The Depression in Canada: Responses to Economic Crisis*, ed. Michiel Horn (*Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman*, 1988), 32. Curiously, Ronald F. Laliberté states that from the beginning of the industry in the early 1900s “most of the hand labour” in the fields was done by immigrants from Europe, and this was the situation up until World War II, when that supply of labour was cut off. He does not recognize that the Bloods had any place in this industry. Ronald F. Laliberté, “The Canadian State and Native Migrant Labour in Southern Alberta’s Sugar Beet Industry” (Master’s thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1994), 66.


5 *Raymond Rustler*, May 31, 1911, 7.

6 *Alberta Star*, Cardston, April 2, 1909, 8.


8 *Raymond Leader*, June 17 & 25, 1913.

9 *Raymond Leader*, January 23, 1914, 1.

10 *Raymond Leader*, July 31, 1913, 4.

11 *Raymond Leader*, October 17, 1913, 1.

12 *Raymond Leader*, December 18 & 24, 1914.

13 *Raymond Leader*, January 8, 1915, 1. See also *Raymond Leader*, December 24, 1914, 1.

14 On local developments immediately following this, see: *Raymond Leader*, January 15, 1915, 1; January 22, 1915, 4; February 26, 1915, 1; March 5, 1915, 4; March 12, 1915, 1; March 26, 1915, 1; *Cardston Globe*, January 7, 1915, 4; January 14, 1915, 1; March 11, 1915, 1; Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891–1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 188.
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16 Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7.

17 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1535, document 214, H.S. Allen to Wilson, Nov. 28, 1902.


20 GA, BIAC, file 18, E.P. Ellison to James Wilson, January 20, 1903; H.S. Allen to James Wilson, September 28, 1903.

21 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1535, 254, E.P. Ellison to J. Wilson, May 15, 1903.

22 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1725, 716, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, July 6, 1904.


25 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1147, 87, Frank Pedley to J.H. Gooderham, April 29, 1904; also GA, BIAC, file 17.

26 Hartley, “Mormon Sugar in Alberta,” 16.

27 GA, BIAC, file 17, E.P. Ellison to John W. Jowett, May 12, 1905.


29 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1548, 561, Acting Indian Agent to Geo. Skelding, October 7, 1905; 580, Acting Agent to Peter McLaren, Oc-

tober 23, 1905; 595, Indian Agent to Peter McLaren, October 30, 1905.


31 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1536, 105, E.P. Ellison to R.N. Wilson, August 5, 1906. The agent’s report for the year ending March 31, 1907, gave a total income of $37,373.38 for the Bloods of which $9,000.00 was earned from work at the Raymond sugar beet fields. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1907, 161.


33 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1539, 146, E.P. Ellison to R. Wilson, October 24, 1906.

34 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, No. 27, 1908, 168.

35 T.J. O’Brien to James Wilson, March 8, 1906. These rates seem to be in keeping with rates charged in 1907, as indicated in a contract between Knight Sugar Company and Thos. Bennett. In fact, Prairie Chicken may have had a better deal considering that the contract with Bennett stipulated that he was to pay one dollar per acre rent and two dollars per acre ploughing. Bennett was to be paid $4.50 per ton for the beets but was to pay the company $2.35 per acre for the haulage of beets to the factory. GA, Knight Sugar Company Papers (KSCP), labour contract between Knight Sugar Company and Thos. Bennett, May 18, 1907. Also see Indian Agent to T.J. O’Brien, March 31, 1906.


37 Given the minimum estimated harvest above, Prairie Chicken stood to gross $400.00 on the sale of his beets for an initial outlay of $89.00.

38 Annual Report of the North West Mounted Police, CSP 28, XLII, 1907–8, 65, 82.

39 Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7; Arrington, Beet Sugar in the West, 23.
GA, BIAC, file 41, Ray Knight to W. Julius Hyde, September 22, 1911.


GA, BIAC, file 18, J.W. Woolf to James Wilson September 29, 1903. Likely Woolf’s threat of foreign labour was a reference to Japanese labour from B.C.


GA, BIAC, file 17, E.P. Ellison to James Wilson, June 11, 1904; J.D. McLean to R.N. Wilson, June 29, 1904.

LAC, RG 10, vol., 1725, 716, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, July 6, 1904.

LAC, RG 10, vol., 1725, 717, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, July 6, 1904. To my knowledge nothing came of this idea.

GA, BIAC, file 17, E.P. Ellison to John W. Jowett, October 7, 1904.


GA, BIAC, file 16, J.S. Smellie to R.N. Wilson, February 20, 1907; E.P. Ellison to R.N. Wilson February 25, 1907.

GA, BIAC, file 60, Indian Agent to J.O. Wilson, June 27, 1907.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1539, 195, Indian Agent to Indian Commissioner, September 16, 1907.


Raymond Chronicle, May 10, 1907, 1.


Raymond Chronicle, May 17, 1907, 1.

Raymond Chronicle, June 14, 1907, 1.

For their efforts in the 1907 season, they earned $9,000. Goldfrank, Changing Configurations, 24.

Cardston Alberta Star, April 18, 1908, 1.

Cardston Alberta Star, October 9, 1908, 5; Thompson and Seager, “Workers, Growers and Monopolists,” 31.

Roger’s Sugar Company Archives (RSCA), Vancouver, B.C., W.J. Hyde to Raymond Knight, October 12, 1911. I am indebted to Joanne Denton, Museum Co-Coordinator, Roger’s Sugar Company Archives, for this and subsequent references from Roger’s Sugar.

RSCA, W.J. Hyde to Raymond Knight, October 17, 1911; Knight Sugar Co. to W. Julius Hyde, October 26, 1911.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1539, 307, J.W. Crane to Indian Officer, Blood Agency, January 13, 1912; 274, J.W. Crane to Mr. Hyde, October 19, 1911; RSCA, W.J. Hyde to Knight Sugar Co., October 23, 1911. Adelman notes that between 1907 and 1912 the cost of labour rose by nearly 60 per cent. It may have been in response to this that Crane was commenting on the farmers’ ability to pay. Adelman, Frontier Development, 165.

Raymond Leader, October 27, 1911, 4.

RSCA, Knight Sugar Co. to W.J. Hyde, October 12, 1912.
70 RSCA, W.J. Hyde to The Knight Sugar Company, October 17, 1912.
72 GA, BIAC, file 96, Jas. E. Ellison to W. Julius Hyde, May 31, 1913; Indian Agent to J.E. Ellison, June 6, 1913.
73 RSCA, Knight Sugar Co. to W.J. Hyde, May 31, 1913.
74 Cardston Globe, April 26, 1917, 8.
75 Western Canada Irrigation Association, Reports of the proceedings of the tenth annual convention held at Kamloops, B.C., July 25, 26 and 27, 1916, Ottawa, Gov. Print Bureau, 1917, 141. In a neat twist on achieving ‘market requirements’ Arthur Dahl suggested the planting of fewer acres more intensely. The Raymond Leader, December 24, 1914, 1. The conference also promoted mixed farming. The Kamloops Standard-Sentinel, July 28, 1916.
76 Western Canada Irrigation Association, Reports, 144.
77 Western Canada Irrigation Association, Reports, 144–45. Emphasis added. Thompson and Seager also agree that the failure of the enterprise is attributable to the “labour problem.” Thompson and Seager, “Workers Growers and Monopolists,” 31; Dawson, Group Settlement, 233–34.
78 Raymond Leader, October 14, 1916, 1. Emphasis added.
80 Dawson, Group Settlement, 233–34.
81 The above figures are given in the Raymond Rustler for the 1911 season. Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7.
82 Raymond Leader, December 24, 1914, 1.
85 On the shortage of crop, see Dawson, Group Settlement, 233; Thompson and Seager, “Workers, Growers and Monopolists,” 31. GA, KSCP, President to Board of Directors, March 31, 1908.
86 Jeremy Adelman has argued, “The shortage of labour was the overwhelming constraint on frontier development in Argentina and Canada. Workers had to come from outside the region of settlement.” Adelman, Frontier Development, 184. On the “absorptive power of the land” with which employers had to compete, see Adelman, Frontier Development, 159–60.
88 GA, KSCP, Thos. H. Woolford to William Knight, October 18, 1905.
90 GA, KSCP, Knight Sugar Company Letterbook, April 2, 1906.
91 GA, KSCP, Knight Sugar Co. to Beet Growers of Magrath, October 10, 1907; GA, KSCP, Knight Sugar Co. Letterbook, Minutes of Directors Meeting, April 2, 1906, 37.

94 *Raymond Recorder*, September 7 & 25, 1925.

95 It is unclear whether or not the Bloods were considered part of this ‘transient’ labour. *Cardston News*, March 17, 1927, 1.

96 *UID News*, October 6, 1927.

97 *UID News*, October 27, 1927, 1.

98 *Cardston News*, October 11, 1928, 1; *UID News*, October 11, 1928, 1.

99 *UID News*, November 8, 1928, 1.

100 Zaharia and Fox, *Stories from Our Elders*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Kainai Board of Education, 1995), 112, 93, 102, 109. See also *Stories from Our Elders*, vol. 2, 47; vol. 3, 77.


105 Goldfrank, *Changing Configurations*, 35. Except to highlight disasters, Goldfrank does not discuss the economic activities of the Bloods in the twenties and thirties. See also Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader*, 54–57. Indian income was reduced by almost one half, from $2,388,485 to $1,269,510 between 1929 and 1933. Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 92.

## CHAPTER 5


4 *Western Native News*, September, 1996, vol. 9, no. 6, 2.

5 L.C. Green views the relationship between the Canadian government and Indians as one of trusteeship, Canada having the responsibility to act on behalf of its Natives who are subservient. L.C. Green “Trusteeship and Canada’s Indians,” *Dalhousie Law Journal* 3, no. 1 (May 1976): 104, 114–16. If the Indians are viewed as colonized a subservient economic relationship is


7 See the text of Treaty 7 in Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (Toronto: Coles, 1979), 368–75.

8 Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, 115; Breen, The Canadian Prairie West, 15.


10 Wetherell and Kmet, Town Life, 80.


18 Dempsey, Tom Three Persons, 97, 99.

19 Cardston Record, April 7, 1899, 1. The discount for cash purchasing was in effect a two-price policy to discourage credit purchases.

20 Godfrey and Card The Diaries of Charles Ora Card, 369.


22 See, for example, letters granting permission for HBC to trade on reserves: LAC, RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, by L. Vankoughnet, January 16, 1891; L. Vankoughnet to Indian Commissioner, January 20, 1891; Letter signed by L. Vankoughnet, May 21, 1891. Also permission granted to George F. Tupper trade on Saddle Lake Reserve, No. 125 and Blue Quill’s Reserve, No. 127, L. Vankoughnet, April 20, 1891.

23 LAC, RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, F.H.P. to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1896. However, Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed disagreed with this new approach. He believed that prices were more open to influence by the Indians on the reserve than in the town or village store. LAC, RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, Hayter Reed to A.E. Forget, September 17, 1896. Desiring to restrict the Indians to the reserve as much as possible was in keeping with Reed’s overall isolationist views. Barron, “The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West,” 27–28. LAC, RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, Hayter Reed to A.E. Forget, September 17, 1896. The documents do not reveal who these independent traders were. Though eventually reversed, the policy of permitting shopping off the reserve was kept for the Bloods. See: RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, A.E.F to The Deputy of the
Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 4, 1897; LAC, RG 10, vol. 3582, file 1024, Circular Letter signed J.D. McLean, April 7, 1897.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 1722, 227, Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indians Affairs, July 20, 1904. Hanks noted that the Blackfeet were subjected to this business policy in the 1940s and in fact could not get credit locally. Hanks and Hanks, Tribe under Trust, 83.


Zaharia and Fox, Stories from Our Elders, vol. 2, 49.


Macleod Gazette, March 15, 1894; R. Craig McIvor, Canadian Monetary Banking and Fiscal Development (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1961), 76–77.


Cardston Alberta Star, May 10, 1907, 9. Selling for produce was akin to barter or ‘trade.’ There was, however, very little discussion of this aspect of doing business. If the diary of Wallace Weiss is any indication, this aspect of commercial exchange with one’s neighbours is deserving of attention. Weiss lived south of Medicine Hat and his diary for January, February, and March 1937, shows he ‘traded’ with neighbours on twenty different occasions and made several other unsuccessful attempts.

Items traded included services, livestock, personal items such as rings and watches, and a radio. Diary of Wallace Weiss, January, February, March, 1937. Courtesy of Robert Weiss Family. Copy in possession of author.


Broadfoot, Pioneer Years, 287–82. See also 275–77.

The Cardston Globe, November 12, 1914, 1.


Cardston News, January 26, 1928, 1.

Cardston Alberta Star, May 10, 1907, 9.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1549, 4, Indian Agent to E. Dewdney, August 29, 1881; 16, N. Macleod, to [?], October 31, 1881.


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1553, 34, Statement by W. Pocklington for July, 1885; 324, Statement by W. Pocklington, November, 1885; 491–92, W. Pocklington to E. Dewdney, February 9, 1886. See RG 10, vols. 1552, 1553, 1554, for further inventories of
purCHASES made on behalf of the Bloods. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1553, 35–44, Statements by W. Pocklington June 30, 1885.

44 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1560, 330, James Wilson to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1894. Though the Department expressed a desire to end the credit system as early as 1904, it did not follow through with concerted action. See GA, BIAC, file 17, J.D. McLean to R.N. Wilson, February 13, 1904.


48 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1548, 332, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, June 20, 1905.


50 *Macleod Spectator*, December 18, 1913, 11.

51 See LAC, RG 10, vol. 7595, file 10103, pt. 2, Agent Dilworth’s statement. We conclude that this was authorized debt as it was entered in the agent’s accounts.

52 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 592, W. Pocklington to deputy of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, November 18, 1891. Agent J.A. Markle of the Manitoba Dakota was likewise opposed to credit as “detrimental” to the Indians interests. Elias, *The Dakota of the Canadian Northwest*, 89–90. An American historian referring to the commercial exchange between Indians and local merchants has noted: “Another group that stood to gain from the opening of reservation lands were merchants and others who did business with either Indians or whites near a reservation. Merchants with an established trade with Indians could expect increased sales after the opening of a reservation,” to settlement. Leonard A. Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 38.


54 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1722, 226–27, Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indians Affairs, July 20, 1904.


58 See, for example, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1722, 226–27, Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indians Affairs, July 20, 1904.


60 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1722, 476, Indian Agent to R.W. Fletcher, November 29, 1904.


63 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1722, 473, Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, November 29, 1904. Earlier in the year, Secretary J.D. McLean had written R.N. Wilson that the Department wished to abolish the order system of purchasing and encourage Indian purchasing on a cash basis only. GA, BIAC, file 17, J.D. McLean to R.N. Wilson, February 13, 1904.


66 GA, BIAC, file 96, Massey-Harris Statement in Blood Indian Agency Correspondence. See George Tanner Statement, October 28, 1914 Blood Indian Agency Correspondence, File [?], Glenbow Alberta Archives, M1788. The total for all of these was $887.75 or 29.37 per cent of total orders.

67 Jones, "We'll all be buried down here," xxxvi.

68 Jones, "We'll all be buried down here," 27 & 33.

69 Jones, Empire of Dust, 268–69.

70 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, June 28, 1927. We should not assume that only farmers were in debt.

71 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, June 28, 1927.

72 GA, BIAC, file 92, Indian Agent to Duncan C. Scott, August 14, 1915. Macleod Spectator, July 8, 1915, 2. Business in the previous year had been good. Macleod Spectator, November 12, 1914, 1. George Scott complained, through the local Conservative Association, that he did not get a fair share of Blood reserve patronage for his livery stable, a complaint rebutted by Dilworth. LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 248, W.S Gray to W.J. Dilworth, December 31, 1914; 255, Indian Agent to Sec'y, Conservative Executive, January 28, 1915. By 1916 the Bloods were again patronizing businesses in Macleod. Macleod News, December 7, 1916, 1.


74 GA, BIAC, file 92, Indian Agent to Assistant Deputy and Sec'y, DIA, September 2, 1915; Indian Agent to Riverside Lumber Co., September 4, 1915.

75 GA, BIAC, file 92, W.J. Dilworth to M.A. Coombs, September 17, 1915. One problem is that the amounts for unauthorized accounts are often not quoted, and so it is difficult to determine what percentage of the total business contracted was unauthorized and therefore, perhaps, not collectable.

76 GA, BIAC, file 92, Indian Agent to [DIA], May 20, 1915.

77 LAC, RG 10, vol. 4024, file 290,240-2A, Western Canada Lumber Co. Ltd. to Minister of the Interior, August 22, 1916. For other examples of late accounts, see: GA, BIAC, file 92, McLaren Lumber Co. to Indian Agent, November 24, 1915; W.H. Steed to W.J. Dilworth, December 15, 1915. The matter with the Western Canada Lumber Company was never satisfactorily resolved, and by 1917 the company was in receivership, the liquidator having no more success with Dilworth than did former management. LAC, RG 10, vol. 4024, file 290,240-2B, Western Canada Lumber Co. to Secretary, DIA, August 28, 1917.

78 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.T. Faunt to Secretary, DIA, February 28, 1921; J.D. McLean to J.T. Faunt, February 22, 1921; J.M. Callie to Indian Department January 31, 1921; J.M. Callie to J.D. McLean, March 3, 1921; J.D. McLean to J.T. Faunt, March 9, 1921.

79 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.T. Faunt to Secretary, DIA, February 28, 1921; J.D. McLean to J.T. Faunt, February 22, 1921; J.M. Callie to Indian Department January 31, 1921; J.M. Callie to J.D. McLean, March 3, 1921; J.D. McLean to J.T. Faunt, March 9, 1921.


81 See, for example, the correspondence regarding the Pioneer Lumber Company,
Lethbridge. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Pioneer Lumber Co. Ltd. to Secretary, DIA, October 7, 1930; Pioneer Lumber Co. Ltd. to Secretary, DIA, October 7, 1930. See bill in same file.

Based on these assumptions or understandings, the company now wanted payment of $2,931.82. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.A. Rowat to Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, March 3, 1928. Scott’s response was a perfunctory denial of responsibility. “These arrangements were,” Scott wrote, “undoubtedly made with individual Indians, the payments to be made from crop returns. This, as you are no doubt aware, has been the usual practice.” LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Duncan C. Scott to J.A. Rowat, March 8, 1928.

The Honourable Charles Stewart was asked to intervene in this matter. Charles Stewart to Cardston Implement Company, Ltd., January 27, 1928.


See Table 2 for the collapse of Blood farming income in 1927. GA, BIAC, Statement of Indebtedness As At Audit On Feb. 13, 1928, File 163.

Jones, “We’ll all be buried down here,” lx, 39–41.


Jones, “We’ll all be buried down here,” lx.

Jones, “We’ll all be buried down here,” 55–56.

Barry Broadfoot, Next-Year Country: Voices of Prairie People (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), 82.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, W.M. Graham to D.C. Scott, January 8, 1921; Statement of Indian indebtedness signed by Agent J.T. Faunt.

J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 6, 1928.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.D. McLean to W.M. Graham, June 14, 1927.

LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, June 28, 1927.

On debt and prairie farmers, see: Voisey, Vulcan, 133–34; Jones, Empire of Dust, 169, 172–74; Adleman, “Prairie Farm Debt and the Financial Crisis of 1914,” 493–502; Royden K. Loewen, Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community and the
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100 This figure does not entirely agree with the figure in Table 2.

101 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, December 13, 1927; W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, December 13, 1927; Report and Diary for month of November 1927, J.G. Pugh, December 2, 1927.

102 Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Accession No. 70.189/SE., W.M. Graham to John E. Pugh, January 27, 1928.

103 PAA, Accession No. 70.189/SE., Indian Agent to W.M. Graham, January 30, 1928. The criteria for determining need were not consistent. Destitution was sometimes determined by the kind of assistance needed whether “tea, rice and soap,” beef and flour, or clothing. For example, a list of “old destitute Indians” in need of underclothing for the winter of 1930 numbered 62 individuals. See also list dated Blood Agency, November 24, 1930.

104 Christianson gave the following: $907,618.80 from farming and stock-raising. Currently the grazing lease brought in $14,844.00 and a farming lease $5,780.00 for a total of $20,624.00, “which brings their total income derived from farming, stock-raising and leases to well over a million dollars.” LAC, RG 10, vol. 7595, file 10103, pt. 5, M. Christianson to W.M. Graham, May 18, 1928.

105 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103. See list of firms carrying Indian indebtedness. Strangely the Marshall-Wells Hardware Co. was not listed among these. J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 26, 1929.

106 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 26, 1929; W.M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, February 7, 1929.

107 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, D.P. Sullivan to J.D. McLean, February 13, 1929; W.L. Smith to Duncan Scott, February 20, 1929. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, D.C. Scott to J.E. Pugh, January 11, 1928. On the situation in the West at this time, see Jones “We’ll all be buried down here,” 10–21; Jones, Empire of Dust, 151 ff.

108 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Memorandum, Duncan C. Scott to Mr. Pratt; May 23, 1929; Duncan C. Scott to W.L. Smith, February 26, 1929. Only in “a few cases of real hardship” to the government’s friends might something be done. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Charles Stewart to W.A. Buchanan; June 21, 1929. Senator W.A. Buchanan of Lethbridge personally pleaded the case of the Cardston Implement Co. to the Hon. Charles Stewart. He said that the “MATTER IS A DISTURBING FACTOR AS OUR FRIENDS ARE AFFECTED.” The account was subsequently paid. W.A. Buchanan to Chas. Stewart, June 17, 1929. Emphasis in original. Stewart reminded Buchanan that the accounts were owed by the Indians, not the Treasury. Duncan C. Scott to W.M. Graham, July 24, 1929. See also Duncan C. Scott to W.M. Graham, July 24, 1929.


112 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, M. Christianson to W.M. Graham, November 30, 1929; W.M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, December 4, 1929; M. Christianson to W.M. Graham, November 30, 1929. The DIA’s Chief Accountant, F.M. Paget, pointed out that “collections made from Indians on account of Beef and Seed Grain, are due the Band’s Interest Account, and not the Department.” Though such payments “could be diverted towards paying off merchants [sic] indebtedness, and when
subsequently collected from the Indians would be credited to the Band’s account as refunds due for seed and beef.” Memorandum; F.M. Paget to Dr. Scott, December 18, 1929. Authorized debts to merchants were given preference over monies owed the Department and the band. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Duncan C. Scott to W.M. Graham, December 19, 1929.

113 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, M. Christianson to Secretary, DIA, November 23, 1932; Memorandum for the Right Honourable The Prime Minister from Duncan C. Scott, October 19, 1931. Correspondence over this particular debt continued into 1933 with only $97.76 being paid on the account in a two year period. M. Christianson to Secretary, DIA, December 1, 1933. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, M. Christianson to Secretary, DIA, December 1, 1933.

114 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, April 18, 1934, and attached details.

115 Pugh judged most of the outside debt legitimate, with one qualification: the $7,798.14 owing the Cardston Implement Company. The debts owed to Massey-Harris Co., Smith & Pitcher, and the Cardston Trading Co., in particular, he said, were the result of “Orders issued to Indians by Authority of the Department and remained unpaid at the end of 1928, at which time this system was discarded and no orders issued after that year.” LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, April 18, 1934. The Cardston Implement Co., the Bloods’ largest creditor, was itself in debt and consigned its account of $7,798.14 with the Bloods to Marshall-Wells Co., Winnipeg. Marshall-Wells in turn was owed $1,026.08 by the agency. These two creditors alone accounted for $8,824.22 or 49.8 per cent of the total reported Blood outside debt. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1; see Cardston Implement Co. Ltd. and Marshall-Wells Ltd., Assignment of Blood Agency Account; Z.W. Jacobs, Barrister, and Solicitor, Cardston, Alberta.

116 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, April 18, 1934, and attached details.

117 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, J.E. Pugh to Secretary, April 18, 1934, and attached details.

118 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, Report of J.E. Pugh, March 27, 1935. The two largest expenses of this sum were $862.88 for groceries and $341.91 for car repairs. Statement of J.E. Pugh.

119 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, J.E. Pugh to L.W. McCutheson, December 11, 1936; N.C. Allen to J.E. Pugh, January 17, 1936. Another indication of difficult times is the reduced balance in the Blood Agency Bank Account, which “prior to 1929 this Trust Account would contain balances ranging from $20,000 to $70,000 for several months, generally from about September to January. It would rarely fall below $1,000 or $1,200.” Since 1929, however, “owing to reduced prices for farm products and poor crop returns these monthly balances have dwindled, and during 1935 a further reduction has been caused by placing monies due the Receiver General in a separate Bank Account.” As a consequence of the above conditions, the average monthly balance for the ten months of February to November, 1935, was $5,448.99 or approximately half of what it should have been. See RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, N.C. Allen to Dr. McGill, January 23, 1936.

120 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7899, file 40103-1, Statement of J.E. Pugh. The problem with these figures is that they do not show the business the Indians may have conducted through barter or through the expenditure of money in hand.


123 Meanwhile, the uncollectible debt was put at $86,824.84 for 1934 and by 1942 still stood at $86,696.38. LAC, RG 10, vol.
CONCLUSION


3  Bennett and Kohl, Settling the Canadian–American West, 18.

4  For a complete discussion of this idea, see den Otter, Civilizing the West.


7  Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP 14, 1897, 155–56.

8  Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP 14, 1899, 133.

9  Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP 27, 1904, 141.

10  Samek, The Blackfoot Confederacy, 84–86.


16  LAC, RG 10, vol. 1535, 11, Deputy Commissioner to Jas. Wilson, July 7, 1899; 39, J.D. McLean to Jas. Wilson, November 3, 1899.

17  See, in particular, correspondence in LAC, RG 10, vol. 7730, file 23103-1 and LAC, RG 10, vol. 7730, file 23103-1A.

18  LAC, RG 10, vol. 7730, file 23103-1A, J.D. McLean to Deputy Minister, Department of Public Works, Alberta, March 17, 1926.

19  For example, Sarah Carter, “Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the ‘Indian Woman’ in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada,” Great Plains Quarterly 13 (Summer 1993): 147–48, 158.

20  J. Penrose, “When All the Cowboys Are Indians: The Nature of Race in All-Indian


22 *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, CSP, No. 27, 1907, 161; *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, CSP, No. 14, 1925, 28. This population decline is most likely due to the influenza epidemic of 1919–20 and the probability that some Bloods were absent from the reserve doing work in the surrounding area. Dempsey, *Tom Three Persons*, 85.


24 The decade of 1911 to 1920 had been one of increased economic diversification and increasing, if limited, prosperity. Incomes for 1911, 1914, 1919, and 1920 were $56,750, $61,100, $233,746, and $254,332, respectively. Goldfrank, *Changing Configurations*, 32. It was not until the decade of the 1920s that reserve farming finally accounted for more reserve income than other revenue sources. Prior to this, therefore, one must not give too much weight to crop agriculture, as its importance was discounted by agents and that of hay was stressed. By 1921, however, the total value of farm products including hay was $80,000 or 60.2 per cent of total income of $132,989.

25 "Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, CSP No. 27, 1922, 58. In 1922 it was $50,000 or 41.8 per cent of $119,735; 1923, $108,300 or 61.5 per cent of total income of $176,070; and in 1924 it was $209,000 or 74.6 per cent of total income of $280,332. CSP No. 15, 1925, 78. The difficulty with the statistics is that the value of hay sales is generally included in agriculture returns and so it is not possible to determine its value relative to other agriculture income. For some years the Agents do give the value or the tonnage harvested.


27 *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, CSP No. 15, 1925, 78.


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Neighbours and Networks explores the economic relationship that existed between the Blood Indian reserve and the surrounding region of southern Alberta between 1884 and 1939.

The Blood tribe, though living on a reserve, refused to become economically isolated from the larger community, and indeed became significant contributors to the economy of the area. Their land base was important to the ranching industry. Their products, especially coal and hay, were sought after by settlers, and the Bloods were encouraged not only to provide them as needed, but also to become expert freighters, transporting goods from the reserve for non-Native business people. Blood field labour in the Raymond area’s sugar beet fields was at times critical to the functioning of that industry. In addition, the Bloods’ ties to the merchant community, especially in Cardston and Fort Macleod, resulted in a significant infusion of money into the local economy.

Keith Regular’s study fills the gap left by Canadian historiography that has largely ignored the economic associations between Natives and non-Natives living in a common environment. His microhistory refutes the perception that Native reserves have played only a minor role in regional development, and provides an excellent example of a cross-cultural, co-operative economic relationship in the post-treaty period on the Canadian plains.

Keith Regular teaches history and social studies at Elkford Secondary School, Elkford, British Columbia. He received a PhD in history from Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1999.