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

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucppress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist’s copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY:

• read and store this document free of charge;
• distribute it for personal use free of charge;
• print sections of the work for personal use;
• read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU MAY NOT:

• gain financially from the work in any way;
• sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
• use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
• profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
• distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
• reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
• alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

Acknowledgement: We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher, re.press, and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy http://www.re-press.org/content/view/17/33/
CHAPTER 1


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.


Notes


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 “Townspeople
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.


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.


Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 13–14. The powers of the agents were debated in the House of Commons in 1905 and concerns were expressed about the possibility of agents being prejudiced against Whites in cases where they were involved with Indians. *House of Commons Debates*, vol. IV, May 25, 1905, 6545–6546.


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


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

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.


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 Ranche 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 Ranche 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


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.


35 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.


*Cardston 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 Messrs 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.

72 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.


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


77 Dempsey, Gentle Persuader, 26.

81 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.

78 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.

82 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.

83 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.

84 Rocky Mountain Echo, May 1906.

85 Rocky Mountain Echo, August 29, 1905.

86 Lupton, Cattle Ranching 3 (1967): 57.


88 Rocky Mountain Echo, May 1906.

*Rocky Mountain Echo*, May 1906.


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 Country 1881–1948* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), 9, 50–52.

*MacLeod Spectator*, November 5, 1912, 3.

*MacLeod Advertiser*, May 29, 1913, 1.

*MacLeod Spectator*, June 4, 1912, 7.

*Cardston Globe*, May 8, 1914, 1.


*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.

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

*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.

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

*MacLeod Advertiser*, July 3, 1913, 7. See also the *Family Herald*, July 2, 1913.

*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.

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.

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.

*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.
Notes

107 Cardston Globe, May 30, 1913, 1; Macleod Advertiser, June 19, 1913, 1.
108 Cardston Globe, July 25, 1913, 1.
109 Macleod Spectator, June 17, 1913, 1.
110 Macleod Advertiser, September 9, 1913, 1.
111 Macleod Advertiser, October 24, 1912, 2. A summary of this idea, along with the implications for large-scale ranching, was given in the Raymond Leader, 1915; “The west has settled back on its haunches so to speak, and a wild, untamed, limitless area, with boundless prairie to run at will on, has become a home for a home-building people.... The homesteader and the settler, the men who dig post holes, string barbed wire and follow the plough are, of course, responsible for the change.” Raymond Leader, March 26, 1915, 2.
112 Raymond Leader, September 12, 1913, 1. On how to distribute the land should the reserve be opened, see the Raymond Leader, July 4, 1913, 1.
114 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1547, 238, Indian Agent to Assistant Deputy and Sec'y, DIA, December 2, 1914; Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Accession No. 70.414/81, W.J. Dilworth to Provincial Live Stock Commissioner, December 29, 1913.
115 Macleod Spectator, March 19, 1914, 1; May 28, 1914, 1.
117 Cardston Globe, January 17, 1918, 5.
118 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1537, 105, Indian Agent to D.C. Scott, January 25, 1918. Dilworth estimated the reserve capacity at 20,000 head. The criteria he used to arrive at this estimation are unknown.
119 There were occasions when offenders were ordered to remove their animals. Some contractors abusing their rights, such as E.H. Maunsell, were ordered to remove their stock. See, for example, GA, Cross Family Papers (CFP), file 893, [?] to A.E. Cross, May 8, 1919; LAC, RG 10, vol. 1546, 48, Indian Agent to O.J. Stoddard, February 26, 1919.
120 Cardston Globe, August 21, 1920, 4.
121 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 & 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

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.


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


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


Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 21.


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

Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy*, 25.


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

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.

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, 1933; 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 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. Wymbas 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.”


See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936. See also 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 23, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.

See also J.E. Pugh to Secretary, DIA, September 30, 1936.
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.


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.


30 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7632, file 18103-1, Extract from a latter by J.E. Pugh, November 30, 1933; J.E. Pugh to H.W. McGill, December 22, 1933; F.W. Steel to H.W. McGill, January 12, 1934; H.W. McGill to The Superintendent General, January 16, 1934.


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. 1558, 370–71, W. Pocklington to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 22, 1891; 405, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, August 3, 1891.

37 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1558, 370–71, 405–6, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, August 3, 1891; 449–51, W. Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, August 31, 1891; 650, S. Swinford to Indian Commissioner,
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. 1563, 625–26, James Wilson to Secretary, DIA, February 11, 1898; RG 10, vol. 1562, 175–76, James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, December 31,
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.


63 Lethbridge News, March 7, 1901, 7.

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.

66 Dempsey, Gentle Persuader, 85.


70 Carter, “Two Acres and a Cow,” 1.

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


73 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, 258, James Wilson to Inspector Steele, June 1, 1898.

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

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


77 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1564, 446, James Wilson to W.D. Barclay, September 5, 1894.
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.

88 Macleod Gazette, July 26, 1895. For complaints against Indian competition, see: Carter, “Two Acres and a Cow,” 36; Carter, Lost Harvests, 184–90; Anthony G. Gulig, “Sizing up the Catch”, 6–7.

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, 155. 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

200 NEighbours and Networks
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.


97 Spencer, Go North, 14.


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.

2 Den Otter, Civilizing the West, 229–30; William G. Hartley, “Mormon Sugar in Alberta: E.P. Ellison and the Knight Sugar Factory, 1901–17,” Journal of Mormon History 23 (Fall 1997): 7. See also Brado, Cattle Kingdom, 138. The plant itself was not of new manufacture but was a plant at Sunnyside, Washington, that was dismantled and moved to the Raymond site. See Fred G. Taylor, A Saga of Sugar: Being a Story of the Romance and Development of Beet Sugar in the Rocky Mountain West (Salt Lake City: Desert News Press, 1944), 175.


5 Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7.

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

7 C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1936), 233.

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.
Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, CSP, vol. XXIX (No. 11, 1905), 203.

Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7.

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


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

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

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


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


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


LAC, RG 10, vol. 1548, 561, Acting Indian Agent to Geo. Skelding, October 7, 1905; 580, Acting Agent to Peter McLaren, October 23, 1905; 595, Indian Agent to Peter McLaren, October 30, 1905.

Calgary Herald, January 6, 1906, 8; Thompson and Seager, “Workers, Growers and Monopolists,” 32.

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.


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

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

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.


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.

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

Raymond Rustler, May 31, 1911, 7; Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West*, 23.
40 GA, BIAC, file 41, Ray Knight to W. Julius Hyde, September 22, 1911.
43 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.
45 GA, BIAC, file 17, E.P. Ellison to James Wilson, June 11, 1904; J.D. McLean to R.N. Wilson, June 29, 1904.
46 LAC, RG 10, vol., 1725, 716, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, July 6, 1904.
47 LAC, RG 10, vol., 1725, 717, Indian Agent to Secretary, DIA, July 6, 1904. To my knowledge nothing came of this idea.
48 GA, BIAC, file 17, E.P. Ellison to John W. Jowett, October 7, 1904.
51 GA, BIAC, file 16, J.S. Smellie to R.N. Wilson, February 20, 1907; E.P. Ellison to R.N. Wilson February 25, 1907.
52 GA, BIAC, file 60, Indian Agent to J.O. Wilson, June 27, 1907.
53 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1539, 195, Indian Agent to Indian Commissioner, September 16, 1907.
56 Raymond Chronicle, May 10, 1907, 1.
60 Raymond Chronicle, May 17, 1907, 1.
61 Raymond Chronicle, June 14, 1907, 1.
62 For their efforts in the 1907 season, they earned $9,000. Goldfrank, Changing Configurations, 24.
63 Cardston Alberta Star, April 18, 1908, 1.
64 Cardston Alberta Star, October 9, 1908, 5; Thompson and Seager, “Workers, Growers and Monopolists,” 31.
65 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.
66 RSCA, W.J. Hyde to Raymond Knight, October 17, 1911; Knight Sugar Co. to W. Julius Hyde, October 26, 1911.
67 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.
68 Raymond Leader, October 27, 1911, 4.
69 RSCA, Knight Sugar Co. to W.J. Hyde, October 12, 1912.

Notes
NEIGHBOURS AND NETWORKS

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.
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.

Cardston Alberta Star, May 24, 1907, 4. 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.


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.

Cardston Alberta Star, May 24, 1907, 4. 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.


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.


46 Goldfrank, Changing Configurations, 21.


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

49 Goldfrank, Changing Configurations, 32.

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.

55 Wetherell and Kmet, Useful Pleasures, 359.

56 Dempsey, Tom Three Persons, 54, 72, 97, 99.


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

59 Dempsey, Tom Three Persons, 54, 72, 97, 99.

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.


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.

Jones, “We'll all be buried down here,” xxxvi.

Jones, “We'll all be buried down here,” 27 & 33.

Jones, Empire of Dust, 268–69.

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.

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

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.


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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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.


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.

82 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Virtue, Paterson & Company to Superintendent, DIA, June 24, 1931. For other discussion on this disagreement, see: W.M. Graham to Secretary, DIA, August 31, 1931; A.F. MacKenzie to Virtue, Paterson & Beaumont, September 4, 1931; Virtue, Paterson & Company to Secretary, DIA, September 21, 1931; T.R.L. MacInnes to Virtue, Paterson and Company, September 28, 1931.

83 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.

84 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, Cardston Implement Company to Honourable Charles Stewart, December 29, 1927. The Honourable Charles Stewart was asked to intervine in this matter. Charles Stewart to Cardston Implement Company, Ltd., January 27, 1928.


86 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.

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


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

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

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

92 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.

93 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 6, 1928.

94 Pugh broke down the debt as follows; $6,000.00 due to the Cardston Implement Company, $3,200.00 due to Massey-Harris Company, $1,100.00 due the International Harvester Company. There was also a $2,000.00 twine debt and $1,400.00 for hail insurance. It was much the same situation for those companies who supplied the Indians with groceries; $2,700.00 due the Cardston Trading Company, $2,040.00 due Burt Brothers, $1,750.00 due E. McNeil and $827.00 due R.N. Wilson. LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 6, 1928.

95 LAC, RG 10, vol. 7881, file 35103, J.E. Pugh to Duncan C. Scott, January 6, 1928.

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

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

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

99On 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

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.

Authorized debts to merchants were given preference over monies owed the Department and the Band. 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.

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.

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

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. McCutheons, 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.
7899, file 40103-1; see Statement of J.E. Pugh and Statement of Clerk Anthony McMillay.
126 Cardston News, December 27, 1928, 1.

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. *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.

25 *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, CSP No. 27, 1922, 58.


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


Select Bibliography

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Glenbow Archives, Calgary. Blood Indian Agency Correspondence
Glenbow. Cross Family Papers
Glenbow. Cochrane Ranch Letterbook
Glenbow. Diary of W.F. Cochrane, Cochrane Ranch
Glenbow. George Gibson Coote Papers, 1907–1956
Glenbow. Knight Sugar Company Papers
Glenbow. Western Stock Grazing Association Papers
Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa. RG 10 – Records of the Department of Indian Affairs, Black Series
LAC. RG 18 – Records of the North West Mounted Police
Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Edmonton. Blood Indian Files
PAA. Legislative Assembly Records
Roger’s Sugar Company Archives, Vancouver. Files relating to the Knight Sugar Company

OFFICIAL REPORTS

Census of Prairie Provinces.
PRIVATE HOLDINGS

Wallace Weiss Diary. Courtesy of the Rob Weiss Family.

BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND PAMPHLETS


MacInnes, C.M. *In the Shadow of the Rockies*. London: Rivingtons, 1930.


Wilson, R.N. *Our Betrayed Wards: A Story of Chicanery, Infidelity and the Prostitution of Trust*. Ottawa, 1921.


NEWSPAPERS

Calgary Herald
Cardston Alberta Star
Cardston Globe
Cardston News
Cardston Record
Family Herald
Kamloops Standard-Sentinel
Lethbridge Herald
Lethbridge News
Macleod Advertiser
Macleod Gazette
Macleod News
Macleod Spectator
Macleod Times
Pincher Creek Rocky Mountain Echo
Raymond Chronicle
Raymond Leader
Raymond Recorder
Raymond Rustler
UID News
Western Native News
Index

A

Aboriginal labour, 10, 107–8. See also Blood labour
Aboriginal right or title to land, 165, 213n13
A.D. Cairncross, 142
Adleman, Jeremy, 115
agents. See Indian agents
agriculture, 59, 73, 171. See also haying;
sugar beet industry
cereal and mixed farm, 24
cornmercial, 52
dry-land farming, 46
farm abandonments, 61
farm yields, 142–43
mechanization, 84–85, 93, 123–24, 199n69
mixed farming, 36, 46, 51–54, 165, 187n52, 189n87
reserve farming, 171
in western Canadian economy, 72
Akers, Dave, 24
Alberta Provincial Police, 55
Alberta Railway and Coal Company, 104
alienation of Blood land, 22, 52, 59–60, 141, 166
Allen, H.S., 106
American West, 5
Anglo-Canadian superiority, 3. See also
settlers’ sense of superiority
Anglo-Canadians
views of Native peoples, 45
approved purchases. See authorized debt;
unauthorized credit
assimilationist policies, 1–3, 12, 18–19, 35–37, 73, 164
Assiniboine, 6
authorized debt, 132, 139

B

barter, 129
Bastien, Betty, 29
Beal, Carl, 9, 68, 71–72, 165, 173
Beebe, Mabel, 87
beet industry. See sugar beet industry
Belly River, 13
Bennett, Thomas, 114–15
Binnema, Theodore, 32
Common and Contested Ground, 172
The Birth of Western Canada (Stanley), 2
Black Horse, 15, 75
black market, 132
Blackfoot, 24, 29
change and adaptation, 29
dependence on buffalo, 28, 30
diet, 32
protective presence of North West Mounted Police, 31

*The Blackfoot Confederacy 1880–1920* (Samek), 71

‘failure of reservation economies,’ 4

Blood cattle owners. See Blood ranchers and cattle owners

Blood competitiveness, 87–88, 98, 102, 164, 168

assisted by DIA and local agent, 100

backlash against, 73, 98, 100

in coal mining, 74

Blood freighters. See freighting

Blood haymakers. See haying

Blood indebtedness. See debt

Blood labour, 103–25. See also Aboriginal labour

abandonment of beet harvest, 112–13
day labour, 73
field labourers, 110
not susceptible to divide and conquer, 123
pivotal to survival of Knight Sugar Co., 122
refusal to become captive labour, 111, 118
significance to sugar beet industry, 103, 105–11, 124–25
sold to highest bidder, 119, 123
strained relations with beet contractors, 113
unwillingness to subsidize Knight Sugar, 121
wage garnishees, 112
wages, 109, 111–13
work habits, 111–14

Blood ranchers and cattle owners, 152, 171

grazing stock on Dominion lands, 43

horse and cattle herds, 43, 49, 51, 125

Blood reserve, 24

accommodation with rancher and farmer/settlers, 24

expenditures, 139

farming, 171 (See also agriculture; haying)

income, 139

road allowances through, 136, 166

selection of, 26, 30, 128, 163–64

settlement patterns, 13

trails, 15

Blood reserve land, 13, 28

abuse by ranchers and homesteaders, 56, 64

Blood defense of their rights, 22, 36

Cardston Mormons’ use of, 50, 64–65
carrying capacity, 51, 191n118
closure to surrounding community, 49, 53–55
decision making by Bloods concerning, 37, 57, 68
environmental damage, 62, 64–66

fencing, 49
government manipulation to suit non-Native neighbours, 36, 59
grazing, 44, 59, 62 (See also leases)
grazing revenue difficulties, 45, 49–50, 54, 61, 168

Greater Production Campaign, 57–60

integration into non-Natives’ land-use, 35–69

leases, 49–50, 52–55, 64–66

over-exploitation, 169

overgrazing, 51, 62, 64

perceived as underused and unproductive, 35, 57, 66–67

refusal to surrender, 57 (See also alienation of Blood land)

seen as open territory to which others had a right, 36, 43, 47, 56, 168

significance to neighbours, 36, 47, 163, 168

stock trespass on, 42, 44, 48–49, 51, 54–55, 189n84, 190n104

treaty rights and, 43
Bloods, 21
  adaptive capacity, 12, 30–31, 73, 164, 170, 175
  aggressive on behalf of own interests, 22
  avoided total marginalization, 172
  cattle theft accusations, 42
  competition (See Blood competitiveness)
  contribution to developing economy of region, xiii, 7
  co-operative and reciprocal partnership with neighbours, 69, 163
  credit to (See credit)
  cutting hay on share basis (See haying)
  debts (See debt)
  denied use of commons (grazing area), 48
  diversified approach to work and income, 164–65
  failure of pass and permit systems, 93 (See also pass and permit system)
  farming, 165, 171
  individual wealth (or means), 157
  individually earned incomes, 138–39
  influence on ranching commerce, 37
  integration into regional economy, 28, 125
  land base, 8, 10, 32, 68, 168, 172 (See also Blood reserve land)
  market to local businesses, 17, 128, 132, 138, 160
  off-reserve work, 73, 88, 97 (See also freighting; sugar beet industry)
  oil leases, 101
  participants in market economy, 5, 12, 72–73, 96, 128, 164
  per capita income, 157, 170–71
  population, 15
  refusal to surrender control, 10, 22, 35, 172
  as shoppers, 17, 132

significant players in local economy, 15, 36, 73, 129, 157, 161–62, 168–69, 172

unauthorized credit (See credit)

willingness and ability to work, 28, 87, 101–2, 109, 123, 164–65 (See also work ethic)

Bloods/Mormon mutual mistrust and disagreement, 26

Bottle, Camoose, 26

Bourgeault, Ron, 10

Breen, David H., 42

British Columbia, 10, 12, 71, 124

labour unrest, 120

Broadfoot, Barry, 133

Brown, Alison Kay, 28, 31

Brownville, 28

Bruce, Frank, 75

Buckley, Helen, 3–4, 33

From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare, 3

Buckwold, Harry, 136

buffalo, 1, 4, 11, 29, 31, 167, 172

importance to fur trade, 30

permanent disastrous effect theory, 3, 28, 30

buffalo robes, 30

Bullshields, Joe, 144

Bundy, Colin, 133

Burns, Pat, 53

businesses. See merchant environment

Butte Bottom Crossing, 15

C

Calgary and Edmonton Railway, 46

Calgary Herald, 109

Calhoun, Daniel, 6

Callie, J.M., 144

Campbell, Glen, 54

Campbell, R.H., 56
Canadian Indian policy, 3–4, 181n64. See also Department of Indian Affairs; Indian Act
agenda of ‘protection, civilization, assimilation,’ 12, 20
belief Natives not ready for free choice, 140
desire for western economy based on farming, 172
isolation policy, 5, 8, 18
native credit and, 139
1969 White Paper, 128
official stated policy vs. actual, 11
pass and permit system, 11, 20–21, 42–43, 71, 81, 92–93, 97–98, 132, 195n3, 199n68, 200n84
’self-support’ ideal, 139
Canadian Sugar Factory, Ltd.
high school girls, 124
imported labour, 124
capitalism, 10–11
Card, Charles Ora, 26, 44, 132
Cardston, 4, 13, 15, 26, 86, 88, 92, 148, 164. See also Mormon settlers
cancellation of lease, 64–65
dominant trading centre, 27
merchants, 128, 132, 136, 141
population, 15
troublesome neighbour to Bloods, 49–50, 166
Cardston Alberta Star, 104, 136
Cardston Globe, 55, 119–20, 136
on Blood lease to Gordon, Ironsides & Fares, 54
Cardston Implement Co. Ltd., 136, 145
Cardston News, 137, 157, 161
Cardston Record, 26, 47
carrying capacity, 32, 39, 51, 191n118
Carstens, Peter, 13
Carter, Sarah, 20
Lost Harvest, 8
“cash or produce” basis, 136
catalogue shopping, 129, 136–37
Cherwinski, W.J.C., 72
children, 104, 106–7, 124
Chinese labour, 112
Christianson, M., 62–64, 76–77, 151, 153–54
civilization, 12, 19, 35–37, 73, 164
incompatible with Native economic and social traditions, 1
‘civilized’ and primitive peoples dichotomy, 3
Clark, C., 129
closed leases, 45–46
coal, 32, 74–77, 96–97
Bloods’ right to sell on open market, 76
complaints of unfair competition, 100
demand during WWI, 75
mining, 72–74
non-Native removal from reserve, 75, 77
occasional market influence, 77
off-reserve sales, 74–75
Coal Banks, 15
coal shortages, 75
Cochrane, D.J., 24
Cochrane, Matthew H., 38
Cochrane, W.F., 39
Cochrane Ranche Company, 13, 51, 80, 86, 88
asked to remove cattle from reserve, 42
coal to, 89
hay purchases from Bloods, 39
informal contract with Bloods (1885), 38–39
regarded reserve as natural extension of grazing lease, 38
Common and Contested Ground (Binnema), 172
contract beet growing, 104, 110, 114, 122
squeezed between Knight Sugar and hired labour, 115
Coombs, M.A., 144
Coote, George, 60
credit, 132, 139, 147, 170, 207n24, 208n44.
See also debt
Agency as responsible customer, 143
contrary to government ideal of self-supporting Native population, 139
crisis of 1920–21, 137
DIA view of, 133
farm expansion and, 137
guarantee from agent, 140
High River Times, 129, 137
James Bay area of Quebec, 129
necessity for, 136–37, 142, 151
public perceptions of, 133
same treatment for Natives and non-Natives, 146
unauthorized, 140–44, 161, 209n75
Cree, 8, 165
Crop Eared Wolf, Chief, 22, 23
Crop Eared Wolf, Joe, 133
crop failures, 150–51, 153
Crowfoot, 3
currency values, changes in, 33
Cypress Hills, 6–7
The Cypress Hills (Hildebrandt), 6

d
Dakota, 8, 173
Danysk, Cecilia, 123
Dawson, C.A., 121–22
Day Chief, 42
Deane, R. Burton, 89
debt, 139, 143, 148, 150, 210n94, 211n112, 212n115. See also credit
collection from Natives, 141
debt forgiven by DIA, 157
debt reduction attempts, 148
during Depression, 152–60
legitimate (or authorized), 132, 139
owed to agency, 155
owed to outside creditors, 155, 157
Dempsey, Hugh, 3, 50, 57, 60, 75
Firewater, 173
den Otter, A.A., 46
Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), 22, 36, 59, 62, 64. See also Canadian Indian policy
assistance to Native participation in market, 100
brokered relationship between Bloods and neighbours, 68, 107
‘civilization’ and assimilation agenda, 1–3, 12, 18–19, 35–37, 73, 164
determination to lease Blood lands, 66
frequent disregard of Blood wishes, 65
goal of making Indians self-sufficient, 18, 37, 73, 76, 107
inflexibility during Depression, 153
intermediaries between Bloods and local businesses, 128
isolation, policy of, 63, 132, 167
‘one good crop’ solution, 152
opposition to machinery, 80
paternalism, xiii, 37, 169
‘peasant farmers’ goal, 37, 80, 93, 184n4
policy on credit, 139–41, 144, 153, 160–61
preoccupation with debt and debt reduction, 148–50
responsibility for authorized Indian indebtedness, 153
rules of Native engagement with capitalism, 128–30
Depression, 8, 129, 171
debt during, 152–60
DIA inflexibility during, 153
DIA responsiveness to non-Natives during, 63
falling commodity prices, 153
Dickason, Olive, 29–30
Dilworth, W.J., 55, 86, 139, 143
assistance with debt collection, 142, 144

Index
Dominion lands, 56
    Native competition for grazing rights, 43
    shrinkage of, 46, 48
Donald McEwan Company, 50
Donald McEwan Company lease, 51
Doxtator, Deborah, 12
drought, 56, 65
dual economy
    Native and capitalist economies, 11

E
Eaton’s. See T. Eaton Company
1885 Rebellion, 20, 93
Elias, Peter, 8, 173
Ellison, E.P., 106, 109, 113, 121
Elofson, W.M., 28, 37, 42, 51
Ens, Gerhard, 11
Eurocentric history, 12
Evans, J.W., 104
Evans, Simon M., 28, 37, 39
Ewers, John C., 32

F
farming. See agriculture
Father Legal, 81
Faunt, J.T., 56, 60, 129, 143–44, 148
    belief in Bloods’ right to market coal, 76
fencing, 45, 48, 166
    access to water and, 46
    destruction of reserve fence, 49–50, 190n104
Finnie, G., 100
firearms, 29
Firewater (Dempsey), 173
First Nations convention (1924), 60
Fisher, Robin, 12, 28
Foran, Max, 61
forest ranges for grazing, 56
Fort Benton, 30
Fort Kipp (Kipp), 15
Fort Macleod, 4, 13, 24, 26, 88, 148, 164
    Blood shopping, 132, 138
    farm yields, 142–43
    growth, 53
    homestead entries, 47
    merchants, 128
    population, 15
    ranching, 49–50
Fort Slide Out, 15
Fort Whoop-Up, 15
Foster, John, 30
Fourth of July celebrations, 114
Fox, Leo, 124
Fox, Margaret, 125
Francis, R. Douglas, 7
Freeman, Donald, 6
freighting, 73, 88–92, 139, 165
    for the agency, 92
    Bloods as significant players, 89, 92
    coal hauling, 88–89
    complaints from non-Natives, 88, 98, 100–101
    conflict with beet labour, 106, 109
    to NWMP posts, 88–89, 92, 96
    routes, 88
    wages or earnings, 88–89, 92
Friesen, Gerald, 11, 52
From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare (Buckley)
    criticism of Indian policy, 3
    frontier peoples’ experiences
    reality of, 6
    fur trade economy, 30, 173

G
Galt, Elliott, 103–5
Galt Coal Company, 88, 96
Galt mines, 74–75
‘Give Us Good Measure’ (Ray), 6
Gladstone, James, 3, 101
Goldfrank, Esther, 5, 125, 170–71
Gordon, Ironsides & Fares
  hay contracts, 87
  lease of Blood reserve land, 52–55
government beef purchases, 138
government lease lands. See Dominion lands
Graham, W.M., 56–57, 59–60, 143, 150–53
grasshoppers, 65
Gray, James, 66
grazing
  Dominion Lands, 48
  forest ranges, 56
  land suited to, 38
grazing dues, 49, 55
  difficulties collecting, 45
  requests for exemption, 44
grazing leases, 58. See also leased land
  First Nations convention on (1924), 60
Greater Production Campaign, 57–60
  forced on the Bloods, 57, 59
  impact on Blood economy, 58–59
  leasing of Indian lands to non-Indians for farming and grazing, 22, 57
‘guaranteed’ debt, 148, 150

H
hair brands, 55, 191n121
Hamer, David, 26
  New Towns in the New World, 4
Hanks, J.R., 5
Hanks, L.M., 5
Hansen, N.X., 75
Harper, Allan G., 68
Harring, Sidney L., 21
Hartley, William G., 112
Hauk mine, 96
hay shortages, 81
haying, 5, 73, 77–87, 139, 165, 171
  Blood market presence, 86–87
  Blood success, 86, 199
  Bloods’ willingness to work, 87
  competition in local market, 77
  conflict with sugar beet labour, 109, 111
  government contracts, 93, 96
  hay contracts for NWMP, 80–81, 86, 96, 100
machinery, 77, 80
  purchase from Blood farmers, 50
  share-crop arrangements, 100
Heavy Gun, 74, 80
Heavy Shield, Peter, 144
Henderson, W.W., 55
High River Times, 129, 137
high school students, 124
Hildebrandt, Walter, 7, 71
  The Cypress Hills, 6
  Views from Fort Battleford, 6–7
Hill Spring, 13
Hilliard, Sergeant, 49
Hillier (rancher-settler), 48
Hind Bull, Chief, 119
Hind Bull, Eva, 87
Historical Statistics of Canada (Urquhart), 33
History of the Canadian Dollar (Powell), 33
Home-Seekers Association, 107
homestead entries, 47
homesteaders, 48. See also settlers
  abuse of reserve land, 56
  problems facing, 66
  view of reserve as public domain, 42, 66
horses, 29, 49, 51
  Blood horses on public domain, 48
  Blood ranchers’ substantial horse herds, 43
  sale of, 156
H.S. Allen and Co., Ltd, 136, 142
Hubner, Brian, 6–7
Hudson’s Bay Company, 30
credit to Natives, 129
monopoly, 11
trading facilities on reserves, 132
Hungarian immigrants
dominant labour in beet fields (’30s and ’40s), 125
Hyde, Julius, 111, 118–19

I
I.G. Baker Co., 138
imported labour, 112, 115, 119, 123–24
impounding of stray horses and cattle, 55
Indian Act, 18, 47, 60, 68, 128, 145, 147–48
assimilationist policy, 2
debt collection and, 141
inherent contradictions, 1, 11
isolation, policy of, 2
making land available to capital, 10
provision for election of chiefs and councilors, 19
racism as government policy, 19
regulated leasing of Indian reserve land, 21–22
trespass on reserve lands and, 45, 55
Indian Act amendment (1880), 21
Indian Act amendment (1881), 19
Indian Act amendment (1895)
power to depose chiefs, 20
Indian Act amendment (1918), 57
Indian agents, 22. See also names of individual agents
assistance to Bloods’ participation in market, 100
assistance with debt collection, 141–44
attempts to protect Native interests, 22, 43, 45, 67–68, 135–37, 169
intermediaries between Bloods and local businesses, 96, 128
no control over money earned off-reserve, 140
opposition to credit, 139–40
placing Bloods in off-reserve work, 73, 169
powers of, 19–20, 181n65
ultimate government authority on the reserve, 18
Indian (or Native) image in early history of the West, 179n33
Indian life and mythology
in our cultural and literary heritage, 7
Indian reservations. See reserves
Indian-European Trade Relations (Thistle), 6
Indians in the Fur Trade (Ray), 6
Indians taking away livings of white men. See Native competition
industrial capitalism, 10, 12
Innes, Rob, 72
irrigation technology, 46
isolation, policy of, 2, 5, 8. See also pass and permit system
difficulties of maintaining, 167
trading facilities on reserves, 132
itinerant salesmen, 129

J
Jacobs, Z.W., 75
Jameson, Shelagh, 37
Japanese-Canadians, 125
Japanese “syndicate,” 118
Jenkins Brothers, 62
Jensen, Christian, 65
Jones, David, 46, 58, 60, 137, 146
Index

K
Kelly, L.V., 37
Kennedy, Margaret A., 30
Klassen, Henry, 129
Kmet, Irene, 4, 15
Knight, Jesse, 103–5
Knight, Raymond, 111, 118, 120
Knight, Rolf, 10, 71, 164
Knight and Watson
  lease of Blood reserve land, 53
Knight Sugar Co., 11, 108, 119
  acrimony with local farmers, 119
  believed labour to be main problem, 115
  closing of, 124
  contract with Japanese “syndicate,” 118
  contracts with local farmers, 104, 110, 113–15, 122
  dependent on Bloods’ labour, 109, 111
  double standard (best jobs reserved for Whites), 112
  failure of, 119–20
  free market and commodification view of beet labour, 113
  imported labour, 112, 119, 123
  impressed with Bloods’ work, 107
  labour shortage, 118
  lacking in market savvy, 122
  planned move to Layton, Utah, 105
  proximity to Blood reserve, 105
  relations with local farmers, 121
  wage garnishees, 119
Kootenai River, 13
Krech, Shepherd III, 29

L
labour and labour shortages, 110, 115, 118
  captive labour pools, 125
  sugar beet industry, 119 (See also Blood labour)
  western Canadian economy, 72
  labour unrest, 120
  labour/management relations, 120
  Laliberté, Ron, 10–11, 125
land grants to Calgary and Edmonton Railway, 46
land use, 17. See also agriculture; leases; reserves
Laurier’s Liberal government, 19
  settler-friendly policies, 45–46
lease dues, 50
leased land, 192n146, 193n160, 193n164, 194n166
  Crown land, 38, 45–46
  question of exclusive use, 63–64
leases, 21–22, 50, 52–54, 61
  cancellation of Cardston lease, 64–65
  opposition to large leases, 53
  termination of closed leases, 45–46
Leavitt, Frank, 124
Lee Creek, 26
  ‘legitimate’ (or authorized) sales for merchants, 132. See also credit; debt
Lethbridge, 13, 15, 27, 88, 164
  Blood shopping, 132, 138
  credit to Bloods, 141
  hay sales to, 86
Lethbridge area ranching, 50
Lethbridge Herald, 60
Lethbridge News, 86, 89
Liberal government, 19
  sympathetic to farmers, 45–46
licence system, 200n92
Limerick, Patricia, 5–6
local businesses. See merchant environment
local press
  on Blood land leases, 52–54
  on loyalty to home-grown businesses, 136
logging, 73
Lost Harvest (Carter), 8
Lupton, A.A., 49
Lutz, John, 71
Lux, Maureen, *Medicine That Walks*, 31

**M**

M.A. Coombs, Cardston, 144
Macdonald’s Conservative government legislation favouring ranching, 38
Macdougall, Brenda, 72
machinery. See mechanization
Macleod, 86, 141. See also Fort Macleod
*Macleod Advertiser*, 52–53
*Macleod Gazette*, 38, 74, 86, 133
complaints against Indian competition, 98–99
on pass system, 42–43
Macleod, R.C., 31, 37
*Macleod Spectator*, 52
*Macleod Times*, 57, 101
Magrath, C.A., 75
mail cartage, 73
mail order houses (catalogue sales), 136–37
Marchildon, Gregory P., 60
market activities, 74–91
market capitalism, 9, 71–72
Massey-Harris, 142, 145
Maunsell Brothers, 42
McCann, Larry, 165
McCaugherty, W.T., 63
treated Bloods as “trespassers” on his leased land, 64
McCullough, A.B., 138
McGill, Harold W., 19
McGovern (homesteader), 56
McLean, A.J., 60, 144, 150, 167
McLean, J.D., 19, 48
mechanization, 84–85, 93, 199n69
automatic beet loader, 124
Blood farmers’ use of, 93
machinery, 77, 80
sugar beet industry, 123–24
*Medicine That Walks* (Lux), 31
Meighen Government, 57
merchant environment, 128–38
barter, money purchases, and credit, 129
belief in DIA responsibility for Native debt, 141, 144–46
Blood and agency debt during Depression, 154
Cardston, 128, 136
collecting debts, 145–46
credit to Bloods, 136–37, 141, 147
discrimination, 133
Fort Macleod, 128
HBC trading facilities on reserves, 132
local agent held responsible for debts, 143–44
merchants’ debt load, 144
pricing, 132–33
sought out Blood patronage, 137
‘unauthorized’ credit to Natives, 140–44, 161, 209n75
Mercredi, Ovide, 127
Métis, 11–12
Miller, J.R., 7, 21
Mistaken Chief, 74
mixed farming, 46, 51–54, 165, 187n52, 189n87, 204n84
Blood participants, 165
dependent on access to Blood reserve, 52
Moir, Mrs. F.A., 147
Moon, Chief, 80
Moon, Harold Chief, 125
Morantz, Toby, 129
Mormon settlers, 26–27, 50–51, 92, 103–5, 112, 121
invasion of reserve in search of feed, 44
mutual distrust of Bloods, 26
Morton, W.L., 163
Native and non-Native partnership in development, 12
Native and non-Native sharing communities and economic regions, 8, 72, 127, 164
Native collaboration with new economy, 9, 164
Native competition complaints of, 97–98, 100, 195n3 disapproval of, 76, 197n26
Native credit. See credit
Native extinction, 2, 32, 53
Native host community or culture, 8
Native irrelevance, 12, 26, 71, 172 in Canadian historical and literary writings, 2, 4 era of, 195n4 false perception, 5
Native labour. See Aboriginal labour
Native language and traditional educational system, 19
Native people. See also Aboriginal labour; Bloods communal property holding, 141 instrumental approach to law, 31 interaction with the newcomers, 8 livestock theft accusations, 37, 42 participation in local and extended economies, 71, 195n4 persistence and adaptation, 6, 32 pivotal players in fur trade economy, 6, 11 pressure to alienate reserve land, 165 wardship status, 141, 145, 147 Native self-government, 4 Neilson, J.E., 56 New Oxley Ranche Company, 45, 81 New Towns in the New World (Hamer), 4 Newell, Dianne, 10 “next year’s crop,” 137, 147 ‘next-year country,’ 52, 152, 161, 163 Nicholson & Bain, 122 North West Irrigation Company, 103–4 North West Mounted Police, 13, 22, 24, 164 coal, 88–89, 96freighting for, 92 hay from Bloods, 80–81, 86, 96, 100 protective presence of, 26, 31 reluctance to enforce pass system, 97

Oldman River, 13
Old Person, Earl, 31
Oliver, Frank, 68, 76 160-acre homestead, 163 order system of purchasing, 208n63 “Our Betrayed Wards” (Wilson), 59 overgrazing, 62, 64, 189n82, 189n84 Oxley Ranche. See New Oxley Ranche Company

Pacific Coast fisheries, 10 Parras, Coahuila Province, Mexico, 6 pass and permit system, 11, 20, 71, 92–93, 98, 199n68 pass system, 10, 42–43, 200n84 confined Natives to reserves, 20 1885 Rebellion and, 93 extra-legal, 21 Native objections to, 21 NWMP reluctance to enforce, 97 public relations ploy, 97 Passey, W.T., 65 peasant farmers, 37, 80, 93, 184n4 Pedley, Frank, 107 Peers, Laura Lyn, 28, 31 Penrose, J., 167
Pentland, H.C., 113
permit system, 93, 195n3
attempt to control Native participation
in local economies, 21, 92
haying and, 81
sale of reserve produce by individual
Bloods, 132
used to shore up ‘extra-legal’ pass
system, 21
Perry, A.B., 110
Pincher Creek, 47
Pioneer Furniture Store, 144
Pitcher Sheep Co., 65
Plains buffalo culture, 173
Plains Cree, 7
Plains Indians, 1, 3
pre-reserve economy, 11
Pocklington, William, 39, 42, 80, 93
Powell, James, *History of the Canadian
Dollar*, 33
Prairie Chicken
contract beet growing, 110
Primrose, PCH, 86
public land. See Dominion lands
Pugh, J.E., 62–63, 65, 77, 145, 148, 149,
152, 156–57
inventory of Blood debts, 154–55
market speculations, 153
recommended end of leases, 64–65

ranchers and ranching, 32, 37, 49–50, 73
abuse of Blood land, 56
attempts to force down lease rates, 61
devastated by commercial agriculture
and winter of 1906/07, 52
farmer hostility to, 46
immigration as threat to, 46
land lease arrangement (Crown land),
38, 45–46
legislation favouring, 38
looking to Blood reserve for pasture,
18, 36, 46
mixed farming, 51
Native labour, 18
purchases of fuel and fodder from
Natives, 18
threatened by settler demand for land,
46
rangelands
carrying capacity, 32, 39, 51, 191n118
suitability for cultivation, 46
suitability for farming, 52
ration systems, 59
Ray, Arthur J., 11
‘Give Us Good Measure,’ 6
*Indians in the Fur Trade*, 6
Raymond, 15, 27, 164
*Raymond Chronicle*, 115, 118
*Raymond Leader*, 75, 104–5
*Raymond Rustler*, 103–5
Raymond sugar beet fields. See sugar beet
industry
Red Crow, 3, 22, 26, 39, 44
Red River area
Native collaboration with new
economy, 164
Reed, Hayter, 20, 42, 92
Native ‘peasant farmers’ goal, 93
off-reserve employment for Bloods, 97
rent arrears, 194n166. See also leased land;
leases
reserve economies, 4, 72
reserves. See also Blood reserve
Canadian perceptions of, 1
central to policy of Natives paying own
way, 36
defending against encroachment of
neighbours, 22
establishment of, 11
leasing of lands, 21 (See also leases)
making land available to capital, 10
Saskatchewan, 71–72
seen as excess and unused Native lands, 35
structures of management, 18–20
as system of control, 20–22
residential schools, 20, 177n5
Rimmer, Reginald, 49
Ririe, M.E., 66
Riverside Lumber Co., 143
Robbins, William, 9
Roche, W., 53
Rollason, Heather, 31, 37, 42

S
Samek, Hana, 4, 28, 165, 170–71
*The Blackfoot Confederacy 1880-1920*, 4, 71
Saskatchewan, 10
Saskatchewan Cree, 173
Saskatchewan Indian reserves, 71
diversity of reserve economies, 72
Schmidt, C., 66
Scott, Duncan Campbell, 1, 19, 59, 145–46, 153
belief in Bloods’ right to market coal, 76
scouting for NWMP, 73
seasonal labour, 72
in fairs and exhibitions, 73
Seed, Patricia, 127
“self-supporting squad,” 51
selling for produce, 207n32
settlement patterns, 24
settler-friendly policies, 45
settlers, 32, 35. See also homesteaders
threat to ranchers, 46
settlers bordering reserve
intentionally running stock on reserve, 39, 55
settlers’ sense of superiority, 47, 68
Sharon mine, 96
Sharp, Paul, 26
Shewell, Hugh, 28
“shopping spree,” 138, 173
Shot Both Sides, Chief, 54, 60
Shot Both Sides, Jim, 87
Sifton, Clifford, 19, 46–47, 50
’site’ (W.L. Morton), 163
Skelding, George, 109
Smellie, J.T., 113–14
Smith and Pitcher Ltd., 144
Spindler, George D., 31
Spindler, Louise S., 31
Springett, A.R., 45
Spry, Irene, 164
St. Germain, Jill, 31
St. Mary’s River, 13
Standoff Trading Co., 146
Stanley, G.F.G., 3
*The Birth of Western Canada*, 2
Steele, Sam, 81
Stewart, Charles, 60
Stewart, J.S., 66
stock raising, 42, 56, 61–62, 139, 151, 165
stock water reserves, 46
Stonechild, Blair, 21
strays, 48, 55, 191n123
impounding, 55
killing of, 56, 186n28
sugar beet industry, 10, 27, 103–25, 170
Blood labour in, 103–25, 165, 201n1
considered unsuitable for white men, 110
contract beet farmers, 104, 110, 113–15, 122
high school students, 124
imported labour, 110, 115, 119
local evolution, 103–5
mechanization, 123–24
need for dependable cheap labour, 105
second phase, 124–25
squeeze on beet labour, 10–11
in transition, 124
unprofitable in inflated wage circumstances, 121
wages, 113, 118, 123
sugar beet season, 105–6
Sun Dance, 22
Sweeting, John F., 120
Swinford, S., 75

T
T. Eaton Company, 129, 136, 207n33
Tanner, George, 142
Taylor, John W., 59, 103–5
Thistle, Paul C., *Indian-European Trade Relations*, 6
Thompson, John Herd, 12
Three Persons, Tom, 3, 132, 140
Tobias, John L., 20
Tough, Frank, 11, 72
*Town Life* (Wetherell/Kmet), 4
Trachtenberg, Alan, 5–6
traditional Native economic behaviours
adapted and altered, 172–73
rendered obsolete in Southern Alberta, 72

treaty promises, 92
treaties, 92
making land available to capital, 10
Native right to use of public domain, 48
written vs. oral accounts of, 127
Treaty 7, 31, 69, 127, 173
food crisis following, 32
government beef purchases, 138
leasing policies and, 60
promises that necessitated non-Native market economy, 139
supply of Indians with food and other goods, 24
treaty money issuance
altered to fit beet harvest, 107, 109, 111, 118, 123
merchants’ interest in, 137–38
Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 128

U
unauthorized credit, 140–44, 161, 209n75
Urquhart, M.C., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 33

V
vagrancy laws, 10
Venne, Sharon, 127
Vibert, Elizabeth, 29
*Views from Fort Battleford* (Hildebrandt), 6–7
Voisey, Paul, 8, 24, 46, 129, 137
Vulcan, 24

W
wage garnishees, 112, 119
wages, 107–8, 112, 119
Walker, James St. G., 2
Wallace and Hauks, 49
War Measures Act, 58
Western Canada Irrigation Congress, 120
Western Lumber Company, 144
Wetherell, Donald G., 15
*Town Life*, 4
White Paper (1969), 128
White, Richard, 9
Whoop-Up Trail, 24
Wilson, James, 42–43, 49, 74, 81, 86, 98–100, 106–8, 111–12, 114, 138, 141, 166
arranging of freighting contracts, 88–89
assistance with debt collection, 142
attempt to charge grazing dues, 44
on Blood right to equal use of public domain, 48
on Bloods’ abilities in beet industry, 107
on carrying capacity of reserve, 51
efforts to collect lease dues from Cardston Mormons, 50
intent on exploiting market, 89
records of Bloods’ accounts, 132
special efforts of, 92–97
Wilson, J.O. (officer), 110
Wilson, R.N., 108, 109–10, 146
on Bloods’ abilities in beet industry, 107
opposition to Greater Production Campaign, 58
“Our Betrayed Wards,” 59
winter of 1906/07, 52
winter of 1919/20
Blood cattle losses, 125
women, 106–7, 124
Woolf, J.W., 111
work ethic, 59
World War I, 22, 57, 75

Y

York Factory, 29

Z

Zaharia, Flora, 124
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.