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## "Children of the Soil":

## Agriculture, Labour and "Civilization" in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports 1864-1892

The young colonial government began annual reports on "Indian" affairs in 1864 under the Province of Canada. The documents are useful for tapping into the psyche and ideology of the government. The reports are noteworthy for what they say to whom, and what they leave out. I am interested in the rhetoric around "civilization", agriculture, and labour. I have researched until 1892 as a good benchmark after the formal establishment of an Indian policy emerging after confederation with the passing of the Indian Act in 1876. These reports function as summaries into the "development" of Indigenous communities across Canada as more and more territory comes under jurisdiction. At the same time as more Nations come under government responsibility, they have more aspects of their lives scrutinized and effected by "Indian policy". At first the reports are very land focused, speaking to the potential for Indigenous peoples once they surrender their territory and settle reserves (Fig. 1 and 2). They tend to focus more overtly on the western plains, west coast, Manitoba, and North-West Territory. At first concerned about land, treaty negotiations, and reserves, Indian policy eventually invades more aspects of First Nations life as bureaucratic scrutiny comes to examine intimate and personal social-cultural realms around family relations, small scale economics, schooling and spirituality as government control influences more areas of Native life (Fig. 3).

These reports are written by Indian Affairs bureaucrats, compiling the notes of the Indian Agents or superintendents dispersed throughout the country. They are meant to summarize the year's events and report them to government officials. Because of their reception and process of creation, we can expect that certain things are left out or overemphasized. They are not necessarily an accurate account of Indigenous life, but rather *how Settler-Colonial government officials perceive Indian life to be*.

Unsurprisingly a common theme among reports is land dispossession (Fig. 1 and 2). It makes sense that the government with its eyes set on expansion are concerned with the development of treaty negotiations and the sale of "surrendered" lands. The 1868 report analyses the previous agreements made through their lens of nation building. With regards to the Seignury of Lake of Two Mountains, the interpretation of the government on the tittle given by the French Crown to St. Sulpice suggested "that the Indians have in that Seignury no rights whatever in the soil." Further, the young dominion is looking to grow its land base and settle farmers as evidenced by the 1871 report. The report reads in reference to Manitoba and North-West Territory

The Reserves, specified in the treaties entered into in 1871 are about to be surveyed under a regulation made by the Department for that purpose; and by this means the anxiety of the Indians, lest they should be encroached upon by white settler be removed.<sup>2</sup>

The glaring irony here, is that while the government is paternalistically protecting Indians from encroachment, they are undergoing diplomatic process to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE YEAR 1868. <a href="http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?">http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?</a> IdNumber=39, (date of last access March 12 2016), 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ANNUAL REPORT ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, FOR YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1872. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=212 (date of last access March 12 2016), 8.

land, and access to it. The government is simultaneously the protectorate and the problem. In the same report, excitement around a new policy "will open the way for sale of the large quantities of disposable land in the (Saugeen/Bruce) Peninsula." These processes of land deposition were not only underway on the Western Prairies, but elsewhere like in Ontario with bands that had already been settled. The report continues discussing the "favourable positions" of some Reserves in BC, Manitoba, and the North-West.

The favourable positions of some of the Indian Reserves, and the inducements held out by farmers anxious to lease from the Indians their agricultural lands, has had an unfavourable effect upon the latter, disincline them from the arduous labour when they can contrive to subset upon the moneys periodically received from the Department, and the rents they would thus obtain, and thereby induing an indolence hindering all progress.<sup>4</sup>

The government is not concerned about the shrinking land base of reserves. Instead it is preoccupied on what effects this has on the work ethic of Indigenous peoples. If they lease their agricultural lands, they will simply live off the rent and never develop as "civilized" peoples capable of "arduous labour". This turns to another theme imbedded in the psychic underpinnings of many "Indian" policies. This rhetoric draws heavily on stereotypical characteristics of the "lazy Indian", there is a consistent emphasis to turn Indigenous peoples into settled, "civilized" people, but also importantly *productive capitalist labourers* through agriculture and other industry.

My framework of analysis in influenced heavily from historian Sarah Carter and her work on Prairie reserves and government farm programs. She identifies a discrepancy between "Indians and agriculture (as) incompatible" yet showing desire, concern, and interest in farming

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ANNUAL REPORT ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, FOR YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1872, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ANNUAL REPORT ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, FOR YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1872, 7.

as evidenced by treaty negotiations.<sup>5</sup> This greatly complicates the notion that Indigenous peoples need assistance on their "progression" to "civilization" or its enforcement. This also dismantles the idea that Indians in reserves were "indifferent, hostile, or apathetic" to agriculture when they "showed the greater willingness and inclination to farm" over a government that seemed uninterested in establishing serious agricultural practices on reserves.<sup>6</sup> Why would a government make conquered peoples self-sufficient when they could keep them dependent? Regardless, Indians *ability* to farm was "central" to government and popular discourse with headlines like "Raising Crops Not Scalps." An 1889 newspaper stated an Ontario man visiting an Indian reserve "might well be excused for taking it from a white mans farm working on an extensive scale; and not on the reserves of the children of the soil."

The annual reports emphasis on agriculture is in the framework of bringing development and "progress" through government Indian policy. This is seemingly achieved through labour and cultural loss. The inaugural 1864 report states "to effect improvement we must then break up the noxious system out of which so much evil grows. No true civilization can prevail apart from labor, skill may go hand in hand." It continues "agriculture may be practices as a science, it is important that the Indian people shall be educated for it. The policy to be pursued be such as to dissuade the Indians from its neglect." Similarly as the 1872 report, the 1864 report is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sarah Carter. *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy.* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864. <a href="http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=5">http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=5</a>, (date of last access March 12 2016), 5.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864, 5.

concerned about membership and who is labouring on reserve lands. Are they taking away the civilizing work from Indians?

Act 13 and 14th Victoria chapter 74 section 10, prohibits non-Indians (or those intermarried from) intruding, cultivating, squatting Indian lands (reserve allotments, which are isolated and small parcels of remaining autonomy)...with a view to terminate the enervating and pernicious practice of associating white settlers on the occupancy of their lands, and giving over the cultivation of there farms to them in shares, the law may effectively be invoked..the system shuts out younger members of an Indian family from useful employment, and enforces upon them idleness with its tendency to dissipation.<sup>11</sup>

The enforcement of the law is veiled as a paternalist protection. The government is concerned with those who seem white, half-breeds, and those intermarried in bands and the consequences they have in the taking up space in the agricultural transition. However, we should wonder what is actually at work here if as Carter points our, Indigenous peoples wanted to farm, and it was the government policy that prevented them from transitioning economically. Likewise, even if First Nations peoples had to be "educated in agricultural science" as in the quote above, its important that government inefficiency hindered the development of this practice. Not only do Indigenous people seemingly need to be labouring, it has to be "useful employment." More on that later.

Indian Affairs Minister David Laird in 1878 was sceptical about reserve farming, believe it perpetuated "tribal society." Prosperous farmers would share their crops with "starving brethren, lost heart and dropped to the level of the precarious 'hand to mouth' system of the band." On the contrary the 1882 report begins "I am glad to be able to report, that the advanced conditions of the Indians, settled upon reserves in several localities in the Territories... the object for which they were established, namely: the practical exemplification of the Indians of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 79.

meaner in which farms should be managed, has been attained."<sup>13</sup> But was the motivation behind developing Indigenous agriculture to "civilize" Prairie bands, or was it economically motivated?

The 1882 report continues "it is confidently expected that in a few years, the Department will be in a position to inaugurate this system" throughout the reserves in the Territories "and that as a result, the country will be relieved of the heavy cost of feeding the Indians." <sup>14</sup> The good news of alleviating fiscal responsibility continues "three our of the five bands whose reserves were situated between Rivere Qui Barre and Edmonton are reputed to have done well. They have 117 acres under cultivation... Continual supervision will, however, have to be exercised on the Reserves to keep the Indians from lagging at their work." <sup>15</sup> Nonsensically, Indigenous peoples are simultaneously successful and on the verge of idleness. The fallacy continues:

The Peigans whose reserve is situated on the Old Man's river, and who number about 500, raised more potatoes, oats and barley than any other band in the Agency. A great reduction in the issue of rations of flour on this reserve has consequently been made- one quarter instead of one half pound per capita being now the daily allowance.<sup>16</sup>

Lastly in the District of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan in the 1892 report "the grain grown on other reserves, while not so bountiful, was sufficient to greatly reduce the cost of feeding them." Even a decade after the 1882 reports, the government is still concerned about cutting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882. <a href="http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?ldNumber=2548">http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?ldNumber=2548</a>, (date of last access March 12 2016), x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892. <a href="http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=8341">http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=8341</a> (date of last access March 12 2016), 11.

costs. It would seem that self-sufficiency is more in the name of alleviating fiscal responsibility than a "civilizing mission." The motivation behind agriculture is not civilization, but easing government support promised to Indigenous peoples in starvation induced coercive treaties.<sup>18</sup>

Carter outlines that while Indigenous people were outcrying their situations and starvation, the government "ideology" positioned them as "chronic complainers...their grievances and demands dismissed as beggars." 19 The development of the Home Farm program, which was applicable to North-West Territory and Manitoba—was done with the intent of making Indigenous people self-supporting as stated by Indian Affairs minster Lawrence Vankoughnet in the 1878 report.<sup>20</sup> However this self-sufficiency was not to benefit them economically, just alleviate hunger. Carter positions that the program was generated by the food crisis in the North-West and not "a benevolent concern that the Indians be aided in their transition to agricultural way of life."21 The program was only to target the people who were formerly dependent on buffalo, so the program was decreased to exclude Treaty One, Two, Three, Five, or extension into Manitoba.<sup>22</sup> However by 1885 it was clear the program was a disaster. Liberal MP Malcolm Cameron used the Department's own annual reports to portray that some bands had not received their oxen, tools, or seeds.<sup>23</sup> The starvation was alleviated with rations that were not sufficient enough to rid Indigenous peoples of malnutrition.<sup>24</sup> The MacDonald government's response to "Indian misery" was that these accusations were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> James W. Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life,* (Regina, Saskatchewan: University of Regina Press, 2013.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Carter, Lost Harvests; Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Daschuk, Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life, 132.

"fabricated by people without the remotest acquaintance with Indians." Although the people experiencing starvation, and malnutrition without government assistance also tried their best to speak up while being kept on reservations. The MacDonald government was insistent that First Nations people "had been provided with far more than had ever been contemplated in the treaties." Carter continues her analysis that by the turn of the century the Prairie land rush forced the government for more land surrenders (further limiting reserve agricultural capability), as the government did not see cultivation as part of a "stable reserve economy." Just like in the 1870's confronted with starvation, the fallacy continued in the 1890's with Indigenous peoples encouraged to sell their land "as a means of acquiring the necessaries to begin a life of agriculture."

Intertwined in the *politics of starvation* and agriculture in the Department reports is rhetoric around civilization, progress, and assimilation. As outlined, "civilization" could not have been the main motive of developing agriculture. But none the less the acculturation of Indigenous peoples, and measuring their "success" under government policy was a preoccupation for those who authored reports. The 1864 report discusses Prairie bands as "with sufficient Reserves including, especially in Western Canada, lands adapted to tillage, set apart for their benefit) they might with very great advantage, if resolved be industrious, portably apply themselves."<sup>29</sup> The report positions that Indigenous peoples just need to work hard to achieve their success, and that all the tools and lands appropriate for this transition have been given to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Carter. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, 237.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864, 5.

them. It is the "naturally indolent character" of the Indians which requires farming and constant labour to to limit their "life of idleness." Likewise the spiritual assault on Indigenous people is alluded to in the 1872 report with reference to BC. Manitoba and the North-West the missionaries have been "less in proportion to the mass of ignorance and the pagan superstition."31 It would appear that "civilization" while not being equated with agricultural selfsufficiency, it does seem to be characterized by monotheism and acculturation of Indigenous spiritual worldviews. This is continued in the 1882 report where an Agent reported that as Indigenous peoples "advance in civilization and adopt industrial pursuits" they are "abandoning their heathenish rites and ceremonies, in connection with much valuable time was wont to be spent to the neglect of their fields and crops."32 For government officials, civilization and industrial productivity were mutually exclusive of Ingenious spirituality. This would prove a thread of assimilationism embedded in government policy. This would become legislated in an 1885 amendment to the Indian Act referred to as the Potlatch Ban which outlawed ceremonies. Housing is also of concern for government officials reporting on Indian progress. The 1882 report states that a group of settled Plains Indians "in the arts of civilization, such as building houses, barns and store or root houses" as well as cultivating, live much more comfortably "when compared with the discomfort of the tipis or tent." Housing and spirituality enter Department of Indian Affairs annual reports as jurisdiction consumes more realms of First Nations lives. One of those big new developments was schooling and education.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> ANNUAL REPORT ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, FOR YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1872, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, x.

Under the Indian Act of 1876 Residential Schooling was systemically implemented and education was no longer transmitted from the family preserving culture and language. In the 1882 report, it appears some Indigenous peoples in the "older provinces"—presumably Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes—were requesting additional schools on reserves or complaining that the ones they had been given were insufficient.<sup>34</sup> The request for more, or more adequate schooling was perceived as "an indication that the much-to-be-desired demand for enfranchisement on the part of some, if not of many, of the bands may follow as the result of this inclination for further enlightenment."<sup>35</sup> The links between so called "enlightenment" and civilization/"enfranchisement" are overtly drawn in government rhetoric. Indian Agents and Department officials responsible for the livelihood of Indigenous peoples seemed to take their request for education more seriously than their concerns of insufficient food. It would certainly appear that when it comes to Indian Policy, government officials were selective in what Indigenous concerns they accepted or ignored.

The last thematic area I ash to explore are some more explicit connections between (wage) labour, capitalism and this "civilizing" discourse. The 1892 report outlines the several industries that British Columbia bands are involved in as a means of supporting themselves.

Industry includes agriculture, fruit culture, cattle raising, sealing, fishing, hunting, mining, timber cutting, working in saw-mills on the railways, farms of settlers or constructing and maintaining public highways. Indigenous peoples have found themselves employment in a variety of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1882, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892, 10.

industries. They are fully capable of participating in extraction and wage economies, employment on other farms, and cultivating their own farms and livestock. First Nations people do no need to be paternalistically guided to industry—or even indoctrinated in school about the ways of "civilization" and employment—when it would appear that they are already exercising these qualities on their own terms. Like in BC, Indigenous peoples can seek and find employment at their own terms, even if this means working privately for Settlers, or publicly in construction projects. Reporting on Manitoba, finds that Indians near white settlements "have many opportunities of obtaining remunerative employment outside of the reserves, of which they are not slow, in many instances to take advantage." This further illustrates the capability of Indigenous peoples in new wage and capital economies. Especially those that require them to travel off reserve.

Other economic opportunity sought out by Indigenous peoples include extraction like timber. In the case of Manitoulin Island in the 1892 report it states that

the Indian occupants, with timber cutting; they themselves being the licensees, and selling the timber under the supervision of their superintendent to timber merchants and paying to the Department the regular dues and charges on all timber cut, which are carried to the credit of the band and go to the swell the capital invested for them; while they receive the benefit of the surplus paid by the purchase of the timber.<sup>38</sup>

The First Nations workers receive only surplus for extracting their resource while the government that paternalistically oversees them benefits the most from the labour transaction.

Logging under the supervision of Indian Agents introduces Indigenous peoples in to alienated colonial capitalist resource based economic industries, as well as the commodification of natural resources. But not all economic opportunity tok part in the rugged forest. The 1892 report also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892, 14.

finds it noteworthy that many bands in Quebec maintain their subsistence through the sale of "wares and crafts."<sup>39</sup> This would seem to introduce a more feminine and domestic sphere of economic opportunity to Indigenous peoples. Likewise these craft trades also benefit from Settler populations and play to their curiosity or exoticism as a means of self-sufficiency.

One last area of analysis is the potential for capital surplus from agricultural labour. It would seem that the main motivation behind the Home Farm Program was not teaching "civilized" pursuits, but alleviating government cost. And embedded in this system, there is no way for reserve farmers to take part in any wider economic transactions. Daschunk outlines a policy in July 1881 that was supposed to manage food supplies. The law forbade reserve Indians from "selling, bartering, exchanging or giving any person or persons whatsoever, any grain, or root crops, or any other produce grown on any Indian Reserve." It effectively makes sure that no reserve Indian can participate in the wider capital economy by selling surplus crop. This seems startling especially considering the potential economic capital of the Prairies was the main motivation behind land dispossession and settlement. It would seem that Indigenous peoples were not supposed to prosper in the new agricultural economic era. Instead just be policed and governed in terms of their progress to "civilization", education, and spirituality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Daschuk, Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life, 122.

Townships.	Where situated.	Retinated No. of Acres.	Arenge raise per sore.
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	. '	WM. SPRAGO	S. L. A.

Fig. 1

THE INDIAN AFFAIRS, PROVINCE OF CANADA. REPORT FOR THE HALF-YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1864. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx? IdNumber=5, (date of last access March 12 2016).

Fig. 2

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE YEAR 1868. http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx? IdNumber=39, (date of last access March 12 2016).

No. of Acres, Exclusive of Town Lots, sold by the Lot.	To what Tribes belonging.	Comprising number of Sales.	Amounts of Principal.	Average rate per Acro-
19,359 2,062 3 8774 200 109 148 59 2,331	Chippewas of Sangeen and Oven Sound.  Chippewas of Mawash Six Sations of the Grand River  Enthlowmanlag Bay Indiana Missinengas River Enserve, Lake Sarat Mahawis of Bay of Quintif Chippwas of Lakes Rayes and Sanson Missinenguas of Alabesia Industria, in Say of Quintif Missinenguas of River Rayes and Sanson Missinenguas of River Lake Islands.  Ojhewas and Ottawas of Masiltonin Islands.	22 4 5 1	\$ ria. 41,407 25 } 1,233 00 } 9,543 00 393 04 175 50 214 00 164 00 169 00 532 31 514 00	\$ cts. 2 21 4 59½ 200 00 6 29 1 00 2 14 3 17 2 00 6 34

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Do 40	No. 7, Miss Hindman	160 00	do		22	42	1	
Do do	No. 8, Miss Crombie	160 00	do		18	38	1 1	
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	Bev. Mr. Bugkitt	100 00	do	No	No			
Manitoulin Indians of Shasho-				return	return			84
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		known.	gg	known				
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Micmacs of Restigouche	Joseph Derais	200 00	\$150 from Indian Funds		do			
Do Maria	Jean Legendre	150 00	Indian Funds	12	. 5	17	1 8	
Lake of Two Mountain Indians.	Un Prote des Booles Chretiennes	Not	Seminary of Montreal	38		30		
n.	Las Saura de la Charles	known.					1 0	
Po	Les Sœurs de la Charité	do	40	30		- 22		
Iroquois of Caughnawaga	I B. Marrison	150 00	Indian Funds	12	20	- 6.8	l H	
Do St. Ragis	Mrs. M. J. Powell	210 00	do	19 -	26	47	l l	
Abonakis of St. Francis du Lac I	Barilide Desfoures		Department of Instruction		16	29	. 1	
	Simen Annance		\$100 from Indian Funds	13	12	25		
			100 Colonial Church School Society.					
Riviere Desert Indians 1	Chomas White	150 00	Indian Funds		12	28		
Hurons of Lorette	G. Viccent	120 00	Department of Instruction		Not.	45	l li	
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Golden Lake Indians	Sampbell Blackburn	200 00	\$150 from Indian Funds	do	do	24		
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December Indiana	Rev. Chat. Arnaud						sionary instructs the Indian	

Fig. 3

DOMINION OF CANADA ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER 1892. <a href="http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=8341">http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=8341</a> (date of last access March 12 2016).

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