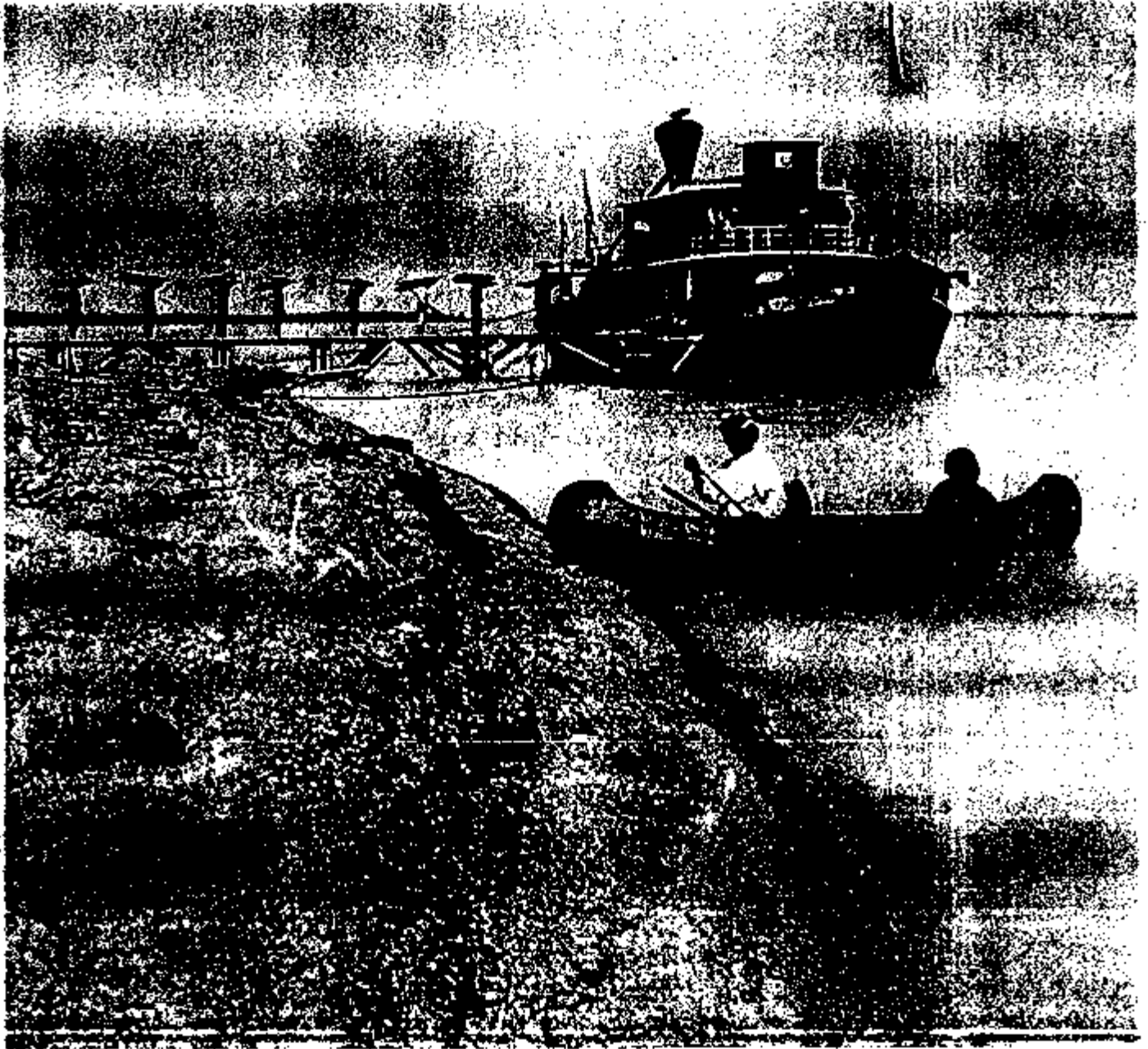


# TREATY TIME

A Simulation Activity



by

**Raymond M. Beaumont**

Frontier School Division No. 48

1991

**Cover Photo:** S.S. "Colville" at Norway House Landing, c. 1880  
(from Northern Pacific Views, published by F. Jay Haynes, Fargo,  
D.T.)

The S.S. "Colville", first steamer into Norway House, was on its maiden voyage in September 1875 when it took Governor Morris and his party north for the signing of Treaty No. 5. Symbolic of the changes which made the York Boat obsolete and greatly reduced the importance of Norway House as a transportation centre, it represented a modernization which eventually made the canoe in the foreground of the picture a museum piece as well. This picture was taken at Warrens Landing. What are the men carrying onto the boat and why?

HBCA Photograph Collection, 1987/363-C-29/1

Credit: Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Provincial Archives of Manitoba

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Treaty No. 5  
at Norway House  
24 September 1875



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Raymond M. Beaumont  
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## PREFACE

**TREATY TIME** is a simulation of the circumstances and negotiations leading up to the signing of Treaty No. 5 at Norway House on the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Its characters are real people from the period, whose profiles are as accurate as our historic research could make them. The simulation, however, is an imaginative re-creation of the events leading up to the treaty signing and is designed to involve each character in a specific role during a plausible negotiating process. It is intended for use at the secondary level in study of such Canadian History themes as Treaty and Aboriginal Rights and Western Canadian Development. It consists of a teacher's guide, role profiles for thirty students, and other supplementary materials.

This activity allows students to practice higher level thinking as they analyze and discuss. It gives them the opportunity to engage in independent speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Moreover, it enables them to experience some of the events of the period and the relative powerlessness of the people at Norway House to control them.



Norway House Post, 1880's  
(courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Archives,  
Provincial Archives of Manitoba)



# TEACHER'S GUIDE



## Teacher's Guide

### Summary of Role Profiles

This is a role play activity about the negotiations between Canadian government representatives and the Cree at Norway House. There are 30 separate roles that can be included, although 19 are essential. Each role profile identifies the situation at Norway House as well as the participant's background and point of view. See the list below, with essential roles asterisked and possible alliances identified.

Alexander Morris*	Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, chief government representative.
James McKay*	Manitoba Minister of Agriculture, government representative and interpreter.
Roderick Ross*	Factor, Hudson's Bay Company, Norway House, opposed to move to Fisher River. Witness to signing of treaty.
Alex. Sinclair	Clerk, Hudson's Bay Company, Cross Lake, allied with Ross, and witness to signing of treaty.
Donald McTavish	Clerk, Hudson's Bay Company, Norway House, allied with Ross, and witness to signing of treaty.
Lydia McTavish	Wife of Donald, allied with Ross, and witness to signing of treaty.
Rev. John H. Ruttan*	Methodist Minister at Rossville, in favour of move to Fisher River, witness to signing of treaty.
Rev. Orrin German	Methodist Minister at Oxford House in favour of move to Fisher River, and concerned that Oxford House people be included. Also witness to signing of the treaty.
David Rundle*	Chief, Norway House Band, head Cree representative, in favour of move to Fisher River.
James Cochrane*	Councillor, Norway House Band, negotiator, in favour of move to Fisher River.
Harry Coustatag*	Councillor, Norway House Band, negotiator, in favour of move to Fisher River.
Charles Papasekwanape*	Councillor, Norway House Band, negotiator, in favour of protection for people who stay in Norway House.

Thomas Muminawatum*	Elder, Norway House Band, allied with Mestagon and Papasekwanape.
Hetty Muminawatum*	Wife of Thomas. Wants strict control of alcohol.
Barbara Coland*	Member, Norway House Band, allied with Hetty, in favour of move to Fisher River, opposed to alcohol and inclusion of mixed blood people in treaty.
Thomas Mestagon*	Elder, Norway House Band, leader of group wanting to stay at Norway House, allied with Muminawatum & Papasekwanape.
Henry Oig*	Member, Norway House Band, in favour of move to Fisher River, compiling a list of equipment needed for farming to give to James Cochrane.
John Wesley	Member, Norway House Band, wants protection for those who remain in Norway House. Allied with Mestagon & Muminawatum.
Fanny Scribe*	Member, Norway House Band, wants treaty money, ammunition, and twine.
Caroline Paul	Member, Norway House Band, wants treaty money and ammunition.
Abel Fraser*	Member, Norway House Band, also fisherman for Hudson's Bay Company, wants protection for fishing.
Maria Neckaway	Member, Norway House Band, wants educational support and protection for people who stay at Norway House.
Mary Anne Mallett	Member, Norway House Band, wants equipment, money, and other support for move to Fisher River.
Sarah Sinclair	Member, Norway House Band, wants treaty money, ammunition, and twine.
Richard Beioley*	Mixed Blood living in community. Asked by Rundle for advice on size of reserve, by Oig on farming implements.
Nancy Budd*	Mixed Blood, closely associated with Norway House Band, wants assistance for education.
Adelaide Garson*	Mixed Blood, wants to be included in treaty on basis of mother's

claim. Opposed by Barbara Coland.

James Garson*	Carpenter, Hudson's Bay Company, asked by Harry Coustatag for advice on carpentry tools band should be asking government to provide.
Betsy Crate	Mixed Blood, favours move to Fisher River and government assistance for the move.
Anna Apetagon	Member, Norway House Band, in favour of education and control of alcohol.

### Procedure

1. Duplicate and hand out "Introduction to Treaty Time" (see page 11 ) to your students. After they have read it, and studied the map, discuss briefly, so that they know the background to the role play activity.
2. Assign roles. (See Pages 13-45) The more challenging ones should be given to students most able to handle them, but academic ability is just one criterion. Oral communication, enthusiasm, dramatic flair should also be taken into consideration. Make sure asterisked roles are handed out first, as they are essential to the activity. Name tags may help prevent confusion.
3. Encourage participants to read and discuss their roles with one another, so that there is a free exchange of opinions. But caution the negotiators (Governor Morris, James McKay, Chief David Rundle and his three councillors) to keep their final positions secret until actual negotiations occur.

The main objective is for the participants to get their proposals adopted in Treaty 5. As they exchange ideas, alliances may be formed between certain individuals. Because the role cards don't always name potential allies, participants have to go around and ask others how they stand on issues.

4. Arrange the seating plan to encourage access and interaction among the students. One plan is described in No. 7 below.
5. Hand out plan sheets. Gov. Morris and James McKay receive **Treaty 5: Proposed Government Terms**, (see page 49) which they keep hidden from everyone else. Since the government has already decided what it intends to give the people, they concentrate on preparing arguments to justify that position. They have the power to impose their will but prefer to have the band accept the proposals willingly.

Chief Rundle and his councillors James Cochrane, Harry Coustatag and Charles Papsekwanape receive **Treaty 5: Negotiation Proposals** (see page 52). They have to decide what proposals they will put forward to the government. These will be based on their own

thinking as well as proposals they receive from the people.

The other participants receive **Treaty 5: Proposal** (see page 54), on which they can write up proposals for either the government or local Cree representatives.

6. While the participants are involved in discussion and writing proposals, Governor Morris and James McKay meet to plan how they are going to get the people to accept willingly the terms already set down by the government. They will be preparing the arguments to justify their proposals. At the same time, the Chief and councillors will prepare tentative proposals in each of the major categories.

When preparing for either the government or band negotiators, students should write out their proposals, but present them orally. Beginners will probably feel more comfortable reading them, but bolder students may be confident enough to paraphrase their proposals.

7. When the above is completed, divide the room into two sections. Governor Morris and James McKay should be in one section, while Chief David Rundle and his three councillors, James Cochrane, Harry Coustatag, and Charles Papasekwanape are in the other. Students will lobby each side in an effort to get their proposals adopted. These should be presented orally, as mentioned earlier, and a written copy left with the negotiators for reference.

8. Once the lobbying has been completed, organize the room with the negotiators in the centre opposite each other, and the remainder of the participants distributed in a circle around them. During the discussions, only the negotiators are allowed to speak, but the rest of the participants may write additional arguments and pass them to either side. Explain that the negotiators will be striving for agreement, but if a point cannot be resolved, there must be a ballot. Governor Morris has 3 votes, James McKay has 2 votes, and the Chief and his 3 councillors have 1 vote each. If any one protests, say that the difference in voting power represents the greater influence and authority of the government representatives.

This is a critical stage of the simulation when students come to realize the relative powerlessness of the people. Participants have been lead to believe that they can have an influence on the negotiations. In reality, however, the people of Norway House had very little power. The government knew it had the upper hand, but it went through the process of negotiations to give the appearance of willing agreement. Its representatives did, however, listen to alternate proposals, and would make modifications in the terms, if the people were determined and the cost reasonable.

9. The final agreement will reflect the proposed terms of the government as well as modifications made through the persuasive arguments of the Chief and his councillors. Since the Cree lacked power, they had to rely on argument.

The agreement should be written up and signed in a formal meeting with the six witnesses adding their signatures as verification of the signatures or marks of the representatives. Thus, Roderick Ross witnesses Governor Morris's signature and so on.

10. Once the role play is over, ask the students what they learned from the exercise. Give them

a summary of the main clauses in Treaty 5 to see how close they are to the treaty "negotiated" in class. (See Appendix 1 and 2 for details.) Ask them to account for the similarities and differences.

## Evaluation

This activity is a vehicle by which students can hone their thinking skills through a variety of language forms. Evaluation should focus there rather than on the acquisition of information in isolation. It could take a number of directions. Students could be evaluated by checklist on their ability to contribute to group discussion, formulate an argument, make a point in the debate. Their oral presentations could be taped for self or peer evaluation. The teacher could take notes on students' ability to listen. Written assignments could be assessed on the degree to which they represent thinking. Examples of formative evaluation could be kept in a portfolio as evidence of students' progress in the acquisition of skills and for summative evaluation at the end of the course.

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**Hill's Gate on the Hayes River Route**  
(courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Archives,  
Provincial Archives of Manitoba)



# STUDENT HANDOUTS



## Introduction to Treaty Time

Times are changing rapidly at Norway House. The Hudson's Bay Company no longer needs tripmen to man the freight boats from York Factory. Supplies now come from the South to be transported inland by steamer on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River. As a result, more than a hundred and fifty men have been put out of work, many of them at Norway House. This has created concern in the community, as other jobs are scarce. Trapping can employ only a few people, and prices are low. Farming is impractical because the season is short and the soil poor, although everyone has a garden of some kind. Most do some fishing to meet their own food requirements, but no one makes a living at it. In short, people are anxious to improve their situation.

Some want to move further south where there is better farmland; others want to stay where they are. But most agree that something has to be done. They are well aware of the changes going on around them. More and more white people are coming into their lands. The Red River Settlement is getting larger every year. The old ways are dying, and Norway House is being left behind.

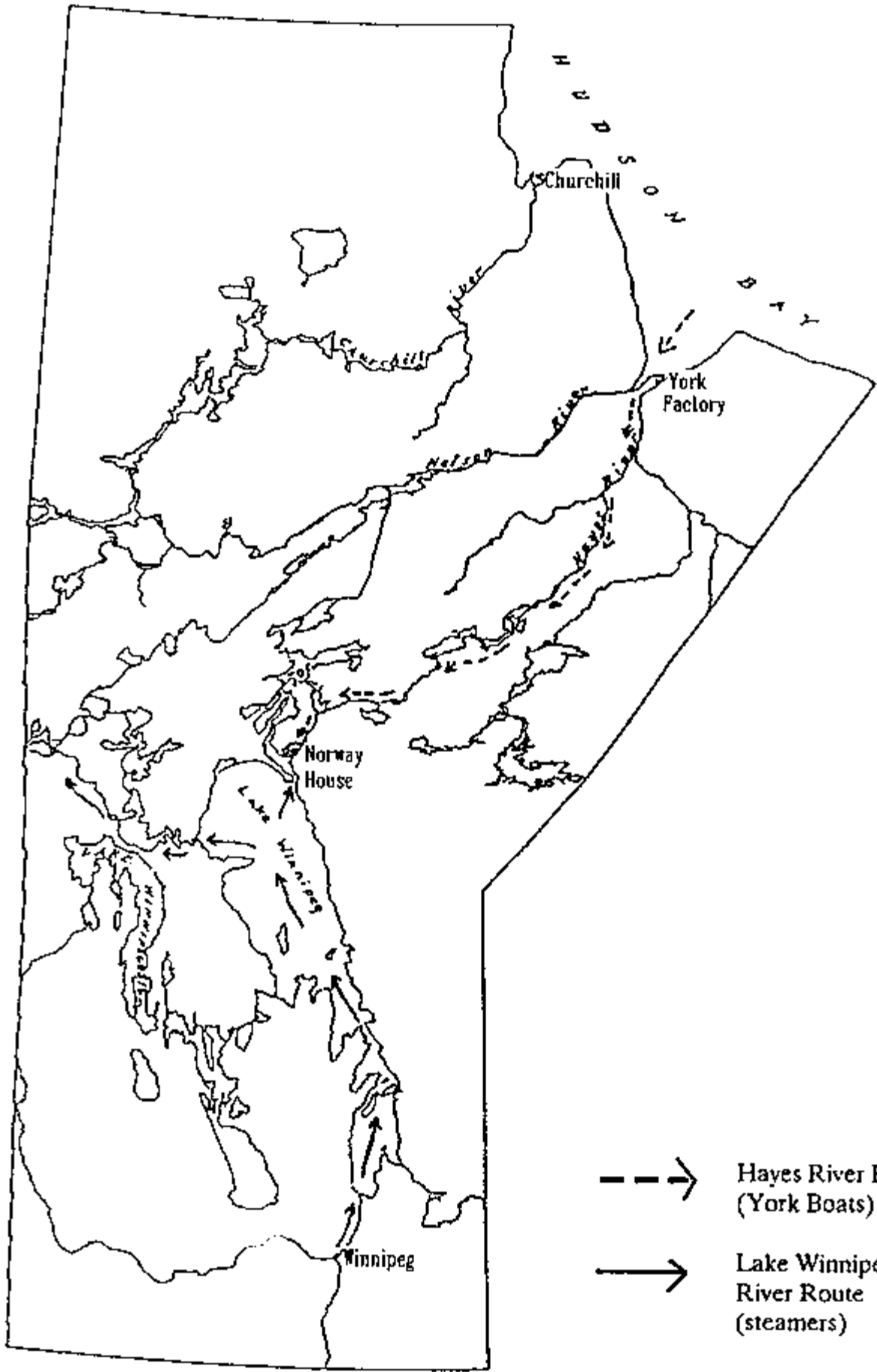
They have heard that Cree and Ojibway Bands elsewhere have entered into treaty with the government, giving up their land in return for certain rights and assistance. Appeals have been made for a treaty at Norway House as well, and finally the government has responded.

Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories and chief representative of the Government of Canada in the upcoming treaty negotiations, arrived yesterday. He came on the H.B.C. steamer 'Colville', the first such boat to be seen at Norway House. The whole community turned out to welcome him, and a salute was fired by the people in his honor.

It is now the twenty-fourth of September 1875 at Norway House, and you are present. Representatives of the government and the people of Rossville are going to discuss the terms of the treaty. You are about to find out the role you will play in the negotiations.



Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris  
(courtesy Provincial Archives of Manitoba)



- > Hayes River Route  
(York Boats)
- > Lake Winnipeg/Sask.  
River Route  
(steamers)

## Alexander Morris\* - Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories

During the past two years, you have successfully negotiated Treaties 3 and 4 with Cree and Saulteaux Bands in southern Saskatchewan and the Lake of Woods region. A few days ago, you were in Berens River for the same purpose. It is now the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Yesterday, you and your staff arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' at Norway house, and you are about to meet with the Chief and his councillors to discuss the terms of the treaty.

As chief representative of the government, your job is to see that the Cree give up their lands. The lands will be made available for white settlement and development such as saw milling and mining. You also want to ensure that the steamers have legal access to Lake Winnipeg and the Lower Saskatchewan River, the main transportation route to the West.

You feel sorry for the Indians at Norway House who are out of work and poor, but they must change with the times. You are prepared to give them something in return for their land. At the same time, the government has a limited amount of money, so you have to be careful. Times are tough, and the government has been too generous in the previous treaties.

You are prepared to listen to what the local people want, but you have an idea what the treaty will contain. The Indian people haven't much choice. You know they want a treaty, so you have the stronger position. Your position on the main items is outlined below. It will be kept secret until negotiations with the Chief and his councillors.

1. Reserve Land - You gave out 640 acres per family of five in Treaties 3 and 4. There is no need to give that much to the people of Norway House. You favour a plan to move the people to Fisher River where there is better farming soil, and 100 acres per family of five should be plenty of land. You don't see much future at Norway House, but if a few want to stay there, you are prepared to allow them to remain.
2. Annuities - \$5 each annually for each person on the reserve, \$25 for the Chief, and \$15 each for up to a maximum of three councillors, as in Treaties 3 and 4.
3. Schools - You are in favour of supporting schools if the people request them. The sooner the Cree give up their old ways, the better they will be.
4. Use of Alcohol - You are opposed to the use of alcohol by Indian people and feel it should be banned on reserves.
5. Hunting and fishing rights - It will be a generation or two before the Cree are all farmers; therefore, it is important that they be allowed to hunt and fish on the lands they have given up, subject of course to government regulations and restriction.
6. Public Buildings - The government has to keep the right to put up public buildings on the reserve as the need for them arises. The band should be paid for the land or given other reasonable compensation.

7. Hunting and fishing supplies - Often the people are too poor to buy ammunition to go hunting or purchase twine to make fish nets. You are willing to provide these necessities on an annual basis. \$500 should be enough for this.
8. Farming implements - You are prepared to provide equipment to encourage agriculture, but only to those who are already farming.
9. Building equipment - You are prepared to provide a few tools on a one time basis. Because they are so expensive, these items will be given only to the band and not individual families.
10. Miscellaneous items - It is important that the leaders of the band be decently dressed; therefore, you will give the Chief and his councillors a suit of clothing every three years. A flag and a medal will be given to the Chief to add importance and dignity to his office.

### **Procedure**

After meeting with James McKay to work out arguments in support of the government terms, you will meet with people from the community who want to share their views with you. Listen to them politely and be pleasant, but remember that as a representative of the government, you can't make any promises or give people false hope. The government has decided already what it wants in the treaty, but you are willing to change the terms a little if it won't cost much money and the people want it badly.

Later, you will be meeting with Chief Rundle and his three councillors James Cochrane, Harry Coustatag, and Charles Papasekwanape to negotiate the main items of the treaty. If there is disagreement, it will be settled by ballot. Your teacher will explain the procedure at the beginning of the negotiations.

## **James McKay\* - Minister of Agriculture in Manitoba**

You were born near Fort Edmonton in 1828, the son of a Scottish father and a Métisse mother. Educated at Red River and schooled on the plains, you have worked as a guide, trader, and businessman. Your freighting company has prospered as you've acquired large contracts connected with the building of the railway. You have served as a justice of the peace and more recently in the government of the Province of Manitoba. At home in the halls of the rich or the teepees of the Plains Indian, you are known for your fairness and diplomacy and are trusted in particular by the Cree and Ojibway, whose languages you speak fluently. You have acted as interpreter for Treaties 1 to 4. Now you are acting in the same capacity for Treaty 5. A few days ago you were in Berens River, interpreting for Governor Morris, the chief negotiator. Now it is the twenty-fourth of September 1875, and you will be doing the same thing at Norway House.

Weighing nearly 350 lbs, you are an impressive looking man, a born leader, bound to receive the respect of those around you. You feel strongly that the native people must be on reserves where they can receive some protection. Immigrants are going to be pouring into the land by the thousands, and if no provisions are made, native peoples will be set aside. You intend to use all the arguments you can to make people aware of that fact. Not that there should be much trouble at Norway House as they have already requested a treaty. When the Hudson's Bay Company stopped the summer transport business from York Factory and started bringing in its supplies by steamer from Winnipeg, a great many men were put out of work at Norway House. The people still haven't recovered from the shock of losing so many jobs. Now there is talk of moving south to Fisher River, where there is good farming land. You favour this move. As Minister of Agriculture in Manitoba, you feel there is a great future in farming. The days of the fur trade are over. Fur bearing animals are in decline, and the buffalo is about to disappear.

The people will need money. You favour \$5 annually for every band member, as in the last two treaties. That will help the people buy food and clothing. Schools are also essential. The government is prepared to help educate the native people, but they must be prepared to help themselves, too. Your family had to work hard to achieve what it has. People have to be strong to survive in this world. You support a ban on alcohol at all reserves. You don't drink yourself, and you don't believe native people should drink either. You have seen the destruction it causes to families.

The people are not going to become farmers over night. Many of them will always be hunters and fishermen. Therefore, it is important that they be allowed to hunt and trap on the land they give up to the government. They are also going to need some equipment and tools to build houses and farm their land. The government will provide them.

You arrived with Governor Morris and his party yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville.' He has called a meeting with the Chief and his councillors to negotiate the terms of the treaty. You will be the interpreter, but you will be able to express your views, too. You intend to listen carefully to all that is said. You agree in most things with Governor Morris, and if there is a disagreement with the chief and his councillors over any point of negotiation, you will vote with the governor. But you hope that nothing comes to a vote. It is better if agreement can be achieved. And you will use all your persuasive powers to get agreement. You want everyone to leave the negotiations feeling well satisfied.

## **Roderick Ross\***

You are the factor of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Norway House. A son of Donald Ross who was factor during the 1830s and 1840s, you have had a long and close association with the community. You have been saddened by the loss of so many jobs since the Company discontinued the summer tripping to York Factory. The Company is now bringing in most of its supplies from Winnipeg, so Norway House isn't as important as it once was. Yesterday the Company steamer 'Colville' made its first trip to Norway House with Governor Morris and his party aboard. Times are changing indeed.

But there is still some work for the people, so you are alarmed by all this talk of moving south. There are still trips to York Factory, Oxford House, Carleton, Isle a la Crosse, and other places. These trips provide some work, although not on the same scale as in the past. Since the staff at the post has been reduced, you have been contracting out the cutting of firewood to local people. They cut the hay for the livestock as well.

You have been disgusted by all this talk of the government moving everybody south to become farmers. You feel it is ridiculous. The people of Norway House are hunters and fishermen. They know nothing of farming. You think Rev. John Ruttan, the Methodist minister over at Rossville, has been foolish to encourage such rumors.

You have your own solution. You want to have one or two wintering stations established by the Hudson's Bay Company further inland from Norway House, and you have already drawn this idea to the attention of company officials. At these wintering stations people could engage in hunting and trapping. This would provide furs for the Hudson's Bay Company and work for the people. Hunting and trapping are what the people know best, but at present people are too confined at Rossville. You think it was foolish for the missionaries to encourage people to settle there in the first place.

You intend to bring your ideas to the attention of Governor Morris and Charles Papasekwanape, one of the councillors who favours staying at Norway House. Perhaps some sense can be brought into negotiations. You want to do this privately rather than in a public meeting, but you are prepared to defend your position publicly if it is necessary. You cannot do much after the Governor begins to negotiate with the Chief and his councillors, but you can give your views beforehand.



## Alex Sinclair

You have just been placed in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Cross Lake, and you don't like all this talk you've been hearing about people moving south to become farmers. Like Roderick Ross, the factor at Norway House, you think it is ridiculous to expect hunters and trappers to become farmers. They should remain in the North and continue to collect furs for the Hudson's Bay Company as they have done for many generations.

You got into quite an argument with Rev. Orrin German, the Methodist minister from Oxford House, who is here for the treaty negotiations. The Reverend seemed to think it is a good idea for the people to go south and take up agriculture. You argued that the Cree could be as good Christians out on the trapline as they could behind a plough. Anyway, they don't know anything about farming. In your opinion, the ministers just want the people close by so they can keep an eye on them. They want them to be just like the whitemen. You don't see any reason why the Cree can't stay where they are and live the way they have always lived.

You intend to make your views known. You've talked to Roderick Ross, and he is going to speak to Governor Morris who came in with his party on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday. Ross thinks it would be a good idea to establish a couple of wintering stations further inland where people could hunt and trap. That would provide them with something to do, and they could sell their furs to the Hudson's Bay Company. Rather than moving people south, the government should be moving them north.

The Chief and Council will be meeting with band members concerning the treaty. Governor Morris will be available also to hear the views of the people, and you intend to have your say. Anyway, you have been asked to witness the signing of the treaty so you have to be present.

After the governor has met with the people to hear their ideas, he will be meeting with the Chief and Councillors to negotiate the terms of the treaty. You hope it will be favorable to your point of view.

## **Donald McTavish**

You are the local clerk for the Hudson's Bay Company. A young man, you were married this summer to Lydia Christie, the daughter of a prominent Company official. She is quite lonely at Norway House, but you hope she can make the adjustment away from the comforts of the Red River Settlement.

Governor Morris arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' and you have been asked to witness the signing of a treaty between the government and the Cree people of Norway House this afternoon. Before the negotiations with the Chief and Council begin, the governor is going to meet with the people and hear their views. You intend to be there and speak your mind.

You have listened to all the talk about treaty. Some people want to move away to start farming at a place called Fisher River. This is a silly idea because the people know nothing about farming. They have always been hunters and fishermen. You agree with the factor, Roderick Ross, that it would be better to keep them in the North where they can continue to hunt and trap. Ross has an idea you think will work. He wants a couple of wintering stations set up where the people can go to hunt and trap. This will provide them with furs which they can trade with the Hudson's Bay Company for the goods they need, just as they have done in the past. It was unfortunate that the Company had to end the transport business to York Factory and put so many men out of work, but that's the way life is. Times change and people have to be prepared to change with them.

You are going along to the meeting with Roderick Ross and Alex Sinclair, who has just been appointed to the post at Cross Lake. You hope to speak to Governor Morris, and anyone else who is prepared to listen, about the best plan for the future.

From your point of view, it is essential that the Cree remain in the North where they can continue to hunt and trap. If they all move away, the Hudson's Bay Company will have no one to do the trapping, and it will be bad for business. If there is anything you can do to prevent this, you will.

## Lydia McTavish

Married in the summer to Donald McTavish, clerk for the Hudson's Bay Company at Norway House, you have only been in the community since the end of July. Your father, W.J. Christie, is an important official in the Hudson's Bay Company, and you miss him and your family terribly. Norway House is quite different from Red River, and you hope that you won't have to live here very long. Although the women at the Fort have been kind, you don't feel you have much in common with them.

Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' to negotiate a treaty with the people at Rossville. This is the first excitement all week. You have been asked to attend the negotiations and witness the signing of the treaty.

Up until this time, you haven't paid too much attention to the talk about treaty. You know that some people want to move south to a place called Fisher River, where they hope to farm. Others want to stay right where they are. You don't think the Cree will make very good farmers. You agree with your husband Donald and Roderick Ross, the factor at the fort, that they are better off to stay in the North and continue to be hunters and trappers. Mr. Ross's idea of establishing two wintering stations outside of Norway House seems sensible to you. The population is too large here. Donald says the missionaries made a mistake when they moved all the Cree into Rossville, and he is right. Something has to be done. Now that the summer transport has been stopped by the Company, the people are suffering from hunger. At least that is what Adelaide Garson told you. Perhaps the government can assist the people in the treaty it is about to sign with the people.

Governor Morris has announced that he will be meeting with the people this afternoon to hear their views. You hope to talk to him about sending the Cree further inland to hunt and fish as in the past. This will help them and the Company, too, which needs the trappers' fur to stay in business.

**Reverend John H. Ruttan\***

You are the Methodist missionary at Rossville, preaching there and across at the Hudson's Bay Company post on Fort Island every Sunday. You have become alarmed at the effects of unemployment on the people. Ever since the Company ended the summer transport business to York Factory, a good number of men at Norway House have been without work. They are depressed and worried about the future. Some have even sought assistance from the church and their friends. Roderick Ross, local factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, has tried to help as much as possible, but he doesn't control the policies of the Company. There is little he can do.

You are aware that the community is divided as to what it should do. One group wants to remain in Norway House. The other wants to move to Fisher River. You favour a move to Fisher River and have openly encouraged the people to go. You don't see much future in the fur trade. The population is growing, and only a few can ever hope to make a living at trapping. With transportation developing at Red River, there is no hope of future jobs in local transport. The soil is also too poor for farming. At Fisher River there is better land, and some people have expressed an interest in taking up farming. This is a good idea, but the government should provide equipment and seed to get people started.

It is the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville'. The governor will be meeting this afternoon with the Chief and Council to negotiate the terms of a treaty between the Government of Canada and the Norway House Band. You have been asked to witness the signing of this treaty. Before the meeting, both Governor Morris and the Chief intend to meet with the people to hear their views. You plan to attend to express your concerns and make recommendations, too.

## Reverend Orrin German

As the Methodist Missionary at Oxford House, you have been following all the talk about treaty with great interest. When the Hudson's Bay Company stopped its summer transport business to York Factory, it put men out of work at Oxford House as well as Norway House. Since there are few other jobs, they have had a hard time feeding and clothing their families. If it hadn't been for the help of the church and their more prosperous neighbours, some of them would have suffered greatly. You favour the idea of moving the people to Fisher River where the land is better for farming. You hope that the people of Oxford House will be able to move there, too. The fur trade can't support everyone now. Farming could provide people with the food they need.

You don't think much of the idea that people be moved inland to a couple of wintering stations to hunt and trap for the Hudson's Bay Company. That idea came from Roderick Ross, the local factor, who thinks the company will be ruined if all the people move south. You had quite an argument with Alex Sinclair the other day after services at the fort. He accused the Church of wanting to take the Cree south to become farmers, so that it could control them better. This made you quite angry, because the Hudson's Bay Company has been controlling the lives of the Cree for many generations. When it decided to end the transport business, it put many people out of work and caused much suffering. But it didn't lift a finger to help. Therefore, you don't think the Company has any business accusing the Church of wanting to control the Cree. The Church has done everything to help by giving the people food and clothing. There aren't enough furs left to provide a living for all the people now at Norway House or Oxford House, but there is plenty of farm land further south for farming. Even if most people don't know how to farm, they can learn.

It is now the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Governor Morris arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' and called a meeting with the people today. You plan to attend that meeting to speak up for the people of Oxford House. You want them included in the Treaty as well as the move to Fisher River. You have heard rumors that the government is not interested in dealing with the people further north of Norway House and you are going to ask Governor Morris for an explanation.

If the move to Fisher River is approved you also want the government to provide farming implements, livestock, and other assistance. You know that some people will want to remain where they are. Some of them are worried about losing their houses and gardens, if they do not move away. You want guarantees from the government that they be allowed to stay where they are without any interference from anyone. You have been asked to witness the signing of the treaty, so you will be attending all the meetings. The Chief and his councillors are also meeting with the people before the negotiations, and you will be there. You want the people to obtain the best possible terms for giving up their land.

## **David Rundle\* - Chief of the Norway House Band**

Since your election as Chief in July, you have been busy hearing the concerns of the people. A large number are in favour of moving south to Fisher River in order to take up farming. Most of them feel that there isn't much future at Norway House with the loss of the transport business. Until recently, many local men were employed in the summer freighting to York Factory, but the Hudson's Bay Company has shut that down. Now goods come by steamer from Winnipeg. You are in agreement with the move to Fisher River. The old way of life is coming to an end, and the future is in the south.

You are aware that some people are opposed to moving. The Hudson's Bay Company doesn't want the trappers to leave because it relies on them to collect furs, and some of the people who work for the company have been quite vocal in their opposition. You have to listen to their views, but you feel they are wrong. Norway House is dying. The people need to move where they have an opportunity for a better life and education.

There have been all kinds of rumors about what the Cree and Saulteaux down south received in their treaties. Reports are that Governor Morris is sympathetic to Indian concerns, but you will wait and see.

It is now the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' and will be meeting with the people today to hear their views. You are also scheduled to meet with the people to hear their final petitions this afternoon before meeting with Governor Morris to negotiate the terms of the treaty. You already have some idea of what you want, and this is outlined below.

### **1. Reserve Land**

You want a reserve located at Fisher River and assistance to move there. You have heard that the size of the reserves is based on the number of people, but this is difficult to visualize. Richard Beioley used to live at Red River, so you have asked him to bring to the meeting this afternoon his ideas about the best size for a reserve. You also want land protection for the people who stay at Norway House and have asked Thomas Mestagon for his views on this matter.

### **2. Annuities**

You know that the people received \$5 each when Treaties 3 and 4 were signed. That's what you want for the people of Norway House, too. You expect that you will receive \$25 as chief and your councillors \$15 each, just as in Treaties 3 and 4. You want to make sure that Governor Morris knows you are aware of what the other people obtained.

### **3. Schools**

You want education improved and intend to press the government to provide schools so that the children will know how to read and write. They need to learn the ways of the whiteman.

#### **4. Use of Alcohol**

As a Christian Indian, you do not favour drinking and feel it should be banned on a future reserve. The Rossville people have kept alcohol under control for years, and you want this to continue.

#### **5. Hunting and Fishing Rights**

The people are prepared to give up their lands, because they really haven't much choice in the matter. White men are too powerful. But they are determined to keep the right to hunt and fish on those same lands. You are going to press that point with Governor Morris.

#### **6. Public Buildings**

You want to make sure you have control over the reserve given you. The government may want to put up buildings or take some of the land for its purposes. You want to make sure they agree to provide you with compensation for this.

#### **7. Hunting and Fishing Supplies**

Many of the people are so poor they can't afford to buy ammunition for hunting or twine to make fish nets. You are going to insist on help for this. You understand such a provision was made in Treaties 3 and 4.

#### **8. Farming Implements**

Your councillor James Cochrane has been investigating this matter and he will be presenting his views to Governor Morris.

#### **9. Building Equipment**

Another councillor, Harry Coustatag, has been interested in getting assistance for the carpenters. He has made inquiries to find out their needs.

#### **10. Miscellaneous Items**

You understand that other chiefs and their councillors have been given a suit of clothing as part of the treaty, and you are quite pleased about this. You have also heard that a flag and medal are included as well.

## **Procedure**

You and your councillors will work out proposals on your own. Then, you will meet with the people to hear their views before you meet with the Governor and his party. It is important that you listen to all concerned, and that you don't make your own views well known. Some people might be upset if they felt you were only going to argue in favour of the people who want to move to Fisher River.

When you meet with Governor Morris, it is important that you be polite, but press your case with determination. Try to get as much as you can from the treaty, as the welfare of the people is at stake.

If any matter has to be settled by ballot, each negotiator will have a chance to vote. The rules will be explained by your teacher at the beginning of negotiations.



## **James Cochrane\* - Councillor**

Since your election as councillor to Chief David Rundle, you have been busy listening to the people discussing the treaty that is about to be negotiated with the government. There is a deep division in the community. Some want to move away to Fisher River, where there is better soil for farming. Others want to remain at Norway House. Everything has been upset since the Hudson's Bay Company stopped freighting from York Factory and started hauling in supplies by steamer from Winnipeg. This has put many men out of work in the transport business at Norway House, and people still haven't recovered from the shock.

Although you have been able to get casual work with the Hudson's Bay Company cutting firewood for the steamer or doing odd jobs at the Fort, you know that the future is uncertain. You favour a move to a new location. You are suspicious of Roderick Ross's idea that the Hudson's Bay Company build a couple of wintering stations further north. Although you realize the people could trap and fish at these stations, they would still be dependent. As you have already seen, the Hudson's Bay Company wasn't concerned about the people of Norway House when it ended summer tripping. Why should the Company be trusted now?

Although the people have no experience farming, you feel certain they can learn. The old way of life is dying. The white people are becoming more numerous. The Cree have to prepare themselves for the future.

You favour the move to Fisher River, and you want enough land provided in the treaty for each family, so that they can make a comfortable living. After all, The Cree will be giving up their rights to a huge piece of land. They should be allowed enough land on which to survive. You've heard that the Cree and Saulteaux further south received 640 acres for each family of five. Although that isn't very large compared to the area people have been able to trap in the past, you understand it is enough for a farmer.

You have been asked by the Chief to find out what the people need to farm. You know they will need tools and training, but you are not sure about the details. You will be meeting with Henry Oig about this matter and bringing the recommendations back to council. Later, you will join the Chief and other councillors to negotiate the terms of the treaty with Governor Morris and his party. Morris arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' and will also meet with the people to hear their views before meeting with the Chief and Council this afternoon.

### **Harry Coustatag\* - Councillor**

Since your election as councillor to Chief David Rundle in July, you have been busy. The people have come to you with their opinions on the forthcoming negotiations for a treaty. You have listened carefully to what they have been telling you, because you wish to present their views to the government representatives. This is going to be difficult to do. One group wants to move to Fisher River further south and take up farming. The other wants to remain in Norway House.

You support the move to Fisher River. The Hudson's Bay Company decision to stop the summer freighting from York Factory has caused considerable suffering at Norway House because so many men have lost their jobs. Roderick Ross, the Hudson's Bay Company factor, has said the idea of moving to Fisher River is ridiculous because the people do not know how to farm. He says they should move out of Norway House to points further inland and return to hunting and fishing, occupations with which they are familiar. But what future does that hold? The Hudson's Bay Company did nothing for the trippers when they were put of work. Can they be trusted now?

People are already moving south to Red River for the better opportunities there. It is time the rest left, too. Chief David Rundle has asked you to decide what building and other tools the band should be asking for from the government. So you are going to be meeting with James Garson, the Hudson's Bay Company carpenter, to discuss the matter this afternoon. Then, you will be prepared to present your views to Governor Morris and his party when you meet them later in the day.

You want a reserve at Fisher River large enough to meet the needs of the people moving there. At the same time, you favour some support for the people who decide to stay in Norway House. You believe that the people are entitled to a yearly payment in return for giving up their land. You've heard that the other Indian bands down south received \$5 each, which seems satisfactory to you. As a member of one of the oldest Christian families in Norway House, you frown on the use of alcohol and want it kept off the reserve land. You want schools for the children as well as assistance for agriculture. You also feel strongly that the Cree should continue to have the right to hunt and fish as they have done in the past.

## **Charles Papasekwanape\* - Councillor**

Since you were elected in July as a councillor of the Norway House Band, you have been listening to the people's ideas about the upcoming treaty with the government. One group wants to move away to Fisher River and start farming. Another wants to remain in Norway House. But all are agreed that something has to be done. Since the Hudson's Bay Company decided to stop summer freighting from York Factory and bring in its supplies by steamer from Winnipeg, many men at Norway House have been put out of work. People are poor and worried. They hope that by giving up their rights to the land, they may receive assistance from the government.

It is now the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville'. Before you meet with him this afternoon to negotiate the terms of the treaty, you will be meeting one last time to hear the recommendations of the people. You are sympathetic with those people who want to move to Fisher River, but you want to stay where you are. Your family has already moved once from Oxford House for better opportunities, and you are content to stay where you are. But you know the forces in favour of the move to Fisher River are strong. Chief David Rundle, and the other two councillors, James Cochrane and Harry Coustatag, are all in favour of the move. You fear that those wanting to remain in Norway House are going to be forgotten. You will be pushing for some guarantees for them. Their lands and homes should at least be protected, so that they can't be pushed off their property by other people. You have heard stories of how the people lost their land at Red River, and you know many people there are still upset about it. Since you are giving up so much, you feel it is a small thing to ask for. But white people are strange. They forget that the land has always belonged to everyone.

Times are changing rapidly. More and more white people are coming. They want the furs; they want the land. Last summer a schooner came in to purchase fish. Soon outsiders will take the fisheries, too. It is important that a treaty be signed before it is too late.

**Thomas Muminawatum\***

You are a respected leader among the people of Rossville, where the mission is centered. Once you were asked to be chief, but you declined, preferring to work quietly on the sidelines. You have worked as a tripper for the Hudson's Bay Company for many years, and even though many people were put out of work when the Company decided to stop summer freighting from York Factory, you have been fortunate to continue doing the occasional trip and odd job around the fort. You haven't been critical of the Company as have other people. As a devout Christian, you are prepared to accept life's troubles as the will of God.

You have listened to the people as they have argued about what should be done. Some want to go to Fisher River to start farming, but you are too old to take up a new occupation. You have a comfortable home and enough work with the Company to get by, but you are concerned about what is going to happen to the people who decide to stay in Norway House. Will they be allowed to keep their lands? Or will they be expected to give them up?

You have spoken to Chief David Rundle about this, and he has suggested you talk to Charles Papasekwanape, one of the councillors, and Thomas Mestagon who is also concerned. You will be meeting them this afternoon just before the Chief and councillors sit down to negotiate the terms of the treaty with Governor Morris and his party. They arrived yesterday from Berens River on the Steamer 'Colville', and will be in Norway House for a couple of days. If there is enough time, you hope to speak to Governor Morris, too.

You realize that times are changing and that the old way of life is dying. When the Cree give up their land, you want to make sure they receive assistance to help them make the adjustment.

## **Hetty Muminawatum\***

You are wife to Thomas "Big Tom" Muminawatum, a respected member of the community. When the Company decided to end summer tripping and so many men lost their jobs, Tom was lucky. His reputation was such that the Hudson's Bay Company kept him on for the occasional trip and other work. Roderick Ross, the factor, has been kind.

You have listened to all the talk about treaty. Some people want to go to Fisher River to take up farming, but neither you nor your husband are interested. You have a comfortable home at Rossville and a big garden plot. You have listened to Reverends Ruttan and German as they have encouraged the people to move, and while it may be all right for the younger folk, you'll stay where you are.

You have been wondering what will happen when the Cree give up their land. Will that mean they have to move from Rossville? You certainly hope not, but Tom is going to inquire about that from Charles Papasekwanape.

You are more concerned about the use of alcohol. As a god-fearing woman, whose brother-in-law, Reverend Edward Paupanekis, is working for the Church at Nelson River, you detest the drinking of whiskey. You were most upset when some free traders came in last summer and sold liquor to a few men. Their conduct became disgraceful, and you intend to go to the meeting this afternoon and speak your mind. Barbara Coland can be expected to support you. Whatever happens, you want alcohol banned from the community and the people punished who bring it in.

Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday from Berens River on 'The Steamer Colville'. They will be meeting with the Chief and councillors this afternoon to negotiate the terms of the treaty. Just before they meet, the people will have one last chance to say what they think to the Chief and Council. You intend to be there. And if time permits, you intend to speak to Governor Morris, too.

**Barbara Coland\***

You are the daughter of John Oig, who has long been a leader in the Methodist Church at Rossville. You and your husband Augustus, who came here some years ago from Oxford House, are devout Christians.

You have been waiting for this day for some time. The Chief and councillors are going to meet with Governor Morris, the government representative, this afternoon to work out the terms of the treaty. Before they meet, the chief wants to hear the advice of the people. You intend to go to that meeting and give your opinion on what should be done. If you have a chance, you intend to speak to Governor Morris also.

The community is divided into two groups. One wants to move south to a place called Fisher River and start to farm. The other wants to stay in Norway House. You favour moving away. Since the Hudson's Bay Company laid off so many trippers, your husband has been without work, and it has been tough. If you hadn't been the cook for Mrs. Ruttan, the missionary's wife, your family would have suffered more. You know that some people have actually gone hungry. You haven't quite forgiven the Hudson's Bay Company, which doesn't seem to care what happens to the people.

You feel that since the Cree are giving up so much land, the government should give them money and equipment to make the move to Fisher River. You are prepared to support sensible ideas about the amounts the band should be asking for.

You are concerned that alcohol be strictly controlled on the new reserve. You were talking to Hetty Muminawatum yesterday about those free traders who sold liquor to some of the men last summer, and the trouble it caused. You see no need for any alcohol at all on the reserve.

You are upset about something else, too. You understand that Adelaide Garson is coming to the meeting. You can't understand how a half-white woman married to a whiteman can have any business being there. She has a husband who can look after her, and he has a good job as a carpenter with the Hudson's Bay Company. You've never been able to get along with Adelaide, who you think is rather 'high and mighty', and you intend to challenge her right to be at the meeting if she has the gall to show up.

## **Thomas Mestagon\***

You are among the most respected elders of Rossville, where you have a good house and a small farm. You are considered one of the best guides in the North and once went with Dr. Rae on his Arctic expedition. Your dogs are considered the best trained and most reliable in the village.

You have been listening intently to all the talk about the treaty. The people are divided into two groups. One wants to move to Fisher River. The other wants to stay at Norway House. People have been unsettled since the Hudson's Bay Company stopped the summer transport to York Factory. Many local men have lost their jobs. Now families are poor and worried about the future. Although you plan to stay at Norway House, you are sympathetic with the people who want to move. You have always been able to obtain employment. Indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company asked you recently to put out the buoys to mark the channel from Warrens Landing to Norway House. Without those markers, the steamer would have ended up on the rocks. Consequently, you don't feel any need to move away to a new community. At your age, you don't want to start all over. Leave that for younger people.

What concerns you most is your house and farm at Rossville. If a treaty is signed and the reserve is moved to Fisher River, what happens to the people who decide to stay at Rossville? Will they be able to keep their houses? Chief David Rundle asked you for your opinions on this matter, and you have been thinking about it a great deal. A meeting has been called by the Chief and his councillors for this afternoon. The people have been invited to give their views to help the Chief prepare to negotiate with the government representatives. The chief government official, Governor Morris, arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday and will also be meeting with concerned citizens before negotiations with the Chief and Council. If you have a chance, you intend to speak to him, too.

You want Chief Rundle to insist on a promise from Governor Morris that the people who stay at Rossville will not lose their lands or houses. You want a promise that the government will do nothing without the consent of the people. Since you know many people are planning to stay at Norway House, you feel a reserve should be established at Rossville as well as the new location at Fisher River. Some people have already approached you about being the chief of this new band. You are going to wait and see. In the meantime, you are going to talk to 'Big Tom' Muminawatum, who is just as concerned as you are about the future of Rossville, and with Charles Papasekwanape, the one councillor who is in favour of staying at Norway House. Perhaps you and Big Tom can meet with Charles this afternoon, and then present your views to the Chief.

## Henry Oig\*

You have been interested in the discussions throughout the community about a treaty with the government. Since you lost your job as a tripper with the Hudson's Bay Company, you have been wondering about your future. Many men were put out of work when the Company ended the summer transport business to York Factory, and few have found work anywhere else. The Oigs have always had a big garden, so when the missionaries started encouraging people to move south to farm, you became interested. The community is now divided into two groups. One favours moving to Fisher River where there is better land for agriculture. The other wants to remain in Norway House. Along with most of your family, you favour moving away.

It is the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Chief David Rundle and his councillors are meeting with the people to hear their recommendations. After they have heard what the people want, they will meet with the government representatives. Governor Morris and his party came in yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' to negotiate the terms of the treaty later today. You want to make sure the people get the best possible arrangements.

You are well acquainted with Richard Beioley, who lived at Red River and knows about farming. You have asked him to help you compile a list of the equipment and implements needed to start farming at Fisher River. The people will need some training in order to farm and help to move to the new location. It will be a major undertaking.

You are determined to get some government assistance for farming and will be pressing hard this afternoon, so that the Chief and his councillors will be more determined when they meet Governor Morris and the other government representatives.



## John Wesley

You have worked as a guide and tripmen for the Hudson's Bay Company for years. Even though many men were put out of work when the Company ended the summer transport business to York Factory, you were not one of them. You still have enough work to keep your family fed and clothed.

Your family has lived in Norway House for as long as you can remember, and you are related to most of the people at Rossville in one way or the other. You have listened carefully as the people have discussed the treaty. Two groups have formed. One wants to move to Fisher River where the land is more fitted for agriculture. The other wants to remain in Norway House.

You are in favour of staying at Norway House, but you sympathize with those who want to leave. There isn't enough work for everyone.

It is the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer "Colville" to take part in the negotiations, and he is meeting with the people this afternoon to hear their views. Chief David Rundle and his councillors are also meeting with the people to hear what they want in the treaty.

You have decided to attend the meetings because you are concerned that the Chief and Council will only think of the people going to Fisher River. You know that Rundle and two of his councillors are very much in favour of leaving, but they need to negotiate also for the people who want to stay in Norway House. Thomas Mestagon and 'Big Tom' Muminawatum are concerned, too, and you intend to talk to them before the meeting to find out what they want in the treaty.

### **Fanny Scribe\***

You are a widow with four sons and two daughters. Life has been very difficult for you since your husband died. Therefore, you have listened closely as people discussed the treaty. Two groups have formed. One wants to move south to Fisher River and start farming. The other wants to remain in Norway House at Rossville. You are unsure about what you should do. The boys are already trapping, and one of them worked as a fisherman's helper last fall. You heard the people at Red River each received \$3 when they signed the treaty. That would be \$21 for your family, more money than you have ever seen. It would help buy flour and sugar as well as cloth.

It is the twenty-fourth of September 1875. The Chief and Council have called a meeting to find out what the people want included in the treaty. You have decided to go and speak in favour of \$3 for each member of the band. You want the government to provide equipment for hunting and fishing as well. Your boys have trouble catching fish because the net is full of holes and you can't afford the twine to fix it. The ducks are flying south, and your family is out of ammunition, too. What is the use of a gun, if you can't fire it? You are going to argue that the government should provide both twine for the fishermen and ammunition for the hunters. Governor Morris arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville', the first time such a boat has come to Norway House. He will also meet with the people today and you intend to inform him of your views. This will be your last chance to say what you think, so nothing will stop you from attending. Later, the Chief and Council will meet with Governor Morris to negotiate the terms of the treaty. You intend to be there, too.

## **Caroline Paul**

You and your husband Joseph have been married for many long years. You live away from Rossville for most of the time because your husband is a trapper, so you don't feel that involved in community affairs. But you have been listening intently to the discussions about a treaty with the government. The people are arguing about whether they should move to Fisher River and become farmers or stay at Norway House. Joseph knows nothing about farming; he is right at home on the trap line. Neither of you has any desire to move to a strange land.

You have heard rumors that the government is willing to give each band member \$5 and to buy ammunition and other things for the people. You are pleased to hear this and plan to attend the meetings called this afternoon to tell the Chief and Councillors as well as the government representatives that these provisions be written into the treaty.

You heard that Governor Morris and his party came in on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday. They are representing the government in the negotiations and will be meeting with the Chief and Council later on in the afternoon. This will be your last chance to put pressure on the Chief and Governor. you want to make sure each band member gets \$5 and ammunition is provided for the hunters.

**Abel Fraser\***

You have worked as a fisherman for the Hudson's Bay Company for many years. You have listened to the talk in the community about the treaty. Two groups have formed. One wants to leave for Fisher River, where there is better land, and start farming. The other wants to remain in Norway House at Rossville. You have a secure job with the Company, so you plan to remain where you are, but you understand why others want to leave. Many local men were put out of work when the Hudson's Bay Company ended summer transport to York Factory. For quite a few of these men, this was their only means of support, and except for the charity of neighbours and the church, they might have been worse off than they are.

You have worked for the Company long enough to know that it operates to make a profit. As soon as it became cheaper to transport goods through Winnipeg, the old route through York Factory had to be abandoned. People will be coming into the Norway House area in the future with the idea of making money. That is why the government wants the Cree to give up their land. As a fisherman, you know that there are many fish in the lake, and have heard men talking about selling them to Red River. Last year a free trader brought in a schooner with the idea of buying fish. He didn't get many, but what is there to stop outsiders from coming in and fishing themselves?

You feel strongly that the people need to get a promise from the government that their fishing grounds will be protected from outsiders. People think you are crazy. They just laugh when you say the day will come they wished they had listened. You intend to make your argument at the meeting the Chief and council have called this afternoon. Maybe they will realize how important it is to protect the fishing grounds. At least Charles Papasekwanape will listen. Later, when they meet with the government officials, they may be able to get some concessions. You saw Governor Morris and his party get off the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday, so the terms of the treaty will be negotiated this afternoon. Perhaps you will have an opportunity to speak to the governor, too, and express your concerns to him. This is your last chance to have an influence on the outcome.

### **Maria (Mah-RYE-a) Neckaway**

You are married to James Neckaway, a hunter and guide, who used to be a tripman before the Hudson's Bay Company ended summer transport to York Factory. This has reduced your income somewhat, but James still manages to get temporary work with the Company. Others haven't been as lucky, and you know of several families who would have suffered greatly if it hadn't been for the charity of their neighbours.

You have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussions about treaty. Some people favour moving to Fisher River where the land is better for farming. Others want to stay at Norway House. You can understand why people want to move. There isn't enough work for everyone in Norway House. Your family will probably stay where they are. James knows nothing about farming, and he can get enough work with the Company to get by.

Governor Morris arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville' and will be meeting with the Chief and council this afternoon to discuss the terms of the treaty. Before he meets with the Chief, he will be available to hear what the people have to say. The Chief and his councillors are also going to meet with the people.

You plan to attend all the meetings. You want to make sure you can continue to live in your house at Rossville if the people decide to move to Fisher River. You know others are also worried. They want Governor Morris to promise that people can stay in their homes and nothing will be done without the people's consent. You are also interested in improving education. You did not have a chance for any schooling, although you can read and write Cree syllabics. You want the government to support schools, so that your grandchildren will be able to read and write English. The mission school is supported by the church but doesn't have enough money to do very much.

## **Mary Anne Mallett**

Since the Hudson's Bay Company stopped the summer transport to York Factory, it has been difficult for your family. Your husband Joseph is young and healthy, but there is little work available. Occasionally, he gets a job at the Company, possibly because Roderick Ross, the factor, knew his father well. Most of the time, you subsist on fish and whatever game Joseph and his brother David can catch. David is your husband's younger brother and has lived with you since his parents died. In spite of his youth, he is a good fisherman and hunter, so it has been helpful to have him with you.

Joseph has been discussing the treaty with everyone he meets. He is in favour of moving to Fisher River where there is better farming land. His parents always had a big garden, so he would like to farm. David can only talk about working for the Hudson's Bay Company, so he isn't as anxious to go. You will follow your husband. You can't see much future in Norway House. It looks rather bleak if you stay here.

It is the twenty-fourth of September 1875. Governor Morris and his party arrived yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville'. He will be meeting with anyone who wants to talk to him this afternoon. You plan to go and tell him you are in favour of moving to Fisher River. Since you have no money, you want some help to get settled there. It isn't easy for a young family to move to a new place. You will need to have tools to build a house and implements to farm. You will need oxen to pull the plough and haul wood. It frightens you when you think of all the things you need to live.

You also intend to meet with the Chief and Councillors this afternoon to encourage them to ask for tools and implements. You also want to make sure that they ask for \$5 a year for every member of the band. That would help, too.

You are looking forward to the meetings. They give you some hope that the future can be brighter for your family.

## **Sarah Sinclair**

Your husband Albert has worked for the Hudson's Bay Company as well as free traders in his efforts to make a living. He is a good hunter and fisherman, who is content to stay in Norway House. There has been a great deal of talk lately about moving south to Fisher River where there is much better farming land, but Albert is no farmer. He prefers to hunt and fish, which are occupations he knows well. You are quite satisfied to stay in Norway House, too, although you know that many of your relatives want to move away. You can't blame them. Since the Hudson's Bay Company stopped summer transport from York Factory in favour of bringing in goods by steamer from Winnipeg, many have been put out of work.

Governor Morris arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday. Today he will be meeting with the Chief and council to negotiate the terms of the treaty. In the meantime, he is willing to meet with members of the community to hear their views. You have decided to go and give your opinions. You have heard that band members may be getting \$5 each, and you want to make sure that is true. You also want the government to provide the men with ammunition for hunting and twine for their fishing nets. The geese are flying south and Albert cannot afford ammunition to shoot a winter's supply. His fish net is getting quite frayed, too. Many other people have the same problems. If the government supplied ammunition and twine, it would help. Albert heard that the Saulteaux down south got this in their treaty.

When the Chief and council meet with Governor Morris to negotiate the terms of the treaty, you intend to be there to make sure they discuss treaty payments and help for the fishermen and hunters of Norway House.

## Richard Beioley\*

You have been living at Norway House for a few years. You used to live at Red River where your father was a settler, but after he died your mother returned to Norway House to be near her relatives. Although closely associated with the Hudson's Bay Company, your family has many relatives among the Cree, so you have followed with interest the discussion about their signing a treaty with the government. You had been working as a tripper for the Hudson's Bay Company when it decided to end the summer transport to York Factory. Like so many people at Norway House, you lost your job. If Roderick Ross, the factor at Norway House, had not known your father and grandfather, you might not have obtained the few odd jobs you've had since then. Like others, you are concerned about the future and wonder if you should move south.

Two groups have formed at Rossville. One wants to move to Fisher River and take up farming. The other wants to stay at Norway House. David Rundle and two of his councillors favour moving away. You are inclined to agree with them. The other day Rundle asked if you would attend a meeting this afternoon to advise the band on the size of reserve it should be asking for. Henry Oig has asked you to help him prepare a list of the farm implements and other items the people will need if they move to Fisher River. He wants to give this to James Cochrane, one of the councillors, so it can be presented to the government officials.

You have heard that the people at Red River received 160 acres per family of five, and Treaties 3 and 4 gave 640 acres per family of five. You expect that the band can get by with a smaller acreage if all they will be doing is farming, but certainly no less than 160 acres per family of five. They will need more if they are going to keep cattle.

You have thought a great deal about the equipment that will be needed. When you were at Red river, you had a chance to work on farms, so you have a good idea of what farmers need for equipment. Each family will require hoes to work up the ground and a spade to dig the potatoes and other root crops. A scythe is essential to cut grass for the cattle, and an axe for firewood and shaping logs. Perhaps a few families could share ploughs and harrows, because these are expensive, but they can't get along without them. Oxen will be needed to pull the heavy equipment. Eventually, everyone will have his own oxen, but at first people will have to share. The band should negotiate for a bull and some cows, so they can build up a herd of cattle. They will need seed, too, especially wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes.

Governor Morris and his party arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday and he will be meeting with the people this afternoon to hear their views. Later, he will meet with the Chief and Council to negotiate the terms of the treaty. You plan to attend all meetings and do as much as you can to influence the decisions made.



## **Nancy Budd\***

You are married to Henry Budd, who has worked for years as a tripman, guide, and fisherman for the Hudson's Bay Company. Since he is on permanent staff, he was not affected when the Company stopped the summer transport business to York Factory. But many others were. Both you and your husband are active members of the Methodist Church at Rossville, and you have seen the suffering of the people. As an elder and class leader, your husband has discussed the needs of the community with the ministers, John Ruttan and Orrin German. Both men believe it would be better for the people to move south to Fisher River where there is better land for farming. You and Henry agree that is a good idea for some people because there isn't enough work for everyone at Norway House. You would not leave, as you are quite comfortable where you are.

You have followed the discussion of a treaty with interest. You feel that if the people are going to be giving up their rights to the land, the government should provide them with assistance in return. You are particularly interested in education. You have little yourself, but since you have long been associated with Hudson's Bay people who could read and write, you know the value of it. You want your grandchildren to have opportunities you and your children have never had.

The Chief and Council are meeting this afternoon to listen to what the people have to say about the treaty negotiations. You have decided to attend and tell them to negotiate for government assistance to provide better schooling. The church has done as much as it can with the little money it has. It is time the government helped. You understand Governor Morris will be meeting to hear what the people have to say as well. If time permits, you will talk to him, too.

After these meetings, you intend to stay for the negotiations between the Chief and Governor Morris. You hope that provision for education will be part of the final treaty.

### **Adelaide Garson\***

Even though you are married to James Garson, a Scotsman, and your father was Charles Crate, a Canadian, your mother was Sarah Neckaway, and that means you are related to nearly everybody in Rossville. Even though you live on Fort Island, you have listened with interest to all the talk about treaty. A few people have told you it isn't any of your business since you are half-white and are married to a whiteman. That makes you very angry. You speak Cree and so do your children. As far as you are concerned, your family is as Cree as the people at Rossville and entitled to the same consideration.

You met Governor Morris yesterday when he arrived on the Steamer 'Colville', and he seems to be a gentleman. He is the Lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, a very important man. He will be representing the government in the meeting this afternoon with the Chief and his councillors when they negotiate the terms of the treaty. You intend to see him about your concerns before negotiations begin.

You know also that the Chief and his councillors will meet with the people before meeting with the governor. Harry Coustatag asked James to come and give him an idea of the kinds of tools the band should be requesting. You are going, too. You feel you have every right to be there.

You want to make sure you and your family are included in the band membership. You have heard that each member will be receiving \$5, which is a considerable amount of money. You don't see any reason why your daughters shouldn't receive their share. You will be telling David Rundle that you want to be included on the list. You expect some opposition. Barbara Coland and you haven't gotten along for years, and she can be expected to oppose you. But you intend to be ready for her.

## **James Garson\***

You are the carpenter for the Hudson's Bay Company. A Scotsman, you haven't been directly involved in the discussion about treaty, but you have been interested nevertheless. Your wife Adelaide was born in the community and has many relatives at Rossville. As a band member, she is interested in what it means for her and the children.

There wasn't much talk of treaty until local men lost their jobs as trippers for the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company decided to stop bringing in freight from York Factory and carry it by steamer from Winnipeg instead. This made good business sense, as the old route was expensive and unpredictable, but it has caused hardship for the people put out of work. Now everyone is talking about a treaty and looking to the government for assistance. One group wants to move to Fisher River further south and take up farming. The other group want to remain in Norway House. You are skeptical about looking to the government for help. They never helped your people back in Scotland when the landlord decided to burn everyone's house and push them off the land to make way for sheep. You wonder about farming, too. People here don't know anything about farming.

Still, whatever will be will be. Governor Morris and his party arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday and meet with the Chief and his councillors this afternoon to negotiate the terms of the treaty. In the meantime, Harry Coustatag, one of the councillors, has asked you to give him an idea about the kinds of tools they should be asking for. Since you are a carpenter and general handyman, you have a good idea of what is required. At the very least, the band will need a chest of ordinary carpenter's tools. It will also need cross-cut and other hand saws, a pit saw, files, a grindstone, and augers. You are going to encourage Harry to argue for as many tools as he can get. Houses will have to be built as well as repaired, even if the band remains in Norway House. And if they move to Fisher River, they will have to build everything from scratch.

You will attend the meeting the Chief has called with the people and give your recommendations about tools to Harry Coustatag. You also plan to attend as an observer of the negotiations concerning the terms of the treaty. Hopefully, the people will be treated fairly by the government.

## **Betsy Crate**

You were raised at Red River but came to Norway House a few years ago when your mother, Betsy Beioley, and brothers Edmund and Richard moved north. Shortly after you arrived, you married James Crate, who works on a temporary basis with the Hudson's Bay Company. You have never been particularly happy living at Norway House. Except for Adelaide Garson, your sister-in-law, you have no close friends. James is dissatisfied, too. He can see little future with the Hudson's Bay Company. When the summer transport to York Factory was stopped by the Hudson's Bay Company, he lost the one job he could count on each year. You are both thinking it is time to move elsewhere.

Consequently, you have listened intently to all the discussion about a treaty between the government and the Cree at Norway House. Even though you don't really consider yourselves Cree, you aren't white people either. Still, you have relatives at Rossville and both you and your husband speak Cree fluently. The community is divided into two groups. One group wants to move to Fisher River where there is better farming land. The other group wants to stay at Norway House. You are in favour of the move to Fisher River. Both you and James think it would provide better hopes of a future than staying in Norway House.

Governor Morris arrived on the Steamer 'Colville' yesterday and will be meeting with the people this afternoon. You are going with your sister-in-law Adelaide Garson, who feels she is entitled to be included on the band list, so that she and her children can receive treaty money. You want to find out more about this, too, but you especially want to tell Governor Morris that you favour the move to Fisher River. You hope he will be willing to help people relocate there. You also want to find out if any help will be given to people of mixed Cree and English background like yourself. Perhaps he will have some answers for you.

You are also going to attend the meeting called by the Chief and Council. You don't intend to say anything. In fact, you are going mainly to give moral support to Adelaide, who expects Barbara Coland to complain that she has no right to be there.

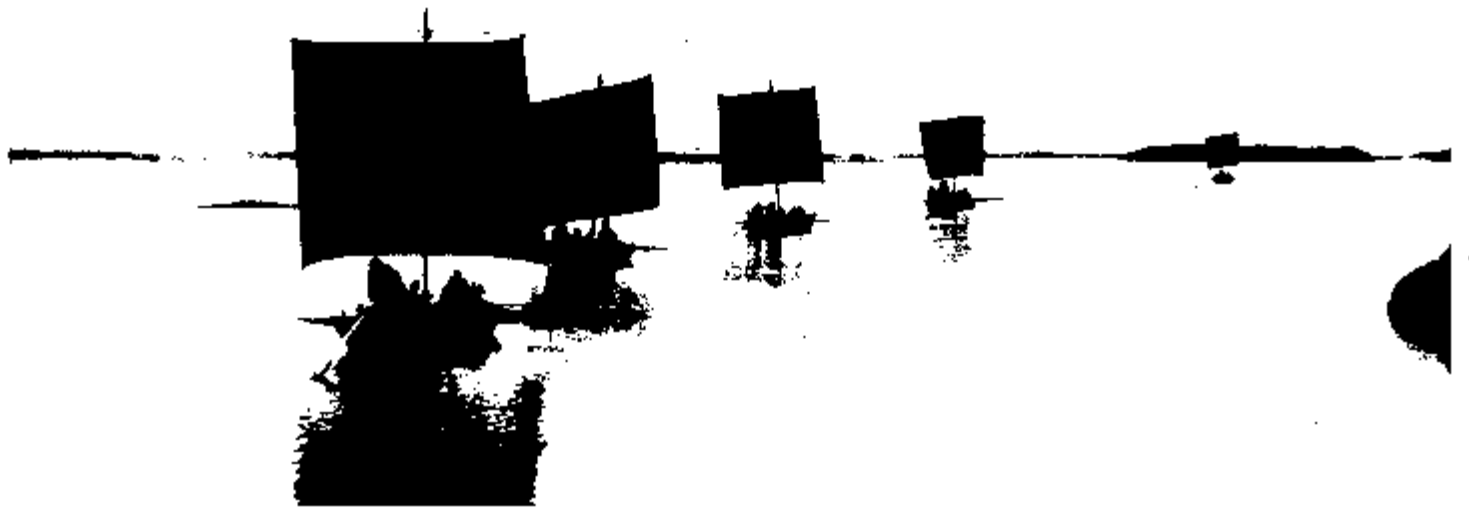
When the Chief and councillors meet with the government officials later on today to negotiate the terms of the treaty, you intend to be there to listen to the proceedings.

## **Anna Apetagon**

Like many of the other people living at Norway House, you moved south from York Factory for the better opportunities here. Everything was going well until your sons John and Frederick lost their jobs in the summer transport business from York Factory. Now that the Hudson's Bay Company is bringing in its supplies from Winnipeg by steamer, many men are out of work. Your sons rely on hunting and trapping and the occasional job for the Company. Fred is also thinking of serving as a minister in the Methodist Church, although you much prefer the Anglican service to which you became accustomed at York Factory.

You have listened carefully to all the talk about the treaty. Some people want to move to Fisher River where there is good land for farming. Your family knows nothing about farming as it was hard to get potatoes to grow most years at York Factory. You favour staying at Norway House for the time being, although some of your relatives are anxious to leave. You are strongly in favour of education and want the government to provide assistance. You also believe that alcohol must be strictly controlled. You have seen how much harm it can do to people, and you want to make sure it is never allowed onto the reserve land.

Governor Morris, the government representative, arrived in the community yesterday on the Steamer 'Colville'. This afternoon, he will be meeting with the people and you intend to go and make your ideas known. The Chief and councillors are also holding a meeting with the people, and you will speak to them as well. You are going to listen to all the discussions because it affects the future of the community. It is important that the leaders negotiate the best possible terms with the government when they give up their rights to the land.



**York Boats in full sail at Norway House**  
(courtesy Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

# STUDENT PLAN SHEETS





## **Treaty 5: Proposed Government Terms**

The following represent the negotiating position of the government with reference to the proposed treaty with the Norway House Cree, 24 September 1875.

### **Proposed Terms**

#### **1. Reserve Land**

##### **Size:**

100 acres per family of five as compared to 160 acres at Berens River and 640 acres in Treaties 3 and 4. The Government feels it can offer less land to the people at Norway House because they are so desperate they will accept anything. The government is prepared to argue that the land the Cree at Norway House are giving up is not as valuable as the land given up in Treaties 3 and 4. Therefore, the government does not feel obligated to give as much for it.

##### **Location:**

The Norway House Cree want a settlement at Grassy Narrows, but that spot has been set aside for Icelandic settlers. You are prepared to give them a reserve 40 miles north of there at a place called Fisher River.

According to your information, ninety families or over half the people of Norway House wish to move south to farm. You expect the rest will follow them, but if a few want to stay, they can keep their houses and gardens.

You do not favour a reserve at Norway House because that would mean a second chief and councillors and extra expense. You also have no desire to create a reserve at Oxford House for the same reason.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

#### **2. Annuities**

The people will probably accept an annual payment of \$5 per person, \$25 for the chief, and \$15 for his councillors, as in Treaties 3 and 4.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. **Education**

The Government will support schools if the Cree request them.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. **Use of Alcohol**

You don't favour its use on the reserve. Since many of the Norway House Cree are Methodist Christians opposed to drinking, you don't expect much opposition to this.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. **Hunting and Fishing Rights**

You believe the Cree should be allowed to hunt and fish on the land they give up. However, the government will keep the right to regulate and restrict hunting and fishing if it is necessary. You expect no opposition on this.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. **Public Buildings**

Even though the government will be giving reserves to the people, it will keep the right to take back land for public buildings such as schools. The band will be paid of course.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. **Hunting and Fishing Supplies**

The people complain of shortages of ammunition for hunting and twine for fishing nets. You are prepared to give the band up to \$500 a year for these necessities.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**8. Farming Implements**

You are prepared to provide equipment to encourage agriculture, but only to those who are already farming. Each family should receive a few basic implements such as hoes, a spade, a scythe, and an axe. A plough could be shared by approximately ten families and harrows by as many as twenty. Of course, a yoke of oxen would need to be given to pull these heavy implements. A bull and a few cows should be enough to provide for a future herd of cattle. Seeds such as wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes could be given out the first year. The government would provide all of the above once only because of the great expense. After that, people need to provide for their own needs.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**9. Building Equipment**

You are prepared to provide a few tools on a one time basis. These will enable the band to build houses and obtain its winter supply of firewood as well as make necessary repairs. Because they are so expensive, a chest of carpenter's tools, a grindstone, and a few saws will be given only to the band and not to individual families.

Other arguments and proposals: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**10. Miscellaneous Items**

It is important that the leaders of the band be dressed decently; therefore, you are willing to give the Chief and his councillors a suit of clothing each every three years. A flag and a medal will be given to the Chief to add importance and dignity to his office. You don't expect any argument on this.

**Treaty 5: Negotiation Proposals**

Negotiation positions of the Chief and Councillors at Norway House, 2th September 1875.

Proposals

1. **Reserve Land**

Size:

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Location :

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Protection for those who stay in Norway House :

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2. **Annuity Payments**

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3. **Education**

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4. **Use of Alcohol**

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5. **Hunting and Fishing Rights**

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6. **Public Building on Reserve**

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7. **Hunting and Fishing Supplies**

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8. **Farm Implements**

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9. **Building Equipment**

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10. **Other Items**

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**Treaty 5: Proposal**

Name of person/group to whom proposal is made:

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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Name of person/group making proposal :

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Proposal :

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Proposals may be made on ONE or more of the following:

- 1. Reserve: size & location
- 2. Annuity payments
- 3. Education
- 4. Use of Alcohol
- 5. Hunting and Fishing Rights
- 6. Public Buildings
- 7. Hunting and Fishing Supplies
- 8. Farm Implements
- 9. Building Equipment
- 10. Others

# APPENDIX





Appendix 1: TREATY SUMMARIES NOS. 1-5

	TREATIES 1/2	TREATY 3	TREATY 4	TREATY 5
With regard to the LAND, the Indians agreed:	to give up to govt. for non-Indian settlement, 16,700 sq. mi. in S. Central Manitoba (#1), 35,700 sq. mi. in Central & S.W. Manitoba & S.E. Saskatchewan (#2).	Same. 55,000 sq. mi. in N.W. Ont. and part of S.E. Manitoba.	Same. 74,600 sq. mi. in S. Sask. and part of West Central Manitoba.	Same. Approximately 100,000 sq. mi. in Central and northern Manitoba and part of Saskatchewan.
With regard to PEACE, LAW, and ORDER, the Indians agreed:	to observe the treaty, be peaceful, not bother their non-Indian neighbours.	Same. Also help law officers arrest Indians breaking treaty or other laws.	Same.	Same. Also "allow free navigation and access to shorelines of Reserves".
With regard to RESERVE LAND, the government agreed:	to set up a reserve on the basis of 160 acres per family of five.	to set up a reserve on the basis of 640 acres per family of five.	Same as in Treaty 3.	100 acres per family of five at Fisher River. Later, 160 acres per family of five at Norway House.
With regard to TREATY PAYMENTS, the govt. agreed:	to pay \$3 per capita (later upped to \$5) and \$20 to Chief each year.	to pay \$5 per capita \$25 to Chief, \$15 to no more than 3 councillors.	Same.	Same.
With regard to SCHOOLS, the govt. agreed:	to maintain a school at each reserve at the request of the people.	to maintain a school on each reserve as advisable and at the request of the people.	to maintain a school on reserve as soon as people prepared for the teacher.	Same as in Treaty 3.
With regard to ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES, the govt.:	prohibited them on reserves and prohibited their sale to Indians.	Same.	Same.	Same.

	TREATY 1/2	TREATY 3	TREATY 4	TREATYS
With regard to FARMING, the govt. agreed to provide ONCE:	a bull to each reserve, a cow for each Chief, a boar for each reserve, a sow for the Chief. Plough and harrow to each Indian farmer.	2 hoes, 1 spade, 1 scythe, 1 axe for each farm family. Seed wheat, barley, oats, potatoes. 1 plough every 10 families; 5 harrows for every 20 families. 1 bull, 1 yoke of oxen, 4 cows per band.	Same.	Same.
With regard to CARPENTRY TOOLS, the govt. agreed to give ONCE:	Not mentioned.	A chest of carpenter's tools to Chief for use of band, plus 1 auger, 1 hand saw, 1 cross cut saw, 1 pit saw, files, 1 grindstone.	A chest of carpenter's tools to Chief for use of band, plus 5 augers, 5 handsaws, 12 cross cut saws, 1 pit saw, files, 1 grindstone.	Same as in Treaty 3.
Other items the govt. provided ONCE:	Treaty presents of \$3 to every man, woman, and child.	Treaty presents of \$12 to every man, woman, and child. Flag & medal to each Chief.	Same, plus \$25 to each Chief, \$15 to each councillor, Coat, flag & medal to each Chief; coats for headmen.	Treaty presents of \$5 for every man, woman, and child; a Flag & medal to Chief.
Other items the govt. agreed to provide on a REGULAR BASIS:	Clothing to Chief and councillors every three years.	Same. Also \$1500 a year to band for twine and ammunition.	Same. Also \$750 a year to band for twine and ammunition.	Same. Also \$500 a year to band for twine and ammunition.
With regard to HUNTING, TRAPPING, & FISHING, the govt. also allowed:	Not mentioned.	Right to hunt and fish on ceded land, subject to regulation & excluding lands used for settlement & mining.	Right to hunt, fish, and trap on ceded land, etc..	Same as in Treaty 3. Trapping not mentioned.

## Appendix 2: TREATY NO. 5

This treaty was signed at Norway House on the twenty-fourth of September 1875. The representatives of the government were Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, and James McKay, Minister of Agriculture in the Provincial Government of Manitoba. The representatives of the Cree at Norway House were Chief David Rundle and his three councillors James Cochrane, Harry Coustatag, and Charles Papasekwanape.

The government wanted to open up a tract of land for "settlement, immigration, and other purposes", but it had to receive consent from the Indian people living on that land. In return for that consent, it promised to give the Indians certain allowances on which they could always rely. Around 100,000 square miles of land were ceded by the Indians living within the boundaries of Treaty No. 5. Besides Norway House, other bands covered by the treaty included Berens River, Cross Lake, Grand Rapids, The Pas, and others.

The main provisions of the treaty for the people of Norway House were:

**RESERVE** - The government agreed to lay aside a reserve for farming land. This reserve would provide 100 acres for each family of five and be located in the vicinity of Fisher River. Approximately 90 families had indicated their interest in moving to that place, and the government wanted them to move there within three years. The people who stayed behind would be allowed to keep their gardens, buildings, and improvements, with the promise that these would not be sold by the government without their permission.

**TREATY PAYMENTS** - Each member of the band would receive a payment of \$5.00 each year. The chief would be paid a salary of \$25.00 a year and each of his councillors \$15.00. Up to three councillors would be allowed and no more.

**SCHOOL** - The government agreed to maintain a school if the people on the reserve requested it.

**ALCOHOL** - Intoxicating liquor was forbidden on the reserves. It was not allowed to be sold to Indian people.

**FARMING TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT** - Each family was to be given two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and one axe. One plough would be provided for every ten families and five harrows for every twenty families. These would be given only once.

**FARM ANIMALS** - One yoke of oxen, one bull, and four cows were to be given to each band on a one time basis.

**OTHER TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT** - The band was to receive one cross-cut saw, one handsaw, a number of files, one grindstone, one auger, and one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools. These would be given only once.

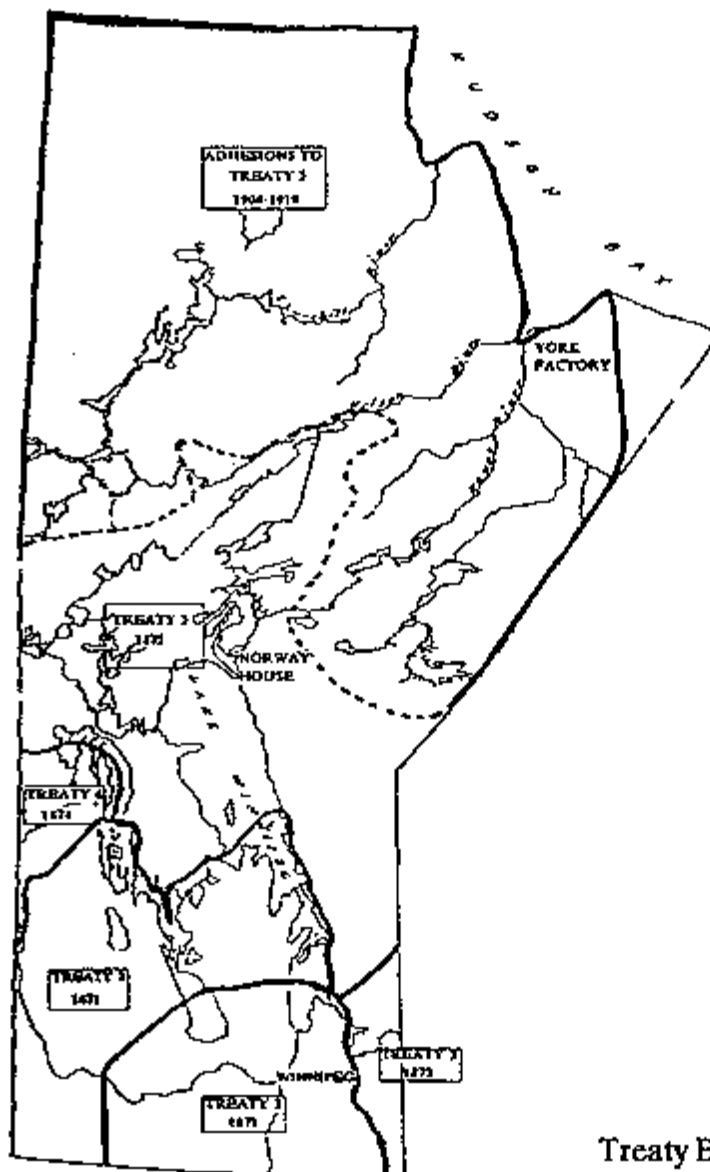
**PRESENTS** - To celebrate the signing of the treaty, each member of the band was to receive a present of \$5.00. The chief received a flag and a medal as well.

**HUNTING AND FISHING RIGHTS** - The Indians could continue to hunt on the land they gave up to the government, except on those lands taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering, or other purposes. The same rules applied to fishing on the lakes and rivers, but the government maintained the right to set regulations which restricted these hunting and fishing rights.

**HUNTING AND FISHING GRANTS** - \$500 would be given each year to the band to buy ammunition for hunting and twine for fishing nets.

**PUBLIC BUILDINGS** - The government could take land on the reserves for public buildings, but it promised to pay the band for it or provide other land in compensation.

These are the main items in the treaty. The signers agreed to follow the requirements, and the chief and his councillors agreed to help enforce it on the reserve.



Treaty Boundaries in Manitoba