STRUCTURAL and SETTLEMENT HISTORY of BATOUCHE VILLAGE

ETUDE STRUCTURALE et du PEUPLEMENT du VILLAGE de BATOUCHE

by par DIANE PAYMENT

1977

HISTORICAL RESEARCH DIVISION PARKS/PARCS CANADA, PRAIRIE REGION WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
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Abstract

In 1872, Xavier Letendre established a ferry service on the east bank of the South Saskatchewan river at the site of the village which was to bear his surname, "Batoche." The family, descendants of a French-Canadian voyageur and his Cree wife who had traded for the North West Company and independently in the Fort à la Corne district in the early 1800s, had recently immigrated from Red River. Other Métis families among whom the Champagnes, Failhants (Fayant), Parenteaus and Dumonts, soon joined them.

The trail from Winnipeg to Fort Carlton and the Northern posts crossed the South Saskatchewan river along lot 47 at Batoche. At this junction, Xavier Letendre erected a trading shop and storehouses to conduct one of the most successful commercial enterprises in the North West. Between 1882 and 1885, three other merchants located along "Batoche Avenue," on the west bank of the river. Other stores were established south east of the village, along the trail from Clarke's and Gabriel's Crossing. In 1881, the Oblats de Marie Immaculée founded the St-Antoine-de-Padoue mission and in 1883 and 1884, a rectory and a church were erected on lot 50, on a terrace about a mile from the village. The population, which extended along both banks of the river, was estimated at 500 in 1883.

At Batoche, some Métis erected log buildings reflecting the construction styles of Quebec and Red River but adapted to the new environment. Most of the structures were pièce sur pièce with dovetailed corners, usually on a post sill foundation, the spaces between the logs filled with a mud and hay
plaster and the exterior whitewashed. Some of the more substantial buildings such as Letendre's house, the church and the rectory were Red River framed on a fieldstone foundation and with a boarded and painted exterior. Roofs were usually shingled although a few thatched roofs were reported in 1885. Two storey dwellings were not uncommon and interiors were comfortably if sparsely furnished. Travellers commented on the attractiveness and prosperity of the settlement.

Batoche was a bustling community in 1885. Most of the inhabitants were traders and freighters although the river lots they occupied were beginning to show signs of cultivation and transition to farming and ranching. The armed conflict inevitably dislocated this affluent little community but contrary to what has been generally believed, Métis society and economy was altered but did not disintegrate in 1885. The decline in freighting activities, the absence of a rail line to Batoche, the general disillusionment of the population and ineffectual and discriminatory Government policies which followed were more instrumental in its decline.

By 1920, the village buildings on the river flat had virtually disappeared although the church and rectory withstood the ravages of time and a few stores remained along the trail south east of the mission. Although the population gradually declined, a community of about 250 continued to farm at Batoche until the expansion of the National Historic Park after 1960.

Descendants of the original families still live in the Batoche, Duck Lake, St-Laurent and St-Louis area. Batoche is perceived as the cradle of "la nation métisse," and a testimony to the genuine if ultimately unsuccessful attempt of a native Western Canadian people to survive within a largely discriminatory society.
I would like to thank Mr. Lloyd Rodwell of the Saskatchewan Archives (Saskatoon) for his judicious and invaluable assistance while researching the Homestead files. Documentation from the OMI Collection in Edmonton and Deschâtelets (Ottawa), gathered primarily for the report on the Church and Rectory in 1976, was also consulted for this study. In particular, I wish to thank Father Gaston Carrière for having obtained copies of correspondence at the Archives Générales in Rome. Finally, Dianne Milton, Draftperson for our Division, expertly sketched and letrasetted all the maps and illustrations while Léa Marchand, the Section Typist patiently typed and proofread the manuscript.
Introduction

The object of this study is a structural and settlement history of Batoche from its origins to the present. The central themes are necessarily the people, the lands they claimed and the buildings they erected. Essential to an analysis of these developments, is the land issue. The failure of the Canadian government to take action and thus resolve this question before 1885, was the main cause of an uprising by the Métis of the district. The Métis had begun squatting or making semi-permanent residences in the settlement around 1872 and by 1882 most of the lots along the east and west banks of the South Saskatchewan in townships 42, 43 and 44 were claimed and occupied. Many feared that their long narrow river lots would not be entered at Prince Albert because they did not conform to the square survey. In any case speculators might precede them to the Land Office and secure legal rights to the property. The West experienced an unparalleled land boom in 1882 and there was a rumour that Batoche would become a major communication and commercial centre for the immigrants who would pour into the district. This period of growth and prosperity was short-lived. The conflict of 1885 brought destruction. The land was scorched and desolate, the fields unploughed and uncultivated. Many Métis who had vainly sought redress for their grievances or taken up arms against the Government, abandoned their lands and sought refuge across the border. Those who remained, however, resolutely entered their claim if they could afford the $10 fee. Few could afford to pay for their pre-emption. The river lots previously surveyed along the
east shore between 1879 and 1884 were opened for entry in
the fall of 1885. The Government also acceded to a demand
for the resurvey of sections on the west bank of the river
into river lots in 1889. But the inability to communicate
in English, the long trek to Prince Albert and especially
the poverty of the post 1885 period, precluded any successful
conclusion to the Government's policy of appeasement.

By 1890, it was already evident that Batoche would never
become the metropolis its founder François-Xavier Letendre
dit Batoche had predicted in 1881. The village that boast­
ed seven stores and a complex network of trails in 1885,
had only three minor outlets a decade later. The choice of
a southern route for the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881
and the decision to run the branch line to Prince Albert
fifteen miles west of Batoche in 1890, impeded its growth.
The original village site on "la belle prairie," in a
parkland setting which no sectionally surveyed settlement
to the west could equal, was largely abandoned by 1900.
A new village or business sector had sprung up along the
trail between St-Laurent and Fish Creek, in the vicinity of
lots 55 and 57. The decline of water transportation and the
improvements of trails and roads facilitated travel to Duck
Lake and Prince Albert, the new centres. Fish Creek,
Batoche, and St-Laurent remained on the periphery, secondary
to the new areas which European immigrants were "opening
and settling."

Until the turn of the century this isolation protec­
ted the Métis communities from an "onslaught of foreign­
ers." The clergy was also largely successful in its
efforts to "reserve" the land for French and French-Canadian
immigrants until the 1920s. For the Métis were leaving the
land for which they had fought in 1885, seeking a last fron­
tier in northern communities where more lucrative employment
could still be found. Grain farming was never productive in the areas occupied by them along the South Saskatchewan. The Métis also had little money to buy implements and cattle to achieve a more varied and suitable agricultural economy. An examination of the Lands Branch and Land Titles records reveals a history of grain liens, caveats, mortgages and tax arrears in the 1920s and 1930s. Those who managed to survive these difficult years merely subsisted. Many lost their lands or sold them to real estate agents, absentee owners or more prosperous farmers in surrounding communities.

The parish of St-Antoine-de-Padoue, founded in 1881 and well established by 1888, was to remain the most stable element in the community. A church, rectory and public school, located on lots 50 and 51, southeast of the original village site, provided religious as well as educational services. The closing of the St-Laurent mission in 1894 and the presence of many French-speaking Catholic settlers in the Fish Creek, Alvena and Bellevue district, each without a church until the turn of the century, made Batoche the key religious centre. This role declined in the 1920s but the maintenance of the village as a post office and small supply depot for a rural and scattered population, was essentially due to the success of the parish.

The 1960s were a turning point for the parish and community. Although the gradual decline of population and services brought about the closing of the school in 1966 and of the ferry in 1969, the mission even in its demise, was to assure a permanent legacy to the community. The erection of Batoche as a National Historic Park, with the acquisition of the rectory in 1955 and the church in 1970, ensures that it will survive as a memento and tribute to the Métis who settled along the South Saskatchewan in the nineteenth century. The village and mission provide a mystical, almost sacred link with a history at once heroic and tragic.
Two major studies have dealt with the Métis in Saskatchewan. In *The Birth of Western Canada*, George F.G. Stanley provides a survey of the political and military aspects of the events of 1885. More important, Marcel Giraud's *Le Métis Canadien* probes into the evolution and character of Métis culture from its origins to the 1930s. An in-depth ethnological analysis based on extensive documentary and oral evidence, it remains the most important study on the Métis. Nevertheless many of his conclusions are subject to revision in the light of new historical methods and interpretations. A Social Darwinist, Giraud traces the disintegration of Métis society and considers inevitable and desirable its final absorption into its parent groups of European origin, French-Canadian and English-speaking. Adhering to the frontier thesis, Stanley also views the assimilation of the Métis as inevitable in the wake of a more advanced technology and more sophisticated "White" institutions. These are somewhat simplistic and condescending attitudes and both studies fail to consider the native point of view and value system. The studies are based primarily on government and ecclesiastical sources.

By comparison, Trémaudan's *Histoire de la nation métisse* and Kinsey-Howard's *Strange Empire* border on the apologetic and the romantic. The absence of notes casts doubt on the authenticity of some of the evidence and interpretations. Trémaudan's study is based on the testimonies of the Métis who witnessed the events of 1885. Although these testimonies are unverifiable in many cases, they should nevertheless be considered. Unfortunately the Métis left few written accounts and we must rely largely on a re-interpretation of traditional sources to identify and interpret their attitudes and actions. More recently, Howard Adams has attempted to present the native point of view in *Prison of Grass*. He relies almost solely on Trémaudan and Kinsey-Howard for his interpretation of the conflict of 1885. Adams offers some interesting
hypotheses regarding the behaviour of the clergy and some Métis vendus but unfortunately he manipulates sources and often bases his claims on secondary evidence. In an effort to provide an objective study of the Métis, particularly of 1885, the historian must strive to free himself of all stereotypes and prejudices and sift through all the conflicting and often contradictory evidence.

The main sources consulted for this report were the Homestead Files and Rebellion Losses Claims (Dept. of the Interior, Canada), the Lands Branch Files (Dept. of Agriculture, Saskatchewan) and the Land Titles Records in Prince Albert, especially in regards to lots 44 to 49 and sections 6, 7, 18, 19, and 30 in T43-1-W3. The notebooks and correspondence of surveyors in the district between 1878 and 1916 and the maps of trails, townships and settlements prepared by the Surveys Branch, were also invaluable. Records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Department of Justice provided additional information on the village in 1885 and in the 1890s. Correspondence and accounts of the missionaries in the Oblate Archives and testimonies of the Métis in the Papers of La Société historique métisse provided a balanced interpretation. Finally interviews and discussions with the oldest living settlers of Batoche (third generation and younger), people whose earliest recollections date to the turn of the century, were useful if not always verifiable. Taking into consideration oral as well as written evidence, we are able to arrive at a fairly comprehensive history of the village.
Early Phase of the Settlement

The frequent excursions of the Métis and their half-hearted attempts at farming meant that their early dwellings and outbuildings were often makeshift and temporary. This was confirmed by early descriptions in the 1870s:

All buildings, dwelling, kitchen, outbuildings were constructed according to the custom of the country, of roughly hewn spruce or poplar trees on a wood beam foundation chinked with a mud and hay plaster and covered with a thatch roof. 

possibly similar to Fig. 1. While small logs were available locally, larger pine logs were not used extensively in the early 1870s as they had to be hauled from a forest ten to fifteen miles north of St-Laurent. An expedition of this sort would have been time consuming and costly for a newly established community. The corners were usually dovetailed or logs were simply superimposed and corners unfinished, especially for a barn or granary. Every fall the spaces between the logs might have to be refilled and the roof re-thatched. The church at St-Laurent, erected in 1874 (Fig. 2), was an example of a larger building of that period. Built of large pine logs with dovetailed corners, it was thatch roofed, measured 40' x 25' and stood 7' high. Within the next few years, the mission buildings formed a "village square" which also included a 19' x 17' rectory annexed to the church; a combined convent, school and common refectory 50' x 25'; an outbuilding and men's residence 30' x 18' and a stable 30' x 30'.

Smaller buildings were often joined together to produce a larger living or working area since they were easier to
erect and less costly. A common practice among the Métis was to add an annex at the rear of the house. As the occupant became more established, a more spacious dwelling might also be erected and the original building converted into outbuildings or storehouses (i.e., X. Letendre between 1878 and 1885). The mission of St-Laurent witnessed most of these changes between 1874 and 1883. The roof was shingled, annexes were added to existing buildings and two or more were moved from another site.

...la maison des R.P. a été agrandie d'une chambre qui la relie à la chapelle et la met en communication avec elle...une cuisine adjacente au couvent...deux nouvelles maisons ont été achetées et transportées...l'une pour les domestiques, l'autre pour servir de boutique et de hangar...5

It does not seem that during this early period of settlement in the Batoche area, the Métis constructed the rectangular "Red River style" log building where an infill of horizontal timbers were fitted into slotted vertical timbers. Their smaller, squarer buildings were erected in horizontal hewn logs, pièce sur pièce, usually with dovetailed corners. Possibly the lack of expert craftsmanship, the initial character of the settlement, and the prevalence of smaller logs made the latter style more adaptable to their means and lifestyle.

Louis Goulet, a Métis who was born at Red River but freighted in the Batoche and Battleford district in the late 1870s, described a typical Métis home in his autobiography. Although he was not specific about the style of the building, he mentioned that it was mortise and tenon framed with dovetailed corners, mud and hay plastered, thatch roofed, one and one half storeys high and twice as long as it was wide. His model was a dwelling in St-Norbert during the 1860s but some of the interior features and customs could apply to a frontier community at a later period.

L'érection d'une habitation se faisait par étape. L'on cherchait premièremen t à mettre la famille à
l'abri...la cheminée, toutefois, se construisait ordinairement avec le corps de logis [sic]. Venait ensuite la fabrication des meubles, celle du plancher et son posage, la finition des cadres et d'autres détails de boiserie. La première partie d'une habitation était une structure de dimension modeste tout juste ce qui était absolument indispensable...le rez-de-chaussée était la première pièce et souvent la seule. Le grenier, ne servant point alors, était fermé complètement par un simple plafond de madrier ou de planche épaisse faite à la hache. L'on appelait ce plafond brut plancher de haut. L'ameublement ordinaire d'une maison consistait en une table, des sièges, une armoire ou deux...La boiserie: cadres, châssis, portes, plancher et ameublement étaient de fabrication à domicile, exécutée patiemment à la main, au couteau croche...Le magasin n'avait rien de prétentieux: tout juste un coin d'allonge où s'entassaient les quelques effets de traite...l'atelier était une bâtisse d'arbres équarris qui servait d'abri...6

Father Fourmond, during a visit to one of his parishioners at St-Laurent in 1878, reported similar furnishings.

La maison de mon hôte avait deux apartements; cuisine et salle; pour mobilier ces lits à quenouilles ornés de coton d'indienne, puis, en guise d'armoires, quelques tiroirs refermant le linge et les vêtements du ménage, une table, des coffres servant aussi de lits...Elle avait son petit reposoir de Marie et ses images...7

The village of St-Laurent, preceding Batoche by about a decade, was to serve as a model for the latter. It was a suitable location for a hunting and freighting community which pursued a garden scale agriculture. Much of the land on the west side of the river was swampy and hilly. The mission had located in the SW\frac{1}{4} of section 21 in T43-1-W3, along the west bank, whereas the majority of settlers claimed river lots on the east side of the river. This impractical feature of the mission, plus the relative unsuitability of the soil in the immediate vicinity would undermine the success of the settlement. A general appraisal of the immigration
and land occupation at St-Laurent in the period 1870 to 1880, reveals a constant movement of population and a casual attitude towards settlement and agriculture. Before 1880, however, it was not economically essential or desirable for the Métis to pursue full scale agriculture. The end of the buffalo hunt in 1877 and the decline in freighting contracts by 1882 convinced most of the necessity of occupying and cultivating their claims. The settlement at St-Laurent served as a precedent and example for those who went to Batoche. The experience in self-government, the construction of a mission, village and farmsteads were to be applied to the new settlement which in essence was an extension of the first. Furthermore, the natural advantages of Batoche seemed to augur a better future.

Second Phase, 1885-1900
Building styles and construction methods in the 1880s attest to the more established character of the settlements. The Red River frame style, although not common, was applied to the church and rectory in 1883 and 1884. It appears that this mode of construction was used mainly for larger or more substantial buildings erected by skilled craftsmen. It consisted of positioning vertical posts on a sill, at intervals determined by the size of the building. The posts were slotted and infilled with tenoned horizontal timbers. Spaces between the timbers were chinked with a mud and hay plaster (bousillage) and the roof was usually shingled. By the 1880s, a more elaborate or well finished structure was also boarded and painted. In the Batoche area, evidence suggests that due to the prevalence of smaller poplar logs and the modest means of a newly established community, a simpler method of construction was most often used. As in Fig. 3 and 4, roughly hewn logs were laid horizontally pièce sur pièce and the corners were dovetailed or saddle notched. The building was chinked and the exterior
whitewashed or painted for greater attractiveness. The size and finish of houses would vary with the means and skills of the builder. The roof was usually gabled although a few hipped roofs were present at the turn of the century. According to the Homestead files, better houses had shingled roofs although many still reported thatched roofs in 1884. (see Fig. 3, Tourond house).

An excellent example of a well finished pièce sur pièce, plastered one storey building, was the schoolhouse erected at Batoche around 1894 (see Fig. 5). The high gabled roof with overhang was shingled and vertical plank decorated the façade. Buildings without annexes, such as the schoolhouse usually had only one door which opened inward. At the turn of the century the schoolhouse was boarded and a front porch added.

The size of an average dwelling at Batoche in 1885 was 16' x 20'. Many were smaller and a few of the more substantial residences such as Letendre's and Champagne's were larger. It would seem, according to given dimensions of buildings in the applications for homestead, that dwellings were rectangularly shaped, with a door or entrance at the gabled end. Within a few years, an extension was often added to the house. It could be incorporated into the main structure as was the annex added to the rear of the rectory in 1897. A building such as the rectory, of wall post construction, was divided into bays marked by posts with the space between filled in with squared logs. An addition or other bay could be added easily, an interior door opening joining the two sections. The rectory annex was of the same height and width as the original building and the gabled roof was simply extended. In the case of smaller horizontal log buildings, however, this method was not applicable and an adjoining structure would be erected. An interior doorway also linked the two sections. The roof was usually gabled although the ex-
tention to Letendre's house ca. 1886 had a hipped roof (see Fig. 31). A shed or storehouse could be added to a building simply as a lean-to as in Fisher's store after 1885 or as an independent structure incorporated into the main building as in Boyer's store (see Fig. 33). A kitchen extension could be erected in the same manner; independently or as a lean-to. The rear portion of Xavier Letendre's house, the two storey section incorporated into the main façade, was referred to as a kitchen (see Fig. 25 and 27). After 1885, Letendre added a storage area which also provided an entrance at the rear of the dwelling (see Fig. 31). According to declarations for homestead entry in the "St-Laurent Settlement" kitchen annexes were not predominant in Métis homes in 1885. Gabriel Dumont, Solomon Venne and Charles Nolin were among the few who reported them.  

This was not the case for outbuildings. A medley of makeshift structures including stables, milkhouses, meathouses, storehouses, shed, etc., made up the farmyard. It would be interesting to research further the French-Canadian or Québécois influence on the 19th century Métis buildings at Red River and later in the North West. There were two types of farm buildings in 18th century New-France: the *maison cour* and the *maison bloc*. The *maison cour* followed the traditional layout of a homestead in Normandy where separate and distinct farm buildings were grouped about a court. In the connected barn or *maison bloc*, characteristic of the Breton farmstead, the house, barn, cattlesheds and other outbuildings were gathered under one broken roof. Typical of the poorer farmer, few attached barnhouses remained in 19th century Québec. But the *maison bloc* in the form of a line of outbuildings was common. There were many advantages to the connected barn in the cold and snow of North America.

Both of these influences were evident at Batoche in the 19th century. There is no mention of barnhouses although it is possible that some did exist in the early years of the
settlement. The farmyard was usually composed of an independent dwelling and a cluster of outbuildings. The latter could be attached as in Fig. 6 and 22, or erected individually but grouped together, such as Letendre's outbuildings on Lot 47 (Fig. 39) and Champagne's on Lot 44. (Fig. 35) Both types were present at Batoche and at times smaller outbuildings were joined together by a false door (see Fig. 1 and 39). These makeshift outbuildings did not achieve the style and dimensions of 19th century Québec barns but could be compared to the smaller habitant barn. Québec barns were generally low structures with steep roofs and low eaves. They were built of logs, mainly pièce sur pièce with dovetailed or notched corners and the roof was thatched or shingled. The thatch roof was predominant on outbuildings at Batoche in 1885 and was probably still in evidence by 1920. In Québec today, only a few mementos of the lost art remain. Straw or hay was used to thatch a roof and there were two methods of holding it in place. Logs could be laid on the thatch at the ridge and crossed. The alternative was a ridge pole round which the thatch was lashed with thongs as in Fig. 7. Below the ridge, the technique was the same: the thatch was bound to birch rods or saplings running parallel to the eaves and resting on the rafters.

A post 1950 photograph (Fig. 7), shows the ridge pole around which the precariously hanging thatch roof is bound. The setting appears to be a farmyard with log outbuildings. The thatched building is of horizontal log but the two makeshift sheds appear to be log cordwood. An interesting feature is the early well, common on farms in the Batoche district. A photograph of two outbuildings in the St-Laurent area around 1920, (see Fig. 6) also shows the remains of a thatched roof. The two adjoining structures, inside a rail fence are typical of outbuildings erected at Batoche around the turn of the century.
In May 1885, most of the Métis buildings between Fish Creek and St-Laurent were burnt or ransacked. The village store still stood but required extensive repairs. In many cases, reconstruction took many years. At least twenty Métis heads of families spent a year in prison at Regina or Stoney Mountain after the uprising and a few as much as seven years.

According to homestead applications between 1886 and 1910, building size and construction materials were similar to the earlier period. By 1890, the roof of a dwelling was definitely shingled rather than thatched regardless of the status of the resident. Fieldstone was available and widely used for house foundations, icehouses and cellars. In 1894, a North West Mounted Police sergeant stationed at Batoche reported that "Mr. Venne and Mr. Parenteau had a contract to haul stone from the river to Mr. Mitchell's at Duck Lake. This kept several of the settlers in this vicinity very busy during the week digging up stone with crowbars."\(^{14}\) By the mid-1890s a red brick kiln was reportedly in operation at Duck Lake. Mitchell's new store, an impressive building in the expanding community was constructed of brick (see Fig. 8) A photograph of the adjoining buildings on main street at Duck Lake at the turn of the century (Fig. 9), however, indicates that most buildings were of wood construction, probably sided logs. The gabled roof predominated and a false front was often added to the façade of a store or commercial building. The store to the south of Mitchell's in Fig. 9, although smaller than Letendre dit Batoche's store, is of a similar style. A photograph of the Stobart mill (Fig. 10) erected in 1879, shows the horizontal log unboarded structure common in the 1880s and long afterwards. The building was composed of sections or extensions to provide space for related operations at the same location. Métis and non-Métis, dependent on local materials and labour, erected essentially the same type of buildings. Better financial circumstances would mean
a more elaborately decorated or finished structure; possibly boarded, and painted, with a porch or veranda. Few private dwellings were as substantial as Mitchell's (see Fig. 8, house at the rear of his store), or Letendre's during any phase of the settlement. Extant structures in the vicinity of Batoche, for example the houses in Fig. 49 and 50, attest to the simple humble lodgings of the Métis up to the 1950s.
II  Batoche's Crossing in the 1870s

Early Traders and Antecedents to Settlement in the District

Although a community was only established at Batoche in the late 1870s and a village or more comprehensive settlement in 1882, the area was probably visited by Europeans in the mid-eighteenth century. After 1734, many voyageurs took out engagements for la mer de l'ouest and between 1750 and 1756, a series of posts; Nepouewin (possibly Fort St. Louis), Fort des Prairies, à La Corne and Jonquières were erected by the French on the Saskatchewan River. (see Map, Fig. 11). Whether many of these engagés remained out west is uncertain. The majority probably returned to Montréal at the end of their contracts.

It was the period 1770 to 1820 that witnessed the actual opening of the North West to the fur trade. More French-Canadian voyageurs came and remained at the western posts. Working for "Pedlars" or under contract to the North West Company, many took longer wintering engagements as hommes du nord or hivernants. There are many reports of their activities along the North and South Saskatchewan during those years. The journals of the explorers of both the North West and Hudson's Bay Company also began referring to posts on the South Branch, near the present site of Batoche. David Thompson referred to a Batoche Post on the Saskatchewan River, west of Fort à la Corne. It probably belonged to Jean-Baptiste Letendre dit Batoche, grand-father of Xavier, who is known to have wintered and traded in the district at the end of the 18th century. In 1805, David Harmon visited a South Branch House of the North West Company, about seventy miles above the forks, at a place.
where the two streams approached within fifteen miles of each other, and of another six miles below it, abandoned in 1794 on account of an attack by the Gros-Ventres (Rapid Indians). He added that he had wintered there and the Hudson's Bay Company had a house of the same name a few paces off. These posts or primitive wintering houses were in the vicinity of Batoche. There is an oral tradition among the Métis in the district of a post called La Montée on the South Saskatchewan (Fourche des Gros-Ventres), located somewhere between Batoche and St-Laurent, possibly on the west side of the river. During the early 1800s, important trading activities were carried out with the Crees, Assiniboines, and Saulteaux. The Plains tribes had inhabited the Saskatchewan district since the early eighteenth century and by 1750 the Saulteaux (Ojibways) and Blackfoot were also making excursions into the area. Inter-tribal rivalries increased with the arrival of Europeans. Fierce competition between the Free Traders and the Hudson's Bay Company for Indian markets led to much bloodshed in the early nineteenth century. The Saskatchewan River trade route became the setting for many of these confrontations. It was probably during these years that the Batoche family first made this area its field of activity. The district became an important overland link between Fort Garry, Carlton, and Edmonton and was visited regularly by freighters and traders from Red River by 1840.

The Red River Census and Parish Register of Saint-Boniface attest to the presence of the sons and daughters of Jean-Baptiste Letendre and Josephte his Cree wife in that locality between 1825 and 1849. Louis (Louison) Letendre and family also appear in the Pembina census of 1849 suggesting that they were making frequent excursions outside the settlement. By 1850, their trips to the Saskatchewan district were more prolonged and in the 1860s, Louison and family were wintering in the vicinity of Fort Carlton, returning only
occasionally to Red River to trade. By the late 1860s, Oblate missionaries such as Fathers André and Moulin were wintering in the Saskatchewan district, lessening the need for yearly displacement of families to the Red River Settlement.

Depuis la liberté de commerce à la Rivière Rouge (1849), de longues caravanes chargées de marchandises se dirigeaient chaque automne vers la Montagne des Bois ou la Fourche des Gros-Ventres pour faire la chasse. Certains restaient toute l'année, d'autres retournaient à la Rivière Rouge au printemps pour voir à leurs affaires, faire baptiser leurs enfants etc.,

In 1858 Métis winter camps were erected in the vicinity of Dundurn or Prairie Ronde and in the early 1860s the Métis had established a camp at a site approximately twenty miles south west of Fort Carlton. In 1868 a camp was also established at Petite Ville in the vicinity of the present site of Fish Creek, on the west bank of the river. These semi-permanent dwellings were the antecedents of the permanent settlements of St-Laurent and Batoche. (see map, Fig. 12)

The disillusionment of many Métis in Manitoba after the failure of the Provisional Government and the fear and resentment at the spoliation of their rights by the new immigrants, prompted many to leave permanently for the Saskatchewan district. At the same time the elder winterers realized the scarcity of buffalo necessitated land settlement and the adoption of agriculture. Wild game and fur bearing animals were still plentiful but the fluctuating markets and the seasonal character of freighting contracts made essential the adoption of at least a subsistence type agriculture. The banks of the South Saskatchewan were perceived as ideal for a mixed farming and trading community. The smallpox epidemic which decimated the native population of Fort Carlton in the spring of 1870, the failure of the fall hunt and the threat of starvation which followed further resolved the Métis upon permanent settlement. Among the leaders of the winterers in the South Saskatchewan district, who met near Carlton
(at a camp located between Carlton and Stobart or Duck Lake) in December 1871, were Isidore Dumont dit Es-ca-poo, Louison Battoche [sic] Sn. and Philippe Gariépy. The Métis winterers commented upon the imminent disappearance of the buffalo and concluded "they must do like white men, cultivate the ground or they must live and die like Indians...the Métis must not be crushed in the struggle following the opening of the country to the whites." A report of the meeting conveys the general appearance of the dwellings in the camp.

...The shanties are facsimilies of each other, and in their erection, the primitive style of architecture certainly predominates. Each house is one apartment in which one or two families reside; a huge chimney takes up no small space of the exterior...the doors are rough framework of wood over which is tightly stretched a Buffalo parch-ment skin, the windows are of the same material. Another description of these temporary dwellings by a Métis freighting in the district in the 1870s, added that they were usually constructed of squared red spruce and small dark poplar. Many lived only in tents while hunting and trading on the prairie.

The resolution in favour of a permanent settlement at St-Laurent was adopted. In the spring of 1872, a site was chosen for a Métis settlement extending ten miles below and above Carlton, along the South Saskatchewan. The area officially referred to as the "St-Laurent Settlement," comprised what later became Fish Creek (L'Anse aux Poissons) Batoche and St-Laurent. In the spring of 1874, the first group of winterers settled at St-Laurent, on both sides of the river. Among the new settlers were Isidore Dumont Sn. and his sons Isidore, Edouard and Gabriel and Louis Batoche Sn. and his sons Louis, André and François-Xavier. There were 50 families or about 300 people and it was estimated that the total production of the camps was nearly 1500. The settlement was scattered over a 25 mile area and the long narrow river lots usually ten chains wide and two miles.
long, were often abandoned four to six months of the year. Hunting and freighting were still viewed as the basis of their economy. Claims were often disposed during the 1870s, and the numerous barters and transfers would later complicate entries. The attitude of the Government towards Métis lands in the 1870s foreshadowed the difficulties to come. No official recognition was given to the squatter's claim. The settler would have to make a "legal" entry when a Dominion Lands Office opened in the district....Authorities were suspicious and critical of any attempts by the Métis supported by the clergy, to reserve large tracts of land such as the "St-Laurent Settlement" for their exclusive use.

These people can found no claim upon their being Halfbreeds. [emphasis mine] It is only as settlers that any indulgence can be shewn [sic] them ....Anybody who goes to the Saskatchewan, has just as much right to go there and enter on unoccupied land as those had who went before them...25

Founding of the Settlement and Village (See map, Appendix A) François-Xavier Letendre and Marguerite Parenteau were married at St-Norbert in 1863. Their two eldest children were baptized at St-Boniface but the family soon settled permanently in the Saskatchewan district. André Letendre, Xavier's brother, stated in his application for lot 1 in the "St-Laurent Settlement" in 1884, that he had come to the North West from Manitoba in 1866. Bishop Taché, in an affidavit to the Rebellion Losses Commission in 1885, declared that Xavier had a store in the vicinity of Batoche in 1866.26 In a biography dictated to Father Véghreville in 1881, Letendre does not mention where he located his first store. It might have been in the vicinity of Fort Carlton as the parish register for St-Sacrement, a wintering mission in that district, reports Louis and Xavier as witnesses to two burials in 1870.
Letendre may also have located on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan, nearer the village he was to found in 1872.

Photographs of a building identified as "Batoche's first store [? Fig. 13] on the banks of the South Saskatchewan about one mile from the settlement," [emphasis mine] raise many questions. The log building if dating from the 1870s or earlier, would have been transformed by a shingled hipped roof, possibly to permit the addition of a second storey. Entrances or sheds have also been attached to the main building. The photograph is not dated but the windows are relatively modern or ca. 1940. The hipped roof was seen on a few buildings in the area, probably built after 1900, more specifically on lot 56. This type of roofing was certainly not prevalent in the 1870s. The building may have been moved to another location or could be one of the many shops or stores Batoche is known to have erected in the area of lots 45, 46, and 47 between 1872 and 1885.

Letendre dit Batoche may have established a store on the west bank or closer to Fort Carlton in the 1860s. It would appear that he crossed the river and settled on the east bank by the early 1870s. The Métis winter camps were all located on the west bank of the river, probably because of the easier access to Fort Carlton. During the 1860s, the residents crossed the river in a makeshift scow or used the one operated by the Hudson's Bay Company at a point along the trail sometimes used as a short-cut to Fort Carlton and Battleford. In 1872 Gabriel Dumont established a regular service at this site. Xavier Letendre reportedly saw the advantages of establishing a crossing seven miles down river from Gabriel, at a place where the main trail between Carlton and Fort Garry crossed the South Saskatchewan river. He had been trading in the vicinity of Ile à la Crosse, Fort à la Corne and the Carrot River District for twelve years and was also looking for a suitable location for a new store. He first settled on lot 47 in 1872 and went into residence on his claim in 1873.
It would seem that Batoche erected buildings at the ferry crossing he was operating between 1872 and 1877. Alexandre P. Fisher who purchased the ferry in 1877, reported he had built a house on the SW¼ of section 19, (west bank) along the path of the crossing in 1878. He referred to it as the Ferry house. Letendre's first buildings could also have been located on section 19 which was unclaimed except for the NW¼. More people were living on the west side in the 1870s. "La rive nord de la rivière avait plus de monde." Since there was no mission on the east side of the river, it would have been more convenient to establish a residence on the west bank. He would have been more independent of spring thaws and winter freeze-ups to journey to Carlton. On the other hand, Batoche stated that he had been in continuous residence on lot 47 since 1873. A house and store would seemingly have been located next to each other especially in the early years of a business. Many early stores were simply annexes to a dwelling. Batoche's trading shops at à la Corne, Stoney Creek and Carrot River were more accessible from the south shore. Finally the reason for his establishment was to facilitate communication with Fort Qu'Appelle and Fort Garry. He himself travelled east once or twice a year to trade his furs and purchase provisions for his store. Stobart and Company had already opened a store in the vicinity of Duck Lake, only twelve miles away. Gabriel Dumont's ferry house and store were located on the SW¼ of section 20 in T42-1-W3, on the east side of the river. It would seem that Batoche, in greater competition with his southerly neighbour, would have tried to provide a similar service. The location of Batoche's first store and dwelling...
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at the village site remains unknown. The argument in favour of a first store on the west bank before 1872, although unverifiable, remains persuasive. His buildings may have been located on section 19 until 1878 but they were most probably erected on lot 47, close to the crossing shortly after he purchased the land in 1872. Batoche related that he was particularly impressed with amenities on the east bank, with its gently rolling and fertile prairie. By 1878 his fortunes had increased considerably.

Ma place avait tellement l'avantage sur toute autre, qu'\'il me fallait songer à échanger ma première maison et mon magasin [emphasis mine] contre des bâtisses plus grandes et d'un style convenable à l'état de mes affaires.\textsuperscript{32}

In the fall of 1878, Batoche hired Ludger Gareau, a recently arrived master-carpenter from Québec to build his new house.

J'avais déjà réuni une partie des matériaux quand arriva du Canada un jeune ouvrier qui par son adresse comme menuisier, plafonneur et peintre a fait de ma maison et de mon magasin les deux édifices privés les plus finis que l'on puisse rencontrer dans tout le nord-ouest à partir de Winnipeg.\textsuperscript{33}

The dwelling took some time to erect and finish. Gareau reported that he also built stores and warehouses for Batoche. The buildings would have been erected between 1878 and 1884, before the construction of the church and rectory. The exterior of the house according to Letendre dit Batoche,

was 42 x 30 feet (Gareau says 44' x 32'), 2 storeys well finished...It was built of logs and well set on stone foundation 4 feet deep and 22 inches wide and outside weather boarded...\textsuperscript{34}

In another report he stated that the façade of the house measured 39 feet and an addition of the same style at the rear was 20 feet long. Finally in his declaration in 1884, he gave the dimensions as 22' x 30', kitchen, 16' x 20'.\textsuperscript{35}
The kitchen or addition was not really an annex but was described as "une allonge du même style en arrière." The house was composed of two sections which were incorporated into one framework and floor plan. The rear section was not as wide but almost as long as the façade.

In the 1870s the dwelling was referred to as palatial compared with other residences in the North West. Batoche's house and store were probably the two only buildings on the village site and surrounding area on the east side in 1878-79. Mr. Aldous, a surveyor who visited the east side of the "St-Laurent Settlement" in 1878, reported:

"Lots 20 to 27 are only claimed by the Carrières; they are not at present in occupation...There are no occupants on lots 28 to 43 and on lots 44, 45 and 46...Xavier Letendre-Batoche occupies lots 47 and 48...there are no occupants on lots 49 to 71."

Taking into consideration that these statements are not exactly corroborated by the declarations made in 1884, Batoche seems to have been the only permanent resident on his claim. To increase his holdings, he had purchased lots 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44 from Lawrence Clarke in 1872 and in 1876 lot 45 from Thomas McKay. The former was a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Carlton and the latter was a prominent Prince Albert barrister and a Half-Breed.

By 1877 members of Batoche's family began claiming adjacent lots. Xavier sold his claim to lots 42, 43, and 44 to his brother-in-law Emmanuel Champagne who settled permanently on lot 44 in 1879. The same year, another brother-in-law, Edouard Dumont claimed lots 38 and 39, although he only established residence in 1881. Daniel Gariépy, one of the first to migrate from Carlton to Batoche, settled on lot 37. He built a log, one storey thatch roof dwelling, 16' x 17' and erected a straw roofed barn 12' x 15'. In 1877 he had one acre under cultivation. Cuthbert Fayant, a freighter who came to the North West in 1872, was also an
early Batoche resident. He made an early claim to lots 34, 35 and 36 although he only occupied lot 35 on which he erected a house in 1876. Fayant had a thatch roof house, 20' x 55' which he valued at $600. He reportedly cultivated a few acres on lots 34 and 35 by 1874. Jean-Baptiste Parenteau Jn. also settled on lot 30 in 1879 and erected a one storey dwelling 20' x 18' and a stable 16' x 16'. He had a few acres under cultivation before 1880.

There is no record of residence on lots 48 to 70, south of Batoche's Crossing, except for Cuthbert Gervais on lot 61. He reportedly had "a good house, 16, x 56' and 3 acres under cultivation." Xavier Letendre claimed part of lot 48 and Father André had apparently reserved lots 50 and 51 for a mission in 1877. Father Végreville later reported that the Sauvé Brothers had been squatting in the vicinity. Jean Caron, who emigrated to St-Laurent from Manitoba in 1872 only moved to lot 52 in 1881.

Early Settlement and Buildings on the West Side of the River (See Map, Appendix A)

The earliest permanent settlement in the vicinity of Batoche's Crossing in the 1870s, however, was on the west bank of the river (see Map, Appendix A). It is this feature of the land settlement at Batoche in the early phase, which suggests that Letendre's first store may have been located briefly on the west side. The claims date to the early 1870s, about the same time as Letendre's arrival. The land on the west side of the river was hilly and sandy; swamps and poplar bluffs dominated the landscape and a few "open prairies" or farm lands dotted the area. It was grazing land rather than farm-land with plenty of poplar and willow for firewood. The farm would usually consist of a small cultivated and cropped field, perhaps ten acres, hay and wood lots and an enclosed
pasture. The Métis who occupied these lots had cattle and horses and only carried out a subsidiary or "garden type" farming.

The reasons for the relatively earlier occupation or at least permanent residence and cultivation on the west side, as corroborated by the missionaries and surveyors in the district, were twofold. On one hand, sections 18, 19 and 30 were intersected by the trails leading to Fort Carlton and Prince Albert. The occupants of these lots were not primarily farmers but hunters and freighters. For them easy access to these important depots was of prime importance. On the other hand, the Métis winterers from the vicinity of Fish Creek and Fort Carlton who first settled in the "St-Laurent Settlement" located on the west side, within easy access of the two missions, St-Laurent and Sacré-Coeur (Duck Lake), founded in the 1870s.

Abraham Montour who settled on the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 19, and what later became river lot 20 of section 20, listed his occupations as hunter, freighter, trader and farmer. Montour had 16 acres of land cultivated and planted by 1876. His buildings consisted of a log house, 20' x 20', a log storehouse and a stable 22' x 22' all on the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 19. He also had a stable 15' x 15', on section 30 (see Fig. 14) in 1879. He was strategically located for trading, which he reportedly did for four years possibly operating a store on section 19 ca. 1875-79. Of a total area of 200 acres, one-third was described as suitable for agriculture. In 1883, in feigned or real ignorance of Montour's claim, the Government sold all section 19 to a W.L. Johnston, an Ontarian who had visited the Land Agent at Prince Albert and was impressed with the investment potential of the area. Although a prosperous trader in the 1870s, Montour was less successful as a farmer on semi-arable land in the 1880s. This and administrative blunders finally led him to abandon
his homestead for a better fortune in Montana. In 1899, he sold his claim to an American rancher, Charles Harbec, for one dollar.  

Montour's neighbour to the south on section 18, was Alexandre P. Fisher. A brother of Georges Fisher, trader at Fort Qu'Appelle, he had important antecedents in the fur trade and was related to the "leading families" of the district. He took over Batoche's ferry in 1878 and homesteaded on the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 18. He had horses and horned cattle before 1885 and possibly had buildings on section 18, although the ferry house was on the SW corner of section 19, "along the line." Since no one claimed the S\(\frac{1}{4}\) of that section, Fisher had probably found it more convenient to locate some of his buildings in the vicinity of the crossing. In a report in 1879, the section 19 was described as mainly swamp and muskeg, unfit for agriculture, but suitable for stock raising; with a farm, houses and ploughing. But Fisher, primarily a freighter and trader had purchased Batoche's ferry as a commercial asset for his activities at Fort Carlton and Fort Qu'Appelle. He paid little attention to cultivating his claim except for a three acre potato garden which he cropped in 1878.

There is also evidence of some claims if not actual occupation of portions of the lands south of Fisher. Pascal Montour Jn. claimed the S\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 18 in 1877 although a map compiled from the 1879 survey did not report any building on that section. J.L. Reid referred to section 18 as a "Halfbreed Reserve; no buildings." In 1875, Elzéar Parisien purchased a lot roughly corresponding to the N\(\frac{1}{4}\) of the N\(\frac{3}{4}\) of sections seven and eight from Baptiste Faillon (Fayant) and settled in his claim after the survey in 1879. He had a house, log, one storey, thatch roof, 16' x 16' on the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section eight plus a stable, straw roof, 27' x 13' and a storehouse, 12' x 12'. Parisien reported that he broke nine acres
on the same quarter section between 1876 and 1879 and had 12 acres fenced. 51

There is no record of a claim and occupation for the S\(\text{1}\) of the N\(\text{1}\) of sections seven and eight in the 1870s. A later occupant mentioned that he had purchased the lot from someone who had purchased it from William Letendre possibly before 1880. Jean and Norbert Bélanger claimed the S\(\text{1}\) of the S\(\text{1}\) of sections five and six on the west side of the river in 1879, ploughing three acres the same year. They did not erect any buildings on this claim which they later abandoned because of its unproductivity. 52

There were at least two residents on section 30 by 1875; Joseph "Dodé" Parenteau Sr., on the N\(\text{3}\) of the N\(\text{1}\) and Isidore Lafontaine on the S\(\text{3}\) of the N\(\text{1}\). Parenteau, a hunter and freighter as well as a farmer went into residence on his claim in 1875, erecting a house, stables, and a meat house (see Fig. 15). He cropped an average of seven acres a year and had numerous cattle and horses. He also reported that his land was sandy and only suitable for agriculture during very wet seasons. 53 Isidore Lafontaine, Parenteau's neighbour, went into residence on his claim in 1873 although the survey map for 1879 does not show his buildings and improvements. He had a small dwelling 14' x 14', probably in a similar location to Parenteau's, close to the river. He had three horned cattle and six horses in 1873 and a small neat house and stables. Lafontaine possibly had 15 to 20 acres under cultivation, a comparatively large area for the time. 54 To the south, between his farm and Abraham Montour's, there were reportedly two other occupants, Pascal Montour Sr. and Hilaire Patenaude since 1875. The evidence to support these claims is lacking. Montour's family resided on the N\(\text{3}\) of the S\(\text{3}\) of section 30 until 1894 although patent was never secured. Patenaude's brief sojourn took place between 1875 and 1884.

In section 32, the survey map and field book reported
a farm in 1879. Isidore Dumont Jn. had a house and farm on
the SW ¼ and also cultivated a small plot in section 21 (see
Fig. 16). Pierre Gariépy also reported to have occupied
the E ¼ of section 32, possibly also erecting a small dwelling.

Although the cultivation and settlement on the west
side of the river in the vicinity of Batoche's Crossing by
1879 cannot be described as extensive, all the arable land
was claimed. The occupants were not grain farmers but
freighters and stock raisers. Until about 1880, or the dis­
appearance of the buffalo, the hunt took them away from their
farms two to three months a year. Trapping and fur trading
were also important and remunerative employment. Batoche's
Crossing in the period 1873-79 was the residence of a tra­
ding community. By the end of the decade, however, more and
more Métis were forced to cultivate their lots.

La prairie est finie et nos pauvres Métis ont devant
eux un bien triste avenir. [emphasis mine] La plaine
est couverte de camps qui se croisent dans toutes
les directions. Aussi quand les animaux vont faire
defaut, nous aurons une famine horrible...les Métis,
sourds à toutes nos sollicitations et avertissements,
continuent de mener une vie de vagabonds...

The cry of the missionary and the example of Xavier Letendre
and Gabriel Dumont convinced many of them that an era had
ended and if they did not want a repetition of the Manitoba
experience, they must settle on their lands.
 skyrocketing to unprecedented heights. The population increased considerably after 1882, when more Manitoba Métis made their way to the "new" west, an area, they were told, where they could live undisturbed by the machinations of the Canadians. Promoting the natural amenities of the site in 1881, Xavier Letendre referred to its strategic location, along a network of trade routes linking east and west and north and south. The overland trail from Winnipeg via Qu'Appelle (Troy) and Humboldt to Fort Carlton brought in all the necessary provisions and trade goods from the east. (See Map, Fig. 12) The valuable furs to be exchanged came in from north western posts such as Fort Pitt and Edmonton. Another south western trail to Batoche, referred to as the prairie route, brought in food-stuffs, leathers and furs from the United States. Local trails in all directions linked the settlement to Battleford, Prince Albert and the Cumberland District. Batoche offered the trader all the benefits of an international trade market. Letendre also stressed the natural advantages for settlement and farming.

...Les arbres, les trembles plus généralement, sont distribués par bouquets qui peuvent fournir le bois de chauffage et les perches de clôture...des prairies propres au labour et des places plus basses qui donnent du foin...L'eau ne fait pas défaut...la rivière et les sources qui abondent vers les côtes...et notre Saskatchewan se creuse un nid qui met tous les colons à l'abri de l'inondation...ma place devenait le centre de la population, d'affaires

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considérables et doit devenir le centre d'une ville qui promet de prospérer. [emphasis mine]

The settlement in the 1880s, comprised a village proper at the junction of several trails leading to the ferry crossing, essentially a row of buildings along the north west boundary of lot 47. It also included a mission, half a mile to the south east, and a farming community or settlement over an area of approximately twenty-five miles by 1885. A small business or trading area soon developed in the vicinity of lots 52 to 57, south of the mission and along the trail from Gabriel to Gariépy's (Gardepuis') and McKenzie's crossings.

The population increased considerably during that period, especially as families from St-Laurent and from Manitoba settled permanently on the river lots on the east side of the river. A census of the district in 1881 numbered the population at close to one thousand. By 1884, it was estimated there were about five hundred people within an area ten miles above and fifteen miles below the village.

The location of the settlement was looked upon as most desirable, from a geographic and economic point of view.

Batoche lay in a basin surrounded on three sides by hills, with the South Saskatchewan River on the west. The river flowed in a rather deep valley, a mile wide, with hills about 200 feet high.... The horseshoe extension of the valley containing the village had precipitous forest clad hills for nearly its whole circumference, the timber being heaviest near the river and more open to the hills towards the east....

When the Marquess of Lorne visited Batoche on August 25, 1881, he was much impressed with the advantages of the settlement, the lavish reception bestowed upon him by its patron, Xavier Letendre and the efficient ferry service, not a makeshift wagon boat but two bateaux! The whole party consisting of fifty-seven people, eighty horses and nineteen wagons crossed the river on the ferry, made of lumber that had been whipsawn at Batoche, in a few hours.
Other than by cart, Batoche was accessible only by boat. In 1881, the Hudson's Bay Company had two steamers, the Lily and the Northcote, on the Saskatchewan River. Service was slow and expensive along both the Grand Rapids - Fort Saskatchewan and the Winnipeg - Prince Albert - Fort Carlton - Edmonton routes. Freighters still had to haul merchandise to all outposts. Many were also needed to bring in furs and articles of trade to and from the northern districts. Some journeyed to Winnipeg, Montana and the Dakotas. Overland freighting was cheaper, more dependable and during favourable economic circumstances, assured the Métis contracts from the Hudson's Bay Company and independent traders.

In 1884, the settlement was comparatively prosperous. The Kerr Brothers, newly established merchants at Batoche, described the living conditions in the following terms:

Each family has a comfortable dwelling and out-houses and also the implements for farming. They are also well supplied with cattle and horses... each Breed [sic] possesses an abundant supply of wood. There is always a ready market at Batoche for their grain and vegetables. Our firm has paid on an average $1.75 per bushel for wheat, $1.00 for potatoes and $1.25 for oats...I do not know any grievances they may possess... 60

This was the opinion of an English-Canadian and outsider who was certainly not totally aware of the dissatisfaction simmering among the Métis. There was fear and anxiety over land claims and concern over the impending economic and social changes. The majority had witnessed the rapid influx of immigrants into Manitoba during the 1870s and the resulting spoliation of their lands. Although appearances suggested a relative prosperity, the reality of declining freight rates, the disappearance of the buffalo and the increased dependency on agriculture portended a troubled future.

The French halfbreeds living on the Saskatchewan ... are gathering force every year by immigration from Manitoba and the southern part of the Territories. These men are not farmers, merely cultivating small patches of land little larger than
kitchen gardens. They live by hunting and freighting. Their occupation as hunters was ended and there is not sufficient overland freight going on in the country to afford labour to one-third of their number; hence they are getting poorer by the year.61

Land Use, Residents and Buildings (See Map, Appendix A)

Batoche on the eve of the insurrection, was almost a paradox; on one hand there was a burgeoning trading centre with its well established leading families such as Xavier Letendre, Emmanuel Champagne, Georges Fisher, Jean Baptiste Boyer and Solomon Venne and the recently established "outside" firms of the Kerr Brothers and Walters and Baker, on the other hand, was the newly settled, relatively prosperous, but insecure farming community. Having had to revert from a hunting and freighting to an agricultural economy, it was a society under transformation, experiencing the trauma of rapid economic and social change. Relatively isolated and self-sufficient, the Métis nevertheless expressed the anxieties of a minority group in their fear of the oncoming white population and resentment towards the Government for its failure to recognize their native claims. Two forces, adaptation and separation, were at work and they would interweave in the prelude to the events of March, April and May, 1885.

The stranger or casual visitor was largely oblivious to the drama that was unfolding. Even during the battle, Middleton's soldiers commented mostly on the beauty and prosperity of Batoche.

...They have a fine settlement, comfortable houses, with plenty of horses and cattle; as compared with our settlements they are well off. The land on which the rebels are located is one of the most fertile and beautiful localities in the North West of Manitoba...at Batoche we found some of the nicest houses in the country. [emphasis mine] 62
Most failed to recognize the evident signs of distress and discontent which provided some justification for an uprising. The outsider only observed a general well-being, "for a Breed." There was no need for him to recall the past or apprehend the future. Batoche probably presented a picture not unlike the idyllic scene painted by Lieut.-Col. Wyndham. (Fig. 19) This sketch and a woodcut of the village drawn in 1885 (Fig. 20) depict a park-like setting, the gentle sloping prairie interrupted by hills and bushes of willow and poplar. The village proper or "Batoche Avenue" was located at the vortex of trails linking east, west, north and south (see Map, Fig. 12). The Carlton trail entered Batoche on lot 55 where it bifurcated to the village in the vicinity of lot 52 and along the northern boundary of lot 47. Stores had located upon this major route: Solomon Venne on lot 55 and Batoche, Boyer and Fisher on lot 47. Many local trails also traversed the settlement: a trail from Fish Creek and Gabriel's Crossing to Prince Albert via Gariépy's and McKenzie's Crossings plus many paths to and from different areas of the village (Fig. 17). Emmanuel Champagne's store on lot 44, above "la belle prairie," was located along one of the forks of the Humboldt trail which ran along the river into Batoche. To the south on the south westerly portion of lot 47, Xavier Letendre had erected his house. There was at least one other resident along the trail between Batoche's house and the mission. Charles Thomas had erected a small house and outbuildings on the S½ of lot 48, south east of his brother-in-law (Fig. 18). Further east, in the vicinity of the mission, at a location described as "three acres south of the church, along the trail close to the river," Ludger Gareau had built a house on a one acre lot he had purchased from Father Moulin. His buildings were probably located east of the cemetery, between the church and the camp (Caron property), (see Fig. 17).
It would be impossible to determine the exact location of the village buildings in 1885 according to contemporary sketches or maps. There are too many distortions and inaccuracies. They can be helpful, however, in determining the number and relative location of structures, and can also be used as corroborative evidence. A more reliable plan of the battle site by the Surveyors' Corps (Fig. 18) can be particularly useful in this exercise. Middleton's zareba on lot 52 was located south east of the cemetery (lot 51) and not as shown on the plan. But the Homestead files confirm the presence of the river in 1885. Alexandre P. Fisher had settled on the NW\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{4}} of section 18 in 1878. In 1887, he declared that he lived in the ferry house, about 50 feet long by 13 feet, located on section 19 along the trail close to the crossing. He also had an old log store, 18' x 20' and a stable of the same size on his homestead, the NW\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{4}} of section 18.\textsuperscript{65}

These or other buildings on Fisher's land might have been rented by Walters and Baker who had operated a store on the west side since 1882. The distortion of the riverbend in Fig. 18 is such that House A seems much further from the crossing than it actually was. Pascal Montour Jn. had settled on the S\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{4}} of section 18 in 1877. House A could very well be his property. Figure 18 also notes a building south east of House A, possibly located along the northern boundary of sections seven and eight or what later became river lot 16. Elzéar Parisien resided on that claim between 1879 and 1883. Thomas Lépine also lived briefly on the S\textsuperscript{\textfrac{1}{4}} of sections seven and eight or river lots 13 and 14 before the uprising. Lépine who was primarily a freighter, had only two small makeshift buildings on his lot, four acres under cultivation and no fencing.\textsuperscript{66} Like Parisien, he probably erected his dwelling close to the river.

A photograph taken by Peters, entitled "Batoche from the Vicinity of Cemetery, May 9, 1885" (Fig. 21) shows two farms, possibly the Montour and Fisher property, on the west side of
the river. The soldier would be standing close to the cemetery, south west of the church, on lot 51. Across the river, on the east side and slightly north, were the Charles Thomas dwellings, on the S½ of lot 48 and the Xavier Letendre house and warehouse on the south western portion of lot 47.

Walters and Baker operated a store on the west side of the river between 1882 and 1885. An outlet of F.G. Baker's at Prince Albert, it was managed by Harry Walters. The store had probably located on the west side because of immediate access to the trail to Duck Lake and Prince Albert. The firm had a contract with the Indian Department to supply the One-Arrow reserve. It also served a number of residents in the vicinity who might otherwise have had to travel to Duck Lake when the Batoche ferry was not operating.

The precise location of Walters' store is not known. It was either in the vicinity of the junction of the Carlton and Prince Albert trail, on the SW½ of section 19, or closer to the ferry, near Fisher's house (see Fig. 18 and 20).

The building was the property of the firm, it was about 20 x 22 feet, 1½ storey, built of logs, thatch roof, lathed and mudded inside, counters on one end and 2 sides and shelving the same. We had a stable and we used Fisher's buildings near there [emphasis mine] for a storehouse and we also had a tent that we used for a storehouse at times.67

Walters and his clerk, J.D. Hannifin lived upstairs in the main building. The store, reportedly the second largest at Batoche, sold food and provisions as well as clothing and firearms. Merchandise was transported from Troy by freighters from the village, among them Pascal Montour, Louis Marion and J.B. Parenteau. Walters and Baker also traded in furs which they purchased from hunters and traders in the district. Other than a Government contract, most of their transactions in the community were carried out in goods. The firm had some cattle which had been acquired as security for sales.
and a large stock of goods "which from October 10, 1884, to 18 March, 1885, we sold to the amount of $22,909.95." The establishment, valued at $750, was completely gutted and the exterior riddled with bullets during the uprising. For their losses, which they estimated at $28,750, Walters and Baker were awarded $13,236 by the Rebellion Losses Commission. The building, already half destroyed, was probably torn down or used as an outbuilding by a neighbouring farmer after 1885. Only the generation which witnessed the insurrection would remember the store. The closest neighbour, Alexandre P. Fisher, lived on his farm until 1900. But Walters and Baker's buildings were rather makeshift as compared with other stores in the village, on the east side of the river. E.J. Dosman who interviewed some second generation Batoche pioneers in the summer of 1963, was not able to get any information on its size or location. An interesting remark was made by some, however. There was an oral tradition among the old residents that Walters and Baker's store was Batoche's old store.

Alexandre P. Fisher, who had a farm on the NW¼ of section 18 also suffered extensive losses in 1885. "That Rebellion ruined me altogether and I am not worth a cent now." Most of his cattle was slaughtered and his fencing destroyed. The house that he occupied in March 1885, seemed much smaller than the given dimensions of the ferry house in 1887. Possibly it was not the same building, or an adjoining structure.

Active in the resistance, although he did not take up arms, Fisher's claim to the Rebellion Losses Commission was rejected on the grounds that he had been "party to his own losses."
There were other buildings in the vicinity of the crossing in 1885. "La veuve Bruno Landry, qui restait de l'autre côté de la rivière, près de la maison Walters et Baker, lui [Louis Riel] préparait des mèts tout à fait à son goût..."73

A large makeshift camp had been erected on the west side of the river during the battle. Métis soldiers and a large party of Cree Indians had camped opposite the village, across the river from the Sioux. A. Montour who farmed on the N½ of section 19 and the residents of section 30 probably did not suffer as much damage to their buildings although most lost their cattle and fencing. Montour and Parenteau each estimated their losses at $500. It was also reported that after the conflict, some of the houses by the river were torn down to provide firewood for the Northcote.

A photograph of a group of thatched roof buildings on the west side of the river (Fig. 22) confirms the location of a farm almost directly opposite Letendre's house. It also provides some idea of the appearance and layout of farm structures in 1885. The buildings appear to be on a trail or path leading to the crossing. It would be impossible to identify their function precisely although it was the custom to erect outbuildings such as stables and granaries close together and often annexed with the dwelling in the vicinity but not attached. A field was usually fenced outlining the occupant's improvements. Since the trails ran parallel to the river, usually at a short distance if we use the trail between Batoche and St-Laurent as an example, a river lot provided access to both modes of travel. In the 1880s, the Métis reportedly located their buildings close to the river, not only for transportation but because of water supply.74

La plupart tiennent à se trouver sur le bord de la rivière ce qui est pour eux un grand avantage car...ils sont proches de l'eau et dans plusieurs places il est difficile de s'en procurer.

Horseback, buckboard and buggy were the chief mode of transport
between settlements. Steamers were too few and costly and the rivers seasonally impassable.

A map outlining Philippe Gariépy's, Louis Schmidt's and Mrs. Ouellette's claims in T45-1-W3 (St-Louis) in 1886, (Fig. 23) provides another example of building locations and land use in the area. The farms were particularly well situated, along a bend of the river, close to the trail and ferry crossing. Since the Boucher Settlement (St-Louis) was extended further east (Range 27 and 28, W2) after 1885, there might have been a tendency among later settlers to erect dwellings closer to the trail than the river.

The main settlement at Batoche's Crossing was located on the south shore (or east side) by 1882. It was described as a "pretty village, consisting of a clump of houses and stores." It had grown considerably since 1878. In 1881, Xavier Letendre had divided the N ½ of lot 47 into small lots to facilitate purchase by prospective merchants. He hoped to attract other businesses and create a competitive market.

Je n'ai jamais cru que mon voisinage put me faire outrage. J'ai appelé M. Boyer à ma porte. Je venderai à des prix raisonnables des emplacements à ceux qui en demanderont... Letendre had erected his own house and outbuildings on the south western edge of lot 47. A sketch of the village by J.F. Boyd in 1885 (Fig. 24), shows the "stores" to the north and Batoche's residence and buildings, to the southwest. In the background, about half a mile south east was the church of the St-Antoine-de-Padoue mission. The artist was standing behind the house to the south west, by the river. The sketch is significant for its representation of the relative position of the dwelling and outbuildings. If we compare Boyd's sketch with photographs of the house (Fig. 25 and 26), his projection is partly accurate. Fig. 25 shows the house photographed from the south east, possibly along the trail between the mission and the village. In Fig. 26, the
The house was photographed from the west side of the river. It appears to be at a north west angle to the river, facing the village. Fig. 25 would tend to confirm this orientation. If the house was facing north west, we could observe the east side and rear from the direction of the mission. It was composed of two sections, the rear portion projecting from the centre of the main section and not on the west side as depicted by Boyd in Fig. 24.

Boyd sketched at least three outbuildings immediately south east of the house and two more, to the west, closer to the river. The presence of structures to the south east of the house is somewhat confirmed in Fig. 25. Some of these must have been Batoche's storehouses and stables. A woodcut or sketch of the village which appeared in the Winnipeg Sun (Fig. 27) offers other hypotheses on the appearance and location of Batoche's dwelling and outbuildings. The adjoining buildings south east of the house are identified as "two frame houses occupied by the Carrière Brothers" and the next structure as unoccupied. There is also another small building south west of the house. Perhaps the thatched roof buildings that appear in Boyd's sketch, were further south, hidden in the clump of bushes. The whole area is fenced, denoting an individual property. There also appears to be some buildings north west of the main residence, close to the river. Only a roof is visible in the Sun's "View of Batoche." The photograph of the village by Peters, (Fig. 25) reveals a faint outline in that area, possibly small buildings or fencing. It is doubtful that the Carrière Brothers were living on Batoche's property unless they were farming for him. The two adjoining buildings appear to be houses converted into storehouses one of which might be the older store. Letendre reported the following buildings on lot 47 in 1884: "1 trading shop 16' x 28' (probably the new store), 1 storehouse 20' x 16', 1 store 16' x 16', one stable 20' x 45'
and another 22' x 20'; log sided and shingled."\(^{78}\) This would mean he had at least four structures in the vicinity of his house or along the river, between the village and his residence. He would logically have located his stables further away from the house, possibly in a similar location to the two makeshift structures in Boyd's sketch (Fig. 24). The two log buildings, according to Boyd, appear to be roughly hewn and thatch roofed whereas Batoche reported all his buildings were sided. He referred to one stable as 22' x 30', well finished with partitions for grain, with good floors and all finished and covered with shingles.\(^ {79}\)

More specifically, Batoche described his property and buildings in the following terms in his Rebellion Losses claim:

> My store was 28 x 18 feet and high ceiling with an upstairs, not quite finished...I had no goods in the new store...store (old) was full of Goods and the furs in bales were at my private house...also 2 store-houses 1 for my harness, tea and sugar and one 20 x 20 for my flour, bacon, and other goods...value of my stock...at least $25,000 - price in Winnipeg.\(^ {80}\)

Ludger Gareau in a declaration on his behalf, specified that Batoche's new store had a storage space above the ceiling (the second floor or the boards above the ceiling provided a storage area). Batoche also operated stores at Stoney Creek, Frog Lake and Ile à la Crosse. It was estimated that his trade in furs at Stoney Creek averaged $8 to $10,000 a year...\(^ {81}\) His main trading establishment and depot was at Batoche where he employed two clerks, C.E. Boucher and P.C. Chamberland. He stated that he never took stock of his goods and depended on his good memory and keen business sense to conduct one of the largest trading activities in the West. He travelled to Winnipeg every year to sell furs and purchase stock for his stores and visited his northern posts regularly. Letendre spent the winter of 1884-1885 at his store at Fort à la Corne returning only periodically to Batoche to visit
the members of his family who had remained there. For personal and practical reasons, he chose not to participate actively in the resistance of 1885 although he did not estrange himself from his countrymen. A Free or Independent Trader, he was also in good standing with the Hudson's Bay Company, trading with it as well as the firms of Caswell at Qu'Appelle and Carscadian and Peck and Thibaudeau Frères in Winnipeg.

As previously mentioned, the location of Batoche's older store on lot 47 is uncertain. In 1884, he had declared that he had one store, unfinished, on lot 46. That building could have been located anywhere behind the row of trading establishments along the northern boundary of lot 47. The evidence seems to suggest however, that his older and not necessarily first store, was located in the vicinity of his warehouses, closer to his dwelling. Batoche himself distinguished between a store and storehouse. A store or trading shop would probably be a building designed for the display and selling of goods whereas a storehouse was a rather make-shift building used for storage.

Letendre's "new" store at the east end of "Batoche Avenue" was of log and frame construction with a typical false front and display windows. A building of that size was probably built with larger pine logs and in "Red River frame" like the other main buildings that Gareau had erected in the settlement. It was set on a field stone foundation, plentiful along the riverbank. Prisoners who were kept in the cellar of the store described it as "about 12' x 14', 9 feet deep, no floor except the ground...it was logged in, the door nailed down and secured by stones and timber." Another prisoner referred to a cellar in an adjoining building, possibly in an annex at the rear of the store or in Garnot's house next door. "Cellar was 8 feet deep, sandy bottom, walled up with timber. The hatch was fastened down with a plank across it and a prop on that reaching to the
The store was apparently also used briefly as a chapel for Riel's new religion. Xavier Letendre reported that it was damaged by the Métis, the doors broken and the counter cut up. The building was also fired upon by the Canadian soldiers the last day of the battle although it was not as heavily damaged as Fisher's. Gareau estimated the value of Batoche's store at about $3500 as building costs were high in the district.

Material is very expensive. Lumber here planed on one side has cost me at Batoche $104 for 1500 feet. Logs here, 20 feet long, $1, glass, 8 x 10, .25 each...nails at present .15 a pound and all other articles are equally expensive. Shingles are $1.50 a pound at Batoche. Lime is about .75 a bushel. A good workman, $3 to $4 per day. Paint here is also very high, good paint selling at .50 a pound at Batoche firms...

There is evidence of an individual ice house or cellar to the north west of Batoche's new store in 1885. Letendre had not reported such a structure in his declaration in 1884. Fig. 29 shows a white patch or shaded area between the store and Garnot's house, which might have been a trap door to a cellar. Letendre had a deep cellar in his new store and it is doubtful that he would have needed to or would have had the time to erect another one. The ruins which remain today are located north west of the store foundations. Letendre did mention in 1884 that he had an unfinished store on lot 46. There might have been a cellar under that building. Altogether, it would appear that the stone lined cellar, of which the ruins remain, had not been erected in 1885. It might even be a fairly modern structure.

His residence which he valued at over $5000 was sumptuously decorated and furnished. An undated photograph of the interior (Fig. 30), probably ca. 1885-1900, showing bullet holes in the walls, provides a glimpse of the ornate panelling in one of the rooms. In 1885, the interior was described as "partly plastered and partly ceiled [sic]...I had 6 rooms
upstairs and I had 3 bedrooms completely furnished with new furnishings." Gareau added that there were beds in five rooms at least and carpets in different rooms, while Sarah Jane Potter later recalled the chandeliers with numerous candles, the richly upholstered furniture, the pool table and the bar. Letendre's hospitality was legendary. The house was open to all his friends and to visitors in the district. "He was in the habit of receiving gentlemen travelling through the country." In August 1881, he had entertained the Marguess of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, during his stop-over at Batoche.

The exterior of the house had undergone no alterations since 1878. Photographic evidence is sketchy although it largely corroborates written accounts. The photograph of the village from a distance in 1885 (Fig. 25), suggests that the dwelling and outbuildings were painted. The house appears to have a porch and exit at the rear. Contrary to later photographs (Fig. 31 and 32), there does not appear to be a gallery or veranda along the façade and east wall but rather only a small porch. There is also evidence of fencing around the property in 1885, (see Fig. 21 and 25).

The insurgent Métis commandeered the house upon their return from Duck Lake. Gabriel Dumont occupied one of the rooms upstairs while Madeleine and Mrs. Batoche Sn. (Letendre's mother) cooked and tended the wounded. It was ransacked by the Métis and fired upon by the advancing Canadian army on the last day of the battle. Bishop Grandin, who visited Xavier Letendre and dined with him in June 1885, commented on the condition of his residence.

Sa magnifique maison servit de fortresse, tantôt aux rebelles, tantôt aux soldats du gouvernement. Elle est littéralement criblée des balles...le corps de la maison est encore solide, mais les portes, fenêtres, cloisons, parquets—tout est complètement endommagé. Son riche mobilier a disparu...
Batoche estimated his total losses at $40,000 and was awarded $19,000 by the Commission. Although his business was interrupted and members of his family were dispersed, he partly recovered and was able to resume his trading activities.

In more dire straits, were the merchants or traders who were suspected of having taken part in the conflict or could not find influential and "respectable" citizens to testify on their behalf. Philippe Garnot who occupied the small house next to Batoche (Fig. 28) was a controversial character. A French-Canadian, whose father had immigrated to Red River in the 1870s, he freighted for merchants in the district. He also had a farm on sections 20 and 21 in T42-1-W3, next to Gabriel Dumont, which he had purchased from Charles Nolin for $500 in 1883. In 1884 he had declared log dwellings on both sections, worth $1500, and a storehouse and two stables. Garnot reported residence on the property between 1883 and 1885 in a later declaration. But in the spring of 1885, he was living "in the small house under the hill, along the village trail," where he operated a "kind of stopping station or boarding house." A twenty-six year old bachelor, he reportedly sold locally manufactured liquor and operated a pool hall in the village. The priests were especially critical of his behaviour. "His house is a public scandal in the country...he is drunk...and never comes near to any church..." He was also identified as a prime mover in the rebellion although he denied this in his memoirs. Probably more of a young opportunist than a blackguard, he was drawn into the conflict by the momentum of the events, like many restless young Métis. The house which he was renting from Richard Tees, a Prince Albert merchant, was a horizontal log, clay filled, unsided two storey structure. (see Fig. 29). The front had a small porch supported by wooden posts, possibly also used for hitching horses. The pitch roof was shingled but the roughly plastered exterior was not painted.
An addition or small annex is also visible at the rear. According to Fig. 25 and 29, it appears to be located to the fore or south of Batoche's store but at the rear of the Boyer and Fisher buildings. Garnot's house served as a council room in April 1885, and prisoners were confined in the cellar by the Métis. According to a claim to the Rebellion Losses Commission "for damages to buildings and outbuildings on lot No. 3, Batoche avenue," the property was almost totally destroyed during the insurrection, Tees reported:

- damage to a house consisting of floors, stairs, doors and windows broken and carried away, roof pierced by Middleton's forces, damage to storehouse attached to house, damage to a stable by having been razed for use as a fortification and damage to ground having been dug to form rifle pits by Middleton's forces. [emphasis mine]

The buildings were within the trench dug by the Canadian soldiers around Fisher's and Boyer's buildings to the rear, forming a square on the night of May 12th. A photograph of the village, ca. 1886 (Fig. 33) reveals that the Garnot house was torn down or moved shortly after the conflict.

According to Fig. 25, there was also a fairly large building west of Garnot's to the rear of Boyer's, on lot 46. Unlike the stores along the trail, the façade seems to be to the east rather than south. There were at least two other merchants in the village in 1885 whose buildings are not identified, one was David Maxwell, Agent at Batoche.

To the south west of the Garnot house was the property of Jean-Baptiste Boyer, farmer and trader. Boyer resided on lot six of the "St-Laurent Settlement" since 1874 but was usually absent several months a year, trading across the west. In 1883 he purchased a lot from Xavier Letendre and opened a store at Batoche. Boyer was an old resident of the North West, having come out as a freighter and trader in 1866. He was a brother-in-law of Georges Fisher, trader at Fort
Qu'Appelle. Fisher's son Georges Jn. operated the neighbouring store at Batoche. Boyer described his store as "30' x 20', two storeys, no storehouse except one 23' x 19', two storeys alongside and part of my store (see Fig. 25)." He kept all his merchandise, mostly general goods (see Appendix D) in the store and adjoining warehouse. Gareau described the establishment as "not a very large store but medium stock... it was not filled with goods." Boyer was one of the smaller merchants. He had been living upstairs in the store with his family since 1884. The living area was referred to as fairly well furnished for the country. Boyer managed to transfer some of his stock to his farm at St-Laurent before the outbreak. Nevertheless his losses were heavy; furniture and household effects were taken or destroyed and the merchandise in his store was given out. On March 26th, after the Battle of Duck Lake, he fled to Fort Qu'Appelle with his nephew Georges Fisher Jn. The store was then raided by the insurgent Métis and prisoners were confined upstairs. Upon his return in May, he found the building "completely raided of goods and furniture and all the doors and windows smashed...two horses and billiard tables had been taken by the troops." The destruction is evident in Fig. 29, a photograph of the village taken in 1885. The exterior of the combined store and warehouse was sided and painted with a shingle roof. The type of log construction is not discernible.

Boyer reported $9,330. worth of damages to the Rebellion Losses Commission. He received $6,460. in compensation. This award as well as that to his brother, William, occasioned some indignation in the community. Their arrest and detention by the Métis plus a favourable testimony by Bishop Taché probably impressed the Commission. Boyer had originally been a member of the Métis council although he did not support a resort to arms. But in the aftermath, when many
compatriotes who had not actively participated were refused any consideration, their indemnification necessarily aroused some resentment.

It does not seem that Boyer reopened his store at Batoche after the uprising. He spent the winter of 1885-1886 at Green Lake and then returned to his farm at St-Laurent where he operated a store and ferry for the next decade. In 1893 he reported: a store by the ferry 16' x 16' an ice-house 16' x 16', a shed 12' x 12', and four stables. Between 1888 and 1895, his buildings at Batoche were rented by the North West Mounted Police. Jean-Baptiste Boyer died in 1895, a poor man, without having obtained patent to his homestead at St-Laurent.

Next to Boyer's was Fisher's store. It was located slightly south west of Boyer, the southernmost building on "Batoche Avenue," and the first store from the ferry (see Fig. 25 and 29). The building appears to have dovetailed corners, possible a pièce sur pièce log construction, and is unsided. Georges Fisher Sn. had opened the store at Batoche in the summer of 1883. It was managed by his sons, Georges Jn. and Joseph. The store was described as "25' x 30' of logs, two storeys." Gareau referred to the establishment as "having a good stock only one storey in use, and furs as well. He stored them in his store." Fisher estimated the value of his stock and furs at Batoche at $10,000. The establishment was ranked third largest after Letendre dit Batoche and Walters and Baker. Fisher's losses were considerable in 1885. All the guns, ammunition and provisions were taken by the Métis in March and the cattle, horses and other general merchandise were soon appropriated. When Georges Jn. escaped to Fort Qu'Appelle on March 26th, his wife was left in charge of the house, and a cache of furs and other valuables which were later taken by Middleton's soldiers. In the last days of the engagement, the store and dwelling were badly
damaged and the stable was burnt.

At the end of May 1885, Georges Fisher Sn. of Fort Qu'Appelle sent an agent to Batoche to investigate and report on the losses and damages to his property. The account provides specific information on the location, function and condition Fisher's buildings as well as his neighbours.

The stable behind having been burnt to the ground.

I find the store very badly damaged both inside and outside from the effects of rifle bullets and round shot...all the fixing counters are completely gutted out and the whole building in a very dilapidated state. The buildings all along suffered a good deal — the windows and sashes have been completely smashed. The sheeting of the store was struck so often it will almost require to be all taken down...It appears yours and other stores were occupied by the troops after the rebels cleared out. This would account for the line of earth works which is very high, been thrown up in the shape of a square around the whole of the building...The adjoining stores belonging to Baptiste Boyer and Xavier Letendre are not so badly damaged as yours.

[emphasis mine].103

The Métis had apparently occupied all the stores during the siege and when they were driven out, the soldiers entrenched themselves in a zareba erected around Fisher's, Boyer's and other buildings to the rear. They camped there for a few days after the end of the battle, before proceeding to Gariépy's Crossing and Prince Albert. In that interval, additional looting and destruction took place.

I found no furs upstairs in the store but learnt that 10 bales of furs were shipped from here to Prince Albert, with the ferry rope on one of the steamers. I heard from Mr. Hughes of Duck Lake that all the furs were stolen and divided among the troops at camp here...some of the troops got a good deal from the storekeepers here (Prince Albert). I went around to ascertain the fact and found it quite true...a good quality of fox and lynx especially, had been sold to three different stores...104

Mr. Macdonald also reported on the condition of the
The dwelling house, which is about 40 yds. behind the store did not suffer as much from shot but plenty of rifle bullets and all windows were smashed, the furniture completely cleaned out. There was left an old table and a cupboard. The house, however, could be fixed... as logs not struck with round shot. 105

Fisher also lost a pool table which he had recently purchased. It was apparently shipped to Battleford.

Upon their return from Duck Lake, at the end of March, the Métis had occupied all the village buildings. Garnot's, Batoche's, Boyer's and Fisher's houses were used as council rooms. The stores were emptied of their merchandise which was distributed among the Métis. A large group of Indians were camped in the vicinity, on both sides of the river. After the battle of Fish Creek, in April, women and children abandoned their homes and sought refuge at Batoche. They erected tents on the ledge between the top of the bank and the river, north west of the village. Such a congregation of people produced a great demand for food, clothing and provisions. The stores were soon depleted. Riel and the councillors also rounded up the cattle and horses they could find. Some were killed for food which was scarce in the last days of the conflict. When Middleton took over the village, remaining horses and cattle were sent down to Gariepy's Crossing and Prince Albert regardless of whom they belonged to. The soldiers also tore down some buildings in the vicinity using the wood for fuel. This occasioned much suffering in the aftermath of the battle. People, mainly old men, women and children, scattered in the bushes to the north up to a distance of twenty-five miles, subsisted on dog meat and field mice. Fisher's agent commented on the general desolation and deprivation which followed:

The houses are empty, stores knocked to pieces and gutted out—there is not a ghost of a cow or ox around—no crops in whatever, all the
agricultural implements lying to one side...how
the people returning home are to live as there are
no provisions of any kind around here.\textsuperscript{106}

The Fisher dwelling was reportedly the last building to
be used as a council house by the Métis. This was also con-
firmed by the owner. "Upon his return from Duck Lake Riel
turned her (Mrs. Fisher) out of the house and occupied it."\textsuperscript{107}
This was probably the house where Riel's papers were found
after the battle. A photograph published in the Winnipeg
\textit{Sun} (Fig. 27) identified another building in the vicinity
north west of the stores, as "Parenteau's stable." Some
Parenteaus lived on lots 40 and 41 in 1885, but lots 42 to
46 were the property of Emmanuel Champagne and Xavier Letendre.
Letendre had a large ploughed field (see Fig. 18) on the open
flat on lots 45 and 46 and it is possible he had hired the
Parenteaus, his nearby relatives, to farm for him. On May
12, the soldiers who encircled the village from the north east
reported,

Rebels from the houses (village) poured raking
fire into the advancing line. In front of the
houses were long trenches (rifle pits) running
parallel to our line of attack...the ploughed
field was reached...the first house to come over
was the little one on the bank (possibly Paren-
teau's stable or other buildings on lot 45 or 46)
...our men jumped the rebels in the very trenches
before the houses...Riel's Council house was at
the back of the row of houses... [emphasis mine]\textsuperscript{108}

Almost With a doubt, they were referring to Fisher's house.

Another building identified in the \textit{Sun} (Fig. 28) as
Batoche's blacksmith shop, was located vis-à-vis the row of
village stores. More clearly visible in the photograph from
which the woodcut was made (see Fig. 29) it was a makeshift
log, thatched roof building. The advancing soldiers referred
to it as the log stable in front of the prison house.\textsuperscript{109}
They also mentioned huts along the river, between the ceme-
tery and Batoche's residence, which were demolished on May
10th. The only other structures reported in the vicinity
of the village were the shelters erected by the Métis during the siege.

Beyond the buildings in Batoche was a fairly wooded section near the river bank and trail and here the rebels had placed their families in dugouts, over with robes, blankets, branches...many huddled together under carts and tents...

There was a similar encampment on the west side (see Fig. 34). The people who had sought refuge "from the Orangemen who were coming to kill them" brought many of their belongings with them.

I did not hide my things but moved some of them to Batoche. Had two sets of bedroom furniture, 1 side-board, cooking utensils, dishes, sewing machine, violin, blankets, linen, clock and clothing in a box and trunk.

The camp folded and the Métis were dispersed after the débâcle. It was impossible for most to return home since houses had been burnt or torn down. Some went to live with relatives at St-Laurent, Bellevue, or settlements which had not been ransacked. Many also sought shelter at a camp erected near the mission to assist the most destitute — mainly families whose fathers or husbands were imprisoned.

Another feature of the village, discernable in the photograph taken in 1885 (see Fig. 29) was the log gate and fence next to Fisher's store, in the vicinity of the descent to the ferry. The Surveyors' map of the area of the battle in 1885, (see Fig. 18) also indicated a fence in that region. It was probably a pasture or enclosure erected to prevent cattle from straying into the village. Rifle pits had been dug within its confines during the insurrection. At first glance, the log fence at the western edge of the stores, is not clearly identifiable in the photograph (Fig. 29). A comparison with a woodcut from the photograph, however, (Fig. 28) clearly confirms its existence.

North east of "Batoche Avenue" or at the northern boundary of the village, according to Xavier Letendre, were
Emmanuel Champagne's residence and stores. Champagne was one of the older residents of Batoche, having erected a house and outbuildings on lot 44 in 1878. He had purchased lots 42, 43, and 44 from his brother-in-law in 1877 and had opened a store in 1881. In 1884, he had described his house as frame, two storeys, shingled, 22' x 28', worth $2500. He also had a storehouse, 16' x 12', a trading shop, 16' x 20', all on lot 44, worth $1000. A farmer as well as a trader, he had thirty acres fenced and about twenty acres under cultivation on lots 43 and 44.

According to George H. Young, who took possession of Champagne's store on the last day of the battle, his buildings were located "east of the village as the river runs downstream, on a slight elevation perhaps half a mile from the river." He had numerous outbuildings, according to his declarations in 1884, and Young's testimony,

Buildings were small outbuildings...stables such as milk houses and so on so that a person standing in the doorway sees contents...the storehouse was a 1 storey log buildings with furs not goods, merchandise ordinarily used in store. It appears that Champagne was primarily a fur trader and did not sell general merchandise in the village. He probably had a small stock of provisions or articles to exchange for furs. Gareau confirmed that he had a small stock, a little larger than Kerr Brothers. Champagne had a large number of furs in his storehouse which were taken by the troops on May 12th. He estimated their value at over $10,000. A member of the Métis council, he and his sons, Ambroise and Cléophas, reportedly took up arms in May, 1885. This was probably the reason for the sack of his property by the Canadian soldiers. The furs were sold at Prince Albert and Winnipeg. Champagne sought compensation for this loss in the Exchequer court in 1892, but the animosity towards a "Halfbreed rebel" precluded a favourable settlement. The
Rebellion Losses Commission had disallowed his claim in 1885 on the basis of his association with the insurgents. Although his furs had been stolen after the battle, the Commission refused to reconsider the case on the grounds that an expensive precedent would be set.

Champagne had built a new log and frame house to replace the original 16' x 32' dwelling still on his property in 1884. In his application for patent for lot 44 in December 1885, he reported the following buildings and improvements.

I have a house, 22' x 28' worth $1,000, 1 store 30' x 15', 2 meat houses and 3 stables, 20' x 50', worth $400. I had 40 acres fenced now destroyed and have 40 acres under cultivation...resided on my home- stead all the time except 2 months each year... made trip to Winnipeg to get supplies.116

He had evidently lost some buildings during the insurrection. The damage to the interior of his house was also extensive. The house, with adjoining buildings, could very well be the scene sketched by J.F. Boyd (Fig. 35) as it was above a prairie or flat, where many Métis sought refuge after the battle.117 Boyd had returned to Batoche in the summer of 1885, to recapture some of the scenes of the conflict. The right flank of Middleton's army came upon Champagne's property as it advanced on the village from the north. But it was during the retreat, after the battle, that it was sacked.

They were using it as a place from which to clean the pack of rebels who were still firing at us... there was an Indian camp immediately below it, what might be called the river bottom.118

The house was plundered by the soldiers who were posted at the property after the battle. There was willful destruction of furniture, and clothing and provisions were taken. Especially humiliating to Champagne, was the report that Middleton rode out of Batoche on his grey stallion sa belle grise along with his wagon and buckboard...119
In conclusion, Champagne had at least a dwelling, a store and a few outbuildings on the western edge of lot 44 in 1885. The house was not destroyed in 1885 although the interior was gutted. He lost all the contents of his stores, mainly furs and some provisions, as a result of the pillaging after the battle.

On May 13, our Company was stationed in a large two-storied house...This morning I was placed on guard at a storehouse where there was a lot of flour and furs stored. [emphasis mine]...They were placed on boats going to Clarke's Crossing with the wounded and others going to Prince Albert with prisoners and provisions...120

During the month of April, or between the battles of Duck Lake and Fish Creek, the Métis had erected a network of defensive trenches or pits on the east side of the river. They completely encircled the village "flat." A line of pits ran parallel to the river, at the edge of the bluffs above the village, for a mile up to Champagne's (see Fig. 18). They completely encircled Batoche from the east. They were also erected in the brush along the river, extending from the area of the cemetery west of the mission, beyond the Indian camp on the prairie below Champagne's.

The enemy did not leave their pits until we were right on them. They had pits all over for about two miles along the river banks. There was a good deal of shooting from across the river...121

South of the village, close to the river, on the westerly portion of the river lot 51 (?), lived Ludger Gareau, the French-Canadian master-carpenter who built many of the stores and finer dwellings at Batoche. From the beginning of the uprising in March until the first day of the battle at Batoche, the Métis used his house as a meeting place and mess-hall. Prisoners were also kept there briefly before the battle at Duck Lake. On May 9th, 10th, and 11th the house,
in the line of fire, was abandoned by the Métis, and occup­ied by Middleton's troops and burned on the last day of the battle. A photograph by Peters (Fig. 36) from a position west of the zareba, near the river bank, shows buildings which could be identified as the Caron farm (lot 52). To the west, along the trail to the mission, we can also ob­serve the faint outline of a building which could very well be Gareau's house. He described his dwelling as:

...22'½" x 17'½", 2 stories, of logs and white earth and whitewashed, stone foundation, shingled roof...very comfortable but not entirely finished ...no partitions as yet...unsided...the gables of boards...two floors were laid...Also had a stable or storehouse, 13' x 18'...My house I value at $2500 the storehouse at $75...122

His brother-in-law George Ness, who lived on lot 62, speci­fied that the house "was mudded up and whitewashed inside and out, not plastered...There were not partitions inside, there were 2 floors made of matched flooring...He had 2 stables joined together, built of logs, 1 used for storehouse."123

Among the furnishings in the house were "two large stoves, a sewing machine, a sideboard, two country made tables...his house was pretty well furnished for the country..."124

(see Appendix E) Gareau also had squared logs, sawn lumber, shingles and carpentry tools on his property, all of which were destroyed or appropriated. He had been absent from Batoche between February and June 1885, having gone to Québec to visit his family. Upon his return he found all his buildings in waste, his cattle and horses killed or dispersed. He evaluated his losses at over $7,000 but the Rebellion Losses Commission only awarded him $2,500.125

Homeless, he rented part of Xavier Letendre's house and pro­ceeded to make much needed repairs to it. The winter of 1885-86 was especially harsh and the desolation and de­privation which followed did not augur a good future at Batoche. In the spring, he rounded up his cattle and belong­
nings and joined a few other families on a long trek to Pincher Creek and a ranching enterprise.126

Further south, along the trail from Clarke's and Gabriel's Crossing and at a point where the trail from Winnipeg and Humboldt entered Batoche, was Solomon Venne's store. He had settled on lot 55, half a mile south of the church, in the spring of 1883. Venne had been in the trading business for over thirty years and had posts at Fort à la Corne, Green Lake, Meadow Lake, Canoe Lake and Ile à la Crosse. He was primarily a fur trader and his store at Batoche was the headquarters for the distribution of trade goods freighted from Winnipeg or Troy. He also stored the furs traded at his northern posts at Batoche. Every year, he made a trip to Winnipeg to sell his furs and provision his posts.

In 1884, Venne declared that he had a log house, two storeys, shingled roof, 18' x 20' with a separate kitchen 13' x 15' worth about $500. He also had a storehouse 13' x 15' and a straw roof stable, 19' x 64'.127 He had no fencing but had broken six acres on his lot. The combined house and store that he reported in 1885, may have been a new building. Venne had purchased lot 55 from William Letendre in 1883, paying him $50 for improvements. In 1885, he stated that his house had been built by a man from Winnipeg (possibly Gareau) and was valued at $1500. The store was a 22' x 22', two storey log building, well made and plastered. The family resided upstairs and the trading area was located downstairs.128 Venne did a general business at Batoche, selling provisions, clothing and hardware. He also had a large herd of cattle and cultivated some crops. Mrs. Venne managed the store at Batoche and son Napoléon took care of the farm. Two other sons, David and William, were in charge of the northern posts. Venne's wealth and commercial interests were comparable to Xavier Letendre's. His store at Batoche had a smaller stock but his trading empire was more extensive.
Both provided employment to Métis freighters in the district and were largely the mainstay of the economic prosperity of Batoche in 1885.

The interior of Venne's store at Batoche included a ceiling "8 foot high from the floor...shelves, two sides, goods all around and under the counters...counters on two sides and one end, well made." In March 1885, he had about $8,000 worth of goods in this store and an equal value of furs in the storehouse (see Appendix F). Venne had also stored furs in one of Champagne's buildings. A partition separated the two holdings. The furs at both locations were reportedly stolen by the soldiers during and after the battle. The Métis and Indians pillaged the store in March and April, taking guns, ammunition and provisions. Later, the soldiers divested the remainder. On May 12th, the house was burned. Mrs. Venne's trunks and boxes of clothing which she had brought to the camp below the village were also broken into and appropriated. She estimated her personal losses for lodgings, furniture and clothing at $4000. "Lost everything...furniture and clothing nearly new, of best quality. Furniture was bought in Winnipeg two years ago." Cattle, oxen and horses were killed or scattered. The account books and inventories were also destroyed making collection from credit customers almost impossible. The family was left in destitute circumstances.

All I had in Batoche was burnt, destroyed or pillaged...all lost except my land. On my arrival there, (June 5), I found my house burnt, my goods gone, my wife there with no blanket, no shoes and living on charity from relief...I have not found any of the furs lost at Batoche. I had eleven packages of fine furs sent from Green Lake...now a ruined man.

Solomon Venne calculated his total losses at $41,900. He was awarded $10,978. He had to vindicate his claim with the officials and other residents, especially outsiders,
who suspected him of collaboration with the insurgent Métis. His neighbours, the Kerr Brothers, probably out of resentment for the small settlement awarded to them by the Commission, testified against him.

His wife (Josephte Venne) told George A. Kerr that in 1870, her husband had remained loyal and received no compensation from the Government; this time he and his family would join...133

That the Vennes had sympathy and affinity to the Métis demands, there is no doubt. But as a merchant and a man in touch with the outside world Solomon was cautious. He was sufficiently aware of the ultimate futility of an armed uprising to be discreet.

The other commercial establishment in the vicinity belonged to George and John Kerr, formerly of Ottawa and Winnipeg. They had briefly operated a store at Saskatoon. The exact location of Kerr Brothers store is conjectural. It was about one mile south of the church along the trail to Gabriel's Crossing, on lot 56 and 57. Norbert Delorme had claimed lots 56 and 57 in 1884. He erected a house; log, one storey, thatch roof, 15' x 47' and a stable 18' x 18'.134 He reported no buildings on lot 57. The Kerr brothers stated they were neighbours of Venne and that they had two housekeepers, Mrs. Delorme and Miss Desmarais. Delorme might have rented or sold a parcel of lot 56 to the Kerrs or sold them his claim to lot 57. After the insurrection, Baptiste Vandal, Pierre Henry and Baptiste Rocheleau told Abbé Cloutier that they had been caught at the Delorme house, the Kerr brothers store...135 This would suggest that Delorme had rented his house and lived elsewhere although there is evidence he did not leave the district until 1886.

The testimonies concerning the Kerr brothers are conflicting. They are new in the district, having opened the store in November 1884, and did a different kind of business than Batoche, Fisher or Venne. They were not fur traders, but exchanged their general merchandise for local produce such as
cattle, horses and grains. "We bought everything in their home, such as potatoes, grains of all kinds, horses, cattle, furs, feathers, silk, wool, etc." Since there was very little hard currency in circulation, they exchanged goods for produce rather than cash. Because of the character of their trade, they had already amassed a large herd of cattle and horses. "We had at different places in Batoche, thirty-one head of horned cattle, four horses and harness..." They also had some private property at Mrs. Tourond's at Fish Creek. Gareau referred to their house as "a building about 15' x 18', one storey, they lived there... had a small stock which consisted of ready made clothing, dry goods, groceries, hardware and provisions." The Kerrs later reported to the Minister of the Interior that their store was 35' x 24', full of general merchandise.

On March 19th, Kerr Brothers store was appropriated by the Métis and the food, merchandise and cattle was distributed (see Appendix G). It was the second store to be pillaged, the day following Walters and Baker's. The interior was completely gutted and the invoices destroyed. The Kerrs were not well known in the community and were suspected of being informers. They escaped to Saskatoon and made their way to Winnipeg where George spoke critically of the Métis in the press. Both joined Middleton's army. In the summer of 1885 when the Rebellion Losses Commission came to gather evidence and receive testimonies, witnesses for the Kerr brothers were not very obliging. Perhaps they were ignorant of their stock and business but there was resentment against the Kerrs for their unequivocal partisanship of the Government and dis-obliging remarks. On the other hand they produced only one invoice and many of their losses were declared consequential to the uprising. They were allowed $3,402 on a claim of $16,343. Hugh John Macdonald tried to intercede in their favour, stressing their loyalty and resulting impoverishment,
but again the Commission was hesitant to reopen any case for fear of precipitating an avalanche of similar requests.

The mission buildings of St-Antoine-de-Padoue were located south east of the village site, about midway between the two trading sections of the community. The Corporation des Oblats had possibly reserved lots 50 and 51 as early as 1877, but Father Végreville only took possession of them in 1882. Various settlers had contested the claim. The Sauvé Brothers had squatted in the vicinity of lots 50 to 53 in the late 1870s and Jean Caron, who had settled on lot 52, wanted the adjoining lots for his sons. By 1882, all the lots in the immediate vicinity had been claimed and occupied. The Oblats de Marie Immaculée had decided to locate the new mission in an area of the village where a large tract of land was available. This would explain the relative distance of the mission from the village. The location offered many natural advantages and enough space to erect a church, rectory, schoolhouse and other buildings when the community expanded. To the south of the church, by the river, a cemetery was laid out (see Fig. 18). The church and rectory were erected on the north east portion of lot 50.\textsuperscript{142} In the summer of 1883, Ludger Gareau constructed a 2½ storey 32'5" x 22'7½" x 16' rectory at the cost of $1000. It was set on a fieldstone foundation, built with pine and poplar logs and mortise and tenon framed in the Red River style. Originally the spaces between the logs were filled with a mud and hay plaster but the following year, the building was boarded. Father Moulin, who had replaced Father Végreville as parish priest, reserved the main floor of the new rectory for a chapel, private office and possibly a classroom. The upstairs was not partitioned but laid out as a kitchen, refectory and sleeping area. Within the next few years when the church was completed and funds were available, both interior floor plans were altered and partitions added on the second floor. In 1884, Gareau also erected a church a short distance from the rectory. A 60' x 30' log struc-
ture, it was built in the same style as the rectory. Both were comparatively large rectangular buildings while the common dwellings were generally squarer and smaller. The mode of construction was also more elaborate. A horizontal infill of timbers were tenoned into slotted uprights (Red River frame) rather than stacked horizontally as in the pièce sur pièce. The roof of both buildings was gabled although the church façade had eaves trim or gable returns. The church and rectory were not originally painted but the roof was shingled. There was only one door or exit, a centre vertical plain door on the façade of the building. Nevertheless there is evidence of craftsmanship in the interior and exterior finishes. The interior was plastered and painted. The church ceiling was wood panelled or lambrissé and wood trim decorated the upper edges of the walls. The floors were roughly inlaid plank and the early furniture was made by local craftsmen. In essence, the buildings were representative of their milieu; simple and sturdy. When the parish became more prosperous in the late 1880s and 1890s, alterations were carried out. In 1888, the façade of the church was modified. The original "mushroom-shaped" roof belfry was replaced with a porch tower surmounted with a belfry and spire. The gothic arch design of the main structure was extended to the louvered openings of the tower and the supporting arches of the belfry. A rose window decorated the façade of the tower. The exterior of the rectory was also altered. A porch was added to the doorway and an annex of similar material and construction was erected to the rear of the building. Alterations were made to the interior of both buildings. The second floor of the rectory was partitioned and finished while in the church, a gallery was added and more elaborate furnishings and decorations were obtained. Both buildings acquired their distinctive character during this period. No further structural changes were made to the exterior and later alterations to
the interior were primarily functional. The interior of the church was more specifically altered in this manner when two sacristies were cut in the chancel in 1955.

The structural evolution of these buildings provides a basis for the study of other structures that were erected in the district. Few if any buildings of the 1885 period remain. The church and rectory are two rare tangible testimonies of a type of building erected at that time. They are not necessarily representative of the ordinary dwellings and stores constructed by the Métis. They were designed as centres for religious worship and parochial activity. They are representative, however, in style and construction techniques, of the type of building a more prosperous settler would erect. A structure such as the church or rectory required larger pine logs which had to be hauled from a distance of ten to fifteen miles. Sawn lumber and shingles had to be purchased and lime and paint for wall finishes were expensive. On the other hand fieldstone was available locally and used for the foundations of larger and more permanent buildings. Buildings such as the church and rectory and Batoche's house and store erected by Ludger Gareau, had a fieldstone foundation and were of similar log and board construction. According to descriptions of their dwellings, Champagne's and Gareau's residences were well built. Champagne's house was sided which was not common for an average dwelling and Gareau reported a stone foundation, boarded gables and a whitewashed mud and plaster exterior.

The majority of dwellings and outbuildings erected by the Métis at Batoche in the 1880s were makeshift and temporary. The traders and freighters who had only recently settled on their farm did not have the money nor the inclinations to erect more substantial structures. These would come once they had established themselves more permanently in the 1880s. According to the evidence given to the Land Agent in 1884 or
to the Rebellion Losses Commission in 1885, it is evident that the people who had immigrated in the 1870s, regardless as to whether they were Métis or non-Métis, generally had better homes than recent arrivals. There were a few exceptions, such as Fisher and Venne, well established and financially secure traders, who came out expressly to set up a new business at Batoche.

Jean Caron Sn. who immigrated to St-Laurent from Manitoba in 1872 was an example of a relatively well established settler in 1885. He had moved to Batoche in 1881 and settled on lot 52 next to the mission. His first house was a 20' x 12' log, thatch roof structure. By 1885, he had erected a comfortable shingle roof, two storey dwelling, 20' x 27' and stables or storehouses one whose dimensions were 20' x 35'. He valued his buildings at $1100. He had cultivated six acres of land and had fenced forty acres. Caron was primarily a farmer and carpenter although he also freighted about two months a year. Photographs identified as "front of rebel position" (Fig. 36) and "field where Middleton camped" (Fig. 37), taken in 1885, could be two views of the Caron farm. Fig. 36 was taken from a position west of the zareba, near the ravine, while Fig. 37 was taken from the east looking north or south. The latter could also be Barthélémi Pilon's farm, the only other residence in the vicinity. The Carons abandoned their farm in the wake of Middleton's advance. Jean Caron was with the fighting men at the village although he reportedly was not in the trenches. Caron and his sons had fought at Fish Creek, but claimed they were not members of the Council or strong adherents of the movement. As did most Métis, they declared that they had been deceived and feared for their lives. The rumour apparently perpetuated by Lawrence Clarke of Fort Carlton, that 500 policemen had come to annihilate them, had convinced many of them of the inevitability of armed action. Caron's farm, situated along the main trail to the village
was naturally a first target for Middleton's army. On May 9th, the army set up camp in Caron's field and destroyed all surrounding farms. The house and storehouses were burnt and the contents destroyed or appropriated (see Appendix H). Damage to the land was estimated at $1000 and a large stock of cattle was destroyed. Total losses evaluated at $4,681 by Mrs. Caron were not allowed by the Commission. Notwithstanding these heavy losses, Caron was able to rebuild and re-establish his farm in the succeeding years. Skilled and literate, he was perhaps better equipped than most to cope with the depressing and difficult aftermath of the battle.

His closest neighbour, Barthélemy Pilon had lived on lot 54 since 1883. In 1884, he had a 16' x 16' log, mudded, one storey thatch roof dwelling and a straw roof stable, 20' x 20' on his claim. He described the house as the second from the church, one chain from the road. In his Rebellion Losses Claim in 1885, Pilon specified that the dwelling had three windows, double sashed, one door and an earth chimney. It had been built by Jean Caron except for the roof and was worth $450. He had added a hangar, 10' x 10' and ten feet high (see Fig. 37 - ?) valued at $50. Middleton's army burned his buildings, emptied the house of its contents and impounded his grain and cattle. Pilon estimated the destruction at $1658 for which he received no compensation. Although he suffered heavy losses and received no indemnity, Pilon remained at Batoche after the conflict and rebuilt his farm. In the fall of 1885, he took another claim, purchasing the improvements of Jean Desmarais, who had left the district as a result of the insurrection.

Norbert Delorme, Venne's neighbour on lot 56, was the next settler along the trail between Gabriel's Crossing and Batoche. He had immigrated from Manitoba in 1874, but hunted and freighted and did not reside permanently on his farm before late 1880. His buildings were unpretentious log,
thatch roof structures valued at $200. It is not known but presumed that they were destroyed during the uprising. Delorme was a strong supporter of Riel and Dumont and committed himself to the movement. His wife did make a claim of $888 to the Commission which, of course, was not allowed. Delorme left Batoche for southern Alberta in the spring of 1886.

Patrice Gervais settled on lot 59 in 1883, purchasing the claim from William Delorme. A freighter and farmer, he had a small dwelling, stable and storehouse, all thatch roofed on his lot. He had seven acres under cultivation and 15 acres fenced in 1884. Mrs. Gervais evaluated their losses at $250 in 1885. The family was among those who left the district as a result of the conflict.

Cuthbert Gervais, a brother of Patrice, resided on lot 60 since 1878. He also claimed lot 61 as a pre-emption. Although hunting and freighting as well as farming, he was well-established by 1884. He had a one storey dwelling made of logs which measured 16' x 58', "a good house," worth $600. His storehouse, 14' x 14' and stables 22' x 22' and 15' x 20' were valued at $100. Gervais had 40 acres under cultivation on both claims and 24 acres under fence in several fields. It was one of the largest farms in the district. Gervais' losses during the fighting were over $1500, for which he was not reimbursed. He moved to the Pincher Creek area of southern Alberta in 1887 and abandoned his homestead in favour of lot 68. He never took up residence on that claim and must be counted among the dejected families who left the district as a result of losses sustained during the insurrection.

George Ness, who lived on lots 62 and 63 in 1885, came to Batoche in the mid 1870s but only established residence on his homestead in 1882. Between 1877 and 1882, he had wintered on various claims in the vicinity. Ness was a South African who had emigrated to Manitoba in 1872. A carpenter
by trade, he had built the church at Duck Lake and had freighted for traders in the district. In 1884, he had a log, 1½ storey dwelling, 18' x 20', worth $150 and a stable 25' x 40' and storehouse, 12' x 12', valued at $80. He had a total of 20 acres of land under cultivation and 30 acres fenced.

On March 18, 1885, Ness was taken prisoner by the Métis for having journeyed to Fort Carlton to warn the North West Mounted Police of an impending attack. Ness was Justice of the Peace for the district and opposed and feared a resort to arms. He reportedly tried to warn the Métis of the futility and serious consequences of their actions. The fact that he was married to a Métisse and acculturated to the milieu probably protected him from harsher treatment. He was imprisoned briefly in the church and at Walters and Baker's store but was released on parole. He retired to his farm and maintained a neutral position throughout the conflict. According to his statement of losses, (Appendix I) his house was not burnt by the advancing troops but damage to the building was extensive and implements, cattle and provisions were taken. He was allowed $831 on a claim of $1,805.

In his homestead application in May 1886, Ness declared that he had been living alternately on lots 62 and 63 since 1882. He had buildings on both lots although his main residence was on lot 62 which he claimed as homestead. The buildings reported on the lot in 1886 appear to be the same as in 1884. He had acquired cattle and horses and now had 60 acres of land fenced. Ness obtained patent for lot 62 around 1886 but eventually abandoned the homestead. He left for Alberta in 1887 and settled at Jack Fish Lake and later Pincher Creek where he set up a horse ranch.

Jean Desmarais had a 16' x 16' log, one storey, thatch roof dwelling on lot 65 in 1884. Although primarily a hunter and freighter, he had a total of 13 acres under cultivation and 12 acres fencing on lots 64 and 65. Desmarais
never applied for homestead entry after 1885. François Ladouceur, his young neighbour and step-son, had a house under construction on lot 66 in 1884. Desmarais and Ladouceur both took part in the uprising and left the district shortly after. To the south, Isidore Dumas had purchased lot 69 from Cuthbert Gervais in 1884 and had broken 25 acres but erected no buildings. Alexandre Pilon, who had established residence on lot 70 in 1882 occupied the adjoining farm. He had erected one small thatch roofed dwelling and four outbuildings. Pilon had 40 acres fenced and 20 acres under cultivation. His father, Joseph Sn., who lived with him declared losses of $1,940, as a result of the armed conflict. The claim was not allowed.

Pierre Parenteau Jn. was another recent immigrant to Batoche, having settled on lot 71 in 1882. He listed his occupation as farmer and had 30 acres under cultivation in 1884. He also had a log, one storey, 25' x 15' dwelling and four outbuildings. The other lots between his farm and Gabriel's Crossing were also sparsely settled during that period. Frédéric St-Germain, Maxime Dubois, Maxime Poitras, Pierre Ledoux, Philippe Garnot and Gabriel Dumont were among those who had erected buildings on their claims.

The people who lived between lots 51 and 71, south east of Batoche, also known as the "new" section of the village, had settled mainly after 1882. George Ness had cultivated some fields since 1877 but he had not established residence before 1882. Only Cuthbert Gervais had lived continuously on lots 60 and 61 since 1878. In 1885, the area was sparsely populated. Most lands had been claimed but buildings were generally temporary and inadequate. They reflected the character of the community: a newly settled hunting and freighting population interspersed with traders and a few farmers.

The area north east of the village had generally been
claimed earlier, but permanent occupation was also recent. The first movement of people into Batoche on the east side of the river had been from St-Laurent, founded in 1874. But again, settlement was scattered until 1882. Jean-Baptiste Parenteau had settled on lot 30 in 1879. He had erected small buildings, raised cattle and cultivated 14 acres on lot 30 and a few acres on lot 31 by 1884.161 Closer to the village, Cuthbert Fayant claimed lots 34 and 35 since 1873. Between 1873 and 1876 he had resided on lot 34 and had cultivated 12 acres. In 1876 he moved to lot 35 and by 1884, he had a log, one storey, 20' x 55', thatch roofed house worth $600; three stables, two storehouses and one milkhouse worth $300. He had also 30 acres fenced and 18 acres under cultivation.162 A 30 acre farm was quite substantial for the district. Fayant was 55 years old and had 12 children which possibly explains his substantial property. In 1885 he fought with the Métis under Riel and Dumont and lost cattle and furnishings to the value of $800 as a result of the battle at Batoche.163

William Fayant, his son, resided on lot 36 since 1884 but he had no buildings and only six acres under cultivation. Lot 37 was occupied by Daniel Gariépy since 1877, but primarily a freighter, he had only two buildings and little cultivation on his claim. A more recent arrival, Calixte Lafontaine, had settled on the S1 of lot 33. Fayant, Gariépy and Lafontaine were implicated in the uprising and suffered greatly from the devastation which followed the battle. Lafontaine's house, 16' x 33' "near the road was burnt by the troops."164

Edouard Dumont, brother of Gabriel, was an example of a settler who moved south from St-Laurent in the early 1880s. In 1882, he established residence on lot 38 and claimed lot 39 as a pre-emption. Primarily a trader and freighter, he had only four acres under cultivation in 1884 but he had erected a log, one storey, thatch roof, house, 24' x 20' and outbuildings consisting of two storehouses, 20' x 18' and 20' x 20'; two
In the immediate vicinity of the village on lots 40 and 41 were other members of the Letendre family who had recently immigrated from Manitoba. Moise Parenteau, brother of Marguerite Letendre, purchased lot 40 from his brother-in-law for $100 in 1882. A farmer, he had already cultivated 12 acres and fenced 20 acres by 1884. He had a dwelling and four outbuildings valued at $200 on his homestead. Pierre Parenteau Sn., the father, also came to settle in the vicinity of his prosperous son-in-law. In 1882, he purchased lot 41 from Xavier Letendre and erected a comfortable dwelling, log, one storey, shingle roof, 24' x 20' worth $200. He also built three stables, and a storehouse. Charles Thomas, a brother-in-law of Xavier, settled on lot 48 in 1881 and claimed lot 49 as a pre-emption. Letendre had already cultivated eight acres on lot 48 before 1881. A dispute between he and Thomas over improvements was finally settled in 1890 when Letendre was awarded the N1 or 183 acres and Thomas the S3 or 91.50 acres. Thomas erected his buildings on the S1 of lot 48 and had some fencing in 1884. It is uncertain if his property was destroyed in 1885. Letendre's buildings on the south westerly portion of the adjoining lot were not burnt and Thomas' $500 claim to the Rebellion Losses Commission suggests that they were not. Like most Métis, he was not compensated for his losses. He had been conscripted as a cook for the council during the insurrection and testimonies of "loyalists" implicated him in the movement. In a declaration, the Commission often requested information on the action of suspects. Individuals who had not taken up arms or who wanted compensation for crippling losses, were often too eager to implicate others. Those who escaped or stayed away from the scene of the conflict were usually able to prove their "innocence." Families who had sought refuge at the camp in the village were assumed guilty. At times it
was also expedient to indemnify Métis who would gratefully acknowledge the goodwill of the Government. The Rebellion Losses Commission could not and did not deal equitably with all claims in 1885. The adage "to the victor goes the spoils" was only too correct. Resentment and discontent over this issue would remain for years.

Settlement of lots 25 to 29, closer to St-Laurent, was sporadic before 1885. The Gervais family occupied lots 27 to 29 and in 1884 they reported simple log structures and some cultivation. André and Napoléon Nault who claimed lots 25 and 26 had fulfilled little residence or made few improvements on their farms. They left the district in 1885.

Batoche was a relatively prosperous village in 1885. C.A. Boulton, whose Scouts accompanied Middleton, reported that the Métis "have a nice settlement, comfortable houses...they are well-off...we found 3 billiard tables and at Batoche were some of the nicest houses in the country." Boulton, who was condescending towards the "breeds," also tended to exaggerate their well-being to accentuate the unjustness of the rising. Conditions were markedly different after the battle.

On my way home from Batoche yesterday I found all the houses for about 3½ miles down burnt, a few of the halfbreeds camped close to the bluffs. I met no person along my way until I came to William Boyer...the places looked very desolate...many of them must have been very comfortable indeed...lots seem very good, with plenty of wood, the sight it represents now is pitiful. It will take a few years for those people to get fixed up...The people are scattered...

The population had been completely dispersed. The Métis council had appropriated the livestock, hay and provisions while the Canadian soldiers had destroyed buildings, in some cases only to provide fuel for the steamers. Whatever was left in the abandoned homes was taken as booty. "Boulton's Scouts have the horses and cattle...some with the Indians...ferry rope
and scow have been broken up." A soldier recorded in his diary that although General Middleton had ordered that no person should enter any of the farmhouses, his request was not heeded.

Empty houses were ransacked...we captured over 40 head of cattle and each man has something he intends to keep as a relic; knives, saddles, violins, beadwork, etc.174

The wife of Georges Fisher Jr., merchant at Batoche, had brought a carpet-bag containing $230 to her tent by the river. She was forced to deliver the contents to a guard on duty after the battle. This was the price she had to pay to obtain a pass to join her husband at Fort Qu'Appelle...175 Nonetheless, Middleton did exhibit some moderation. The mission and village buildings were not burned and food supplies were distributed to the most destitute families before his departure. But the Métis who had taken up arms were arrested and sent to Prince Albert and later to Regina for trial. Families were separated and many children were lost, some wandering a distance of twenty-five miles to escape the wrath of the army. There was a widespread belief among the Métis that they would be massacred or killed in the event of a defeat. Reports that the dying Donald Ross and Damase Carrière were "finished-off" by the soldiers did not assuage these fears.176

They had lost the war. At the end the Government wisely resolved not to deal harshly with the participants. Riel could atone for the sins of the people he had unwittingly misled. The general population, confused and prostrate was in no condition to protest further. Accommodation and withdrawal were the only remaining alternatives. The Métis who were strongly committed and implicated in the resistance generally left the district. Gabriel Dumont, Michel Dumas and Napoléon Nault fled to Montana and others went to the Dakotas, many were never to return. Among
the "ringleaders" who spent terms of one to seven years in prison were Maxime Lépine, Pierre Parenteau, and Moise Ouellette. Their broken spirits never recovered. A number of families left the district because of the economic dislocation and poor prospects for the future; among them, Ludger Gareau, George Ness, Norbert Delorme and Cuthbert Gervais. Among the remaining families were the Levêndres, Parenteaus, Carons, Pilons and Fayants. Many of these previously prosperous settlers were now destitute. There were no crops in 1885 and the winter was particularly harsh. The authorities were initially well-disposed to the pleas of Fathers Moulin and Végreville for food and assistance but both the Federal and Territorial Government soon lapsed into a policy of containment:

[re]....Halfbreeds who are now in the neighbourhood of Batoche and who although known to have been in revolt, have returned to their homes and are pursuing their usual avocation, I have to inform that the government does not intend to proceed against them and they may rest assured that no arrest will be made as long as they continue to behave themselves.177

The humiliation of defeat and deprivation would haunt the Métis. A new page had been turned in the history of the North West: it was the age of dependency and servitude.
IV Métis Society after 1885

The defeat of 1885 momentarily disrupted and eventually altered Métis society and economy. The period immediately following the uprising was the most difficult. The population was bereft of most essentials including food and drink, crops were bad and jobs were scarce. There was very little money at Batoche in the 1880s and 1890s. The Métis freighted for the Hudson's Bay Company and independent traders at cut rates, when they could obtain contracts. Railway construction in the vicinity in 1890 provided some relief to those who were hired to haul ties at 20 cents each, averaging 20-25 per load on a one day trip. Lumber camps such as Keith's and Madigan's, north of Batoche, also hired local labour. In the late 1880s, many Métis were gathering buffalo bones and transporting them to Saskatoon and Regina. Others dug seneca root or hauled cordwood to sell as fuel to neighbouring communities. Destitution and even starvation were quite common in the years immediately following the insurrection. Unable to depend on the traditional means of livelihood, freighting and trading, many were forced to go on relief. In an attempt to maintain some self-reliance, some Métis hired out to local North West Mounted Police detachments at Batoche, Duck Lake and especially at Prince Albert. In return for menial tasks, they would be issued provisions and clothing. A police patrol posted at Batoche during the winter of 1885-86 reported many extreme cases of poverty, especially among widows with large families. The priests of the district assisted the authorities by compiling lists of needy families. Rations were then issued by the North West
Mounted Police under the authority of the Government on the basis of family size and degree of indigence. Among the destitute families were many who had been self-supporting, if not prosperous, before 1885.\textsuperscript{180} Disease also took its toll among a deprived people in the aftermath of the insurrection. There were frequent outbreaks of diphtheria and influenza between 1889 and 1900. The parish registers of Batoche and Duck Lake also attest to a high infant mortality rate and the incidence of death due to consumption or tuberculosis.\textsuperscript{181}

The transition of the Métis from a hunting to an agricultural economy was a difficult one because of their unfavourable economic and social position. The Government was more concerned with the railway, impending immigration and the "settling of the Canadian west," than acting upon Métis claims. Batoche and settlements in the immediate vicinity along the banks of the South Saskatchewan were fringe settlements. The rail line to Prince Albert in 1890, ran west through Duck Lake and later branch lines on the Canadian Northern followed a route to the east through the Alvena, Wakaw and St-Louis settlements. Sections 25, 27 and 35 of townships 43-1-T43 had been reserved by the railway and some consideration was given to the construction of a branch line to service the Batoche-Fish-Creek-Bellevue area. The project was abandoned in 1893 and the sections were opened to settlement.\textsuperscript{182} The decline of over-land freighting, or its confinement to short distance transport between railway depots, particularly affected Batoche residents. During the 1890s, many freighted at a subsistence rate to supplement a meagre agricultural income. It was only by moving further north to unserviced isolated communities, that Métis freighters could ply their trade. Hunting and trapping also became marginal occupations in the district. Many Métis adapted to the situation by spending the spring and summers at Batoche to sow and reap their crops,
and wintering up north. Prairie chickens, ducks and small fur-bearing animals were plentiful during those years, somewhat alleviating the food shortage and providing quick "cash crops."

For the majority of Métis who remained on the periphery of Batoche, agricultural settlement was the only long-term solution. A few such as Xavier Letendre, Solomon Venne and Georges Fisher were able to pursue trading and agricultural activities. Although handicapped by the destruction and losses of 1885, the extent and variety of their trade enabled them to re-establish their businesses. The village of Batoche would not regain its position as a trading centre but outposts in the Carrot River, Montréal Lake, Lac La Ronge and Meadow Lake districts would become more remunerative. Letendre and Venne concentrated their activities in those regions in the decade after 1885. Their stores at Batoche remained as outlets for general merchandise but on a smaller scale. The commercial area of Batoche was limited to St-Laurent, Fish Creek and Bellevue. By 1890, Duck Lake had become the major business centre for the district.

Agriculture took on two forms during that period: mixed farming and ranching. The majority of settlers cultivated an acreage of 50 acres or more and raised a small herd of cattle. They supplemented their income by seasonal fishing and hunting or by performing labour for firms or individuals in the vicinity. It was subsistence farming at which only the most resolute and hard-working succeeded. Mixed-farming could be carried out fairly successfully on the fertile "St-Laurent Settlement" farms. The arable land was often dotted with swamps and muskeg making large-scale grain farming with crude agricultural implements impractical. On the other hand, numerous small lakes and rich meadows rendered the land suitable for cattle raising. The difficulty was that few could afford to purchase cattle or seed grain and imple-
ments to pursue a profit-earning agriculture. The Homestead and Lands Branch records for the district in the 1890s all narrate the woeful tale of grain liens, tax arrears and little or no money. In even more dire straits, were the settlers mainly on the west side of the river, who had chosen lands unsuitable for agriculture. In the 1870s, little consideration had been given to this feature by freighters and hunters who perceived farming as a secondary and sustaining activity. Cattle raising or ranching was generally the only possible form of agriculture in the area, excluding certain portions of sections 18 and 30.

Some Métis families at Batoche adapted successfully to the new economy and achieved a standard of living comparable to the French-Canadian farmers who settled in the Bellevue and St-Louis area. Examples in the 1890s, were Louis Letendre, (Xavier's brother) on lot 59, Roger Goulet and later Mme. Tourond on lot 69, Jean Caron Sn. on lot 52 and Barthélémi Pilon on lot 54. Further study is needed before a definitive statement can be made, but it would appear that the Métis who adopted the "Canadian" or "White" culture and lifestyle were more successful farmers. The fringe group or poorer Métis were usually the ones who had no land or declined to farm it, preferring to subsist on traditional native occupations. Farming, in the sense of land cultivation, was viewed as an inferior occupation and it was only at the turn of the century that a better understanding of farm economy and management was achieved. For a few Métis who had already experienced and adjusted to an agricultural economy, it was an opportunity to take up a second homestead and reap the profits of commercial and agricultural pursuits. For example Solomon Venne and his sons, Napoléon, William and David, continued to trade extensively but they also took up new land claims. The Vennes had large herds of cattle, cultivated their farms and operated several stores. One of the leading families at
Batoche, its members were active in community affairs and informed of regulations governing land claims and settlement duties. Nevertheless Solomon Venne's difficulties in obtaining patent attest to the myriad of problems the average individual or uninformed settler could encounter. Venne was aware of the urgency of making an entry and applying for patent but somehow he was under the impression that title would be awarded automatically as soon as he had fulfilled residence requirements. The fact that his application of 1887 had not been acknowledged by 1898, did not arouse his suspicion. He had taken a grain lien in 1886 but had paid it the following year. The Department never credited his account and when he cited the land as guarantee for a transaction in 1898, he discovered to his amazement that title had never been granted. 185 He was obliged to engage a lawyer and travel to Prince Albert before the matter was finally settled in his favour.

Xavier Letendre was also among those who understood the implications of change and adapted to the new order. After the events of 1885, he repaired his stores, replenished his stock and resumed his trading activities. He concentrated his efforts at posts at Fort à la Corne and Carrot River and like Venne, decreased his investments at Batoche in favour of more remunerative ventures. Even before 1885, Letendre had realized the potential for cattle raising in the district. In the spring of 1883, he had purchased a claim on sections 33 and 34 (known as river lot three by 1889) in T42-1-W3 at Fish Creek. He planned to raise cattle and hired a farmer to develop the land. The two plots that he had under cultivation on lots 47 and the N1/2 of 48 at Batoche 186 were insufficient as large-scale stockraising could not be carried on within village limits. In 1886 he transferred the Fish Creek claim to his new son-in-law, Charles-Eugène Boucher and in 1891, he moved to a second homestead near Alvena where he set up another ranching enterprise. Between 1891 and 1901,
he cropped 64 acres and had an average of 200 head of cattle and 30 horses. ¹⁸⁷ There were no seed grain liens or mortgages attached to the land when application for patent was made by Marguerite Letendre in 1919. Letendre's relative wealth in the 1890s and his successful ranching enterprise attests to the ability of the better informed and financially secure Métis to adapt successfully to an agricultural economy.

Xavier's eldest brother, Louis, who had moved to lot 59 from St-Louis in 1886 farmed successfully. Louis' sons, Joseph, Jean-Baptiste and Louis Jn. attempted cattle raising on lots 3, 17 and 19 on the west side of the river in the early 1900s. Their stock was never comparable to Xavier's however, and their success was short-lived. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that at the turn of the century ranching was more popular and more successful than grain farming at Batoche.

The rush for land which accompanied immigration to the North West in the 1890s brought with it speculation which altered the character of the settlement. Located a distance from the railway, Batoche did not experience the "boom" of Duck Lake and St-Louis, but witnessed a sporadic rush for unclaimed lands by the sons of original occupants. Many of these unproductive claims were later abandoned or sold in haste but to state simply that the majority of Métis wanted scrip instead of land would be false. In 1886-87, the Halfbreed Commission allotted scrip to those born before 1870. An extremely unfavourable economic situation, bad crops due to droughts and destruction by hail storms, the decrease of freighting contracts and the general deprivation of the community forced many families to accept scrip. Many had also become indebted to merchants at Prince Albert and Duck Lake and had given their claim as surety. The offer of scrip was a source of ready cash to the many who had no money or were heavily in debt. The question of extending scrip
to the children of heads of families who were living in the North West between 1870 and 1885 was reopened in 1889. The testimonies of Fathers Fourmond and Moulin, and the correspondence of Government officials on the matter, testify to the fact that in 1896 the Métis were compelled to choose scrip. Had they chosen land allotments, their destitution would have nonetheless prevented them from paying the $10 entrance fee. It is important to note, however, that few of the Métis who already occupied lots in the "St-Laurent Settlement" took the scrip.

The Commissioners commenced issuing scrip at Fort Qu'Appelle before the Rebellion was quite ended and while the Half breed population was in a considerably disturbed state of mind and anxious for peace. Some of their friends killed, some expatriated, others they knew not where, so they took scrip as it was given, and only afterwards when they had time to consider, concluded they had not received their due and that their birthright was sold for a mess of potage. Most Métis also objected to any attempt on the part of the clergy or Government officials to restrict the issue of scrip or enforce land settlement. Recalling the spoliation of lands in Manitoba in the 1870s, opposed the granting of scrip on the grounds that the Métis did not know the real value of money or understand the future implications of the issue...

Among the halfbreeds themselves and majority of white people there is an almost unanimous opinion that the Government should grant scrip...except for Father Fourmond...I found the missionaries opposed to this proposition...say any sum would be sure to be dissipated in a short time...that the scrip distributed by the Commission in 1885-1887 left the majority of recipients poorer than ever...

In this view, the clergy was supported by the more established and acculturated element among the Métis. There is little doubt that the Métis whether they approved or disapproved of land reserves or settlement schemes, wanted to make their own decisions on the matter. But they could not reach a
consensus or agree on excluding the priests from their deliberations. There was more internal rivalry and suspicion after 1885. The indemnification of "loyalists" by the Rebellion Losses Commission created further divisions. There was a widespread belief among the more militant Liberal group that the Conservative Government had compensated its supporters. Especially resented, was the award to Charles Nolin, whom many considered a leader of the resistance and originally one of the strongest partisans of armed action against the Government. 191 The majority of Métis in the St-Laurent district supported the Liberal candidate in the election of 1887, but the Conservative incumbent, D.H. Macdowall, was re-elected. This political faux pas inevitably put an end to any further consideration for the "unfaithful" claimants.

Les Métis libéraux furent soutenus par deux Canadiens-français venus tout exprès pour rallumer le feu caché sous la cendre...et du même coup perdirent la faveur du parti conservateur... les compensations pour pertes de la rébellion furent presque uniquement accordées à ses partisans. [emphasis mine] 192

The leading Métis in the district in the 1890s were men who had reconciled themselves to the Conservative Party and moderate action. Between 1886 and 1900, several petitions were sent to the North West Assembly and the Federal Government, requesting financial aid and settlement of the land question. The proposals reflected a determination to remedy the economic dislocation and promote the successful adaptation to agriculture. At a meeting at St-Laurent in February 1886, the Métis requested free homesteads and pre-emptions on the basis of native rights. They stressed the need for the allocation of hay reserves and wood lots, an economic necessity as well as a tradition in their farming communities. The question of seed grain advances was of particular importance. The Government had agreed to advance seed grain while taking a lien on the land and requesting delivery of twice the amount.
The Métis implored the Government not to mortgage their farms and assist them by providing cattle and implements on an interest free loan system the value of which they would reimburse when their farms were established. It is unfortunate that the Department of the Interior did not consider these just appeals for assistance. It was also willing to consider free homesteads but not pre-emptions or reserves of hay or fuel. The essence of Government policy reflected in the reply was that the Métis had no special claim as a native people,

...as they have all the privileges of other citizens of the country...[?] it is most desirable that a spirit of self-reliance and independence on their part should be cultivated, so that they may assume whole duties and responsibilities...

Furthermore, they were responsible for their misfortunes and could not expect special privileges. "Their destitution arose largely out of unforeseen outbreaks in which the Half-breeds themselves participated." As a result of the negative reply, many Métis refused to take seed grain advances. Many who did later lost their lands since they could hardly afford to pay the interest on the loans. The Government was usually lenient towards debtors but the interest accumulated, the homestead entry could not be paid, the pre-emption was abandoned and eventually the settler lost his farm...Only a few managed to avoid relief rolls or tax collectors. The sale of a claim or the scrip was a much easier solution.

The land speculator was always waiting, often with a bottle of liquor...Between 1886 and 1896, 67,600 acres were issued as North West Half Breed Land Scrip. Of these, a total of 60,920 acres had been located. As of December 1896, a value of 23,600 acres of scrip had been issued to the allottee but 37,320 to the assignee of the allottee... The spoliation of Métis lands had been achieved. One of the most unfortunate features of the exchange was that the $160 or $240 scrip was often but a fraction of the resale value of the claim. Good farmland could not be purchased for $1 an acre
in the North West in 1896.

In 1888, the Métis presented another petition, reiterating their demands for financial assistance although the main concerns of the petitioners, among whom were Charles Nolin, Father Fourmond, Baptiste Boyer and Philippe Gariépy, were political equality and social justice. Xavier Letendre delivered the address personally to the Prime Minister in Ottawa, appealing for redress to a particular injustice and affront. The recent alteration of the electoral boundaries of the district of Lorne had split the French-speaking vote and resulted in the defeat of their candidate Georges Fisher in 1887.196 Fisher had originally won the election but opponents reported some irregularity which voided the returns from Batoche, bringing forth the nomination of the English-speaking candidate, Hillyard Mitchell.

Concern was also expressed over the economic future of Batoche and the need to create employment in the district. The North West Mounted Police had posted a patrol at the village during the winter of 1885 and quarters were needed for a detachment that was to go into permanent residence by 1888. The Government had promised to erect barracks and the petitioners requested that local Métis be hired for the project. They also appealed for the establishment of a telegraph office at Batoche.

Cette place par sa position centrale, par son importance commerciale et son corps de la police montée devrait en attirer autant de considération que d'autres bourgs voisins beaucoup moins importants.197 The declaration also included a demand for an industrial or trade school where young people would acquire training in farm management.

Petitions on the matter of land grants and scrip for Métis children born in the North West between 1870 and 1885 were again presented in 1895, 1897 and 1900.198 The Métis were politically vocal in the 1890s and although few of their
demands were granted, they were able to pressure their elected representatives to support their grievances. For example, their Member of Parliament, D.H. Macdowall, spoke out against his own Government's handling of scrip in 1890 and in favour of reconsidering losses incurred by the Métis as a result of destruction by the North West Field Force during the insurrection.\textsuperscript{199}

Batoche remained the social and cultural centre for the Métis between 1886 and 1900. Every year on July 24th, the people of the district would gather on \textit{la belle prairie} or the river flat to celebrate their national holiday. A committee was appointed to organize the activities which began with a religious celebration and highlighted sports events, culminating with a giant \textit{feu de camp} and picnic. The festivities promoted a sense of identity and pride among the Métis and the priests and police at Batoche during this period commented on the cultural significance of the gathering. Although rarely marred by disturbances, there was a growing liquor problem in later years. In 1886, the North West Council had approved a motion restricting the sale of liquor to permit holders. There were rumours of illicit sales to and by the Métis although the North West Mounted Police reports for Batoche state that the main problem was with the land agents and outsiders who brought in liquor without a permit. There is no doubt, however, that boot-legging was a profitable trade in the settlement. In 1890, Inspector Huot instructed that no beer was to be sold at the July celebrations and later police reports mention hard liquor was being brought into the settlement under the cover of a beer permit.\textsuperscript{200} The consensus however, was that the Métis were respectful and law-abiding citizens, better than many whites. Economic circumstances had improved and though some well founded grievances remained, the Métis were adapting to the new order. Sergeant Martin described the changes in the Métis communities in the following terms:
In a place, which, but a few years ago, was the theatre of so many disturbances and the talk of the whole Dominion, it is surprising and at the same time most satisfactory to see the laws of the land so respected. This sudden change and decided disposition of such an excitable element as that which composes this District can be safely attributed to the scarcity of intoxicants and partly to the maintenance of a detachment amongst them...I think I can say that quite a perceptible if not great advancement has taken place in the prosperity of inhabitants of this district viz: Batoche, Fish Creek, St-Laurent and St-Louis.201;

The arrival of French-Canadian and French immigrants provided the Métis with some incentive towards agriculture. The missionaries were hopeful that the presence of compatriotes would reinforce the community and convince the Métis of the desirability of land cultivation and stock raising. Reports testify that although Métis farms were generally smaller and poorer, they had increased in number. The general condition of the settlement in the 1890s was one of marked improvement from the acute dislocation of 1885. Nevertheless general poverty, anxiety and a certain apathy distinguished the Métis from their "White" neighbours. The malaise was difficult to explain. It appeared to stem from the difficulties experienced by a marginal group when confronted by the pressures of sudden and traumatic change.
V Batoche Between 1886 and 1900

The Village Periphery
This period was characterized by the resurgence of a business community and regular commercial activity albeit on a much smaller scale than before 1885. The village continued to supply settlements on the east side of the river but major transactions were conducted at Duck Lake and Prince Albert. There were few service industries at Batoche. The grist mill was located at Duck Lake and although a blacksmith shop was erected on Jean Caron's property in 1887, it must have been inadequate as the North West Mounted Police detachment had its horses shod at Duck Lake. The McPhillips Directory for Saskatchewan in 1888, reported three stores, a post office, and a saloon at Batoche. These included the Letendre, Fisher and Venne establishments. Letendre operated a liquor store or parlour and Georges Fisher obtained a licence around 1890. The Vennes were also issued a permit to sell beer since it was unlawful to import hard liquor into the district. The post office was located in the rectory and administered by Father Moulin between 1884-89 and in 1896-97. Between 1889-94 it was located in Georges Fisher's store. Fisher was also Justice of the Peace for the district during that period. In 1895, the Vennes took over the post office which they administered in turn with Father Moulin until 1914. A photograph of "Batoche Avenue" around 1886, confirms the rather desolate and limited activity of the village after the insurrection, (see Fig. 33). The buildings do not appear to have been completely repaired or refurbished.
Fisher's windows are still boarded although he has added a lean-to to the building. Georges Fisher Sn. of Fort Qu'Appelle reported that his son was returning to Batoche in July and intended to keep a store there. The Boyer residence and store was not re-occupied by its owner after 1885. Jean-Baptiste Boyer wintered at Green Lake and then returned to his farm at St-Laurent. Between 1888 and 1895, the buildings were rented to a North West Mounted Police detachment stationed at Batoche. Boyer reportedly spent the winter of 1894-95 at Batoche but he was then operating a store at the ferry crossing at St-Laurent. In a Homestead Declaration in 1893, he declared a store 16' x 16' by the ferry, an ice house, 16' x 16', a shed 12' x 12' and four stables on lot six. His brother William also had some interest in the ferry in the 1890s. He usually made the necessary repairs or rebuilt the scow every summer. The next building or makeshift structure in the photograph had replaced the Garnot house. Its function is not known but it could have been a liquor outlet and stopping-place. Xavier Letendre could have located the outlet next to his store. A new building probably soon replaced the temporary edifice. A sketch of lot 47 in J.L. Reid's survey of "Trail from Qu'Appelle and Prince Albert to Batoche" in 1899 would tend to confirm this view. (see Fig. 38). According to North West Mounted Police reports a new hotel opened in 1892.

Georges Fisher Jn. may have operated a store at Batoche until around 1897. In 1892, he opened a liquor store at Duck Lake but there is evidence that he was still living at Batoche in 1902. He had rebuilt the house behind the store and according to testimonies of Joseph Azure and Eugène Caron in 1963, the building was about 22' x 24' and of side-patch construction. According to Mrs. Thérèse (Lenglet) Moffatt, her father Charles-Auguste Lenglet operated a store at Batoche between 1897 and 1900. The family resided
in a house next to the store, close to the river. She thought that the store was the first building on the left from the ferry crossing. The store sold general provisions and wholesale goods. Her father also bottled liquor. Her testimony would suggest that Lenglet had purchased or rented Georges Fisher's buildings. Fisher was listed as a resident of Batoche during that period but he had opened a hotel at Duck Lake which could have become his chief place of business. Mrs. Moffatt stated emphatically that the father's store was not Batoche's "but the one closer to the river, opposite the Police Barracks." 210

Boyer's buildings were rented to the North West Mounted Police between 1888 and 1895. A patrol was first assigned in the winter of 1885 but a detachment does not appear to have taken up permanent residence at Batoche until 1888. In 1886, a telegraph office linked the Batoche and Duck Lake stations. It was located in the annex of Boyer's former store. 211 Cook and mess tents were erected at the rear of the property in 1887 and in September 1888, a contract was given to Jean Caron Sn. for repairs to the buildings and a new stable. According to a petition presented by Xavier Letendre in 1888, the Government intended to erect new barracks in the spring of 1889. This project was never carried out and in lieu of it the police located in Boyer's buildings. In November 1888, Inspector Cuthbert issued a report on the police barracks at Batoche.

...the stable is being banked up almost to the roof and will be warm and comfortable...quarters are untidy owing to repairs dragging...Sergeant Mountain occupied one of the rooms downstairs while repairs on the small room upstairs were going on...Constable Swinford and the rest of the men being quartered in a large room which was open into the recreation room where the stairs will be...some plastering done...I obtained Mr. Boyer's promise that he would go to Batoche and look after the work and that it would be finished on 1st December...painter from Prince Albert expected on 26th...The new building for
stores is completed...space for storage will not
by sufficient...cellar downstairs for potatoes...

He also listed articles and provisions in the store (see Appendix J).

In 1890, the Sergeant declared that the property consisted of a barrack room, store and stables. The barrack or house however, was described as very cold and dilapidated. By 1892, the situation had become intolerable. "The quarters here are unfit to live in on account of bed bugs...we were compelled to go under canvas..." The house had become too small and Inspector Huot reported that they were forced to rent a small house next to the barracks for a saddle house.

In 1895, the detachment moved into more suitable quarters in Letendre's former residence. "The men are hauling hay from old barracks, sawing wood, digging pits for latrines...removing the telephone line from old to new barracks."

The main duty of the North West Mounted Police at Batoche between 1886 and 1895 was to visit destitute Métis families, particularly the widowed or elderly, and issue relief rations. Other functions included patrolling the district, particularly the reserves, verifying permits for the sale of liquor, and checking on the operation of lumber camps in the vicinity. They also provided employment to the local population. Contracts for oats and hay for the horses and cattle were generally awarded to local inhabitants. David Venne and Gilbert Breland were among the main suppliers of oats and beef during that period and other Métis were often hired as scouts to accompany patrols. The detachment, which consisted of four to six constables until 1898, was reduced to one or two in the final years. The Sergeant reported to the Officer in Charge of "F" Division at Prince Albert. He recorded the daily routine of the detachment but more important, he reported on farming conditions, the incidence of crime and the
socio-economic situation in the settlement. These accounts are useful in documenting the history of the village in the 1890s.

Xavier Letendre re-opened his store at Batoche and other depots after the troubles although trading was not his principal occupation. Evidence suggests that he would have operated the store until ca. 1897-1900. In his journal, Brother Guillet of the Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue mission reported that in 1895, Letendre sold two marble tables worth $100 to Bishop Pascal and Father Paquette and that he visited him at the village, "au magasin de M. Batoche qui vient m'inviter à ses appartements pour y fumer la pipe." It would seem therefore, that the upper floor or a portion of the store had been converted into living quarters and that Letendre made it his pied à terre at Batoche. Brother Guillet did not mention the Letendre store in 1900 and Mrs. Moffatt tentatively recalled that at the turn of the century the owner of the store had an English name. It would seem that before his death in 1901, Letendre rented the store to the Grant Brothers of Duck Lake.

The Letendre house underwent significant structural and decorative changes between 1886 and 1900. Extensive repairs were carried out by Ludger Gareau in the summer and fall of 1885. It would seem that the columned veranda was added along the façade and east side of the main section of the house after the uprising. A cupola and cresting decorated the roof, conveying a more definite style to the building. Bargeboard was fastened to the roof gables. (see Fig. 31 and 32) With its irregular and centre gabled roof, numerous chimneys and ornate porch and veranda, the house was somewhat reminiscent of the 19th century Château or Grande Maison. According to Fig. 31, the windows had no shutters in 1886 but another period photograph (Fig. 32) testifies to the addition of louvered shutters by 1890. The bay dormers on
the façade and sides of the main section of the house were another interesting feature. A small annex, possibly a summer kitchen or storage area, was added to the rear of the building (see Fig. 31). Early residents of the district later recalled that the house was painted white with blue trim.\textsuperscript{218} The rail fence (Fig. 31) along the dwelling was probably erected shortly after the uprising. The residence was at its zenith when a family photograph was taken around 1890. (Fig. 32).

In 1891, Letendre took up a second homestead near Alvena where he set up a ranching enterprise. The following year he erected a house and went into residence on the farm. According to a declaration by his son-in-law, Charles-Eugène Boucher in 1919, Letendre had erected a log and frame dwelling 20' x 25' with kitchen 18' x 20' valued at $2,000 on the SW\textsuperscript{1} of section 16 in T41-28-W2 in 1892.\textsuperscript{219} He also had a frame granary and a stable on his new homestead. It would seem almost certain that the family had left the house in the village to reside on the ranch in 1892. At the time, Xavier Letendre had only a few young children living at home. His oldest living son Jean (John) was sixteen years old and three daughters were in their early teens. It was customary for him to send his sons to college at St-Boniface and his daughters to the convent at St-Louis to be educated. Since he was still operating the store at Batoche in the 1890s, he must have entrusted the day to day management of the farm to Mrs. Letendre or one of his sons-in-law, Charles-Eugène Boucher, Henri Fisher or Bruno Venne. The house may have been occupied by married children or rented out between 1892 and 1895. In December 1895, Xavier Letendre sold the dwelling and the westerly 20 acres of land fronting on the South Saskatchewan river on lot 47 to the Crown for $2,600.\textsuperscript{220} It was to be used as barracks by the Royal North West Mounted Police until around 1906. Difficulties with J.L. Reid's original survey delayed the transfer for one year but the police occupied the house in 1895.
Letendre was paid in 1896 although another error in the resurvey in 1899 resulted in Mrs. Marguerite Letendre having to reconfirm the transfer in 1909. By that time, the police had resided on the property for over ten years. Photographs of the house while it served as barracks (Fig. 39, 40 and 41) reveal some changes to the exterior since 1890. The cupola and most of the shutters have been removed. One of the veranda columns along the façade is also missing. The two outbuildings south east of the house shown in Fig. 27 are still standing although the fencing has collapsed. Unfortunately there is no report on the interior of the barracks or the Letendre house after 1895.

One of the discrepancies in the resurvey of the police reserve in 1899 was the inclusion of the portion of lot 47 on which the stores were located as part of the police reserve. J.L. Reid advised the Surveyor-General that contrary to the agreement,

I find that Fisher's store, Boyer's store, Batoche's store are all on that portion of lot 47 which has been sold to the North West Mounted Police...I would suggest Mr. Letendre be allowed to retain a strip on the west boundary of lot 47 so as to clear the buildings and make up the acreage by extending police property further east.

The exclusion of the stores was confirmed by the Department but the error was suggestive of problems encountered by settlers when obtaining title or disposing of their lands. More important, it revealed the transitional character of the village by the turn of the century. Only two commercial establishments remained and their activities were being challenged. The sale of a parcel of land in the core of the village, infringing upon its boundary and threatening future expansion, largely confirms the decline of the area as a commercial sector.

By the end of the 1890s much of the business activity of the community was located above the village, along the trails between Fish Creek or Gabriel's Crossing and Batoche. In
1886, Jean Caron Sn. agreed to give Archibald Cole one acre of land on lot 52 "lying between Roman Catholic Church and his dwelling," on which to erect a blacksmith shop. By 1888 a log house and shop had been built by Caron on la butte du forgeron. In 1891, while surveying the trail between Fish Creek and MacKenzie's Crossing, J.L. Reid noted Cole's house 18' x 15' and a blacksmith shop of the same size, north of Caron's dwelling. Whether Cole or another blacksmith remained at Batoche for some time is not known. The service must have been limited as the North West Mounted Police reported that they had their horses shod at Duck Lake in the 1890s but they might have had a contract with a larger firm there. They also used to purchase most of their supplies except foodstuffs at Duck Lake or Prince Albert.

Solomon Venne still operated a store about one mile south of the mission in the 1890s. In those years, the post office was also periodically located at his establishment. According to J.L. Reid's notes in 1891, Venne had rebuilt a combined store and dwelling 20' x 15' after the uprising. Experiencing some financial difficulties in the aftermath of 1885, he was forced to take out seed grain liens. But much like Letendre, his extensive trading and ranching interests enabled him to repay his loans and regain a measure of wealth.

Rural or Outlying Settlement (see Map, Appendix B)
Some of the Métis farms in the immediate vicinity of the village, on the west side of the river, were abandoned or sold during this period. Alexandre P. Fisher continued to reside on the NW¼ of section 18 after 1885 and lived in the vicinity of ferry house, along the trail in section 19, until the turn of the century. At his death in 1900, he was reported to be a resident of Duck Lake although he may only have attended church there. A Widow Dumont (?) was also described as living
on section 19 in 1885 but the lands south of Fisher were mostly occupied by 1888. The settlement of lots nine to 16 (sections seven and eight) was held up until 1891 when the issue of the Hudson's Bay Company reserve was finally resolved (see Chapter VI). The remaining lots in the vicinity of the village, to the south, were available for homestead entry, although the land was largely unsuitable for agriculture. In the 1890s, many French immigrants made an unsuccessful attempt to cultivate them. Clément Brun went into residence on lot one in 1898, erecting a log dwelling and stable. It was a poor claim which he abandoned in 1903. Similarly, François Lanovaz erected a house, stable and granary on lot 16. He does not appear to have resided long on his homestead for which he obtained patent in 1919. It was good pasture land but unsuitable for farming. Abraham Montour, one of the earliest Batoche settlers, remained on lot 20 in section 30 until around 1899 while other old time residents such as Isidore Lafontaine and Joseph Parenteau did not abandon their farms. A Frenchman, J. Rousset, settled on lots 21 and 22, Pascal Montour Senior's old claim in 1895. He erected buildings, purchased cattle and cropped 16 acres in 1897-98. Although he obtained patent in 1899, he was compelled to sell the farm in 1910.

In comparison the farms on the east side of the river were all occupied. A number of settlers left the district between 1885 and 1887 but others moved in from adjoining settlements and sons of older residents also took up available homesteads. There was little change in ownership or settlement on the farms north of lot 47. Few obtained title to their lands between 1885 and 1900 but in most cases the original claimants or their descendants remained on the farm. Emmanuel Champagne remained on lot 44 until his death in 1904 although he also took up a second homestead at Bellevue. His son, Cléophas, settled and remained on lot 43 in 1888 although
another son, Ambroise, soon abandoned lot 42 for a better claim east of the village.²²⁹ Alfred Fayant resided on lot 34 between 1892 and 1901 and erected a dwelling 18' x 18' and 18' x 16', two stables and a granary which were destroyed by fire in 1906. In 1901, the land was inherited by his brother John who obtained patent and the family continued to reside on the homestead.²³⁰ Another settler in the vicinity, Calixte Lafontaine, had applied for patent for the 3 ⅓ of lot 33 in 1888. His house had been burnt by the troops in 1885 and the following year he erected a temporary thatch roof log house 13' x 27' which was replaced by a new 18' x 15' dwelling in 1896. He also had a stable, granary, milkhouse and 30 acres fencing on the farm for which he secured patent in 1889.²³¹

South of the village, Jean Caron Jn. took up residence on lot 53 in 1890. He erected a log house 22' x 20' and a kitchen valued at $500, a stable 22' x 22', a granary 16' x 16' and a milkhouse. He also had a well on his property. Caron had cattle, 80 acres fencing and cultivated 18 acres on his farm between 1890 and 1904.²³² He experienced many hardships at the turn of the century and frequent absences delayed his receipt of patent until 1920. His neighbour, Barthélemy Pilon on lot 54, was in more fortunate circumstances. Although his buildings were destroyed in 1885, he soon began to rebuild and restore his farm for which he obtained title in 1887. Pilon was one of the few farmers in the district with no liens on his land in the 1890s.²³³ In 1896, Raphaël Boyer began residing on lot 57 and erected a log house 17' x 18', a stable and shed. He had 25 acres fenced and cropped 15 between 1897 and 1903.²³⁴ The same year, Mme Josephte Tourond of Fish Creek took up a second homestead on lot 58. Her buildings consisted of a log and lumber house, 30' x 30', worth $300, substantial outbuildings, 25 acres fencing and a well. She had 60 head of cattle, 18 horses, and an average of ten pigs on her ranch. The claim was prime
grazing land and Mme Tourond had only 12 acres under cultivation when she obtained patent in 1911. Louis Letendre who settled on lot 59 in 1886 had already secured a homestead at St-Louis. In 1896 he took up Gervais' claim at Batoche and erected a new dwelling 17' x 18'. Although Letendre had only a small stock of cattle and horses, 30 acres of land were under cultivation between 1886 and 1896. Another new resident to the south, on lot 67, was Joseph Pilon Sn. who finally established residence on an early claim in 1888, erecting a dwelling and fulfilling requirements for issue of patent by 1894. Patrice Caron, a son of Jean Caron Sn., took up residence on lot 68 in 1893 although he had constructed a house 16'½" x 17', stables and a storehouse in 1888. In 1897 he reported 25 acres under cultivation and 30 acres fencing on the farm. His neighbour, Isidore Dumas, who lived permanently on lot 69 since 1886, had erected a log, one storey house, 18' x 16' with an annex, two stables and a milkhouse. When he obtained patent in 1888, Dumas had 25 acres under cultivation.

Many new settlers made their way to the southern portion of the settlement, on the east side of the river, between 1885 and 1896. Most were Métis who moved to Batoche from St-Louis, St-Laurent and Fish Creek. They claimed the unoccupied lots and the farms that had been abandoned in the exodus of 1885. Joining friends and relatives who already resided in the settlement, they possibly attempted to consolidate forces to assure the survival of the community. French-speaking settlers from Canada and Europe were also arriving in the area. Considering the circumstances, Batoche had made a remarkable recovery from the dislocation following the uprising. Although attempts at settlement on the west side of the river proved unsuccessful, the area between Fish Creek and the St-Antoine-de-Padoue mission attracted many new settlers. During this period, the farms were more prosperous than those north of the village, closer to St-Laurent. There were less
grain liens and patents were secured more quickly. It is possible that since the new settlers were either young or already established farmers seeking a second homestead, they were more confident and better disposed than their neighbours to the north. The older farms between Batoche and St-Laurent had experienced more destruction from the retiring troops in 1885. Many of its inhabitants, such as Pierre Parenteau Sn., Edouard Dumont and Calixte Lafontaine, had suffered serious hardship and disillusionment as a result of the conflict. Consequently, that section of the settlement took longer to recover whereas the "newer" district, south of the mission, flourished.
As a native people of the North West since the 18th century, the Métis considered they had a natural right to its lands. But as in the Amerindian tradition, emphasis was placed on community rather than individual ownership. Combining this principle with the landholding customs of the French-Canadians, the Métis developed their farms in river lots. Claims were rarely kept for a long time, however, and were often bartered or sold by mutual consent of the parties concerned. Nevertheless, many Métis who had settled in the North West Territories since 1870 were aware, from the experience with Government surveys and land entries in Manitoba, of the necessity of having their claims recognized before the arrival of immigrants. The signing of Treaty Number Six with the Cree at Fort Carlton in 1876 also convinced the local Métis population that they must pressure the Government to recognize their river lots and grant them ownership. In 1878, they began organizing meetings in the district and petitioned to Ottawa for surveys and a Dominion Lands Office in the district. In 1878 and 1879, two English-speaking surveyors, M. Aldous and J.L. Reid, conducted a preliminary survey of the district. They followed the rectangular system along the north shore of the river and on the south shore, except for an approximate twenty mile area along the south shore in townships 43 and 44 identified as river lots 1 to 71 of the "St-Laurent Settlement." They reported little settlement or permanent residence on the east side of the river (south shore) and
proceeded to mark out only the river lots which were in occupation, posting section corners. Since few of the claimants were in residence on their lots at that time, the area which would be extensively settled by 1882 remained unsurveyed. "Une ligne pour servir de base a été tirée pour quelques milles, pas une terre n'a été arpentée, ses limites marquées." 241

The Métis were just beginning to occupy the lots the surveyors had recently staked out. In the area of Batoche's Crossing, only Xavier Letendre seemed to be in permanent residence at the time although a few others had created dwellings. North of Batoche's Crossing, river lots one to 18 at St-Laurent were in relative occupation. André Letendre had resided on lot one since 1873. By 1875, Charles Racette occupied lot five, Gilbert Breland the S3 of lot seven and eight, Jean Dumont, lots nine and ten, and Baptiste Parenteau Sn. claimed lots 16, 17 and 18 since 1872. 242 Some Métis had also settled in township 42, in the vicinity of Gabriel's Crossing by the mid 1870s. Their farms were laid out in river lots although the surveyors proceeded to mark them according to the sectional system in 1879. The area was not part of the "St-Laurent Settlement" or river lot reserve. Some historians have interpreted this settlement by the Métis as an approval of the sectional system but in fact they had actually settled along the river banks before the survey. In 1884, Dominion Lands Agents painstakingly entered the claims of all applicants for homestead entry living outside the "St-Laurent Settlement" in legal subdivisions, incorporating their river lots into the sectional system (see Map, Appendix A). The Métis who occupied lands laid out in sections may have conformed to the legal descriptions, albeit with some bewilderment, but they did not develop their farms along this principle. As soon as they realized that the object of the Government was to apply the sectional system or square survey, they began petitioning and requesting river lots duly laid
out and described as such.

Gabriel Dumont, one of the earliest residents in the district, took out a claim on the SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 20, T42-1-W3 in 1872 and began residing on it in 1873. He erected a house 21' x 17'\(\frac{1}{2}\)", with an adjoining kitchen 14' x 14', a small store with an eight foot deep underground ice house and a stable.\(^{243}\) He also claimed the SE portion of the section. Although his two lots were described according to the sectional system until 1889, they had been developed according to the river lot principle. Between 1878 and 1885, Dumont was one of the strongest advocates for surveys confirming this traditional landholding method.

A difficulty with many of the Métis land claims was that they were not legally registered and subsequent exchanges or sales were also unrecorded. There is evidence of numerous transfers of ownership among the Métis at St-Laurent in the 1870s, at a time when hunting andfreighting were the main sources of livelihood and permanent settlement a necessary evil, but to be postponed as long as possible. To say that the Métis were not aware of the urgency of occupying their claims by the late 1870s would be presumptuous. Inasmuch as economic circumstances permitted they established themselves permanently. Besides, there was no immediate threat of an onslaught of immigrants from Eastern Canada. The only white or "foreign" settlement in the vicinity was Prince Albert and in the tradition of a frontier society, economic interdependence, and more so dependence on the Métis for freighting their goods, precluded any trespassing.

The Métis were also prevented from filing entries for their lands because the Government did not establish a Lands Office at Prince Albert until 1881 although it had been urged to do so previously. Another delay resulted from the length of time it took to establish the boundaries of the One-Arrow Reserve, east of Batoche. The negotiations were involved and the delays in the special survey, which were not
resolved until September 1884, created much anxiety among the settlers on river lots adjacent to the reserve. The Land Agent understandably hesitated to enter a lot whose boundaries were not clearly defined or approved.\(^{244}\)

The Métis according to custom, occupied lots two miles long and ten chains wide. The object was to acquire river frontage, establishing residence on the portion of the lot closest to the river. The farm would usually include an enclosed field for cattle grazing, a cultivated field whose area varied with the conditions of the claim, and a hay lot. In the "St-Laurent Settlement" the Métis usually settled on the westerly 160 acres. When their lots adjoined sectional boundaries or road-allowances, for example along the southern edge of lots 39, 47 and 55, they might erect their dwellings along the line. Local cart routes also traversed these lots and were intersected by the main trails from Winnipeg, Troy (Qu'Appelle) and Montana to Fort Carlton, Prince Albert and points north and west. The settler also usually reserved the neighbouring lot or portion thereof for a hay field and wood lot. This custom, plus the irregularity of the claim, usually over 160 acres in area, confused the Land Agents. They were usually more apt to be co-operative with settlers on the west bank, whose lots had been entered according to the rectangular system. Complications arose there also, since the Métis who had settled in the 1870s had not developed their farms accordingly. A strict application of the rectangular survey of 1879 would have broken up their farms. In an attempt to resolve the problem and conform to the wishes of the Métis, the Land Agent agreed to enter their lots in parcels or legal subdivisions. This system tended to confuse the Land Agent himself and was certainly not well understood by the French or Cree-speaking and largely illiterate population. The Métis were assured that any disputes and irregularities would be investigated and custom would be respected.
But the fact that few proceeded to apply for patent before 1885, suggests that they did not approve of this system and wanted a resurvey. In the spring of 1884, Mr. Duck, Dominion Lands Agent at Prince Albert, accompanied by Father André as interpreter, visited the district and took about one hundred declarations. Many refused to comply until a resurvey was carried out or agreed reluctantly at the urging of the priest. The fact that "acculturated" Métis such as Charles Nolin, Louis Schmidt, and Louis Marion duly entered their claims was not an indication of approval by the population as a whole. The Government finally promised a resurvey in the near future although past experience made the population suspicious of such pledges.

Les gens ont peur de tout perdre...que des lignes droites et parallèles inflexibles traversent les champs, passent dans leurs maisons...ne voulaient pas inscrire leur terres avant qu'elles soient réarpentées. Le gouvernement en attendant de réarpenter voulait qu'ils fassent entrer leurs terres en sections. Les Métis étaient méfiants seulement quelques-uns firent entrer leur lots...

The tragedy of the situation in 1884 was that although the Government was seriously making provisions to settle the claims according to the wishes of the Métis, the latter had become too bitter to be reconciled.

They are all incensed and as dissatisfied as they can possibly be....how many petitions and complaints were not sent to the Government by the Métis without any notice being taken of them, how many times did I not address myself to Your Honour....without obtaining anything but courteous words....

In June 1884, the Métis of the "St-Laurent Settlement," through the intermediary of Bishop Grandin, reiterated their grievances. In a last attempt at conciliation, they stressed the deficiencies of adapting the river lot system to the sectional system without a resurvey. They wanted provisions for wood lots and resented the allotment of a large tract of land to the Hudson's Bay Company in the N\textfrac{3}{4} of sections seven and eight, which was already occupied by them.
The sale of their lands to strangers, before the settlement of land claims, was a grim reality. In 1883, the whole of section 19 at Batoche was sold to a W.J. Johnston of Prince Albert, in collusion with an Ontario Real Estate firm. Abraham Montour who resided on the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) since 1873, was unaware of the transaction. The Government reportedly sold his land in error, but unwilling to arouse the suspicions of the already restive population, "secretly" compensated Montour by offering him a special grant in an adjoining section. When Montour finally understood what had transpired and informed the community, feelings were further incensed. Reinforcing the fear of dispossession by les Anglais was the fact that outsiders were speculating in the district, often scorning their claims. Batoche witnessed an extensive commercial growth in 1883-84. To many watchful developers, it was a city in the making and represented a profitable investment for the future.

Les Anglais ont commencé à acheter les terres de nos Métis...L'automne dernier, M. Scarth a acheté 150,000 arpents...Un Anglais de Haut-Canada [sic] a voulu offrir un gros prix pour la terre alternante à la mission...Ne pouvant obtenir ce qu'il désirait il a dit qu'il allait dès cet été acheter 25,000 arpents au bout de nos terres.

The impression was thus created among the Métis, that the Government believed they had no advance claims to these lands. They were simply squatters whose lots could be sold if they did not conform to Government policy. The Métis were not consulted in the framing of this policy and were resentful, as a native people, of being treated with less consideration than the Amerindians. Added to this was the often de-risory behaviour of the Land Agent in face of their inability to conduct their business in English.

Ici à Prince Albert nous avons depuis trois ou quatre ans un agent des terres qui ne parle que l'anglais. Il demande aux gens de se presser de faire entrer leurs terres; on vient 30 à 50 milles de distance...on n'est pas compris...l'agent est
In May 1884, Mr. Duck had assured the residents making their declarations that entry would be granted, according to legal subdivisions and river lots if in the "special survey." He added that he might [emphasis mine] be up during the summer and by a rough track survey would try to adjust overlapping claims... For some inexplicable reason, the evidence gathered by Mr. Duck was not acted upon in Winnipeg until the fall and the settlers were only advised that they could make entry between 27 February and 6 March 1885. Apparently Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, although previously advised by the Minister of the Interior, that the Government had decided to investigate and settle Métis claims, withheld the communication until the spring. He claimed that the Métis would then be occupied with their freighting and trading activities and less likely to excite the Indians to protest whereas idle winters nurtured discontent. He grossly miscalculated although it was probably already too late for a conciliatory gesture.

Added to the absence of a settlement of land claims, was the difficult economic situation. The winter of 1884-85 was exceptionally harsh and meetings at various residences determined upon resolute action.

Cette année est une mauvaise année pour nos Métis. Il n'y a pas d'argent dans le pays; il faut nécessairement qu'ils se trouvent dans le besoin pour être contraint de charrier [sic] des marchandises à raison de 15 à 20 francs par 100 livres, une distance de 300 kilomètres...

The uprising of 1885 did not resolve the issue of land surveys and entries although it did promote a change in Government policy. Settlement in the vicinity of Batoche was marred by further administrative bungling and the inability of many settlers to cope with it. Initially the Government demonstrated much good will by granting a resurvey into river lots. In 1888-89 farms along the South Saskatchewan River...
in townships 42, 43, 44 and 45 were retraced according to the customs of the Métis. It was not necessary however, to resurvey the "St-Laurent Settlement" which had originally been laid out in river lots. The decision helped to reconcile the people and facilitated the entry of farms which had been settled according to the river lot system but described in legal subdivisions. In 1889, Surveyor C.F. Leclerc reported to the Minister of the Interior:

J'ai l'honneur de vous soumettre...rapport pour la sub-division en lots riverains tel que demandé par les Métis de la Saskatchewan auquel vous avez bien voulu acquiescer à leur requête...je vous remercie de leur part de leur avoir accordé cet arpentage qu'ils souhaitaient...témoinent leur reconnaissance envers nos gouvernements...J'ai trouvé toute la population Métisse bien disposée à quelques exceptions rares...quoique le malaise règne encore dans quelques familles...j'ai clos l'ouvrage sur le terrain après avoir pris connaissance de toutes plaintes...254

The surveyor was French-speaking and had secured local labour to assist him in the reposting. Combined with a general desire among Métis to settle their claims and forget the events of 1885, the setting was ideal for a successful conclusion. But unfortunately the resurvey and reposting were conducted in the winter. Mounds were not erected and the wooden posts were carried away by the spring waters. As a result some boundaries disappeared. When the Métis requested a further resurvey they were not well received. The reply stated that a reposting had been granted as a special favour and it was up to the settler to maintain evidence of boundaries. Some reposting was later done by J.L. Reid in 1891 when he surveyed the trail from Fish Creek to McKenzie's Crossing. The survey lines and boundary marks in the settlement were a continuous scource of difficulties. The original survey of 1878-79 was incorrect and many errors were perpetuated in the succeeding surveys. It was only in the 1908 survey that the inaccurate shore line was redrawn and iron
posts were used to mark boundaries.

Other difficulties in the 1880s and 1890s precluded the receipt of patent by many settlers. Most Métis in the Batoche district were forced to take out grain liens, thus mortgaging their farms. A patent could be issued with a certificate of indebtedness but it seems that most hoped they would be able to repay their loans. In 1888, the Métis petitioned the Government to alter the conditions attached to seed grain advances. The chairman of the meeting was Jean Caron Sn. who had dutifully applied for patent but failed to receive it because of seed grain liens. Their request was not granted. The Government continued to demand the return of double the amount of grain issued and the farms were mortgaged. Interest was also charged on the unpaid balance. Most were unable to repay the advances. Reports of the North West Mounted Police attest to the poor quality of the seed grain and the difficulty of obtaining it which resulted in small yields between 1889 and 1891. There was little to be gained either way. Farms were mortgaged and the crop yield was insufficient to remove the lien. The only alternative was to hire out as labourers, freighters or supplement a meagre income by gathering cordwood and seneca root. Caron who was a carpenter did not have to depend totally on farming for a livelihood. Those who did were only subsisting in the 1890s.

Another problem confronted the St-Laurent Settlement farmer who applied for patent. Most of the river lots were in excess of the 160 acres homestead grant. The Métis usually settled on the westerly portion closer to the river. According to Homestead regulations a settler had to pay for the excess parcel on his lot. If he had settled before 1880, the fee was $1 per acre, if before 1889, $2. Government policy in the 1890s and early 1900s was to pressure the claimant
to buy the excess acreage since the parcel was generally too small to be sold separately. Perusal of the Homestead and Lands Branch files for these years indicates that most farmers did not want to break up their lots and wished to purchase the parcel. Many committed themselves to the purchase but were unable to pay. Interest was charged and patent was withheld until the amount was paid. It was only after evidence of extreme indigence or when the claimant was a long-time resident on the lot, that the Department agreed to issue patent for the 160 acre portion. Conditions such as these prevented most Métis settlers from obtaining early title to their lands and in many cases families who had homesteaded in the 1880s only obtained title in the 1920s. Jean Caron Senior's case was a good example. He had outstanding grain advances and was further advised upon making application for patent in 1888 that he would have to purchase the excess of 23 acres at $3 per acre. Caron refused to pay that amount since he had settled on his claim in 1881. According to the regulations he should have paid $2 per acre. He was not aware or informed of these particulars. Finally in 1903 when it became evident he could not or would not pay and because of his status as an original settler, he was issued patent for the westerly 160 acres. By that time he was seventy years old. Solomon Venne's difficulties in obtaining title have already been discussed in Chapter IV. They were due to bureaucratic errors rather than financial problems. Both cases however, are representative of the kinds of misunderstandings and impediments attached to securing a land title. Xavier Letendre was the only Batoche resident who was able to purchase excess acreages and pre-eminences in order to obtain patent for his 686 acre claim in 1888. Even a long-time resident like Emmanuel Champagne did not readily obtain patent. His wife was only issued a title to the northerly 160 acres in 1897. Similarly, Jean-Baptiste Boyer encountered many
problems with his land. He was steadfast in his conviction that the N1/2 of lot seven as well as lot six in the "St-Laurent Settlement" formed part of his original homestead. But he was allowed only 160 acres as a homestead and advised he would have to pay $1 per acre for the excess 120 acres. Boyer who resided on lot six and farmed on lot seven since 1878, had fulfilled necessary residence requirements and improvements. Unfortunately, he died in 1895, without having purchased the pre-emption and secured patent. In 1917, the Homestead Inspector reported: "Mrs. Elisabeth Boyer is very poor...will take patent for lot six (160 acres)...abandons her pre-emption...if forced off her land, will cause hard feelings." In 1921, patent was belatedly issued for 160 acres.

If unproductive soil did not force a settler off the land on the west side of the river, other difficulties did. Long-lasting disputes on sections 18 and 19 continued to plague settlement in that area well into the 1900s. The case of Abraham Montour on section 19 was more or less resolved in 1888, but Alexandre P. Fisher who lived on the NW1/4 of section 18 encountered numerous setbacks. Between 1888 and 1890, Fisher purchased Parisien's claim to portions of sections seven and eight, to set up a cattle ranch. The land had been patented to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1884 although neither Parisien nor Fisher were informed. In 1891, the Federal Government negotiated an exchange by which the Company relinquished claim to lots 14, 15, and 16 in exchange for lots nine to 13 (see Map, Appendix B). Fisher was awarded portions of lots 14, 15, and 16 in compensation but he never bothered to apply for entry. He had obtained title to the NW1/4 of section 18 in 1888 but whether he was too disillusioned to proceed with the development of the other claim is unclear. He was probably justifiably suspicious of the validity of the last settlement. Fisher remained on his homestead until his death in 1900. A case like his, clear evidence of
Government mismanagement and disregard of Métis claims, was but one of many that occurred in the district.

Conditions somewhat improved at the turn of the century. Political and social forces interplayed in the events which brought about new land entries. In a belated attempt to resolve the Métis' long standing demands for lands and scrip, the Liberal Government reconvened the Half-Breed Claims Commission in 1899 and sons of the original Batoche settlers were given the opportunity to obtain lands. Unfortunately many had already become disillusioned with subsistence farming while extreme poverty had forced others to leave the settlement. The claims in the Saskatchewan district in 1899-1900 were not settled more satisfactorily than in 1886 (see Chapter IV). The Government, acting with expediency to obtain the Métis vote, was unwilling to risk opposition by imposing restriction on the allocation and assignment of scrip. Meetings in the St-Louis and Batoche districts in the 1890s had confirmed Métis opposition to the setting up of a reserve system or limiting the issue of scrip. Furthermore very little effort was made by the Government to adapt the native population to the new economic and social situation. The moral commitment to the issue of scrip was overshadowed by a policy of containing the native population. The short term goal was to satisfy immediate demands without solving the long term problem of abandonment and spoliation of lands.

Numerous new entries disavow the oft repeated statement that the Métis were unwilling farmers or indifferent to land ownership. Those who opted for land in lieu of money scrip in 1900 were proportionately few in number but attest to the desire of making a final attempt at agricultural settlement. As discussed previously, most of the new residents on the west side of the river soon abandoned their lands but this was due to geographic conditions and economic restraint. On the other hand resettlement on the east side of
the river between 1900 and 1925 was largely successful.

In the 1930s, however, the Depression discouraged many farmers in the district, both Métis and white. Since the former were generally in more unfortunate circumstances, they were soon forced to abandon their farms. The poverty of many Métis families during that period made it impossible for most to pay their taxes. They were powerless to act in the event of repossession by the Crown or the municipality. In some cases, the abandoned lands were later re-entered by a son or grandson. For example, Moïse Ouellette Sr. and Jr. originally claimed lots 10 to 14 at St-Laurent. Ouellette Sn. was issued patent for the northerly 160 acres of lot 13 in 1912 but his claim to lots 11, 14 and part of 13 was cancelled in 1924 because of his inability to pay. In 1935, however, his grandson Joseph Ouellette obtained patent to lot 14 and in 1937, to lot 15, his uncle Elie Dumont's claim. Similarly, Jean-Baptiste Ouellette purchased the unpatented portion of lot 13 in 1935, securing ownership of his father's original claim. This determination to recover and uphold the family homestead is but an example of the many Métis who tried to keep their lands in the 1930s. In spite of the Government pressure to pay up or surrender their claims most Métis families only abandoned their lands when forced to do so because of desperate circumstances.

Ouellette (Jean-Baptiste) does not seem to realize that it is possible he will lose any interest he might at present have in this land if he does not take some active steps...by taking advantage of the Government's offer to sell lots 11, 14 and excess 13 to estate of Moïse Ouellette for $1, p.a. Branion and Co. have been trying to get the Executors to complete the deal and have had no more success than we have. The trouble is that Ouellette is an ignorant French Half-breed...quite old...thriftless...the sum too large for him to tackle...the kind of man who would let the matter go without doing anything until his hand is forced...we believe if he were turned off his land, he would be homeless. [emphasis mine] 263
Other than revealing his prejudices against "Half-Breeds," the Land Inspector's Report confirmed the extreme indigence of the family and its resolution not to abandon the lands it had occupied since 1872. Many unrecorded experiences were even more tragic. The Dumont, Ouellette and Boyer families of St-Laurent expressed their grievances and defended their position. Government policy and regulations largely precluded their success. On the other hand, many families simply abandoned their lands or were forced to abide by regulations when the settlement of outstanding land claims were carried through in the 1920s and 1930s.
VII Village and Settlement since 1900 (see Map, Appendix C)

Setting
The early 1900s witnessed the arrival of a substantial number of French-speaking immigrants from France, Belgium and Québec who settled on unclaimed or abandoned farms in the vicinity of Batoche. The French settled primarily in the Duck Lake area but some took up farms on the west side of the village between 1895 and 1914. A French-Canadian settlement nine miles north east of Batoche became the parish of Bellevue in 1903. Batoche remained predominantly Métis and according to testimonies of the missionaries and the North West Mounted Police officers, the arrival of compatriotes stimulated the adoption of agriculture. The population remained relatively stable until 1920. The Métis had no money and were indebted to the Government but they attempted to make a living off their lands. Many sons of the original inhabitants also took up homesteads in the vicinity. The focal point of the community during those years was the parish. It continued to minister an average of 450 people until the 1940s. A new school was erected south of the church on lot 51 in 1917 and the church and rectory were the centers of religious and administrative activity. In comparison, the settlement witnessed many changes after the turn of the century. Many immigrants who took up lands on the west side of the river shortly abandoned their unproductive farms of consolidated them into pasture lands. The Métis who tried to cultivate crops in the same area also became disillusioned. On the east side of the settlement, where farm lands were more
fertile, there was much poverty, especially in the 1930s. The district became a speculator's market — lots were sold to absentee owners and many farms in the immediate vicinity of the village site were abandoned, leased or squatted upon in the 1920s and 1930s. Grain liens and tax arrears often resulted in the land reverting to the municipality. In an attempt to ward off speculation and "foreign" immigration, the clergy purchased some of the lands, reserving them for French-speaking settlers. The plan was not entirely successful but there was a tendency among more prosperous farmers at Bellevue to purchase the available lots at Batoche. By the 1950s, however, the character of the population had been altered. The settlement had become a fringe or "backwoods" area with a scattered population.

The character and position of the village also changed after 1900. The business sector on lot 47 was gradually abandoned as new stores opened along the trail between Gabriel's Crossing and Batoche, in the vicinity of lots 55 and 57. In 1921, the ferry crossing was moved north, along lots 41, 42, and 43. A store was opened, somewhat reviving the economy of the old village. In the 1920s, Batoche was still the centre of business for the surrounding communities of Bellevue, St-Laurent and Fish Creek. The proximity to Duck Lake maintained a certain flow of traffic through Batoche. In 1909, the Canadian National Railway began servicing the communities on the east side of the river. Branch lines ran through Alvena, Domrêmy and St-Louis to Prince Albert, about fifteen miles from Batoche. Nevertheless the changing character of the population, the increased abandonment of farms by the Mètis and the consolidation of lots by real estate agents, transformed the area into a rural community. By 1930, the original village site had been converted into farm-land. In 1935, a traveller wishing to recall the setting of
the insurrection of 1885 commented, "today Batoche is little more than a name; only one or two houses survive on its site, these and a couple of crumbling cellars."\textsuperscript{264}

Decline of the Village between 1900 and 1925
Batoche Village, as it had been built and developed by Xavier Letendre, Jean-Baptiste Boyer, Emmanuel Champagne and Georges Fisher declined with the passing of its founders. When Letendre died in 1901, his store was the only commercial establishment in the village. Fisher's store would have closed around the turn of the century, although the buildings might have remained on the lot until around 1915.\textsuperscript{265} To the south of the former village, were the Mounted Police barracks, infusing a certain vitality and durability to the site until their abandonment in 1906. Photographs of Letendre's former house and buildings (Fig. 39, 40 and 41), taken after the house was abandoned and before its demise, between 1906 and 1917, reveal the dilapidated or unkept condition of the property. The house had reportedly been re-shingled and repaired in 1904\textsuperscript{266} and the roof appears to be in good condition in Fig. 40 and 41. But the shutters are almost all gone, window panes are missing and the veranda is beginning to crumble. The paint has weathered away and the annex at the rear of the house in Fig. 40 is largely deteriorated, the exterior plaster having all gone. The roof is one of the buildings (stable?) is caved in, only two posts of the fencing remain and the lawn and shrubs are overgrown. The departure of the Mounted Police resulted in the abandonment and sale of the house. Mr. Kowalczyk, a farmer from Fish Creek, purchased the building in 1917 and demolished it, using the lumber to erect a house and barn on his property.\textsuperscript{267} The removal of the already deteriorating structure was probably inevitable although in retrospect unfortunate for posterity. The decline of the village
and the increasing poverty of its inhabitants would have made maintenance of a dwelling of that size impractical.

In 1908, the base line along the river at the village, reportedly marked in error in 1879, was redrawn by the Surveys Department. McMillan's notes during the reposting of lot 47 did not record any cultivation. The terrain was described as "prairie interspersed with poplar and willow." There was no mention of buildings. A photograph of the village taken from the west side around 1910 (Fig. 42) reveals few buildings, perhaps only Letendre's store (Grant Bros.) along the ferry road. There may have been structures along the river close to the edge of the bank on lot 47. It is most probable that outbuildings were erected on the North West Mounted Police reserve between 1895 and 1906. Another photograph of the same area and the ferry in 1912 (Fig. 43) is difficult to identify, but a close-up view would suggest building(s) between the road and Batoche's former house.

Whatever the number of buildings, the village had virtually disappeared by that time. Mrs. Justine (Branconnier) Caron Nogier and Mrs. Marguerite (Branconnier) Campbell both affirmed that by 1915-17, the village was all gone except for a few buildings such as the store and perhaps one or two houses along the southern boundary of lot 47 or S 1/2 of lot 48.269 Mrs. Nogier claimed that she lived by the river, to the east of Letendre-Batoche's property around 1940. Her recollections are vague and can only be partly verified by the Homestead and Land Titles records. Pierre Caron, Mrs. Nogier's first husband claimed lot 63 and resided on the farm between 1902 and 1916. He also had liens against lots 52 and 53 but by 1921 he reportedly had no land.270 If Pierre and Justine Caron lived on lot 47 or S 1/2 of 48 in the 1920s or 1930s, they were squatting. The Caron brothers were farming on the N 1/2 of lot 48 during those years but Gustave Parenteau and Joseph Branconnier were the registered owners of lot 47.271 The two lots had reverted to the municipality of St-Louis in 1927 and
except for the 20 acre North West Mounted Police reserve, often changed owner or occupant. Evidence supporting Mrs. Justine Nogier's claim is Clovis Nogier's ownership of lots 45 and 46 since 1932 and of the former police reserve of lot 47 in 1948. She married Nogier in 1943 and resided in that former village area until their retirement in 1950. A photograph of the foundations of the Letendre house in 1948 (Fig. 44), shows a building and cultivated field to the east which may have been Mrs. Nogier's dwelling.

One of the last residents of the village was Charles Thomas, who lived on the S$\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 48 between 1881 and 1921. When he applied for entry for the N$\frac{1}{4}$ of 49 and the S$\frac{1}{2}$ of 48 (a total of 160 acres) in 1908, he declared a log, one storey dwelling, 18' x 16' and a stable on the S$\frac{1}{2}$ of 48. Thomas was quite destitute after 1885. He had only a few cattle and although he reported 15 acres under cultivation since 1887, there were no crops. He also freighted for his brother-in-law, Xavier Letendre, and would have retired on his farm at the turn of the century. In the 1920s no improvements were reported and after his death the farm was claimed for taxes by the Municipality of St-Louis. In the succeeding years, the Municipality rented it to the Carons and other local farmers.

In 1903, Marguerite Letendre, widow of Xavier, sold her lands at Batoche. Lot 47 (except the N.W.M.P. reserve) and the N$\frac{1}{4}$ of lot 48 were administered by real estate agents between 1909 and 1927. C.E. Pears, the registered owner until 1921 did not live on the land. The Grant Brothers from Duck Lake, who were operating the former Letendre store between ca. 1903 and 1915, owned adjacent lots, but not lot 47. Pears reported that there was no cultivation on lot 47 and on the N$\frac{1}{4}$ of 48 before 1908 and none in 1921, although it seems local residents were farming in the vicinity. Théophile Caron erroneously took out a seed grain lien against lots 48 and 49 in 1915-17 which suggests that he might have been
cultivating the lands. Caron had purchased lot 42 in 1910 but was unable to complete the payments. The land was repossessed by its owner and reverted to the municipality in 1922. The 20 acre parcel of lot 47 which had been purchased by the North West Mounted Police from Letendre in 1895 and abandoned around 1910, was sold to Joseph Branconnier in 1922.\textsuperscript{275} Lots 45 and 46 were purchased by Donald H. and William M. Grant in 1903. They retained ownership until 1911. A brother, George A. Grant, purchased lot 42 in 1904 and occupied it until 1910. The Grant Brothers were also the owners of the NW\textsuperscript{\frac{1}{4}} of section 18, Alexandre P. Fisher's homestead, between 1903 and 1908.

The activities of the Grants at Batoche are difficult to document. They are referred to as merchants although George was a railroad conductor. They possibly gambled on a number of ventures by purchasing lands in the immediate vicinity of the village on both sides of the river and operating a store on lot 47. The Grants were greatly respected by the local inhabitants. In 1908, George paid the excess acreage owing by Mrs. Pierre Parenteau Sn. on lot 41 and kept up the taxes to assist the destitute family.\textsuperscript{276} It seems that the Grant Brothers had been business associates and friends of Xavier Letendre and his family and it is also probable that they were renting the store from him before 1900.\textsuperscript{277} They experienced many financial difficulties at Batoche. Land titles were obtained but mortgages paralyzed their activities until Rosthern Realty took possession of the lands in 1901. Nevertheless, they may have operated the store until 1915, when Joseph Branconnier took over. Lots 45 and 46 were parcelled into two sections of 100 and 289 acres between 1911 and 1932. Branconnier purchased the 100 acre parcel which remained in the family until 1931 but the larger section had a succession of absentee owners until 1929.\textsuperscript{278} There was extensive speculation on the lands which were repeatedly sold for taxes, redeemed, rented out to local far-
mers and finally permanently settled and farmed by Clovis Nogier in the early 1930s.

The "village" portion of lot 47 was owned by at least four different non-resident merchants between 1909 and 1927. The value of the land was stable at $6000 until 1921 when a series of mortgages, liens and caveats were registered against it. It was sold for taxes in 1921 and again in 1927, the new owner paying $1000 for the lot in 1929. It then became farmland until 1941 when Gustave Parenteau was forced to sell because of tax arrears. It was probably cultivated by its two owners between 1941 and 1947. Wilfrid Nogier, the last owner until 1970, also resided and farmed on the land.

Branconnier, the storekeeper, owned the westerly 20 acres of lot 47 but not the "village" portion. A correction survey of the police reserve in 1908 clearly stated that the area of the "stores" was not part of the reserve. This was confirmed in the resurvey in 1916 when the store was clearly sketched outside the reserve. Nevertheless Branconnier was reportedly the owner of the store on lot 47 as of 1915. One explanation is that the store and immediate property had been sold separately or that "Batoche Avenue" had previously been sub-divided into smaller lots. Letendre had sold a parcel to Boyer in 1883 and probably did the same for Fisher and other merchants on his land. There are no village records to confirm this but it is reasonable to assume that the store was rented from the patented owner of lot 47 or had been purchased as a separate property and parcel of the lot.

Joseph Branconnier had originally located at Fish Creek. In 1906 he took possession of lot 33 in T42-1-W3 for which he obtained patent in 1909. In 1914 he was operating a store in the village and the following year would have moved to Batoche. According to the Land Titles Records, Branconnier acquired 100 acres of lots 45 and 46 in 1915. In 1919, he was living on the claim and requested permission to purchase the
unpatented 39 acres of lot 44. He reported that he was farming on the adjacent lots and wanted the parcel for pasture. According to Mrs. Marguerite (Branconnier) Campbell, her father also bought Grant's store and the family established residence in the second storey. The store sold general merchandise and was the only building in the village after the dismantling of the Royal North West Mounted Police residence and barracks in 1917. A photograph of the Batoche store after 1900 (Fig. 45) shows the alterations to the building since 1885 (see Fig. 29). An enclosed porch has been added to the façade and a lean-to or annex along the west wall. There is also a small shed along the east wall. The building has two chimneys as compared to one in 1886 (Fig. 33). The combined store and dwelling is unpainted and appears to be fenced. At least one other building is distinguishable below the hill, to the rear of the store. It is a gabled roof structure which could very well be the ice house whose foundation still remains. An evaluation of the records and evidence of residents who recall an ice-house at the rear of the store would suggest that it was a post 1900 structure. In 1922 or 1923, the store burned. Branconnier advised the Department of his misfortune on December 5, 1923: "I lost my home by fire...have to rebuild...a poor widower (wife died in 1919) with six children." Branconnier became disillusioned after all his losses and although he did not dispose of the 100 acre portion of lots 45 and 46 until 1931, he established residence at Duck Lake. The family retained ownership of the westerly 20 acres (former North West Mounted Police reserve) of lot 47 until 1948. The disappearance of Letendre's old store was the twilight of an era. The last memento of the village had vanished.

A survey of the "St-Laurent Settlement" in 1916, more particularly an outline of the fencing and the extent of cultivation between lots 40 and 47, confirmed the disposition of the Branconnier property. A portion of lots 45 and 46 and
a small strip along the north west boundary of lot 47 (store area) were enclosed in a wire fence. In 1921, the ferry crossing was moved north to lot 43, confirming the shift in the orientation of the village. On the west side of the river, in the vicinity of the original crossing, the change was even more dramatic. The NW ¼ of section 18 became the object of frenzied speculation between 1908 and 1914. The sale value of $400 in 1903 shot up to $2000 in 1914. As dramatically, by 1928 it was down to $500 with few prospective buyers. A Duck Lake farmer purchased the lot for pasture in 1928.

Mrs. Campbell also recalled that in 1910, Solomon Venne still operated a store on lot 55 along the trail, south east of the village. Venne died in 1922 at the age of 93, and his son Napoléon took over the farm and store. A photograph of "Venne's Houses" ca. 1915 (Fig. 46) shows the disposition of the store and another dwelling on lot 55. The Vennes had been relatively prosperous and one of the leading families in the community since 1885. By 1916, they were experiencing financial difficulties. The land was sold for taxes and although redeemed the following year, problems continued to plague the owners. Around 1925, the store burnt and in 1927 the property was mortgaged. It was finally sold for taxes in 1933 and title reverted to the Municipality of St-Louis. In 1940, lot 55 was purchased by Ferdinand Paulhus who operated a store on the opposite or west side of the road until 1925.

There were other storekeepers in the vicinity around 1915. Mrs. Campbell recalled Raphaël Boyer's small store and post office as having been close to Venne's (lot 57). Boyer's store along the trail between Fish Creek and Batoche is not to be confused with that of his uncle Jean-Baptiste's on lot 47 (village) in 1885. Raphaël Boyer took up residence on lot 57 in 1896. In 1911 he reported a 30' x 30' log dwelling, a
stable, a granary, a well and 25 acres under cultivation. Within the next few years, he had erected a store on his property. The store was a "successor" to Venne's in the sense that it was in operation until about 1930. Mr. Paulhus and his wife Alice, a daughter of Raphaël Boyer, also mentioned a store operated by Guillemette, close to Boyer's during the same period. There is no record of land ownership under this name. A Pierre Guillemette had an interest on lot 56 in 1901 but the land was claimed by Joseph Ladéroute who obtained entry in 1906. Guillemette possibly rented or purchased a portion of the Ladéroute homestead for his business. North of the village site, Armand Nogier operated a store along the ferry trail on lot 43 in the 1950s. Currently, the only store and post office at Batoche is located on the Chénier property on lot 62.

Commercial activity at Batoche was limited after 1925. Residents had access to Bellevue, Duck Lake and Rosthern for supplies. A scattered and rural population at the proximity of larger centres precluded the success of new business establishments. One general store was sufficient to service the One-Arrow Reserve and the small local market.

Exodus from the Settlement
The decades after 1900 witnessed both a surge of settlement at Batoche, especially on the west side of the river and the abandonment of many homesteads by the Métis. French immigrants were largely responsible for the settlement of unclaimed lots on the west side of the river. In the vicinity of Fish Creek, south of Batoche, Polish and Galician (Ukrainian) immigrants were claiming abandoned farms.

...The area around Alvena and Fish Creek...less than one-half under cultivation. At one time the district was fairly well settled with French Half-Breeds but nearly all of them left the country after the Rebellion. A good many of the farms which were worked [by the Métis] years ago have been abandoned. Whereas the original inhabitants had pursued mixed farming or
stockraising, the new settlers cultivated and planted large sections of land. The immigrants who settled on lots 1 to 19 on the west side of the river at Batoche soon realized however, that grazing was the only viable occupation on the swampy bush covered land. An analysis of the land claims in that area between ca. 1900 and 1950 reveals few successful ventures. Any attempt to live off crops was disastrous. Since few Métis could afford large herds of cattle or had the necessary farm implements, most were unsuccessful and left the district. Many of the French immigrants were also forced to abandon their claims or consolidate various holdings into pasture lands. The latter measure met with some success in the 1940s.

River lot two was twice abandoned before Alexandre Paren- teau established residence on the claim in 1912. He erected a house 16' x 16, and 12' x 12', a stable, granary and well to the value of $1150. He had a small herd of cattle and horses which enabled him to earn a living since only 50 acres of his 124 acre homestead were suitable for cultivation. His neighbour, Jean-Baptiste Letendre, also had buildings and a small stock of cattle on lot three between 1904 and 1910. There was a measure of success in their endeavours but it seems they left the district after a few years. The Homestead files for lots four and five also report a short term settlement by the sons of the original Métis settlers. In the first two decades of the 20th century, small-scale mixed farming provided a means of subsistence. As the drought and misery ridden thirties rolled around however, many had no cattle and could not survive on a "garden" patch of land. Norman Filder's claim on lot six was typical of the difficulties encountered in the area. Fidler obtained the farm in 1930 after cancel- lation by four previous occupants. He erected a 14' x 16' dwelling with attached 10' x 12' kitchen and a few outbuildings. He could not afford cattle but had 14 acres of the swamp land under cultivation. Although he obtained patent in 1934, he
could not live off the land the Homestead Inspector concurred that the lot was unfit for cultivation and that Fidler was very poor.\(^{293}\) It was a similar tale for François Vandal, the owner of lot seven in the 1930s. Two earlier occupants had vainly attempted to farm the land between 1914 and 1920. In 1930, Vandal built a house and outbuildings. He remained on his homestead for a few years, striving to earn a living off 12 head of cattle and an eight acre field. He was awarded title to the worthless claim in 1936.\(^{294}\) The tragedy of these efforts was the failure of the Land Valuation Board to forewarn applicants of the undesirability of the land for cultivation or mixed farming. The Homestead Inspector who visited most of the farms in the area in the early 1920s reported that lots one to six were unfit for cultivation, being composed mainly of muskeg. At the time the occupants were settlers who qualified for a Soldier Settlement grant as a result of the war. The lands were generally abandoned in the early 1920s. When Natural Resources were transferred to the provinces in 1930, a Land Valuation Board was set up to grade unclaimed homesteads. As a result many lands were restricted to grazing permits or entry for non-agricultural purposes. But in the early 1930s poor claims were evidently still being accepted for entry. It was particularly unfortunate that the Métis who wished to remain at Batoche should have chosen a farm in that area. The effort was a total failure and the tragic experience largely precluded any other attempts at agriculture.

Lots 15 to 19 were generally better grazing lands. The claimants were also better informed of its potential for ranching. A French immigrant, François Lanovaz, was comparatively successful at cattle raising on lot 16 between 1897 and 1917. François Rey-Gorrez, a Frenchman who purchased the land from him, was even more fortunate in his ranching enterprise. In 1926 he consolidated lots 16, 17 and 18 into pasture lands for his large herd. Joseph and Eugène Letendre
Métis from Batoche, had settled briefly on lots 17 and 18 between 1906 and 1916. They had attempted mixed farming but soon realized that a few acres of cultivated farmland and a small stock of cattle were an unprofitable investment. In 1916 they were compelled to sell to Rey-Gorrez. A ranching venture also had its risks. When a Duck Lake farmer, A. Perillat, purchased lots 15 to 18 from Rey-Gorrez for $5200 in 1930, he was soon forced to abandon the lands because of tax arrears and mortgages. Between 1931 and 1952, the property changed owners several times, among them a Doukhobor colony. The Lanovaz brothers who purchased the lands in 1952 were finally able to make them a remunerative venture.

Lot 19 was similarly developed by Louis Letendre between 1910 and 1927 but like his sons on lots 17 and 18, Letendre's liens and mortgages eventually forced him to sell. He had erected a log 14' x 24' dwelling, three stables and dug a well on his farm. Letendre had tried to set up a ranching enterprise and did not cultivate the land. His successor did not remain long on the claim which was amalgamated into the Lanovaz holding in 1952.

The N\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 18 and section 19 immediately opposite the village, were unoccupied after 1900. Alexandre P. Fisher's widow sold the lands to the Grant brothers in 1903. They in turn disposed of it in 1908 and afterwards ownership was sporadic and non-resident. Between 1928 and 1971, the proprietors were Duck Lake residents who used the land for grazing.

Abraham Montour who had abandoned the NW\(\frac{1}{4}\) of section 19 in 1888 would have resided on lot 20, part of his original homestead, until he left for Montana in the late 1890s. Lots 21 and 22 were also briefly occupied between 1895 and 1910 but afterwards the owners were non-resident farmers and American investors who perhaps envisioned a profitable market in the Dumont hinterland.

Section 31 north of the village site, was the last area to be settled on the west side of the river. A. Vanpeteghen,
a Belgian immigrant, established residence on the NE$_4$ in 1914. He erected a log house 36' x 18', a lumber stable 32' x 24', and two log granaries 14' x 16', to a total value of $1200. He had two wells, cattle, horses and 35 acres under cultivation by 1916. The claim was described as good farmland. In 1908 A. Montour, a Métis took up a second homestead on the NW$_4$ of section 24 in T43-2-W3 (Duçk Lake). J. Paradis, a French-Canadian, settled on the SE$_4$ in 1911. Only 60 acres of the land were suitable for cultivation, over half being scrub and swamp. Paradis made an earnest attempt at mixed farming and remained on the lot until the 1920s. His neighbour, P. Géry another Belgian immigrant, was more successful. He settled on the SW$_4$ in 1914, erecting a 30' x 24' log dwelling, a stable, two granaries and a well 23' deep. By 1917 he had cattle and 41 acres under cultivation.

Settlement on the west side of the river was limited and largely unsuccessful after 1900. Original settlers and immigrants who took up residence on unclaimed lands were unable to farm them productively. The area was only suitable for cattle raising and in a few cases, mixed farming. Unfortunately it was only after repeated failures that a better understanding of the character and potential of the area was achieved.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, attempts were also made to resettle abandoned or uncultivated farms in the northern portion of the settlement on the east side of the river. Among the new entries was Joseph Ferguson, who settled on lot 25 in 1901 and obtained title in 1912. He erected a 16' x 18' log dwelling with a kitchen annex, 12' x 14', two stables, a granary of similar dimensions and a well on his property. By 1911, he had 80 acres fenced and 35 under cultivation. The Gervais family succeeded in maintaining ownership of lots 27, 28, and 29 until the late 1930s. In 1919 Mrs. Jean-Baptiste Gervais, a poor widow,
built a two storey log house, 18' x 19' on lot 27. Her son, Moïse, was fortunately able to redeem the farm from tax ar­rears and secure title to the land his father had homesteaded in 1884. Although Jean-Baptiste Parenteau Jr. had obtained patent for lot 30 in 1902, his family abandoned the farm around 1920. Lot 31 was occupied by Guillaume Laplante since 1890 but grain liens prevented him from receiving title before 1902. The next farm, lot 32, had been erroneously entered at the Land Titles Office in Prince Albert and was only permanently occupied after 1900. The Lafontaines were still the proprietors of lot 33 in the 1930s and were reportedly making a reasonable living on the farm. Most of the land was used for grazing a good stock of cattle and horses. Lots 34 and 35, the Cuthbert Fayant homestead since 1873, was still farmed by the family in 1925. Lot 36, also originally settled by Fayant, was occupied by Edmond Pilon between 1906 and 1920 and Théophile Caron between 1923 and 1930. The farm had reverted to the municipality around 1920 and was rented out to local farmers. Caron purchased the lot but was unable to complete payments. Lot 39, Elie Dumont's homestead for which he never obtained patent was claimed by Henri Pilon in 1924. He was the son of Barthélémi Pilon, an original settler who lived on lot 54 since 1883. Another son, Charles-Eugène also took up an unclaimed homestead in the vicinity. He claimed the S ½ of lot 49 next to the mission in 1914 and obtained patent in 1922. Pilon did not live on the lot but used it for pasture and cultivated about 20 acres. Both portions of lot 49 were purchased by Jean-Baptiste Ranger, a brother-in-law, in 1925. The same year he reported a log dwelling and a lumber granary on the eastern portion of the lot and 12 acres under cultivation.

Occupation of lots 40 to 44, in the immediate vicinity of the original village site, remained stable until the 1920s. Lot 40 had been homesteaded by the Parenteau family (immediate
relatives of Xavier Letendre), since 1882. In 1912, Mrs. Véronique Parenteau reported 20 acres under cultivation since 1880. There is no later record of occupation by the family except under the administration of the Municipality of St-Louis. A 31 acre portion was sold in 1944 and in 1948 the 160 acre homestead was purchased by a Bellevue farmer. Lot 41 was similarly occupied by the descendants of Pierre Parenteau Sn. until around 1921. The family was quite destitute by 1905, and for a number of years grain liens threatened ownership of the land. In 1921, Mrs. Bibiane Parenteau reported a log 12' x 14' dwelling with a kitchen of the same size, two small stables and a granary. Thirty of the 50 acres suitable for cultivation were cropped and 15 were fenced. G. Sanche, who purchased the 192 acre homestead in 1931, reportedly cultivated the arable land in the succeeding years. In 1970, the farm was purchased by the owner of lot 40. Lot 42 changed owners several times in the 1920s. Théophile Caron who purchased the land from G.F. Grant in 1910, was unable to complete the purchase and the lot reverted to the municipality. Grant had erected a 14' x 15' log house, a stable and a barn on the land in 1904 and by 1906 he had 30 acres under cultivation. Caron had farmed the lot and may have resided on it between 1910 and 1920. In 1923, La Corporation Episcopale de Prince Albert acquired lot 42. The diocese purchased several other abandoned farms in the district in an effort to promote the settlement of French-speaking immigrants to counteract the Métis exodus and maintain the French-speaking Catholic character of the community. The lot was purchased by Clovis Nogier in 1925 and by G. Sanche in 1931. Both had buildings and about 30 acres under cultivation on the land during those years.

The sons of Cléophas Champagne resided on lot 43 until the 1960s although there is no record of patent for the farm. In 1926, the Homestead Inspector reported a 16' x 30' frame house valued at $400 and two log outbuildings on the lot.
The Champagnes had horses, a few cattle and 50 acres under cultivation. Bad crops and seed grain liens necessitated relief assistance to the family in the 1930s. In 1920, Marie Champagne, widow of Emmanuel Champagne, owner of lot 44, sold her claim to Moïse Gervais. The southerly portion of the lot was occupied briefly by Joseph Branconnier between 1919 and 1926. A building identified as the remains of the Champagne house was still standing in 1948 (see Fig. 47).

The mission lands, lots 50 and 51, were subject to various transfers after 1900. The erection of a new school on lot 51 in 1917 resulted in the purchase of a parcel by the School Board. Before 1925 there were no settlers in the immediate vicinity of the mission. Within the next few years however, the changing character of the settlement, the declining activity of the mission and the demand for arable land probably influenced the clergy to rent or dispose of mission lands excluding the triangle formed by the church, rectory and cemetery area were sold to various individuals.

The church and rectory also underwent minor structural changes. In 1924, the interior of the rectory was remodelled and a variety of porches adorned the front entrance in the succeeding years. Between 1925 and 1955, the exterior of the building was unpainted and its general condition gradually deteriorated. A barn and outbuildings at the rear of the rectory were torn down in the 1930s. In comparison the church was well maintained. In 1930-31, the interior and the exterior were redecorated and painted. Other repairs and improvements were effectuated in 1940 and again between 1955 and 1957. Before 1925, there was no settlement immediately north of the mission, on the S\ of lot 49. The surrounding area was more extensively settled in the succeeding years when neighbouring lots were subdivided. In 1955 a new rectory was built and in 1957 a two-room
school building was erected on lot 49, north east of the church.

Lots 52 and 53, south of the mission, were occupied by the Carons until they were purchased by the Crown in the 1970s. Albert Caron, who had inherited lot 52 from his father, Jean Caron Sn., reported many hardships in the 1920s, describing his condition as "poor as a Church rat." His land was mortgaged and by 1952 the arrears amounted to $270. Fortunately the sale of a parcel of land containing Middleton's zareba to the Government enabled him to write off his debts. A comparison of photographs of the Caron house, ca. 1895 (Fig. 48) and 1949 (Fig. 49), reveals alterations to the exterior although the main structure is evidently the same. An outbuilding to the north of the house in 1895 has been removed by 1949 and an annex has been added on the east wall. The original log and mud plastered exterior has been covered with stucco and a porch erected along the façade.

Further south, along the trail to Gabriel's Crossing, were a few new residents. Joseph Ladéroute took up residence on lot 56 in 1901 and built a house, 18' x 26', two outbuildings and a well. In 1912, he had 16 head of cattle and had cultivated 21 acres on his farm. Lot 63 was unclaimed since it had been abandoned by George Ness in 1884. Between 1902 and 1920, it was occupied by Pierre Caron but not patented. In 1906, Caron reported a small log house, a stable and a granary on the lot. He had cultivated 40 acres and had 65 acres fenced. In 1925, the land was administered by Abbé P.E. Myre, parish priest at Batoche, who had purchased a number of abandoned lots between 1925 and 1935, hoping to sell them to French-speaking immigrants and settlers. The neighbouring farm on lot 64 was occupied by William Pilon who had a house by the river or on the west side of the trail since 1903. He had two stables, a granary, 100 acre fencing and 20 acres under cultivation in 1915. In 1904, Barthélémi
Pilon claimed a second homestead on lot 65, extending the Pilon family holdings to the whole area between lots 64 and 67 and 71. The house on lot 67, the Joseph Pilon Sn. homestead, erected in 1888, is still standing. Views of the house in 1976 (Fig. 50) show the dovetailed pièce sur pièce construction and the kitchen annex to the rear.

Batoche village and settlement underwent profound changes after 1900. The first two decades of the twentieth century brought in immigrants on the west side of the river and many farms on the east side were reoccupied by the sons and descendants of the original Métis settlers. These years were relatively stable although the demise of the original village altered the orientation and character of the settlement. It became a rural community, vital to the activity of the district but secondary to Duck Lake and Prince Albert as a production and distribution centre. This period witnessed a last attempt at agricultural settlement by the Métis. Poverty and an unfavourable economic situation forced many to take up grain liens and mortgages. Although largely "getting by" in the 1920s, they were unable to purchase implements or amass a stock of cattle, imperative to productive farming. When an Order in Council cancelling all outstanding grain debts was finally issued in 1930, many had already abandoned their lands or would do so in the throes of the depression. The exodus alarmed religious authorities who responded with an ambitious programme of resettlement by French-speaking immigrants. The Archambeault, Sanche, Laplante and Nogier families were among those who came to Batoche in the late 1920s and 1930s. In the 1940s, many farms were purchased by non-resident farmers from near-by Bellevue and Duck Lake. Gradually, between 1940 and 1955, the population of the parish decreased: from 456 in 1941, to 237 in 1955. In 1966 the school closed and in 1969 the ferry service ceased confirming the eclipse of a village and settlement at Batoche.
Conclusion

The growth and development of Batoche as a village and settlement was brief and climactic. Tracing its origins to the fur trade period of the eighteenth century, it was visited regularly by Métis hunters and traders from Red River by 1840. Gathering momentum as a freight route in 1873 and emerging as a burgeoning commercial centre in 1883-84, it had nevertheless virtually disappeared by 1910. The site had taken the name of its founder, François-Xavier Letendre dit Batoche, a prosperous merchant whose Amerindian and European forefathers had been long-time visitors and traders in the district.

The Métis were native to the South Saskatchewan. Emigrating largely from Manitoba after 1870, they sought to preserve and prolong an identity and way of life that was being assailed by whites moving into the Territories. Aware of impending industrial change that would disrupt their economy, experiencing the discrimination and condescension of Eastern-Canadians in Manitoba, they sought survival through isolation. The early hunting and freighting camps, established in the vicinity of Fort Carlton, Fort à la Corne and the Touchwood Hills were replaced by permanent residences. In 1874, the first settlement was established at St-Laurent-de-Grandin, seven miles north of Batoche's Crossing, on the west bank of the river. Soon afterwards, another group of Métis settled permanently in the vicinity of Lac Canard (Duck Lake). The establishment of a mission consolidated the settlement.

Within the next decade, settlers at St-Laurent soon began
moving south, to the more fertile farmland along the east bank of the South Saskatchewan. Between 1874 and 1882, they occupied river lots generally referred to as the "St-Laurent Settlement," a twenty-five mile area from that point through Batoche's and Gabriel's Crossing up to La Coulée des Touronds (Fish Creek area). Batoche's Crossing experienced an unparalleled growth between 1880 and 1885. Strategically located enroute to Fort Carlton, Prince Albert, and trading points north and west, provided with the natural amenities of water, timber and prairie, it became the capital of the district. Xavier Letendre subdivided his holdings, selling plots on lot 47 to prospective merchants and allocating farms to his family. Intermarriage linked the Letendre, Parenteau, Champagne, Dumont, Fisher and Boyer families who dominated the village area between lots 40 and 49. In 1883, another well-to-do merchant, Solomon Venne, established his trading headquarters on lot 55 south east of the village, thus expanding its commercial activity. English-speaking firms and other interests were also attracted to the new marketing centre. These were prosperous years and the outstanding financial success of Letendre and Venne attests to the desire and ability of the Métis to adapt to the new economic order. Inasmuch as they were self-determining and isolated from the oppressive designs of outsiders, they succeeded. The Métis in the South Saskatchewan district in the early 1880s interrelated with both whites and natives. They were socially accepted by the Ontario-born citizens of Prince Albert who were a minority among a predominantly mixed-blood population, English and French-speaking. It is interesting and significant, contrary to what is generally stated, to observe the comparative well-being and success of the Métis at Batoche between 1873 and 1885. In 1878, the village seemed destined to become a large commercial centre. Land values in the area increased and lots were bought and re-sold at a feverish pace. But by 1882, tensions mounted as the economy fluctuated
and placed the future of Batoche in a precarious balance. The Transcontinental rail route was diverted to the south, freighting rates declined and crops were poor. The adaptation of a hunting society to a primarily agricultural economy was a long and difficult process.

Adding to these problems was Government indifference and bungling. After many vague promises since 1878, their river lots were not available for entry or surveyed as such. The Métis had no elected representatives, federally or territorially. The consensus, even among those who did not resort to arms, was that the Canadian Government would take over the country, implement a mass immigration policy and deride the native population. The Manitoba experience was ample proof of this design. The uprising, in the spring of 1885, can be seen in this context: an anxious native population in the throes of economic and social change, suddenly beset with "exterior" controls and unable to oppose them. The odds were against the Métis, unless of course they could have rallied the whole native population and won the armed engagement. It is doubtful the Government fully understood the impact of its immigration and settlement policies upon the original inhabitants of the North West.

The Métis of Batoche, as a Cree and French-speaking cultural group also experienced the tensions and prejudices of both minorities. They were also imbued with a strong sense of nationalism, particular to their heritage as the Bois Brûlés. Yet Louis Riel, the product of both cultural legacies, French-Canadian and Métis, realized that his Indian heritage and frontier upbringing differentiated him from Canadians, whether French or English-speaking. Compared to Gabriel Dumont who had always lived in the West, he was aware of the ultimate futility of a resort to arms against the Government. There was vigorous but conflicting leadership among the Métis during those years: Riel's strong idealism, intense commitment but vacillating leadership; Dumont's extra-
ordinary military ability, sincerity, and almost tragic def-
erence to Riel's authority; Charles Nolin's intrigues and
duplicity and the less well known activities of the "moder-
ates" who in the summer and winter of 1883-84, tried vainly
to seek constitutional redress to their grievances.

The aftermath of the insurrection was tragic. The econ-
omy was dislocated. Farms and buildings were destroyed,
families were separated and the stigma of defeat haunted the
Métis for many generations. Nevertheless it would be pre-
sumptuous to state that the Métis were completely routed.
The 1890s witnessed unparalleled efforts and activities on
their part to adapt to the new socio-economic order. Under
the leadership of elected representatives such as Charles-
Eugène Boucher and Charles Fisher, the issue of scrip to
Métis children was reopened and assistance was sought to help
the community adapt to the agricultural economy. The Métis
of Duck Lake, St-Laurent, Batoche, Fish Creek and St-Louis
sent numerous petitions to Ottawa and the North West Assembly
between 1886 and 1900. Most were ignored or unsatisfactorily
resolved. The little economic assistance that was provided
increased their dependency and in the end subjugated them
completely. Grain allowances provided some relief but imposed
liens on their farms. The issue of patent was hampered by
surveying delays, pressure to purchase the excess of the 160
acre homestead allotment on most river lots and the general
poverty of many who were simply unable to pay the ten dollar
entrance fee...The final issue of scrip in 1899-1900 did not
increase the material well-being of the Métis nor did it pro-
mote long-term farm settlement.

The village survived the holocaust of 1885. Its commer-
cial activities were reduced but the eventual disintegration
of the business sector was largely the product of exterior
forces. The location of the railway and subsequent immigra-
tion east and west of Batoche placed it at the periphery of
new developments. By 1910 Batoche was a fringe settlement
with an underprivileged population. Gradually, the merchants moved to Duck Lake or simply closed shop. Attempts to set up new businesses between 1900 and 1920 were largely unsuccessful. The North West Mounted Police, who were posted at Batoche between 1885 and 1906, did infuse a certain economic vitality into the settlement and until about 1910, accounts of various social activities in the district reveal that although poverty was the general condition, the Métis were holding on to their farms and attempting to alleviate their distress by seeking employment as labourers. But many were also forced to abandon their lands and seek employment up north. Some were successful at cattle growing or ranching enterprises which were better suited to the physiography of the Batoche area. The inherent difficulty was that few settlers, whether Métis or "White", who attempted mixed-farming or cattle raising in the area between 1900 and 1920, had the funds or expertise to carry it on successfully. As a result, a general exodus occurred after 1925.

The economic conjuncture of the 1930s concluded the trend. The disillusionment and despair that permeated prairie agriculture during those years was even more distressing in a marginal district. Deploiring this development and concerned with the gradual disappearance of a predominantly French-speaking population, the Catholic clergy embarked upon a resettlement programme. But largely unable to contain the disaffected Métis population, they consequently attempted to promote the immigration of French-speaking settlers from Québec, Manitoba and other communities in Saskatchewan. Abandoned lots were purchased and re-sold to prospective settlers. The programme was largely unsuccessful. Batoche, however, did remain predominantly Métis. Many descendants of the original settlers clung resolutely to their lands and a good proportion of abandoned farmlands were purchased by French-speaking settlers from Bellevue and Duck Lake. By
1955, however, Batoche was distinctly a rural community whose village had been absorbed by the more economically viable and settled outlying towns. In a sense, the gradual conversion of the site into a National Historic Park since 1955 has arrested further absorption and "preserved" for posterity what is considered by many Canadians as the focal point or symbol of the culture and history of Métis and non-status native people. The Government commitment might also prove to be a just reparation and tribute to the Métis who were thwarted in their attempts to set up a community in the North West in the 1880s.
Endnotes

1 Batoche, named after its founder François-Xavier Letendre dit Batoche was a village established on a terrace in the South Saskatchewan River parkland in 1872. What began as a store and crossing in the vicinity of section 19 and lot 47 in T43-1-W3 and the "St-Laurent Settlement Survey," extended to neighbouring townships north, south and east by 1885. A post office was established in 1884 and the village was later incorporated into the Municipality of St-Louis. By 1915, however, the growth and expansion of the surrounding communities of Duck Lake, Wakaw and Bellevue had reduced its area. The village business district had also relocated in the vicinity of lots 55 to 57, along the trail between Fish Creek and St-Laurent. The mission of St-Antoine-de-Padoue, an integral part of the village, was administered by the Vicariate of Saskatchewan and later the Diocese of Prince Albert. Parish boundaries, as defined by the Bishopric, varied with the density and distribution of the population. Between 1883 and 1893, for example, they spanned an area of approximately twenty-five miles, including present day Bellevue and Fish Creek in townships 41 to 44. The parish of St-Laurent, established since 1874 ministered primarily to settlers on the west side of the river, north of Batoche. St-Laurent closed in 1893 and the parishioners, by now more numerous along the east bank, were directed to St-Louis and St-Antoine. Between 1895 and 1910, the parish of St-Antoine extended much beyond its village limits, being the centre of worship for French-speaking
Catholics in townships 41 to 44 range 28 west of second and range one west of third meridian. In the succeeding decades the ecclesiastical boundaries were again altered. A description of the parish by X.R. Duprat, Bishop of Prince Albert, in 1942, referred to it as: "commencing at the North West corner of River Lot 17 of the St-Laurent Settlement on the East bank of the South Saskatchewan River Eastward to the North East corner of the North West quarter of Section 1, Twp. 44, Rge, 1, West of the 3rd Mer., thence South to the North Boundary of the One Arrow Indian Reserve, thence South in a straight line to the North East corner of the North West Quarter of Section 36, Twp. 42, Range 1, West of 3rd Mer., thence south to the South East corner of the South West corner of section 24, Twp. 42, Range 1, West of the 3rd Mer., thence directly West to the East bank of the South Saskatchewan River."

2 Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta (hereafter cited as PMAA) OMI Collection, D-IV-126, Journal du Père V. Végreville, "Récit de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche."


4 Archives Deschâtelets (Archives Générales, Rome) copie, Père A. André, "Réponse au questionnaire administratif St-Laurent-de-Grandin, 1883," translation; PMAA, OMI, Collection, D-IV-125, "Petite Chronique de St-Laurent," 1874-1883.

5 Archives Deschâtelets (Archives Générales, Rome), copie Père A. André, "Réponse au questionnaire administratif St-Laurent-de-Grandin, 1883."


7 Père V. Fourmond au Supérieur-Général, 28 décembre 1878, Missions des OMI, pp. 186-187.
This was the case for the church and rectory at Batoche. See E. Arthur & D. Witney, *The Barn*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1972, p. 126.

Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as AS), Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.


Ibid., p. 127.

Ibid., p. 132.

Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), RG18, Cl, Vol. 2837, Sergeant Bird to Officer in Charge at Prince Albert, Batoche, 25 March, 1894.


In 1810, Jean-Baptiste Letendre (Batoche) and family journeyed to the Athabasca district and accompanied David Thompson on part of his voyage to the Rockies. Louis Letendre, his son and Xavier's father, was born in the vicinity of Fort Carlton, ca. 1796-1800.


19 There is some debate as to the location of La Montée. Métis tradition refers to it as being on the South Saskatchewan, near Batoche whereas A.S. Morton in A History of the Canadian West to 1871 locates it near Fort Carlton (map 10) and forty miles west of Prince Albert p. 454. Possibly there was more than one post by that name.


23 Ibid., File 31, letter 141, A. Blaireau to the Editor of The Manitoban, Carlton House, 5 January 1872.

24 Ibid.


26 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184; PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, file 892789, Bishop A.A. Taché to Secretary, Rebellion Losses Commission, 29 August, 1885.
27 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
29 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 88255.
30 PMAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-38, Père V. Végreville au Supérieur-Général, été 1881.
33 Ibid.
36 PMAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-38, Corr. du Père V. Végreville, "Compte-rendu de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche."
37 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, M. Aldous, Notebook 747, 1879.
38 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, J.L. Reid, Notebook 882, 1879.
44 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 158609.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., Land Titles Office, Prince Albert, NW$ of section
19, 1899-1945.

47 Alexandre Pierre Fisher, born in the U.S.A., was the nephew of Hudson's Bay Company Chief Trader, Henri Fisher, who became his guardian and brought him to Red River to be educated in 1855. Alexandre was a brother of Ambroise, a trader at Duck Lake and the uncle of Georges Jn. who opened a store at Batoche in 1883. The Fishers were related to the Boyer, Letendre, Dumont and Tourond families through marriage.

48 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 88255.

49 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, M. Aldous, Notebook 764, 1879.

50 Ibid., J.L. Reid, Notebook 882, 1879.

51 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

52 Ibid., Homestead file 811843; Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, C.F. Leclerc, Notebook 4928.

53 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 164278.

54 Ibid., Homestead file 114872.

55 Père A. André au Père A. Lacombe, Missions OMI, 30 octobre, 1878.

56 PMAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-38, Corr. du Père V. Végreville, "Compte-rendu de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche, 1881."


61 Ibid., Vol. 105, Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke to Commissioner James A. Graham, Prince Albert, 20 May, 1884.

C.A. Boulton, to his father, "On Steamboat North West," May 23, 1885.

63 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, M. Aldous, Notebook 764, 1879.

64 PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, North West Rebellion Losses Claim, file 892789, Claim of Ludger Gareau, p. 1. The exact location of Gareau's house is unknown. It was south of the church, most probably on lot 51, close to the river, between the Jean Caron Sn. residence (lot 52) and the St-Antoine-de-Padoue mission buildings (lot 50).

65 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 88255.

66 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.


68 Ibid., p. 3. A large portion of Walters' stock was for the $15,000 Government contract.

69 PAC, RG15, Vol. 931, Registers for Rebellion Losses Claim, No. 207.

70 E.J. Dosman, in the preparation of a report on the Batoche Battlefield for the Department in 1963, obtained this testimony from early residents Joseph Azure, Moïse Gervais and Jean (John) Champagne.

71 PAC, RG15, B2, C-1229, p. 1174, Alexandre P. Fisher à Mme M. Fenton, 2 juillet, 1885.

72 PMAA, OMI Collection, D-IV-113, Journal des Fidèles Compagnes de Jésus de St-Laurent, 1885, p. 6.

73 PMAA, OMI Collection, D-IV-116, Rapport de M. Cloutier, 1866, Témoignage de Joseph Arcand.

74 PMAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-27, Père J. Moulin au Supérieur-Général, 4 décembre, 1887.

75 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 99195.

77 PMAA, OMI Collection, D-IV-126, "Récit de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche, 1881."
78 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid., Testimony of Bishop A.A. Taché re Xavier Letendre's claim.
82 Ibid., Vol. 914, file 892789, Claim of William Tompkins.
83 Ibid., Vol. 915, file 892789, Testimony of Ludger Gareau re claim of John McKean.
84 Ibid., Vol. 914, file 892789, Testimony of Ludger Gareau re claim of Hillyard Mitchell.
85 Ibid., Vol. 914, file 892789, Testimony of Xavier Letendre regarding his claim.
86 Ibid., Testimony of Ludger Gareau re claim of Xavier Letendre; GAI, Recollections of Sarah Jane Potter, Saskatchewan, 1957.
88 Rapport de Mgr. V.J. Grandin à son Supérieur-Général, St-Boniface, 17 octobre, 1885, Missions des OMI, 1886.
89 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead files 81184 and 889913.
90 PAC, RG13, B2, C1231, Testimony of Hillyard Mitchell, p. 3554.
91 AS, Att. Gen. "G," No. 117L, Father A. André to Lieu-Governor E. Dewdney, 3 March, 1884. The priest was angry at the so-called unscrupulous, anti-clerical, French-speaking Canadian who sowed seeds of discord amongst his "flock."
93 Ibid., Vol. 500, file 139936.
94 Ibid.
95 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
96 PAC, RG15, Bol. 914, file 892789, Rebellion Losses Claims, Claim of Jean-Baptiste Boyer, p. 1.
97 Ibid., Testimony of Ludger Gareau, p. 4.
98 Ibid., Vol. 915, Testimony of Jean-Baptiste Boyer.
99 Ibid., Vol. 931, Registers for Rebellion Losses Claims, No. 53.
100 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AG11, R.L. 6, T44-1-W3.
102 Ibid., Vol. 914, Testimony of Ludger Gareau, p. 4.
103 Ibid., Vol. 928, No. 708, A. Macdonald to Georges Fisher Sn., Batoche, 23 May, 1885.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
108 T.A. Haultain, Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News, A History of Riel's Second Rebellion and How it was Quelled, Toronto, Grip Printing and Publishing, 1885, p. 31.
109 Ibid.
111 PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, file 892789, North West Rebellion Claims, Claim and Deposition of Mrs. Catherine Ross (wife of late Donald Ross).
112 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
114 Ibid., pp. 3-11.
117 J.F. Boyd might have sketched an area closer to the village, a dwelling and outbuildings on lot 45 or 46. But the substantial two storey house is most probably Champagne's.
119 Ibid., p. 16.
120 AS, R.K. Allan, Diary kept during North West Rebellion, 1885, p. 28.
121 Ibid., pp. 26, 28.
123 Ibid., Testimony of George Ness re claim of Ludger Gareau, p. 1.
124 Ibid., p. 2.
125 PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, North West Rebellion Claims, Register No. 327.
126 Ludger Gareau, Personal History, p. 5.
127 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
128 PAC, RG15, Vol. 916, file 892789, North West Rebellion Losses Claims, Claim of Solomon Venne, p. 1; Declaration of Mrs. Josephte Venne, pp. 4-5.
129 Ibid., Declaration of Solomon Venne, p. 12.
130 Ibid., Testimony of Mrs. Josephte Venne, pp. 4-5.
131 Ibid., Declaration of Solomon Venne, p. 6.
133 Ibid., Vol. 513, file 145780, Kerr Bros. to Minister of the Interior (Canada), Winnipeg, November 15, 1887.
134 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
PMAA, OMI Collection, D-IV-116, Rapport de M. Cloutier, Témoignages de Baptiste Vandal, et al. The Kerr store was described as 70 or 80 feet from the trail, on the east side.


Ibid., Vol 923, Claim of George A. and John Kerr, p. 9.

Ibid., Vol. 914, Declaration of Ludger Gareau, re claim of Xavier Letendre, p. 4.

Ibid., Vol. 513, file 145780, Kerr Bros. to Minister of the Interior, Winnipeg, November 15, 1887.

For detailed information on the two buildings refer to report on Structural History of Church and Rectory Batoche, 1976.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

PAC, RG15, Vol. 917, file 892789, North West Rebellion Losses Claims, Declaration of Marguerite Caron.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.


Ibid., Vol. 931, Registers for Rebellion Losses, No. 118.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.


Ibid., No. 170.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.


AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

The report of the massacre of wounded Métis by the soldiers at the end of the battle has been corroborated by the Métis up to this day; see testimonies by Métis
participants in the events of 1885 in "Récits de Gabriel Dumont et autres témoins de 1885, transcrits par A-H. de Trémaudan (?)" (PAM, MG10, F1), and Le Manitoba, 2 juillet, 1885.


178 Ibid., Vol. 2836, Inspector Huot to Officer in Charge at Prince Albert, Batoche, 31 May, 1890.


181 Régistre paroissial de St-Antoine-de-Padoue, Batoche, 1881-1958.

182 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, J.M. McLatchie, Notebook, No. 5613, 19 October, 1893, p. 163.

183 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 645177; Dept. of Agriculture, Land Branch files, AGII, R.L. 54 59 and 69, T43-1-W3.

184 According to Homestead Regulations a settler, who had obtained patent to his first homestead before January 1889 could apply for a second entry after three years, the date was later extended to 1925.

185 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Land Branch files, AGII, R.L. 55, T43-1-W3.

186 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

187 Ibid., Homestead file 4049585.

The Métis, who had attended meetings but had not taken up arms, were angry about Charles Nolin's compensation and to a lesser degree, the awards to Jean-Baptiste and William Boyer.

Parmi les Libéraux il y avait Philippe Gariépy, Moïse Ouellette et Philippe Garnot.
160

204 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AG II, R.L. 6, T44-1-W3.
205 PAC, RG18, Cl, Vol. 2837, Sergeant Bird to Officer in Command, Batoche, 5 February, 1894.
206 Ibid., Vol. 2836, Corp. Lasker to Officer in Command, Batoche, 15 July, 1892.
207 Prince Albert, Times, February 24, 1892, the Saskatchewan Herald, April 16, 1892.
208 E.J. Dosman, Interviews with old residents of Batoche, 1963.
209 Interview with Mrs. Thérèse (Lenglet) Moffat, Batoche, August 3, 1976.
210 Ibid.
213 Ibid., Vol. 2836, Sergeant Gordon to Officer in Command, Batoche, 1890.
214 Ibid., Sergeant G. Hill to Officer in Command, Batoche, 6 September, 1892.
215 This was probably a building between Letendre's store and the barracks (Boyer's store); PAC, RG18, Cl, Vol. 2836, Inspector A. Huot to Officer in Command, Batoche 16 April, 1892.
216 Ibid., Sergeant Colebrook to Officer in Command, Batoche March, 1895. A telegraph service linked the Batoche and Duck Lake North West Mounted Police (hereafter cited as NWMP), barracks between 1886-1891. In 1896, it was replaced by a telephone service.
217 PMAA, OMI Collections, D-I-1212, Journal du Frère C. Guillet, 6 mai, 1895; 20 octobre, 1895.
Interview with Mr. Henri Pilon and Mrs. Amanda (Caron) Pilon, Duck Lake and Batoche, September 22, 1976; on p. 91 in Gabriel Dumont, George Woodcock refers to Letendre's house as a "light green mock colonial structure."


AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 645177.

Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Surveys Branch, Office of the Chief Surveyor, J.L. Reid, "Field Notes of Trail Survey from Fish Creek to McKenzie's Crossing, South Saskatchewan, 1891," Notebook, 63, p. 28.

Ibid., p. 27.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 88255.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.

Ibid., Homestead file 692951.

Ibid., Homestead file 516677, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, R.L. 21, 22, T43-1-W3; Land Titles Office, Prince Albert.

Ambroise Champagne homesteaded on NE 3 of section 22, T44-28-W2 (Bellevue). Emmanuel Champagne also took up a second homestead on SW 1 of the same section and was living there by 1896; AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 104444; Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, Ag. II, R.L. 42, T43-1-W3.

AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Land Branch files, AGII, R.L. 34, T43-1-W3.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 205312.

Ibid., Homestead file 862473.

234 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 881793.
235 Ibid., Homestead file 2328642.
238 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 191051.
242 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 81184.
243 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, SW\(\frac{1}{4}\) section 20 and SE\(\frac{1}{4}\) section 20, T42-1-W3.
244 The river lot survey of the "St-Laurent Settlement," was only approved in November, 1884; AS, William Pearce, Report Upon all Claims to Land and Right to Participate in the North-West Half-Breed Grant, Ottawa, Maclean Roger & Co., 1886, p. 2.
245 Ibid., p. 3.
248 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 158609.
249 PMAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-38, Père V. Végreville, au Père A. André, 26 mai, 1882.
The Métis sent numerous petitions to the Government. Elected representatives such as C.E. Boucher, and political activists such as P. Gariépy and M. Ouellette pursued the question of Métis rights until the turn of the century. See RG15, Vol. 589, file 198086; Vol. 632, file 236942.

There is no socio-economic analysis of Métis society in Saskatchewan for the period after 1885. Authors such as Stanley and particularly Giraud, who have discussed the disruptive effects of the insurrection, have not considered the very active if futile efforts of the Métis of the South Saskatchewan to assert their rights regarding
land claims and agricultural assistance in 1886, 1889 and 1899. As a result there has been a tendency to oversimplify the question and conclude prematurely that Métis society dramatically came to an end in 1885.

262 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, R.L. 11, 13 and 14, "St-Laurent Settlement."
263 Ibid.
265 Interviews with Mrs. Marguerite Campbell (nee Branconnier) and Mrs. Josephte (Caron) Nogier (nee Branconnier), August, 1976.
266 Reports of the Royal North West Mounted Police, Prince Albert District, 1904-1906, confirmed by Edward Bruce, Custodian, Batoche.
267 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 391562.
268 Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys's Branch, G. McMillan, 11555, 1908.
269 Mrs. Ranger recalled a liquor outlet owned by a Dubois in the early 1900s. Dubois possibly operated a liquor store after Lenglet (1897-1900). The name was not familiar to Mrs. Campbell who lived in the village between 1915 and 1923.
272 Ibid.
273 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 824779.
Mrs. Thérèse Moffatt (nee Lenglet) believes that when she came to Batoche in 1897, Letendre did not own the store. The owner had an English name (Grant?).


Ibid., R.L. 47, T43-1-W3.


AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 281532.

Interview with Mrs. Marguerite Campbell (nee Branconnier) August, 1976.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 281532.


Saskatchewan, Dept. of Tourism and Renewable Resources, Land Surveys Branch, R.C. Purser, Notebook 16554, 1916, p. 73.

Land Titles Office, Prince Albert, section 18, T43-1-W3.

Régistre paroissial de Batoche, 1922.

Land Titles Office, Prince Albert, R.L. 55, T43-1-W3; Interview with Mr. Ferdinand Paulhus, September, 1976.


AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2226794.

Ibid., Homestead file 692591; Saskatchewan, Dept. of Natural Resources, file 29832.

Ibid., Saskatchewan, Dept. of Natural Resources, file 31649.

Land Titles Office, Prince Albert, R.L. 16, 17, and 18, T43-1-W3.

Ibid., R.L. 15, 16, 17 and 18, T43-1-W3.

AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2026008; Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, R.L. 19, T43-1-W3.
298 Land Titles Office, Prince Albert, NW4 of section 18, T43-1-W3.
299 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 158609; Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, section 30; R.L. 20, 21, and 22, T43-1-W3.
300 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2440234.
301 Ibid., Homestead file 2446658.
302 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2555917; Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, R.L. 25, T43-1-W3.
303 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 692591; Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch files, AGII, R.L. 27, T43-1-W3.
305 Ibid., R.L. 49, T43-1-W3; Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2495452.
306 Ibid., Homestead file 205312; Saskatchewan, Dept. of Natural Resources, Provincial Lands Branch file 102669.
307 AS, Saskatchewan, Dept. of Natural Resources, file 21679.
309 Ibid., R.L. 42, T43-1-W3.
310 Ibid., R.L. 43, T43-1-W3.
311 See Report, Structural History of Church and Rectory, Batoche, Parks Canada, Prairie Region, 1976.
312 AS, Dept. of Agriculture, Lands Branch Files, AGII, R.L. 52, T43-1-W3.
313 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 2597818.
316 Le Canada Ecclésiastique, 1887-1970, Paroisse de St-Antoine-de-Padoue, Batoche.
Appendix A

BATOCHE, SETTLEMENT and LAND CLAIMS
1870-79

"Lots 20-27 claimed by Carrières, no residence."


"No permanent occupation lots 28-43."

Lots 40-45 purchased by Xavier Letendre dit Batoche 1872, 1876.

Emmanuel Champagne 1877, lots 42-43-44.

Batoche's Crossing

"St. Laurent Settlement survey of 1879 provided for lot did not mark out River Lots."

"No permanent occupation, lots 49-71."

Cuthbert Gervais 1878 (Res.) lot 61.

George Ness, 1877, claim lots 62, 63.

Source: Compiled from Homestead files, Land's Br. files, Surveyor's notebooks.

LEGEND: " Possible Building Location  Building  Improvements"
Appendices

A Batoche, Settlement and Lands Claims, 1870-1879.
B Batoche, Settlement and Land Claims, 1880-1885.
C Batoche, Settlement since 1900-1950.
D List of Goods in Jean-Baptiste Boyer's Store Purchased from Hudson's Bay Company, June, 1884.
E Losses Incurred by Ludger Gareau at Batoche during the Insurrection of 1885.
F Estimate of Furs and Property Lost and Destroyed at Batoche, during the Conflict of 1885, by Mrs. Solomon Venne (Josephte St. Arnaud), lot 55.
G 1. Report of Losses at Kerr Bros. Store (vicinity of lot 56), Batoche, as a Result of the Insurrection of 1885.
   2. G.A. & J. Kerr, In Account with J.H. Willowgby, Regina, June, 1888 (as per estimate of order sent to Batoche in February, 1885).
H List of Effects, Tools, Implements, Furniture, etc., Destroyed by General Middleton's Soldiers during and after the Batoche Battle, Belonging to Mme Jean Caron (Marguerite Dumas), lot 52.
I Bill of Damages Sustained by Mr. George Ness of Batoche (lot 62), during the Rebellion of the Spring and Summer of 1885.
J Articles in North West Mounted Police Barracks (Boyer's Store), Batoche, November 23, 1888.
Appendix D. List of Goods in Jean-Baptiste Boyer's Store
Purchased from Hudson's Bay Company, June, 1884.

Bale 1 - 250 lbs.
2 pcs. white shroud (?) 48 yds.
1 pcs. scarlet shroud 23½ yds.
1 pcs. blue shroud 24 yds.
1 pcs. light blue 2nd cloth 23 yds.
21 pcs. blue print cloth 647 yds. 260.93

Bale 2 - 230 lbs.
3 pcs. blue duck 174½ yds.
4 pcs. ottis check 221½ yds.
4 pcs. stormont 220½ yds.
1 pcs. wincey 62 yds. 110.42

Bale 3 - 290 lbs.
25 prs. 2 pt. white wool blankets
5 prs. 2 pt. scarlet union blankets
5 prs. 2 green union blankets 171.25

Bale 4 - 270 lbs.
5 prs. 3 pt. blue union blankets
1 pce. étoffe 26½ yds.
10 prs. 3 pt. union white blankets
1 pce. cottonade 40 yds.
5 pce. checked wincey 302½ yds.
1 pce. white cotton 102½ yds.
2 pce. white cotton 106 yds.
1 pce, white cotton 53 yds.
1 pce. white cotton 43 yds. 151.60

Bale 5 - 290 lbs.
17 pcs. white duck 352½ yds.
3 pcs. grey cotton 154 yds.
2 pcs. grey cotton 110¼ yds.
2 pcs. brown duck 122½ yds.
   Bale 6 - 280 lbs.
12 pcs. print 395½ yds.

   88.70

$782.90

2 pcs. print 66 yds.
2 pcs. print 201¼ yds.
13 pcs. print 397 yds.
6 pcs. print 194½ yds.
16 pcs. print 496 yds.
1 pcs. plain wincey 62 yds.

   167.27

Case 7 - 370 lbs.
43 only plaid shawls
12 only black wool shawls
12 only black wool shawls
12 only black merino shawls
12 only grey wool shawls
6 only black and white check shawls
12 only grey wool shawls
2 only grey wool shawls
14 only grey wool shawls
2 1/12 doz. neck shawls
2 doz. neck shawls
1 only col² bed quilt
1 only col² bed quilt
5 only col² bed quilt
3 only col² bed quilt
1 only col² bed quilt
1 only col² bed quilt
52 yds. white dress goods
4 doz. Indsons' Dyes
51 gun caps
500 gun flints
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit Price</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 lbs. brass snaring wire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 doz. table knives &amp; forks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forward</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>950.17</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Case Cont’d</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. pocket knives (on cards)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. pocket knives (in paper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lbs. all col’d thread</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>346.47</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bale 8 - 280 lbs.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 only 4 all duffle capots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 only 3½ all duffle capots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 only 3 all duffle capots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 only alhambra quilt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 only alhambra quilt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 prs. mole pants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 prs. drab cord pants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>39 prs. gambroon pants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>185.70</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bale 9 - 280 lbs.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. mens black hats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. mens black hats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 doz. mens black thresher hats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. boys black thresher hats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 doz. pipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. pipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 only black ties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gross black braid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gross col’d braid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 doz. crochet lace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 doz. valenciennes lace</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 doz. valenciennes lace</td>
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<td>3 doz. valenciennes lace</td>
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<td><strong>Forward</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,482.34</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bale 9 cont'd
3 doz. valenciennes lace
3 doz. valenciennes lace
2 pcs. black coloring 114½ yds.
3 pcs. col'd coloring 166 yds.
23 only fancy silk handkfs
24 only fancy silk handkfs
3 doz. pins
6 doz. dressing combs in boxes
3 doz. dressing combs in boxes
3 doz. dressing combs in boxes
4 doz ivory fine tooth combs
11 pkgs. emb silk
4 gross pants buttons
1¾ gross sharp needles
1½ gross glovers needles
3 doz. 6" Im: Belts
2 doz. 4" Im: Belts
25 only real belts
12 gross white shirt buttons
5 gross col'd shirt buttons
6 gross col'd shirt buttons large
12 doz. towels
2 doz. towels
1 doz. towels
2 doz. butcher knives
2 doz. butcher knives
1 11/12 doz. butchers knives
2 doz. butcher knives
2 doz. pr. scissors
2 doz. B.M. tablespoons
Forward 1,482.34
6 doz. col'd handkfs. 381.53
Case 10 - 200 lbs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>172</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 only suit</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 only suit</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 only suit</td>
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<td>1 only suit</td>
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<td>3 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 only suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 only black suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 only prs. tweed pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 only prs. tweed pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 doz. red handkfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. blue handkfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. blue handkfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. brown handkfs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale 11 - 130 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. grey flannel 52 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pce. grey flannel 104 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. white flannel 46 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. sct. flannel 50 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pce. tweed 19½ yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 11½ yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 9½ yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 18½ yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 9 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 6 5/8 yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pce. tweed 6½ yds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 yds. fustian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale 12 - 160 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 only 24ths single (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 only 18ths single (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
50 skeins 10 twine
6 skeins 5 twine
120 skeins 1 twine

Case 13 - 300 lbs.
1 pce. tartan 524 yds.
1 pce. black cashmere 58 yds.
1 end tweed
1 end brown cloth
11 only ends flannel
1 only ends flannel
5 only remnants printed cotton
1 end black cloth
1 end waterproof cloth
1 end tweed
5 yds. Victoria cloth
1 only fancy cashmere shawl
4 only cashmere shawls
2 only cashmere shawls
2 pcs. checked wincey 111 yds.
1 pce. checked wincey 67½ yds.
4 gross spools thread
12 lbs. black (?) thread
6 lbs. all col thread
1 doz. wool mufflers
12 doz. w brown thread already charged

Forward

2,424.15

6 only wool mufflers
6 only wool mufflers
3½ doz. wool socks
3 doz. wool socks
4 doz. striped cambre shirts

Case 14 - 200 lbs.
30 prs. womans boots
18 prs. mens brogans
6 prs. buff low shoes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity/Details</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 prs. boys split boots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 prs. youths boots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 prs. childs boots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 prs. misses buff lace boots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 doz. checked wincey shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 pr. larrigans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. printed cotton shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td>186.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 printed chests 16/40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150 lbs. congoa tea</td>
<td></td>
<td>451.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases 41/42 - 60 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. lunch tongue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases 43/44 - 60 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. corn beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 boxes 45/55 - 330 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 boxes raisins</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Cases 56/65 - 200 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 cads MN tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases 66/67 - 100 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. peaches</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 kegs 68/87 - 1000 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 kegs syrup</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>219 lbs. dried apples</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,507.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases 94/95 - 140 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>120 lb. lard</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sacks CS bacon 2141 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>278.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 96 - 90 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 case axle grease</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 boxes 97/104 - 410 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 boxes Royal soap</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 bbls, 105/109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>955 lbs. loaf sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sack 110 - 259 lbs.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256 lbs. Rangoon rice</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 111 - 60 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Weight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 case telephone matches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 112 - 150 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 113 - 150 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 114 - 150 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 115 - 150 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 116/117 - 100 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin 118 - 50 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 iron covered tin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tins 119/122 - 200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tins 119/122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tins 123/125 - 75 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolls 126/129 - 156 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keg 130 - 100 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keg 131 - 100 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keg 132 - 100 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bbls. 133-/135 - 210 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bbl 136 - 150 lbs.
6 doz. 8" plates
2 only glass fruit jars
1 only caster

Case 137 - 100
6 doz. med. pain killer
2 doz. electric oil
2 lbs. whole cinnamon
2 lbs. root ginger
25 lbs. sky blue paint
5 doz. hand saw files

Case 138 - 20 lbs.
4 doz. castor oil (Can) ½ pt.

Case 139 - 60 lbs.
1 lot tin measures
3 only door locks
14 lbs. paragorie lozenges

Forward

Bls, 140 - 30 lbs.
28 lbs. peppermint lozenges

Case 141 - 40 lbs.
2 gals 50 C.L.

4 cases 142/5 - 400 lbs.
12 kegs FFF powder

4 cases
1 shirt (delivered)
1 pr. drawers
1 set buttons
1 bottle brandy
1 can oysters
1 - 3 gal. keg
1 new case

Case 146 - 150 lbs.
1 case pressed vegetables (no charge)

Bdls. 147/8 - 200 lbs.
12 pr. 8 x 10 sashes 19.20
2 pr. shoes (delivered)
2 boys suits (delivered)
1 only shawl (delivered)
1 only undershirt (delivered)
1 only shirt
1 only suit
2 boys hats 54.40
149 - 50 lbs.
1 wash stand
2 frames
2 mats
1 papier mâché bracket 8.90
Forward 4,318.00
Bl. 150 - 30 lbs.
2 picture frames 7.50
Bl. 151 - 500 lbs.
42 gals. cider barrels 23.00
Bott 152 - 105 lbs.
101 lbs. NH Tobacco 62.62
Addressed William Boyer Qu'Appelle
    c/o B. Boyer
Case 1
2 gals. liquor
1 keg
1 case 9.40
12 lbs. w Bro thread (in case 13) 9.60

$4,430.92

Source: PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, file 892789
Appendix E. Losses Incurred by Ludger Gareau at Batoche during the Insurrection of 1885:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maison à deux étages faite sur des fondations en pierre couverte en bardeaux et très confortable</td>
<td>2500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billet de $500.00</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billet de $120.00</td>
<td>120.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caisse d'outils pour la menuiserie et la charpente pour trois ouvriers</td>
<td>400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hengard de 18 x 18 pieds grand</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>écurie de 18 x 18 pieds grande</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jument prise</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autre jument prise</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheval rebuté</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 pièces de bois équarri rendu sur place</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 lbs. de bacon à .25 la lb.</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moulin à coudre</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boggie couvert pris et brisé endommagé</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sacs a farine à $8.00 le sac</td>
<td>64.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 pieds de bois de sciage</td>
<td>54.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000 bardeaux</td>
<td>32.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>fusil à deux coups</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poêle à chauffer de 2½ pieds</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poêle à cuisine avec les ustensiles</td>
<td>6.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 coudres de tuyaux à .75 le coudre</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buffet de salle</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 couchettes</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lit fermant ou de voyage</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lit de plume</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tête d'oreiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>matelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>draps de lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>paires de couvertes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>couvrepieds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>chaises à $2.00 la chaise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>chaises à $2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½</td>
<td>douzaine de couteaux &amp; fourchettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½</td>
<td>douzaine de cuillères à soupe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½</td>
<td>douzaine de cuillères à thé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½</td>
<td>douzaine de tasses et soucoupes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>assiettes de fafence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>assiettes de ferblanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>grand couteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>plats de ferblanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>grand plat pour laver la vaisselle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>grand plat pour boulanger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sucrier en cristal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pot à sirop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pot à lait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>plat pour la viande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>autre canard de ferblanc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>table à rabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bureau de toilette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>banc pour déposer les seaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>seaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>chaudières</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lampes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>support de lampes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chandelier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>fers à repasser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pendule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>miroirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 rasoirs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doucine pour les raboirs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot et savonnette pour barbe</td>
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<tr>
<td>corniches en découpage à $3.00 chaque</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>couteaux de poche à .75 chaque</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>balais</td>
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<td>paires de ciseaux à $1.50 et $1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>brosse pour poêle</td>
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<tr>
<td>boîte de mine pour poêle</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>rideaux de chassis à $1.50 chaque</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>grosse de vis à .75 chaque</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>paquets de point à finir</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>corne pour mettre la poudre</td>
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<tr>
<td>peau de vache repassée</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peau de cheval repassée</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>cuvette</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>planches à laver</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harnais de boggie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harnais de travail</td>
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<tr>
<td>selle</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 lbs. de pommes sèches à 25 cts la lb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 lbs. de riz sèche à 25 cts la lb.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 lbs. de raisin à 30 cts la lb.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 lbs. de sucre à 25 cts la lb.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 lbs. de sel à 12½ cts.</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 baril de cinq gallons de sirop</td>
<td>7.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 grand baril pour l'eau</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 minots de blé à $1.50 le minot</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 minots d'orge à $1.50 le minot</td>
<td>25.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 minots de patates à $1.50 le minot</td>
<td>25.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sacs de son de blé à $1.00 le sac</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 voyages de foin à $5.00 le voyage</td>
<td>15.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 pots de mesures pinte 1⅓ 1/8</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 lbs. clous à .12½ cts la lb</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 scies pour couper le bois de poêle</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>haches pour bûcher</td>
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<tr>
<td>meule montée qui tourne avec le pieds</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autre monture de meule</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>étabit avec deux étants et deux vises (?)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêche</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourche à fumier</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>grattre</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>poches de toile à .50 cts. chaque</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poches de coton à .25 cts. chaque</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbs. de boeufs à .12½ cts. chaque</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbs. de suif à .25 cts. la lb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>boîte ¼ lbs. de poivre en ferblanc</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>boîte ¼ lbs. de clous de girofle en ferblanc</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boîte ¼ lbs. de muscade en ferblanc</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boîte ¼ lbs. de cannelle en ferblanc</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>boîte ¼ lbs. de poivre rouge en ferblanc</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caniste de thérébentine d'un pot</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>caniste d'huile d'alain d'un gallon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>caniste d'huile de charbon 5 gallons à $1.50 du gallon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 canistes de cinq gallons vides à $1.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinceaux à $1.25 chaque</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arpents de clôture détruits</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paires de pantalons à $5.25 la paire</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habits à $8.00 l'habit</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capots à $12.00 le capot</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilets ou vestes à $2.25 la veste</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemises de cachemire à $2.50 la chemise</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chemises de toile blanche à $3.00</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col à .75 le col</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 345.25
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>épingletes à $1.50 chaque</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mouchoirs en soie à $1.50 chaque</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mouchoirs en coton à .25 chaque</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>frock ou chemises de dessous en laine à $1.50 chaque</td>
<td>15.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>paires de caleçons en laine à $1.50 chaque</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>paires de chaussons en laine à .75 la pr.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>paires de chaussons en laine à .50 la pr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paires de gants kid à $2.50 la pr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paires de mitaines en fourrure à $4.00 la paire</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>paires de souliers français fins à $5.00 la paire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>paires de souliers français communs à $2.00 la paire</td>
<td>8.00</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>paires de claques de caoutchouc à $1.25</td>
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<td>paire de pardessus en drap</td>
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<td>17.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>bonnets ou casques communs à $2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>chapeaux communs à $1.50</td>
<td>4.50</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>sets ou assortiment de boutons à chemise à $5.00 le set</td>
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<td>sets ou assortiment de boutons à chemise à $2.00 le set</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>brosse pour harde supérieure</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>balais pour harde supérieure</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>parapluie en soie</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>grandes images à $2.00 l'image</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>petites non encadrées</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>paroissiens à $1.50 chaque</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>livre de cantique</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dictionnaire français</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quantité</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Prix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dictionnaire français et anglais</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>grammaires françaises à .75 chaque</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>arithmétiques françaises à .75 chaque</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>livre d'Evangile</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>cathéchisme de persévérance</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>livre d'école 5ième livre</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>livre d'archéologie</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>menuisier pratique</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>manuel de phrases françaises et anglaises</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>livres d'histoire à $1.00 chaque</td>
<td>2.00</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>cahiers d'écriture à .25 chaque</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>livres de comptes à $1.25 chaque</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>main de papier</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>1\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>main de papier à lettre</td>
<td>.62\frac{1}{2}</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>enveloppes avec timbre poste à 4 cts chaque</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>portes plumes</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>boîte de plumes</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>crayons d'encre de chine à .25 chaque</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>crayons de mine commun à .05 chaque</td>
<td>.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>encreries de voyage supérieurs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>boîte à dessein</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ardoise</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>valise supérieure avec beaucoup de compartiments.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>valise</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>petite valise pour les papier supérieurs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bol pour se laver</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>châle en soie</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>châle en merino supérieur</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>châles communs</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>châle en laine supérieure</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>col en soie</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ceinturon en soie</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Prix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robe en satin garnie en soie</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>132.671</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robes en merino garnie en satin à $12.00 chaque</td>
<td>24.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>robe en cachemire garnie en velour</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>robes en indienne à $3.50 chaque</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robe en wincey</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paire de pendants d'oreille</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épinglette</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannelles de fil de soie à .15 chaque</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ballon à l'usage des femmes</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pièce de velour pour garniture</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouchoirs en soie supérieure à $2.00 chaque</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jupons en flanelle à $2.00 chaque</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jupons en coton à $1.25 chaque</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verges d'indienne à .25 la verge</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nette en soie pour les chevaux</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verges de dentelle à .37½ la verge</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capot de drap</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>chemises de coton à .90 chaque</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coupons en soie merino et satin</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paires de souliers fins pour femme à $3.50</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paires de souliers communs pour femme à $2.00 chaque</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serviettes pour la vaisselle à .37½ chaque</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapis de table à $2.00 chaque</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essuie-mains à .50 chaque</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapis de moulin à coudre</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autre choses imprévues</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>217.27½</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Si pour le dommage causé par la perdition de mes outils
moi qui m'étais organisé pour gagner ma vie que de cette
manière cette perdition ma causé un gros dommage. Je me
trouve avec un ouvrier à rien faire si vous me payez une couple de mois seulement, je serais satisfait avec mon ouvrier, sa monterais à 270.00

Appendix F. Estimate of furs and property lost and destroyed at Batoche, during the conflict of 1885, by Mrs. Solomon Venne (Josephte St. Arnaud), lot 55:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit Price</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1346 loups cerviers à $3.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3711.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420 castors pesant 840 livres à $3.75 la livre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>999 foutereaux à $1.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>999.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207 renards rouges à $1.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>362.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 renards croisés à $6.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>186.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 renards argentés à $60.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 martres à $3.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>552.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 pécans à $1.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>310.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4761 rats musqués à .11 le rat musqué</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>523.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>91 peaux d'ours à $12.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1092.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 peaux de carcajou à $4.50 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239 belettes à .10 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>619 peaux de bêtes-puantes à .60 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>371.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 peaux d'originaux à $12.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>204.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 peaux de caribou à $6.00 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>330.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 nerfs à .12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 paires de souliers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>180.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 peaux de loutres à $3.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 blaireaux à .60 chaque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$12425.26

Outre les douze mille quatre cent vingt-cinq piastres et vingt-six centimes de fourrures enlevées par les soldats à Batoche, nous avions tout un fonds de marchandises assorties évaluées à neuf milles piastres, qui a été en partie enlevé par les Sauvages en partie par les Métis et en partie par les soldats.
Je ne puis donner la liste des effets vu que les soldats m'ont enlevé mes livres avec tous mes papiers. Mon ménage que j'évalue à $4000.00 a été aussi complètement pillé et brûlé par la troupe. On a complètement brûlé ma maison d'une valeur de $1700.00. Les troupes nous ont encore pris une paire de chevaux valant $250.00, 6 boeufs à $80.00' chaque formant $480.00, 8 têtes de jeunes animaux valant $50.00 chaque - $400.00.

Les soldats m'ont aussi pris mes livres de compte qui renfermaient pour $500.00 de crédit.

La perte de ces livres nous mettent complètement dans l'impossibilité de pouvoir les collecter. Ainsi, mes pertes à Batoche seul, s'élèvent à un montant de $28,255.25 occasionnées soit par le pillage des Métis ou des Sauvages soit par l'enlèvement des soldats.

Appendix G.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Claimed</th>
<th>Allowed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 English D.B. Shot Gun</td>
<td>$350.00</td>
<td>$280.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Keg Powder</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ballard Rifle and Cartridges</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mexican Saddle</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Saddles</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Doz. Shot Bags</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Powder Flasks</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Union Shirts</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Pairs Wool Drawers</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Pairs Wool Sashes</td>
<td>22.50</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Pairs Pants</td>
<td>46.00</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Wool Smocks</td>
<td>128.00</td>
<td>88.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Pairs Moccasins (buck)</td>
<td>27.50</td>
<td>16.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Pairs Leather Mitts</td>
<td>88.50</td>
<td>59.00</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$934.50</strong></td>
<td><strong>$676.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 Pairs Moccasins                      | 21.00   | 14.00   |
5 Pairs English Blankets                | 45.00   | 40.00   |

The above foods were demanded by Louis Riel and his followers.

$1,000.50   $730.00

On the 19th of March, store broken into by Rebel half-breeds. Goods all taken.
Store completely gutted, amount as near as can be judged.

5,500.00   800.00
Private property destroyed and taken by troops at house of Mrs. Tourond.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Thoroughbred bull</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 oxen</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>240.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 steers</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 cows</td>
<td>900.00</td>
<td>720.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 horses</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>150.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nil</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Forward: $8,350.50 $2,840.00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 bags flour at mill</td>
<td>98.00</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 bushels potatoes</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>187.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furs captured by Rebels</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 bushels oats</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 lbs. butter (in transit)</td>
<td>280.00</td>
<td>210.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 carts and harness</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>45.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$8,350.50</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2,840.00</strong></td>
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</table>

Goods shipped by L.F. Johnson & Co. of Winnipeg and seized by rebels  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advances made to Indians &amp; Half-breeds</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sleigh harness</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months loss of business</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Days incarceration</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td>Nil</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$16,343.50</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,402.50</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

2. G.A. & J. Kerr, In account with J.H. Willowghby, Regina, June, 1888 (as per estimate of order sent to Batoche in February, 1885)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52 P. barley, 1 pepper, 4 mustard</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 salt, 13 baking soda, 5 coffee</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cornstarch, 1 Ev. vegetables, ¼ doz. Fowler's extract</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ doz. Sgr. R.S. juice, 1 doz. Cooper's pills</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ case matches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cook stove, Bl. Lead, ¼ doz. shotbags</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 cartridges, 1 lot table and teaspoons, ¼ doz. thermometers</td>
<td>5.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¼ doz. razors, ¼ lot table and teaspoons, 1/3 scissors</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 lot knives and forks, 2/3 lot table and teaspoons, 1 doz. thermometers</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/8 doz. scissors, 1 only dog collar, 1 broom</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/6 lot Hunter's axes, ¼ doz. hammers, ¼ broom</td>
<td>5.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3 padlock, 1/6 h. saws, 1/3 L. whistles</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross spool cotton</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Broncho mare</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Job lot beads, 27 yds. print, 2 gross spool cotton</td>
<td>17.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pks. darners, 1 doz. L. Wick, 1 doz. H.pins</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. combs, 1 doz. needles, 5/12 handkerchief</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 socks, 3 prs. blankets, 3 bundles c. batting</td>
<td>16.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. ink, 10 pkgs. coffee, 7½ tobacco</td>
<td>7.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross screws, 3 doz. collars, 19 fishlines</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 lower bolts, 1 pr. nippers, 1 plane, 1 hatchet</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hwy square, 1/6 rules, 1/6 W. Brushes, 2 doz. files</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 keg powder, 8 only files, 1 box pencils</td>
<td>13.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 S. Shaves, 1 ditto, 5/12 butcher knives</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pr. hinges, 1 box resin, 1600 percussion caps</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 shots, 5 slates, 1 ditto, 21 blank bks.</td>
<td>14.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 watch chains, 3 doz. W. Keys</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/12 turpentine, 1/6 Blk oil, 5/12 Fowler's extract, 14 E. salts</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/12 castor oil, ¼ pectoral wine, 1/3 R.S. gum</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/6 Castor oil, 25 soda, 30 tea</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PAC, RG15, Vol. 513, file 145780

$331.23
Appendix H. List of Effects, Tools, Implements and Furniture, etc., Destroyed by General Middleton's Soldiers during and after the Batoche Battle, Belonging to Mme Jean Caron (Marguerite Dumas), Lot 52:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damage on Land</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House burnt 26' x 18', two storey high and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 bushels potatoes which were in cellar</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store House burnt, along with 50 bushels wheat, 5 gals. coal oil, 1 tool box</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(carpenters), shovels, spades, hoes, forks, scythes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bedstead, 6 wood chairs</td>
<td>19.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 table, 1 cupboard</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 box stove, 1 cooking stove</td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mirror, clothes brush</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$2,337.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framed pictures</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 buggy, 1 cutter</td>
<td>204.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set double harness</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cart harnesses</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 horses belonging to my sons</td>
<td>250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 grey mare, 1 trunk</td>
<td>135.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tweed suits</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tweed suits</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tweed suits</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boys clothing</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wool shawls</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wool shawls</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

191
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 wool shawls (neck)</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woollen and cotton shirts</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 young girls dresses</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday clothing</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 water pails</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tubs, 2 washboards</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 stable, 2 ploughs</td>
<td>65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 iron harrow, 1 lamp</td>
<td>33.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crockery, and pans</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 fur caps, 2 overcoats</td>
<td>42.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair blankets, white</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yds. fine black cloth</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots and shoes</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry soap</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towels, razor</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 hens</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 fence rails</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Total amount of account**               | **$3,384.10**

Source: PAC, RGL5, Vol. 917, file 892789.
Appendix I. Bill of Damages Sustained by me George Ness of Batoche (lot 62), during the Rebellion of the Spring and Summer of 1885:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadien Horse</td>
<td>225.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutter</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robe</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harness</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse Harness</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Harness</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester Rifle</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breech loading Shotgun with Brass Shells</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester cartridges, 5 tons of Hay</td>
<td>48.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay fork</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 bushels grain at $1.50</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, 6 seamless sacks</td>
<td>48.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fence burnt by rebels</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stove pipes and elbows</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay rack</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging chain</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea pot, silver plated</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chest of tools, culled over</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage by breaking in doors, boxes, etc. in house</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries articles lost in house, the least</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shovel, 3 pr. window sashes</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$1392.50

Source: PAC, RG15, Vol. 914, file 892789
Appendix J. Articles in North West Mounted Police Barracks
(Boyer's store) Batoche, November 23, 1888:

Camp Equipment
- camp kettles 10
- fry pans 4
- tents bell 4
- camp stoves 4
- tent poles 8
- tents A 1

Harness
- wheel sets 1
- bits, driving 3
- collars 5
- collars, tops 2
- cart harness sets 2

Saddlery
- Bob sleigh 1
- jumpers 3 (broken)
- waggons 1
- covers 1
- whiffletree sets 1

Tools, Carpenters
- 1 auger
- 2 chisels
- 1 hammers claw
- 1 plane jack
- 1 plane smooth
2 saws and cut
1 saw rip
1 screwdriver
1 square, steel
1 monkey wrench
1 tenon saw

**Blacksmith Tools**

tools and implements
rakes, shovels, forks, axes, spades, robe, scales

Also miscellaneous stores:
axle grease
black lead packets
butcher knives
leg irons
ropes
glass panes
tar

**Provisions**

**Ammunition**

Winchester Ball rods, 2349
Enfield Revolvers 582

**Barrack Furniture**
curtain poles 2
barrels water 3
wash basin 4
baths 1
benches 2
boards - bed 31
boilers, tin 2
brooms, corn 4
brooms, stable 3
chairs 5
dust pans 3
clock 1
cupboard 1
coffee mill 1
dishes, mess 11
dippers, tin 3
forks, flesh 2
funnels 1
ladles 2
lamp stands 2
lamp swing 8
lamp glasses 16
lamp swings 7
lanterns, stable 6
lanterns, globes 3
measures, tin 1
oil cans 4
pails, gal. iron 13
pans, baking 13
pots, tea or coffee 4
pots, iron 3
lantern wicks 12
stoves, cooking 2
stoves, large box 1
stoves, medium box 1
stoves, parlour 2
stove elbows 8
stove pipe lengths 72
stove taper 1
stove T pipes 3
stove pipe safes 3
scrubbers, long 4
scrubbers, brushes 4
saucepan 1
stove drums 1
taps 1
scoops, tin 2
tables 2
trestles, bed 14
pampers 2

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1 Farm, Prince Albert Dist. n.d. Archives of Saskatchewan, Photograph (hereafter cited as AS)

2 Remains of Original Church, St-Laurent-de-Grandin, ca 1900, AS Photograph
3  Remains of Tourond House, Fish Creek, n.d. AS Photograph

4  House, Duck Lake, ca 1885 Period, AS Photograph
6 Farm Bldgs., St-Laurent (Grandin) ca 1900, from M. Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien*, Batoche Museum Coll.

7 Thatched Roof Barn n.d., n.p. AS Photograph
8  Hillyard Mitchell Store, Duck Lake 1896, AS Photograph

9  Main Street, Duck Lake ca 1905, AS Photograph

10  Stobart Mill, Duck Lake, Erected 1879
Hudson Bay

VOYAGEUR'S HIGHWAY,
MAIN ROUTE N.W.C. UNTIL 1821

MAIN ROUTE FOR H.B.C.
MAIN ROUTE HEAVY TRAFFIC 1821-60

OTHER TRADE ROUTES, INLAND TRADE ROUTE 19TH C.

Trade Routes & Settlements, Batoche District, ca 1760-1860
12 Trade Routes & Settlements, Batoche District, ca 1860-1885
Building identified as Letendre's First Store, n.d., AS Photograph

Building identified as Letendre's First Store, n.d., AS Photograph
Source: AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 159609
JOS. PARENTEAU CLAIM
1879
TP43-RI-W3, SECTION 30

PLAN OF POSITION AT
BATTLE OF BATOQUE,
May 12th, 1885.
Scale 20 Chains = 1 Inch.

From a sketch made by Messrs. Burrows and Denny, of the Surveyors Intelligence Corps.

Explanations:
- Enemy's Rifle Pits
- Our do do
- Mt. Midland Batt.
- Grenadiers
- 90th Batt.
- Surveyors' Scouts
- Boulton's Scouts

A... House sheltered by gun on left of our line
B... House which contained the 9 prisoners.

Troops thrown as advancing in skirmishing order at commencement of engagement.
19  Batoche Village, Lieut. Col. Wyndham, 1885, AS Photograph

20  Batoche Village, Capt. H. de H. Haig, 1885, INA, Parks Canada, Ottawa Photograph
21 Batoche from the Vicinity of Cemetery, May 9 1885, Public Archives of Canada Photograph C-3465

22 Batoche from West Bank of River, Vicinity of Crossing, 1885, Fort Battleford Photographic Coll.
"IMPROVEMENTS" of SETTLERS
1886
TP 45 - RI - W3 (ST. LOUIS)

Source: AS, Department of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file 99195
26 Close-Up of Letendre's House from West Bank, ca 1910 AS Photograph
VIEW OF BATOCHÉ,


"View of Batoche" Winnipeg Sun, May 8, 1886
VILLAGE OF BATOCH, 

1. Blacksmith's Shop, owned by Batoche. 2. Geo. Fisher's new store. 3. Boyer's store and Fisher's old store. 4. Philippe Canut House. 5. Batoche's new store. The prisoners were in the cellar of Fisher's store. These buildings were all occupied by the rebels and captured by the troops. The latter loopholed them when they took possession, and earthworks were thrown up between these buildings, and the Council house, to the rear of Fisher's store, forming a square.

28 "Village of Batoche" Winnipeg Sun, May 8, 1886
30 Interior of Letendre's House, n.d. (1885?), Fort Battleford Photograph Coll

31 Letendre's House, ca. 1886, AS Photograph
33 Batoche Village, ca. 1886, AS Photograph

34 Métis Shelters, West Bank, May 1885, AS Photograph
River flat where Half Breed women and children were camped after the battle.
"Front of Rebel Position" Vicinity of Caron and Gareau Buildings, Batoche, May 1885, by Capt. J. Peters, Glenbow Alberta-Institute Photograph
"Field on Which Gen. Middleton Camped East of Batoche", 1885,
Showing Buildings in Vicinity, AS Photograph
1889
LOT 47 (VILLAGE)

Source: J.L. Reid "Trail from Qu'Appelle and Prince Albert to Batoche" 1889, p 37 A.
39 Letendre House (NWMP Barracks), ca. 1910, AS Photograph
40 Letendre House (NWMP Barracks), n.d. (ca 1907-1917), Univ. of Sask. Library Photo.

41 Letendre House (NWMP Barracks), n.d. (ca 1907-1917), IN A, HRD, Ottawa, Photo.Coll.
42 Batoche from West Bank of River, ca 1910, AS Photograph

43 Batoche Ferry from West Bank of River, 1912 in N.F. Black, History of Sask. Vol.1 p.168
44 Foundations of Letendre House, 1948, Univ. of Sask. Library Photograph

45 Letendre's Store (Grant Bros.), Batoche, ca 1915, AS Photograph
46 "Venne Houses", Lot 55, Batoche, ca 1915, Batoche Museum Coll.

47 "Remains of Champagne House", Lot 44, Batoche, ca 1948, Univ. of Sask. Library Photo.
Jean Caron House, Lot 52, Batoche, n.d. ca 1895, Archives Oblats de Marie-Immaculée, Edmonton

Albert Caron House (former J. Caron House in Fig. 48), ca 1949, AS Photograph
Principal Métis Settlements, North Central Saskatchewan in 1950's