BATOCHE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
PERIOD LANDSCAPE STUDY
by Robert Coutts
1980
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Period Landscape Study
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Preface

The Batoche Period Landscape Study, prepared for use at the Planning Alternative stage, is guided by the terms of reference and goals of the planning process, and is written in conjunction with the Batoche military history currently being prepared by Walter Hildebrandt. The project's resource materials are drawn primarily from the research compiled by the site historian Diane Payment, to whom I am most gratefully indebted, and from the various archaeological and biophysical studies prepared for Parks Canada since 1976. Historical documentation, and the analysis of photographic and cartographic materials provided by the author, complete the remainder of the source material.

Acknowledgements are due to Diane Payment, archaeologist Dave Burley, and the other members of the Batoche Planning Team. Their guidance and criticisms were invaluable. Special thanks must go also to Brent Richard and Darlene Stewart for their careful rendering of the maps contained in the Appendices. A debt of gratitude is also owed to the Public Archives of Canada, the Archives of Saskatchewan, the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and the Glenbow-Alberta Institute for permission to use the photographic materials also contained in the Appendices.
I Introduction

The focus of this study is a general, and essentially comparative, period landscape analysis of Batoche village and environs for the years 1873-ca.1960. Its scope and design fall within, and relate to, the parameters of the Batoche planning project's dual themes; (a) the development and physical interpretation of Métis culture, and (b) the engagement of 1885. It will propose a synthesis of landscape interpretation that will provide the historic geographic background for these themes, and allow for a greater comprehension of their relationship to the actual physical environment of Métis settlement and culture. Constraints of time and resources have necessitated a somewhat schematic and descriptive approach which, at this preliminary stage, will facilitate the interpretive planning process for the Batoche site. Though essentially comparative in design and narrative in nature, the study will also examine the extent and influence of human and cultural elements as they relate to, and affect, the landscape. As a period landscape study it must go beyond the simple cataloguing of historical, topographical and geographical features, to include at least a cursory examination of the land as an extension of social culture.

The Métis village at Batoche was established on the banks of the South Saskatchewan at the crossing of the Carlton trail, the most important trade and transportation link between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton. The establishment in 1873 of a ferry service by Xavier Letendre (dit Batoche) at river lot 47 (Township 43, Range 1, West of the Third Meridian) signaled the development of the site as a commercial and agricultural community,
as well as a freighting centre for goods moving both east and west. The area enjoyed a steady growth, and by 1884 almost every lot in Township 43, and those in 42 to the south and 44 to the north, had been claimed, and to some degree cleared and cultivated. The construction of a church and rectory in 1883 and 1885 on lots 50 and 51 south-east of the village, established Batoche as an important religious and cultural centre in the South Saskatchewan district of the North-West. After 1885, however, the decline of the village became inevitable. The construction of the CPR rail line which by-passed Batoche to the south, and the creation of a branch line in 1890 north to Prince Albert and west of the village, effectively ended its period of growth and development. The abandonment and gradual destruction of the stores and structures on lot 47 after 1900, the dismantling of Letendre's house around 1923 and the removal and transfer of the ferry (at lot 47) in 1921, further reduced the site to only an essentially religious and educational community serving a rural district composed of a scattered and decreasing Métis population. With the closing of the school in 1966, this change had been completed.

As an historic site the landscape at Batoche offers significant potential for period development and restoration, despite its geographic size and the diffusiveness of the resource base. The dynamic interrelationship of extant remains with the project's themes is clearly evident, and makes the interpretation of the site's historic physical environment in many ways unique. It successfully blends cultural resources (e.g. Church and Rectory, cemetery, village remains, ferry crossing and trails) with that of the military (e.g. rifle pits, zareba, etc) to allow specific period interpretation and restoration, while at the same time portraying the sociological evolution of the community over a linear time frame.

The partition of the site into distinctive resource and geographic units of varying thematic emphasis has necessitated
that a period landscape analysis adopt a similar approach. Specifically, Batoche can be broken down into six component areas: 1. Church and Rectory, 2. East Village, 3. Zareba-Caron farm complex, 4. the Champagne farm and buildings, 5. ferry crossing and 6. the West Village. Each region represents a varied landscape evolution which carries implications for the area as a whole, both in terms of the battle of 1885, and the development of Métis culture. Emphasis will be placed upon those sections prioritized by site planning, namely the Zareba area, the Church and Rectory, the east village and the ferry crossing. The west village which is of equal cultural and historical significance, and that area of the park south of section 18, will have a lower priority for this particular study. Nonetheless, this region will be considered in the total landscape perception at Batoche.

Methodologically and thematically, four phases in the development of the site will be examined. They are: 1. pre-1873, 2. 1873-1884, 3. 1885-1900, and 4. 1900 to the present, with the greatest emphasis placed upon the evolution of the landscape in the battle and post-battle periods (1885-1890). In this manner, landscape and land use history at Batoche can be placed in its social, political, religious and economic context. As an introduction to the actual village site, the general landscape of the Batoche-Fort Carlton region in the pre-1873 phase will be discussed and documented through the use of Hudson's Bay Company post reports, early survey and exploration journals, and private diaries. It will attempt to provide information, albeit of a highly schematic nature, on early landscape evolution vis-à-vis such factors as the impact of the fur trade and the early effect of fire. The founding of the village (1873) to the eve of the battle (1884) represents the decade in which the settlement began to enjoy a burgeoning commercial success, effectively altering the nature and character of the site's landscape evolution. The
battle, and subsequent development of the village (1885-1900), not surprisingly, provides the greatest amount of historical geographic documentation, as well as period maps, photographs and illustrations. Consequently, this chapter will form the bulk of landscape information and interpretation, the previous chapters serving primarily as background, or introductory material. The ensuing chapter, dealing with the 1900-ca.1960 phase, will further define the role of landscape and land use factors in the decline of the village. As well, appendices comprised of a comparative period-modern photographic analysis, a schematic historical vegetation map, and numerous other maps, illustrations and photographs will provide a more detailed, site specific, interpretation of the topography and vegetation at Batoche.

Although these four time divisions help define the village's landscape evolution and give some degree of focus to the changing nature of the land, primarily in terms of agriculture, they are by no means rigid and inflexible dates and only attempt a slightly less than arbitrary categorization of the site's physical, economic and social development. Through the examination of these varied "eras" in the evolutions of the Batoche geography, one can arrive at a greater comprehension of the landscape as not simply a "mental construct," but a visible historical rapport between a people, a society, and their physical environment.

To define "landscape" in its historical context is to assign it a meaning that not only describes it as "a view or vista of scenery or land, interpreted in written form or by visual means," but a description of the land as a reflection of culture." At Batoche the evolution of the landscape was rooted in the particular attitude of the Métis regarding the nature of their environment. Their perceptions differed radically from the anglo-protestant mentality held by, for example, a W.R. Motherwell or the Hudson's Bay Company. The notion of a
"garrison mentality," first proposed by historian Northrop Frye, sheds light on how the Hudson's Bay Company employee, or later, the Ontarian immigrant farmer, confronted the "immense impersonality" of the physical landscape. Frye's thesis becomes comparatively useful for an understanding of Métis attitudes toward the land. The "huge, unthinking, menacing and formidable physical setting" which confronted the English speaking farmers and traders arriving on the prairies from the east created a predilection toward establishing an isolated replica of the culture from which they had come. Nature was viewed as a threat, an enemy that had to be subdued and controlled. The fur trade employee and the Ontarian homesteader constructed a comfortable refuge, a "garrison" which "manipulated the social and natural landscape to approximate more closely the familiar environment of their traditional cultures." As the early fur traders had constructed their walls of wood or stone, so too had immigrant English farmers planted extensive shelterbelts around their property. The effect was the same. Within each the land could be transformed with flower and vegetable gardens, green areas, and walkways, all reflecting an attempt to deal with the harshness of the environment.

The Métis response, on the other hand, tended more toward the Native idea that man could live in harmony with his surroundings. The land was taken for what it was worth and no extensive attempt was made to alter the landscape or create a protected physical environment. The bonds of kinship and communal spirit, and a strong sense of cultural belonging, provided the Métis with, in effect, their own "garrison" against outside elements. While the anglo-protestant chose to control the immediate landscape in his quest to come to terms with an unforgiving environment, the Métis modified only that which was physically essential. For him, flower gardens and picket fences were superfluous to the realities of life, whether it was a life of buffalo hunting, farming or, for some, freighting.
Consequently, a period landscape study of Batoche will differ quite radically from a land use study of Lower Fort Garry or the Motherwell farmstead. While the latter deals, for the most part, with an essentially artificial landscape and a precise documented record of modifications within a limited space, the former must be content to catalogue and summarize less exact, or at least less documented, changes in the landscape or an immense area totalling twenty-seven hundred acres. The evolution of the landscape at Batoche is primarily the evolution of the vegetation pattern; that is, the changing interrelationship of forest and prairie. Though the influence of man can be duly noted (primarily in terms of agriculture), it is far less evident than the more radical alterations made by the Ontarian homesteader. Furthermore, what changes did take place have, in large part, gone unrecorded. We are left with the landscape accounts of the battle of 1885 and the evidence of period photographs as our primary source of information. Nonetheless, through these and other records, general conclusions can be made as to the physical appearance of Batoche around the latter part of the 19th century.

The interpretation of the park's landscape relies heavily upon available historical documentation and photographic evidence, while functioning in conjunction with current interdisciplinary resources. The archaeological programme at Batoche, first undertaken in 1976, has located and analyzed the major site remains; the ruins along commercial row, the Champagne farmstead and Letendre's residence, as well as trail remnants and military associated features within the park boundary. Though period sources dealing with land use are pivotal, any study of organic landscape must also rely upon the archaeologists' systematic description of the built resources. At Batoche, these extant remains form the historical backdrop upon which landscape restoration can be undertaken.

Project resources can be generally categorized under
three main areas: photographic and cartographic evidence, historical documentation and interdisciplinary reports and resource material. A fairly comprehensive inventory of photographs exists in various archival collections, particularly for the battle and post-battle periods (1885-1900). A number of period maps and illustrations, usually drawn by members of the Canadian Survey Corps, are used selectively, as they tend to be partially inaccurate or distorted for reasons of technical inferiority, misinformation or cultural bias.

Historical documentation regarding the Batoche landscape is extensive. Again it is the Northwest Rebellion which furnishes the greatest source material, due almost wholly to the village's sudden rise to prominence in May of 1885 in the journals and tabloids of Eastern Canada. This documentation can be found in contemporary newspaper accounts, private journals and Canadian government Sessional papers. In addition, a good deal of descriptive information originates from early exploration and survey expeditions, Homestead Files, Rebellion Losses Claims, Land Branch Files and OMI Correspondence. Interdisciplinary studies such as Diane Payment's Structural and Settlement History of Batoche Village, as well as archaeological reports, biophysical and period ecology investigations all contribute significantly to a comprehension of the site's historical landscape.
II The Batoche - Fort Carlton District, pre-1873

A brief summary of current landform, vegetation and climatic patterns of both the park and the wider South Saskatchewan can serve as a preamble to a discussion of the site's early historical landscape evolution. According to biophysical surveys (Abouguendia and Coupland, 1976), the area is typical of the west's interior continental climate; short hot summers with a mean July temperature of $16.9^\circ C$, and long cold winters with a mean January temperature of $-19.6^\circ C$. Precipitation levels average 382 mm annually, with 65 per cent of this total falling in the summer months (April-September). The slight but noticeable rise in mean annual temperatures in the decades since 1900, the severe winters of the 1880s, and the comparatively low precipitation levels for the 1880s and 1890s, have been noted in various studies.

Physiographically, the area can be classified as river plain and is dominated by six landform categories (see Figure II, Appendix A). They are: a) well and poorly drained aeolian plains which are primarily on the park's west side, with topography ranging from undulating to hilly; b) lacustrine plain occurring on the river's east side, with knoll and depression patterns and undulating topography; c) glacio-fluvial plain found on the western half of the east side, which ranges from strongly sloping to moderately rolling; d) riverbank complex located along the river sides and varying from steep slope to strongly rolling, and e) alluvial flood plain and sand bar areas of the river's edge. The primary focus of this particular study, the village area on the east side, lies in the glacio-fluvial plain region of the park.
Batoche is also situated in the forest-grassland transitional area of the province, exhibiting elements of both boreal forest to the north and plains to the south. It is dominated by aspen and balsam poplar, open grassland, cultivated areas and natural shrub vegetation.\textsuperscript{4} The village area, and in fact almost the whole of the east side, is dominated by cultivated vegetation, the riverbank by forest, and the west side by grassland, upland shrub, forest and wetland vegetation.\textsuperscript{5} (see Figure I, Appendix A). Although Redman and Ripley (1976) point out that coniferous trees are no longer present at the site, they may have been native to the region until the 18th century.\textsuperscript{6} Scientific and biological evidence has indicated that the line of coniferous forest at one time extended some 50 miles further south than its present range.

The park is located in the grey-black transition soil zone, with grassland soils (meota and hamlin-meota) predominant on the park's eastern plain (see Figure III, Appendix A). Its wildlife is both diverse and abundant. Game animals such as snowshoe rabbit, jackrabbit, mule deer, wapiti, white tailed deer, moose, bison and grizzly bears were all present until the mid to late 19th century. In I.M. Spry's account of the Palliser expedition (1857-1860) a side trip by a small group of expedition members which crossed the South Saskatchewan at or near Batoche, elicited this comment upon the wildlife; "The Indians came here only in war parties, never to hunt, so game was plentiful. The explorers found great numbers of buffalo."\textsuperscript{7} Today, only furbearers such as coyote, muskrat, weasel, ermine, badger and occasionally black bears, are to be found in the area.

The buffalo played an especially major role in the early history of the site. Moodie and Ray (1976) assert that bison seasonal movements alternated between the open prairie in the summer and the parkland area in winter. Batoche provided a winter shelter for the massive herds, a fact which first
brought Métis hunters to the immediate vicinity. In time, Batoche became a wintering headquarters for these people. By the latter half of the 19th century (ca. 1874), the buffalo herds had moved westward to a line stretching from the Cypress Hills in the southwest to the Saskatchewan rivers in the north, approximately 25 kilometers west of Batoche.

Early Amerindian occupation in the area has been well documented. According to Payment (1976) the Gros Ventres inhabited the area of the South Saskatchewan exclusively until 1750, when Saulteaux and Blackfoot were known to have moved in for purposes of trading and hunting. With the building of fur trade posts just north of the Batoche site commencing in 1785, the Hudson's Bay Company and its free trade competition generated bitter inter-tribal rivalries and some less than friendly competition. The bloody struggles of the 1790s forced the withdrawal of the Gros Ventres to the southwest, leaving the area exclusively to the new tribes. By the early 19th century the Plains Cree had also inhabited the new region.

Henry Kelsey's journal of his inland travels for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1690 and 1691 provide a first glimpse of the physiography and wildlife of the western plains. His writings, although not giving any clear indication of specific locations, do serve as a preliminary catalogue of general landscape features. Descriptions of "heathy and barren... fields...with fine groves of Poplo [sic] growing round...", intimate a parkland area south of the boreal forest, an area which could easily describe Batoche. The routes of Anthony Henday (1755) and Matthew Cocking (1772) suggest that each reached the South Saskatchewan near Clarke's Crossing, south of Batoche. Both journals describe a parkland setting; Henday noting "...hilly, short grass country," and Cocking, "thickets and sticks and trees areas separated by grassy plains and sloughs."
The expansion of the fur trade inland in the latter half of the 18th century saw the construction of numerous posts by the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in the South Saskatchewan region. Essentially pemmican posts, Fort des Isles, Carlton House, and the three South Branch Houses served to provision the inland fur brigades, as well as heighten and extend the fierce fur trade competition between the two companies. To counteract the presence of the North West Company at Fort des Isles, HBC Inland Chief William Tomison built South Branch House I in 1786, approximately 30 miles upstream on the South Saskatchewan. A.S. Morton has determined that this post, which closed in 1794, stood on the river's east bank at Gardepuis Crossing to the northeast of Batoche on Section 35 along the border of townships 44 and 45, Range 1, West of the 3rd Meridian. That same year the Canadians, under Nicholas Montour and William Thorburn, constructed their own South Branch House I across the river, and only slightly downstream from the Bay post. By 1804, ten years after their destruction by the Atsena, each company had built a new fort further upstream. Daniel Harmon of the North West Company described South Branch House II as only, "a few hundred yards" away from the Bay's Carlton House, and approximately six miles upriver from their previous posts. This estimation would place the site of the two forts (which were both on the east bank) possibly at or near Batoche. Unfortunately, no records remain from these posts which would provide clues as to the early landscape and geography of the immediate region. Consequently, it is only the incomplete and rather sparse journal entries of Mitchell Oman at South Branch House I, and the daily records of Fort Carlton (1810-1885) which are of any use. Again, however, descriptions of the landscape were not a priority among these early traders. The strictly commercial aspect of their day-to-day activities precluded such non-essential reporting; the journals generally commenting only upon trade, the weather, the presence or absence of buffalo
and unusual events. Mention was made, however, of prairie fires; conflagrations which "substantially altered the landscape and threatened to bring the fur trade operation in the crucially important Saskatchewan district to a standstill."\textsuperscript{17} Oman's entry for September 24, 1786 at South Branch House I states that there is "...a storm of wind at W.S.W. with thick smoke all around us occasioned by the barren ground being on fire."\textsuperscript{18} At Fort Carlton numerous entries between 1829 and 1840 make reference to fire, including its threat to the post, the disruption of trade and the starvation of the Indians due to depleted buffalo herds.\textsuperscript{19} The effect of fire on the landscape was considerable, easily altering the character and pattern of woodland and prairie. At Batoche this factor, although not documented for these early years, more than likely played a major role in the site's evolving landscape. Much later, in 1884, William Pearce, while investigating land claim rights at Batoche, noted;

the destruction caused by fires exceeds that of the previous year, and the time has come when one begins to realize that very drastic measures are becoming necessary in order to prevent the extensive ranges from being burned off...\textsuperscript{20}

The records of numerous scientific and exploration expeditions of the mid-19th century provide a good deal of insight into the landscape of the North and South Saskatchewan region in general, and Batoche in particular. Palliser's travels of 1857 brought him to the South Saskatchewan at the Elbow, 160 miles south of Batoche, and to Fort Carlton on the north branch. His journals provide a wealth of information on vegetation, landforms and wildlife, as well as native habitation and culture.\textsuperscript{21} Henry Youle Hind's diary details the activities of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition and its journey up the south branch in the late summer of 1858. From its entries it is difficult to pinpoint his exact locations, although it would appear that his entrance into the parkland area on August 3 of that year places him at or near Batoche.
He writes:

The banks of the river are about one hundred feet high, but the river still flows through a dreary prairie for thirty miles from our camp, after which 'the Woods,' as they are termed begin; they consist of a few clumps of aspen on the hill flanks of the deep valley. The face of the country is changing fast, and is becoming more undulating, patches of aspen showing themselves on the prairie...22

George Grant, travelling with the Sanford Fleming expedition of 1872, described the South Saskatchewan crossing at Batoche:

The river at this point is from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards wide...Groves of aspen, balsam and poplars and small white birch are on both banks. The valley is about a mile wide, narrower therefore than the valley of the Assiniboine or the Qu'Appelle, though the [South] Saskatchewan is larger than the two put together...Near the ferry an extensive reserve of land has been secured for a French halfbreed settlement. A number of families have already come up from Fort Garry...the scantling for a house was on the ground near our camp.23

As well as these journals, the writings of W.B. Cheadle (The North West Passage by Land, 1865), W.F. Butler (The Great Lone Land, 1873), and John Macoun (Manitoba and the Great Northwest, 1882), provide detailed description of the South Saskatchewan landscape and vegetation without, unfortunately, commenting upon the specific area around Batoche.24

Early Oblate missionary, correspondence also supplies some descriptive accounts of the land and agriculture, primarily in the area of St. Laurent (Township 44). In a letter written in 1867, Père André comments:

This is a fertile land and efforts of those who will cultivate it will be rewarded. Last year our mission had a wonderful crop: 900 barrels of good wheat, 100 barrels of rye and almost 700 peck of potatoes.25

The success of cultivation, and the variety of the agriculture in the Saskatchewan district is suggested in an 1862 letter to Bishop Taché from Père Caer:

...Our sowing is coming to an end; we sowed seven
barrels of wheat, 20 of potatoes, 100 of barley and three pints of buckwheat. We also have a big garden. Nothing is missing, we even have pumpkins, melons, cucumbers and prunes. Oh I am wrong my Lord, one thing is missing: a row of red currants which would turn our garden into a real French garden.\textsuperscript{26}

French and Métis involvement in the Batoche area resulted from the western expansion of the fur trade. Jean-Baptiste Letendre dit Batoche, grand-father of Xavier Batoche, was known to have contacts with several of the posts on the South Saskatchewan and probably began wintering in the neighbourhood in the late 1790s.\textsuperscript{27} Later, with the decline of the York boat and the increasing use of the Red River cart as the west's predominant means of shipping and transportation, Batoche became an important wintering link on the Carlton trail between Fort Garry and Forts Carlton and Edmonton in the west. Oblate missionaries had arrived by the 1860s to minister to the semi-permanent Métis communities at Petite Ville (near Fish Creek), Prairie Ronde, Fort Carlton, and later at St. Laurent and Batoche.\textsuperscript{28} Whereas previous to 1870 the Métis has been based at Red River while making frequent excursions to the Saskatchewan district, after the dissolution of the provisional government in Manitoba many left to take up permanent residence on the South Saskatchewan. The founding of a community at St. Laurent in the spring of 1872 firmly established the Métis presence as freighters, commercial entrepreneurs, hunters and to an extent, farmers in townships 42 through 45 along the south branch. The commercial opportunities of the land adjacent to the point where the Carlton trail crossed the river; lot 47 of township 43, led to the construction of a ferry service and the development, eventually, of a village site on lots 46 and 47, and later a mission on lots 50 and 51.

The influence of Métis settlement, and their gradual evolution away from a traditional hivernant lifestyle to a more active commercial and agricultural existence, would soon
produce a focussed and permanent effect upon the physical landscape of the community and the region.
The failure of the provisional government in Manitoba in 1870, and the subsequent migration of many of the disaffected Métis to the South Saskatchewan region, served to create new communities of freighters and commercial entrepreneurs. The realization, by the original hivernant Métis, that their traditional hunting lifestyle was rapidly coming to a close due to the depletion of the buffalo herds, changed the nature and character of settlement dramatically. The founding of St. Laurent in 1871, an antecedent to the development at Batoche's crossing, illustrated this transition. Eventually, with the expansion of settlement, Xavier Letendre (dit Batoche), in response to the commercial success enjoyed by Gabriel Dumont at his ferry crossing at section 20 in township 42, decided to introduce a ferry service seven miles further north at the crossing of the Carlton trail. Letendre, laying claim to river lots 40 through 48, established a store-residence on lot 47 in 1873 and began commercial and freighting activities to supplant his earlier trading income. The increasing volume of traffic on the Carlton Trail as well as the area's rapidly developing agricultural significance eventually attracted other commercial enterprises to the crossing site (Boyer and Fisher, 1883). By the early 1880s, a vibrant economic and cultural community had been established at Batoche.

The general physical setting of the area and its natural advantage for settlement were evident to the Métis of the South Branch. Letendre, himself, commented that:

...Les arbres, les trembles plus généralement, sont
The land was described as being "arable [and] covered with hay and trees and having abundant water." The poplar growths were "distributed in clusters...between...[which]...were prairie lands having abundant hay," with enough wood in the vicinity for building, heating and fencing. The height of the river bank at the village site, approximately 60 to 70 feet, provided adequate protection against spring flooding, allowing settlers to construct homes "...forty or fifty feet from the water without fear of inundation." As well, the steep banks furnished a wonderful view of the river and surrounding countryside. A member of the Faithful Companions of Jesus travelling to Prince Albert in 1883, noted that "...at the banks of the Saskatchewan [at Batoche] the view from the elevation was magnificent...the river laying below us, winding its course among the most luxuriant foliage." The village itself was ringed, approximately one-quarter mile to the east, by a gentle rise of land fringed with bluffs of poplar. Representative of the rolling parkland of the South Saskatchewan, it sat at the base of a shallow valley which accommodated scattered stands of poplar and some scrub vegetation.

Batoche lay in a basin surrounded on three sides by hills with the South Saskatchewan river in the west. The river flowed in a rather deep valley a mile wide [sic] with hills on either side...It flowed a little east of north to meet the main branch at P.A. The horseshoe extension of the valley containing the village and precipitous forest clad hills for nearly its whole circumference, the timber being heavier near the river and more open on the hills toward the east...
The Faithful Companions of Jesus comment that the eastern approach to the village, the descent into the elliptical river valley, "became very beautiful as we made our way between woods of poplar, where we found many beautiful flowers..." 8

Early survey reports of townships 42 through 48 by King and Aldous (1878), J.L. Reid (1879) and G.A. Simpson (1881) provide very general landscape accounts of the region. Simpson describes expanses of thick scrub and "bluffs of poplar, some of which are of considerable extent, [surrounding] small sheltered prairie openings." 9 As well, the existence of numerous ponds and sloughs, varying in size from a few acres to a few square yards, are noted. King, in 1878, describes the land north of Batoche as rolling, with a good rich sandy loam soil. "Poplar, spruce and tamarac are met with [emphasis mine]. Second growth poplar, with hazel and willow underbrush, was plentiful." 10 The property at township 43, Range 1 [Batoche], is described by Reid as being "well covered with poplar and willow scrub" with some areas of prairie. Lot 47, he writes, is open plain "interspersed with poplar and willow one to four feet high" and containing a "small slough" east of Batoche's store. 11

Reid's notebooks also yield schematic landscape information on the west side. Survey drawings of Joseph Parenteau's claim on section 30, Abraham Montour's on section 19 and Isidore Dumont's on section 31, reveal considerable treed regions, open prairie, and low areas of muskeg (see figure 1, Appendix E). The land on the west side proved less receptive to agriculture due to the sandy, marshy character of the soil (classified primarily as "dune sand"). It did, however, provide adequate ranges for grazing and haying, especially on those river lots south of lot 18. According to the documentation available in the Homestead Files, lots 9 through 19, and sections 18, 19, and 30 had only a small amount of cultivated acreage in the
period prior to 1885. The major development on this side of the river came to be known as the west village, a grouping of at least six structures at or near the ferry crossing on section 19. The commercial outlet of Walters and Baker (1882) pre-dates, in fact, a number of the stores in the east village (see figure 9A, Appendix B).

The east side of the ferry crossing, established by Letendre in 1873 and taken over by Fisher in 1877, was approximately two hundred to two hundred and fifty metres west of the village site, at a point where the slope of the river bank was less pronounced. The trail from "Batoche Avenue" passed through riverbank poplar stands about 60 metres in width, forking at a point where the trail from Letendre's house to the south met the Carlton trail (see map, Appendix G). A bed of stones was probably laid down in this early period to create a landing at the actual point of crossing. Later (by 1884), a cable stretching between towers erected on both sides of the river provided a safer and more effective passage for the "bateaux." An excerpt from the diary "Liverpool to Prince Albert" described the crossing in 1883:

Though the river is about a mile in width there is constant communication with the other side, there exists no suitable means of crossing, neither steamboat, ferry or bridge. Passengers and baggage, vehicles and often cattle, are placed on a barge raft scow with a low railing about a foot all around, and rowed across by four men.

The crossing on the west side of the river was slightly upstream from the forks on the east side, to allow for the river's current. The bank on this side proved slightly more precipitous than the bank on the east, and was surrounded by fairly heavy wooded areas:

The ascent of the bank we had now reached was so steep that we had to walk. It was certainly one of the most lovely spots we had come to, wild flowers in abundance and numerous little streams of clear water running into the river added greatly to its loveliness.
The existence of rapids in the vicinity of the crossing area made the passage a difficult, and at times dangerous, one. Considerable skill was involved when rowing or poling the batteaux, especially for large groups such as the entourage with the Marquess of Lorne, who visited Batoche in 1883 with 57 people, 19 wagons and eighteen horses.15

The network of trails at Batoche as represented by remnants uncovered by Archaeology, and visible in the post-1885 historical maps and drawings, were first developed during the 1873-1884 period. Though the position and course of the various trails is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, it is expedient at this point to give some kind of general outline of their locations. Essentially the village was bifurcated by two major routes: the Carlton and Humboldt (or "Hoodoo") trails, the Carlton running essentially east-west along lot 47, and the Humboldt southeast to northwest, both meeting at a point slightly east of the village (see map, Appendix G). From these routes ran numerous side paths: one north to Champagne's farm on lot 44, another north to St. Laurent and a third northwest to Batoche's house. Of course, there were also many minor footpaths and cart trails running between various points in and around the village. On the west side of the river the Carlton, after winding up the steep bank, ran northwest to Fort Carlton, while another trail went south to Gabriel's and a third proceeded north to Prince Albert. Again, many side paths connected the various stores and residences of the west village with the surrounding farms. Archaeologically, extant trail remnants are scarce (especially on the east side) and therefore period maps and photographs must provide the bulk of information. Consequently, the historical verification of exact trail locations is a somewhat difficult task and necessitates an almost schematic approach to their discussion.

Any major changes in the landscape at Batoche in the 1873-74
period resulted primarily from the extension of settlement and agriculture. The demise of the buffalo hunts dictated an increasing reliance on at least a subsistence level of agriculture. Although freighting and commercial activities provided much of the impetus for the settlement's growth, mixed farming and trading had become the community's primary occupations after 1880. Prior to this date the land in the immediate vicinity of the ferry crossing (lots 43-53) had remained relatively untouched. Surveyor J.L. Reid remarked in his notebook in 1874, that at Batoche, "not much cultivation [is] reported or [is] seemingly evident." Letendre states in his homestead file of 1884 that he had fifteen acres on lot 47 and ten acres on the N\x of 48 broken before 1880. Emmanuel Champagne, who had purchased lots 42, 43 and 44 from Letendre, reported only seven acres broken before 1880 on lot 43 and 19 acres cropped on lot 44 by 1883. On lot 49 and the S\x of lot 48, a total of 16 acres were cropped by Charles Thomas between 1879 and 1881. Jean Caron Sn. had ten acres broken on lot 52 before 1882 while his son, Jean Caron Jr., reported only five acres cultivated by 1884. Lots 50 and 51 were uncultivated, as they were reserved for the Church and Rectory already under construction by 1883. The exact location of cleared acreage, fencing and crops on lots 44 to 53 is not known, as the surveys of Reid, Aldous, King and Russell only note lot lines and river course on the settlement's east side (see Appendix F).

The 1873-1884 period saw the initial development of the site, both commercially and agriculturally. The clearing of farmland in and around the village, the creation of a network of trails to outlying settlements, and the building of the various village commercial structures, Letendre's house and the Church and Rectory, established Batoche as a thriving trade and merchandising community on the South Saskatchewan. Though modifications in the site's landscape did occur during
this period, they were not extensive. While farmland north and south of the village was being cultivated, a good portion of lots 43 through 53 remained untouched by the plow. The clearing of land beyond the ridge to the east and south near the Church would not take place until after 1885.
The political situation in the South Saskatchewan led, almost inevitably, to the Rebellion of 1885 and the final encounter between Middleton and the Riel-Dumont forces at Batoche. A history of federal negligence and long-outstanding land claims had forced the Métis to ignore Government attempts to re-survey the region. The dispute, which culminated in armed conflict, resulted in the eventual surrender of the Métis at Batoche and the end of the Northwest Rebellion. Because of the battle, various descriptions, accounts, maps, drawings and photographs depicting many of the landscape features of the area are available. Their veracity, however, is sometimes questionable. Period maps and drawings of the site are at times more speculative than accurate, but do provide clues regarding vegetation patterns, trail locations, and military associated landscape characteristics. Photographic evidence proves more reliable, as do eye witness accounts and descriptions, even though they might suffer somewhat from both confusion over events and their locales, and the bias of cultural imperialism. Notwithstanding these reservations, the descriptive view of the area's physical resources, helpful for both an interpretation of the battle and an analysis of Métis period culture.

As well, a number of photos exist from the post-battle period (see for example, the 1891 Steele and Wing reproduction, Figure 1a, Appendix B) which give fairly clear impressions of the village's geography and landscape. Later township surveys by J.L. Reid (1889), George Macmillan (1908), and R.C. Purser (1916), provide additional descriptive source materials.

Because topography and vegetation played an enormous
role in the actual conduct and tactics employed by both Dumont and Middleton at Batoche, numerous accounts exist of the landscape and terrain. Comprehension of the site's physical features is essential for an understanding of the battle. For the Métis the physical landscape of the area provided a strong focus for a "last stand" defensive struggle, over and above its importance to its inhabitants as a cultural and political rallying point. Essentially located in a basin and ringed by poplar bluffs, the site formed a natural defensive position. Coupled with Dumont's extensive preparations and ingenious system of rifle pits, Batoche proved difficult to capture, even with the vastly superior numbers in Middleton's army.

The important role of the landscape in the course of the conflict has served to provide us with fairly comprehensive reports. One such description states:

The Church and schoolhouse...occupy a prominent position commanding the village and the approach to it from the south. They stand on a ridge some two hundred yards back from the river. This ridge which is to the south of Batoche, towers in high bluffs over the river, curves away to the east at the Church and the cemetery, and forms what might be termed the secondary banks of the Saskatchewan. Between this lofty ridge and the lower wooded bluffs that border the river, there is an oblong open plain, the site of the village through the middle of this plain winds the trail from the south [Humboldt] and east [Carlton] to the river crossing. On the plain are a few stores...¹

The ridge described rises about seventy to eighty feet above the plain of the village, and although virtually treeless today (except for some very minor patches of poplar scrub) was populated at the time by heavily treed thickets approximately one-half mile east of the river. "Wooded ravines," the author continues, "break the continuity of the surrounding ridge, and from the east afford glances of the slumbering village."²

As the troops marching northwest along the Humboldt trail approached the village, they encountered terrain much
different from the open plains and sparse scrub vegetation of the south. T.A. Haultain, a reporter for the Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News travelling with the Canadian militia, revealed that "between it [Batoche] and our approaching troops, was ground of very varying character." Open fields, coulées and thickly wooded ravines were interspersed with "...undulating country, very heavily covered in some parts with dense underbrush, a few knolls, much sloping ground, with here and there thick woods. "Clarke's Crossing," he continued, "crossed the Humboldt trail near the Church... Beyond the trail, to the left of our men, or towards the river, were thickly wooded banks, and nearer Batoche, several coulées, all containing rifle pits. At the commencement of one of these coulées, and about 150 yards from the Church, was found a spring of water..." The drawing by Capt. H. de H. Haig (see figure 26, Appendix C) depicts a well at the east entrance of this wooded ravine (between the Church and Rectory). Today, however, no evidence exists for either a spring or a well.

Zareba-Caron Farmstead
On the opening day of the engagement, Middleton, after scouting Métis perimeter defenses surrounding Batoche, began to construct a Zareba approximately 600 metres southeast of the Church, in a ploughed field on lot 52. According to archaeological findings and extant remains, it was irregular in shape, approximately two to three acres in size, faced northwest toward the Church and village, and was erected near the farmstead of Jean Caron Sr. (see figures 5 and 7, Appendix A). A member of the Royal Grenadiers described the site of the Zareba as an "irregular plain, fairly clear but for a small bluff or two and a few small sloughs." Though at the present time the area in the immediate vicinity of the Zareba contains stands of poplar and underbrush (see figures 12, 13, 14 and 15, Appendix
D) this growth is post-1885. At the time of construction, the site was considerably more exposed than today, the nearest undergrowth more than likely 200 to 250 meters to the northwest, between the Zareba and the Church. The Zareba itself was formed by "throwing up sods of earth about four or five feet high." Inside of this perimeter wall, about 15 or 16 feet from the breastwork, was a second line made up of transport wagons and "towards the centre of this square, another earthwork was [dug] ...to protect the hospital tents." A slough, which provided water for the troops and marked the site of the hospital tent, lay in the southern portion of the encampment in a shallow depression. (This depression is still visible today, see Figures 16 and 17, Appendix D). From the Zareba, Middleton conducted his cautious four day campaign with troops advancing to forward positions and carrying out reconnaissance missions by daylight, and returning to the relative safety of the camp by night.

Directly north of the Zareba, in an area which today is devoid of significant vegetation, numerous stands of heavy poplar growth had existed in 1885. The ground was described as "rough and broken [with] sloughs ravines and dense underbrush" covering an area extending approximately three-quarters of a mile north of the encampment. On the third day of the campaign (May 11), Boulton's scouts initiated a reconnaissance mission along the eastern perimeter of the Métis defenses, east of the trail running north to St. Laurent. Middleton wrote that "instead of taking the regular trail [for fear of Métis sniping] we made a detour [through the wood] N.E. of the Church which was inclined to be marshy." Groves of poplar and willow were found in this area (see map, Appendix G) approximately 400 or 500 yards in front of the forward line of rifle pits. Northeast of the village, beyond this undergrowth, the party reached a plateau of about fifteen hundred yards in length and nearly half a mile in width. This plateau, surrounded by bush to the north and the riverbank in the west is depicted quite clearly on the maps of Burrows and Denny, Captain
H. de H. Haig, and George Cole (see Figures 1, 2 and 3, Appendix C). Boulton wrote that "we discovered that the edge of this plain, next to the valley of the river, was lined with... rifle pits which formed part of the semi-circle of entrenchments with which Batoche was surrounded."\textsuperscript{10}

Northwest of the Zareba, the Humboldt trail entered a grove of trees near the Church and emerged at a "knoll" overlooking the village basin.\textsuperscript{11} Evidence of heavy areas of timber, both southeast and northeast of the Church, can be seen in a number of the period photographs (for example, figure 10a, Appendix B).

The trail by which we had approached Batoche from the east [Humboldt] made a turn and came up only a few yards from the edge of the valley to the Church. A short distance beyond the Church, the trail disappeared into the bush.\textsuperscript{12}

Edward Chambers, a member of the Royal Grenadiers, wrote in his journal that, "a large strip of timber [stood] behind the mission. Beyond the knoll [at the Church]...the steep slope was heavily covered with brush and light timber."\textsuperscript{13}

Adjacent to the west wall of the Zareba, on a bluff overlooking the river, the militia had constructed their rifle pits. The riverbank in this section south of the Church was extremely steep and heavily wooded, and afforded an excellent view of the west side of the river (see Figure 4a, Appendix B). Below this position, and between it and the cemetery, lay a very deep and heavily timbered ravine which furnished cover for Métis perimeter defences (this ravine is the present site of the grave marker of Gunner Phillips). At the point where the course of the river turns north, the banks on the easterly side:

...are bold and steep, and clothed with poplar, timber and brush, getting gradually lower as they approach the ferry and village, and again rising and receding as they extend down the river.\textsuperscript{14}

The Humboldt trail, after emerging from poplar growths southwest of the Church, came out upon a broad plateau of about 400
meters in width. Bordered on its western flank by the steep incline and heavy undergrowth of the riverbank, it descended gently toward the village. Between the cemetery, which was located on a point overlooking the elbow of the river, and the plateau, was a small ravine which sheltered a number of Métis rifle pits (see Figure 4, Appendix D). This ravine, and all the small ravines with which the whole face of the riverbank was broken, were wooded. The map of Burrows and Denny, as well as the drawings by Capt. H. de H. Haig (see figures 1 and 25, Appendix C) illustrate this feature clearly.

The open area north and west of the Church provided a panoramic view of the village site, Letendre's house and the ferry crossing. In the photograph entitled "First sight of Batoche" (see Figure 5a, Appendix B) taken from a point estimated to be approximately 250 meters west of the Church, Letendre's home and the river, as well as the ferry crossing to the north, are visible. A stand of brush, which seems to run from the timbered area behind the Church west to the riverbank, can be seen in the centre of this photograph, approximately 150 to 200 meters in front of the militiaman positioned in the immediate left foreground. In the modern photograph, taken from the same location, (see Figure 5b, Appendix B), it is evident that the line of scrub running east-west is either in a different location than the 1885 line, or forms, in fact, its northern extension. If the latter is true, then the stand of poplar in the period reproduction is much deeper than it initially appears. It would seem that the slight rise which runs left to right in the foreground of the modern photograph forms the beginning of the vegetation represented in the period illustration. It is almost certain that this area shielded a number of Métis rifle pits which defended the village's southern flank in a line stretching from the river to the brush covered ridge in the east. Middleton, in his account of the activities of May 9, remarks that "our scouts who had cautiously advanced
beyond the Church, were at once checked by a fire from a sort of low bush about 200 to 300 yards ahead." By 1885, the area had undergone some degree of clearing, although from photographic evidence, no sign of cultivation can be seen. Beyond the foreground treeline, however, ploughing was probable.

Village Vegetation
The village itself lay at the western edge of the sloping valley. It was described as situated in "an open space half a mile square, surrounded by clumps of trees and flanked by the river." Letendre's store, Fisher's store, Garnot's house and Boyer's store, as well as assorted outbuildings, all stood on lot 47 along the Carlton trail. Letendre's house, which also stood on lot 47, was south of the village, as were the residences of Charles Thomas and the Carrière brothers on lot 48. To the west of these structures curved the riverbank, which was then, as now, heavily wooded with poplar and scrub underbrush. Photographic and cartographic evidence reveals, however, that a present area of poplar growth which forms an extension of the riverbank vegetation on lot 48 was not in existence (see Figure 10, Appendix D). Measuring approximately 140 meters eastwest, and 80 meters northsouth it forms a two pronged configuration which effectively blocks any line of vision between Letendre's house and the plateau west of the Church. Because the 1885 photograph (Figure 5a, Appendix B) clearly shows Letendre's house, as well as the homes of Thomas and Carrières, this present stand of timber could not have been in existence at the time of the battle. The schematic vegetation map in Appendix C delineates this area's contours in greater detail.

Immediately in front of Letendre's house, and directly east of it on lot 47, was a fenced area of cultivation (perhaps
a vegetable garden), approximately one acre in size. The Haig sketch of 1885 (Figure 26, Appendix C), the Steele and Wing photograph of 1891 (Figure 1a, Appendix B), the Burrows and Denny map of 1885 (Figure 1, Appendix C), and a photograph of the house from the southeast in 1886 (Figure 11, Appendix C) all confirm its existence. It is not known, however, in which year this plot was fenced or cultivated, but photographs of the house after 1900 fail to show any signs of its presence.\textsuperscript{19}

West of the village, and north of Letendre's home, was a forested area which extended from near Fisher's store, down towards the ferry crossing. At present this strip of riverbank timber (bifurcated by the two forks of the Carlton trail) is approximately 270 meters deep. Photographic evidence demonstrates, however, that a small area of poplar between the site of Letendre's house and the village which forms an extension of the riverbank vegetation, was not present c. 1885. The Steele and Wing photograph indicates that this area was relatively open, which contrasts with the vegetation pattern of today, where high stands of poplar effectively obstruct the sight line between the two remains (Figure 1b, Appendix B). Accordingly, schematic appraisals can eliminate this area of undergrowth, from a point north of Letendre's to the southern edge of the Carlton trail.\textsuperscript{20} (See map, Appendix G).

\textbf{Ferry Crossing - East Side}

The ferry crossing on the east side has changed considerably since the 1885-1900 period. At present, the trail running past the village site and sloping down to the river, passes through an area of heavy undergrowth extending along the bank above the flood plain. The trail today is no more than a winding foot path, perhaps two or three meters in width. The crossing point itself is overgrown considerably, as can be seen in Figure 6, Appendix D. In 1885, however, the fairly heavy use of the Carlton trail and the crossing at Batoche
would have necessitated that the trails have been much wider. A photograph of the crossing area from the west side (Figure 7a, Appendix B) clearly shows this fact. The opening in the treed area immediately west of the village, and the actual width of the pathways which fork to the crossing, suggest a much wider track. As evident in the photograph, the right fork below Letendre's house might even have allowed wagons to pass two abreast. At the picture's extreme left can be seen the tower and cable of the actual ferry crossing, erected some time between 1883 and 1885.

Beyond the village was a plateau, approximately 180 to 200 meters in width, and extending half a mile northward. Concealed by a skirting of woods which shielded the area from the east, it served to screen the Métis women and children from distant shelling during the battle (see Figure 20 and 21, Appendix D). Dugouts and shelters had been constructed and roofed over with "buffalo robes, blankets and other covers for protection from flying bullets..." Reports indicated that the line of poplar growing on the eastern edge of this plateau was a good deal thicker than today, and extended further on a line parallel with the trail running north to Champagne's. The western face of this plain is formed by a thin line of scrub vegetation and the descent to the flood plain.

To the south and east of the village site ran the slight ridge, broken by small ravines and clothed by groves of poplars. There is a lack of graphic evidence showing the density of this vegetation and its exact location, however its existence has been verified through numerous historical accounts. More than likely this broken line of scrub and timber which crested the basin opened eastward onto a plain bordering the trail to St. Laurent (see map, Appendix G). It provided the Batoche defenders with an extremely effective location for the construction of their defensive pits, which extended in broken lines from the southwest to the northeast. "The approaches to
the village were defined by a line of rifle pits along the edge of this wooded bank...These pits ran down the river for nearly a mile and a half north of the ferry.\textsuperscript{26} To reach the first line of dugouts, Middleton's troops were forced to cross an open area, leaving themselves highly vulnerable to Métis fire from the well camouflaged trenches which fringed the eastern edges of this bush.\textsuperscript{27} Archaeological research (see Figure 5, Appendix A) has uncovered evidence of these rifle pit clusters southeast of the village, part way up the slope of this ridge. From this position, and shielded by the skirting of scrub and timber, they proved most effective in pinning down the Canadian's advance.\textsuperscript{28}

Evidence exists in a number of sources for a ploughed field between the bush line and the village in the west. A map by Captain H. de H. Haig (Figure 3, Appendix C) and the stylized drawing by J.W. Curzon for the \textit{Illustrated War News} (Figure 27, Appendix C), depict some representation of this plot. T.A. Haultain remarked that, "to reach Batoche, a large ploughed field, without any shelter, had to be crossed from the last bluff."\textsuperscript{29} In his description of the final charge, he stated that "...the rebels...poured a raking fire into the advancing line, and first one, then another, kept dropping until the ploughed field was reached."\textsuperscript{30}

The last line of Métis defenses encompassed a semi-circular row running roughly along the southern, eastern and northern flanks of the village.\textsuperscript{31} As before, they were concealed along the edges of vegetation, this time in a stand of poplar immediately adjacent to the village site. The photograph by Steele and Wing (Figure 1a, Appendix B), the watercolour by Lt. Col. Wyndham (Figure 3a, Appendix B), and a picture of Batoche from the west side in 1895 (Figure 7a, Appendix B) all depict this growth. The Steele and Wing photograph, in particular, gives a very clear indication of the area's configuration and density. It would appear to be in two major groves, one slightly southeast of Letendre's store on lot 47, roughly bordering the
branch trail to the Church and Rectory, and another further south between the trails to the Church and Humboldt (see map, Appendix G). A further discussion of this photograph, in particular the evidence for trail routes and west side vegetation patterns, and the peculiar location and angle of the camera is undertaken in Appendix B.

Champagne's Farm, Lots 43 and 44
North of the village across a flat open prairie, and adjacent to the wall of trees forming the eastern edge of the lower river plateau, was Champagne's house and outbuildings. The last area to be captured, it was defended by a cluster of rifle pits near the river. The remains of these defences have been found and plotted by archaeological research (Figure 5, Appendix A). The riverbank, according to correspondent G.H. Young, sloped steeply at Champagne's and "from the windows of the residence... we were resisted." West of the farmstead was a large area of timber which bordered the northern edge of the open plateau described by Boulton and Middleton on their reconnaissance trip of May 11. Although this ground is heavily forested today, its configuration suggests that at one time it covered a much greater area, particularly to the south (see map, Appendix G).

Rifle Pit Construction
Detailed descriptions of the actual physical construction of the Métis defensive dugouts are numerous throughout the primary literature. It would seem that many hundreds of pits existed on both the east and west sides of the river, although extant remains are significantly more abundant on the west side due to the absence of ploughing and cultivation. As well, it would appear that many types of rifle pits existed. Some were, "a mere hole capable of concealing only a couple of men," while others were a "trench that easily held ten or more men with their
A description of the larger pits states that;
...constructed just behind the crest of the hills...
[they were]...cunningly concealed from view...dug
deep for protection and covered with logs and earth.
A provision for rifles fire had been made in front,
between the earth and a good sized log raised high
enough to command a view of our approach, yet provi­
ding adequate protection from hostile bullets. Aper­
tures in the rear had been arranged so that passage
in and out could be made in perfect security and con­
cealment. Paths running along the hillside showed
how re-inforcements could be furnished in perfect
safety to the most critical points. [A good illus­
tration of this type of pit can be seen in Figures
29 and 30, Appendix C].

Smaller dugouts, approximately 18 inches deep with a foot high
parapet, could hold one, two or possibly three men. Each pit
was perhaps fifty feet from the other and camouflaged by twigs
and branches. Middleton, in a telegram to the Hon. A.P.
Caron wrote that, "as usual the enemy was invisible among the
surrounding wood scrubs and bluffs and kept a heavy fire upon
us..." At the conclusion of the battle it was found that the
larger rifle pits had been, in a sense, more than mere defen­
sive positions:

In and around these pits were found blankets, trou­
ers, coats, skirts, boots, shoes, food, oil,
Indian articles of sleep, one or two damaged shot­
guns and one good rifle. It was evident that a
detachment of rebels had lived in these pits day
and night, and it was easily understood by inspec­
tion of them, how perfectly safe the holders of
these pits were from the fire of our rifles, and
especially from the gatling and artillery.

On the west side of the river, primarily in and around the
crossing area, were a large number of rifle pits. (Figure 5,
Appendix A). Their purpose, whether to perhaps defend against
an attack from the west, or to help cover a line of retreat,
remains unclear. With almost the whole area being heavily
wooded, the land became almost impregnable. The riverbank on
the west side, according to one source, was "...very steep
[and] sloping...[and] covered with heavy timber." Haultain
commented that on "the opposite side of the river came wooded sloping ground, with behind this, thick woods." It is evident from the photographs (see especially Figure 1a, Appendix B) that open areas above the riverbank vegetation on the west side were much greater at the approximate time of the battle than they are today. Although the land was used primarily for grazing and haying, some cultivation has been documented.

Surveyors' Reports 1885-1900
Though incomplete and very general in nature, some information is given in the survey reports of J.L. Reid (who mapped the Qu'Appelle and Prince Albert trail to Batoche in 1889), as well as the notebooks of C.F. Leclerc and R.P. Bélanger, who surveyed parts of the St. Laurent and Batoche Settlements (T44 and T43) in 1889 and 1892 respectively. Reports on the landscape of the adjacent One Arrow Indian Reserve by J.C. Nelson (D.L.S.) in 1888, also provide a general reference. The township survey map in Appendix F notes prairie land interspersed with scrub and patches of willow and poplar. The west side of the South Saskatchewan at T43-R1-W3 is shown with schematic vegetation patterns (along surveyed lot lines), with some evidence of muskeg and marsh. Unfortunately, however, east side vegetation has not been portrayed in this particular survey. J.C. Nelson, meanwhile, wrote in 1888 that the land contained within the boundaries of the One Arrow Reserve was:

...covered with scrubs and bluffs of poplar... with...numerous ponds and sloughs varying in size from 5 acres downwards...the soil is a rich sandy loam with a sandy sub-soil.

Reid's 1889 survey of the trail from Prince Albert to Batoche (west side of the South Saskatchewan) indicates "rolling country covered with poplar and willow scrub" interspersed with cleared acreage and muskeg. Township surveys after 1900, primarily by George Macmillan, R.C. Purser and P.J. McGarry,
give better descriptive accounts of T44 and T43, and will be discussed in the following chapter.

After 1885, Batoche, rather than entering a period of decline, actually regained its economic vitality for a short time. The crossing area still serviced and supplied settlements in the east, allowing Letendre, Boyer and Fisher to maintain their business holdings at some profit, while farmland in the area came increasingly under the plough. As a major commercial centre, however, Batoche's days had ended. The buildings of the CPR and the construction of branch lines serving communities east and west of the site severely handicapped the settlement's ability to mature beyond an agricultural community and a minor crossing point. The gradual disappearance of the Carlton trail as the west's primary transportation and shipping routes was instrumental in this decline, as was the tide of immigrant and eastern Canadian farmers who came to Saskatchewan and Alberta, effectively initiating Ottawa's control over settlement on the lands once controlled by the Métis.

Settlement decline, however, is not the focus of this particular paper, and is important only insofar as it relates to physical changes in the Batoche landscape after 1885. Of these modifications, the most noteworthy is perhaps the partial clearing of vegetation for agricultural purpose in and around the village site and along the ridge approximately 500 meters above it. These two areas of scattered scrub and poplar growth, which played an integral part in the conduct and tactics of the battle, were cleared as cultivation extended further east along river lots 43 through 53. Though a number of Métis vacated the region between 1885 and 1887, others moved in to take up available homesteads. As well, sons of former title holders inherited and maintained property abandoned after 1885. Consequently, the area of improved land grew significantly before 1900, especially on those farms north of Batoche nearer the St. Laurent settlement.
While some bush was perhaps removed in and around the village, and both north and south of the Church during this time, it is more probable that the clearing of the large area of dense vegetation east of the trail to St. Laurent did not begin until after 1910. Today, this region is for the most part open, except for strips of poplar corresponding roughly to property lines on lots 52 and 53 (in the vicinity of the Zareba) and lot 44 (see map, Appendix G). Riverbank vegetation has remained essentially unchanged, as did the patterns of growth on the west side. Diane Payment's *Structural and Settlement History of Batoche Village* gives a more detailed account of agricultural improvements in this period and is useful for ascertaining cleared acreage on specific lots. The NWMP, who arrived in the area after the Rebellion, purchased Boyer's store as a headquarters in 1886, later moving to Letendre's house in 1895. Their principal duties were to patrol the region and issue relief to destitute Métis families. Inspector F. White, in an 1895 letter to A.M. Burgess, the Deputy Minister of the Militia, wrote "...we are purchasing the old Batoche House and twenty acres of land at the crossing of the South Saskatchewan known as Batoche's ferry...Mr. Lestock Reid has surveyed the land..." This acreage consisted of a wider grazing area for police horses and, more than likely, a vegetable garden somewhere nearer the residence. The NWMP occupied lot 47 until transferring their headquarters to Prince Albert circa 1908.

By 1900 the decline of the village, and the farmlands of the immediate vicinity, had begun. Although attempts were made to maintain the settlement as a strong cultural center for the Métis community, agricultural expansion for the most part, had ceased. Crop failures due to the area's relatively indifferent soil quality were increasingly frequent, forcing many families to seek land elsewhere. Shortly after the turn of the century the village had become merely a small outlying farm community and a local religious centre for the surrounding neighbourhood.
The Batoche settlement witnessed substantial alterations after 1900. Commercially and agriculturally, the importance of the village had been superseded by the development of communities serviced by the railroad to Prince Albert. Immigrants, primarily from France and Québec, began to arrive and claimed lots and abandoned farms on the west side of the South Saskatchewan near Batoche. For the Métis, however, farming in the district held out little chance of profit, and gradually farms were either abandoned or consolidated into pasture land (especially on the west side). Grain liens and land speculation severely restricted economic growth in the region after 1900 and poverty became the rule rather than the exception. Nonetheless the clearing and cultivation of land on the east side between lots 43 and 51 continued. Farming, however, was pursued at little more than a subsistence level of existence and the vigour of the settlement deteriorated rapidly.

Commercially, the character of the village also changed. As stores south on lots 55 and 56, along the trail to Gabriel's Crossing (or south of the mission) were established, the original businesses on lot 47 closed shortly after the turn of the century. The ferry, also formerly on lot 47, moved north to lots 41, 42 and 43 in 1921. Whereas Batoche had at one time furnished the whole region with goods and supplies, this function was now carried out by other nearby settlements.

The 1920-ca.1960 time period saw perhaps the greatest changes in the site's landscape patterns. Land use and agricultural development has substantially modified the character
and location of the vegetation since the conflict of 1885. Though new groves of poplar have grown up around the Zareba and particularly in the immediate vicinity of the village crossing, the removal of vegetation on the east side of the river over the years has been considerable. Specifically, the brush and poplar growths northeast of the Church, and east of the village, which played such a major role in the course of the battle, have been removed. The extensive vegetation once present on the land directly north of the Zareba (east of present highway 225) has been cleared as well.

The evolving landscape at Batoche after 1900 is revealed primarily through the agricultural history of the area (i.e. the extent of cultivation as declared in the homestead files) and the journals and reports of the various township surveys. Unfortunately, the photographic and documentary record available after 1900 is not as comprehensive as it is for the period of the conflict. Nevertheless, some photographs from the later era have survived and provide evidence on the nature of the landscape.

Agriculture after 1900

With the gradual destruction and disappearance of the village buildings between 1900 and 1920, and the dismantling of Letendre's home ca. 1920, the land on lots 47, 48 and 49 underwent more extensive cultivation. Charles Pilon, who purchased lot 49 in 1913 and farmed it until 1921, cultivated a total of 18 acres. Engaged in mixed farming, he used the rest of his land for pasture, erecting a total of 40 acres of fencing. Charles Thomas, who occupied the S½ of lot 48 until 1921, reported in 1908 that approximately 15 acres had been broken and cropped. On lot 47 no cultivation was reported before 1908 when the land was purchased by C.E. Pears, an absentee owner from Rosthern. The land immediately adjacent to Letendre's house, purchased in 1895 by the NWMP, remained in their possession until 1921.
and more than likely was not cultivated before 1920. The Champagne family, who owned lots 43 and 44 until the 1920s, had approximately 50 acres under cultivation. The lands belonging to the St. Antoine de Padoue mission on lots 50 and 51 remained uncultivated until 1927 when the demand for arable land and the financial troubles of the Church forced it to begin parcelling out sections for farmland. The cleared acres on lot 50 are visible when a photograph of the Church and Rectory taken from the southwest (Figure 15, Appendix C) in 1925, is compared to one taken from the same angle in 1940 (Figure 16, Appendix C). The heavily timbered area north of the Church, visible in the former picture, has all but disappeared in the latter. As well, the removal of brush south of the Church (see map, Appendix G) probably took place around this time.

Although attempts by Métis farmers to live off the crops proved largely unsuccessful some land was broken after 1900 on the west side. Consequently, the land, which was marshy and sandy, was used for grazing and haying. Joseph Letendre on River lot 17 cleared five acres in 1910, ten acres in 1911, ten acres in 1912 and five acres again in 1913. François Lanovaz on lot 16 had 18 acres cropped by 1902 and had erected 20 acres of fencing. Albert Laplante's homestead file dated 1919, states that he had a total of 20 acres cultivated by 1916 on lot 15. River lot 18, owned by Eugène Letendre between 1910 and 1916, had 25 acres cropped by 1913, while lot 19 was used exclusively for grazing purposes. Sections 18 and 19, across from the original east village, were not farmed after 1900 but were used as pasture.

From photographic evidence it would appear that riverbank vegetation on the east side below the village changed perceptively after the turn of the century. The trees and scrub visible in Figure 8a, Appendix B, on the east bank in 1910, appear thicker than they do in 1895 (Figure 7a, Appendix B). While Letendre's house is still quite noticeable in the first photo-
graph, the stores and buildings of the village site (except Letendre's store) appear to be gone. A wooded area to the right of Letendre's along the riverbank, shown in a 1910 photograph (Figure 12, Appendix C) does not seem to be evident in an earlier picture of the house from the southeast (Figure 11, Appendix C). However, the fenced area east of the home depicted in the earlier illustration, is missing from the later one.

Townships Surveys, 1908, 1916
Landscape notes contained in the journals of George McMillan and R.C. Purser, who surveyed the area in 1908 and 1916 respectively, provide additional information. McMillan comments that at Batoche the:

...Soil is sandy loam and is suited for stock raising or real farming. The surface is rolling and about 30 per cent prairie [with] the remainder covered with poplar, willow and scrub...[and] ...some hay. There are many sloughs in which water is good...Wood is the only fuel. I saw no quarries or minerals. A few ducks were the only game seen. [There is] no available water power, although the river has a steady current.  

Macmillan's figure of only thirty per cent prairie indicates that, even as late as 1908, the land near the community was quite heavily wooded. It was after this date that the bush areas approximately three quarters of a mile east of the village were cleared for farmland. A rough drawing (Figure 5, Appendix E) taken from the Surveyor's notebooks, indicates many of the physical features of lots 47 and 48 at the ferry crossing. The unit of measurement at the time was the chain, a distance of approximately 66 feet. From a point at the eastern edge of the lot (0.00 chains) to the riverbank, the distance reads 193.72 chains, a distance of roughly two and one half miles (see Figure 4, Appendix E). The "boulders" marked at the river's edge indicate the crossing, while the "poplars and
willows" illustrate riverbank vegetation. Moving eastward "prairie" (the site of the village) alternates with poplar, estimated by Macmillan to be between one and six feet in height. The wooded areas which fringed the rise east of the village are designated, as is the "thick" bush toward the edge of the two lots. As well, a "small slough" and a representation of the Carlton trail are also indicated.  

From a survey carried out in 1916 by R.C. Purser, additional information is available (see Figure 5, Appendix E). On lot 43 ploughing and fencing is reported while a grain field is indicated on 44. The Carlton trail is represented on lot 47, and wire fencing on lots 45, 46, and 47.  

Figures 6 and 7, showing lots 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49, illustrates the descent to the village plateau (148.80 chains), as well as the incline to the river flood plain (181.70). The eastern edge of the lots are labelled "rolling country with very much poplar bluff." The RNWMP reserve on lot 47 is depicted, as is the Carlton trail and numerous side paths.  

By 1923, when the village on both the east and west banks had disappeared, and the ferry crossing had been moved north to lots 41 and 42, lots 43 through 53 were cleared of brush and cultivated. Since that time vegetation marking lot lines has probably undergone some alteration. Wooded areas which had previously sheltered the village site, were removed to allow for more extensive farming, effectively destroying settlement trails and rifle pit remains. A good deal of evidence of both village culture and the battle of 1885 was lost during this period. Consequently, after 1921, Batoche became merely a "backwoods" agricultural area, though managing to maintain itself as a religious focal point for a dispersed and depleted rural population.
Conclusions and Recommendations

Historic interpretation at Batoche for the 1885-1890 period is contingent in part upon the accuracy of period landscape recommendations and, ultimately, the level of restoration that is chosen. The major themes and objectives of the site planning team can be realized through the modification of current landscape physiography to restore the vegetation patterns at Batoche to the period of greatest historical significance.

An on-site interpretation of the battle must be fully integrated with the landscape design. Presently at Batoche, the tactics and course of the 1885 conflict cannot easily be related to the area's geography or landscape. Since 1885 the physical character of the site has changed radically, and the region has declined economically from a commercial and transportation centre to a peripheral agricultural community. This evolution has had significant impact upon period landscape. Whereas, the vegetation at one time reflected the settlement's physical character, the landscape today tends to restrict any optimal interpretation of the historic period. Nonetheless, the area possesses tremendous potential. A proper landscape design can provide the physical setting through which both the military and cultural themes can best be realized.

It has been noted that the landscape pattern at Batoche did not undergo any radical alteration until probably after the 1910-1920 period. With the disintegration of the village after the turn of the century, the lots situated between the Church and Champagne's were used increasingly for farmland. Agriculture had become the region's primary income source, necessitating the use of all arable land. Whereas previously
the inhabitants of the settlement had been indifferent farmers, relying upon commercial or freighting activities, those who were left were forced to live almost entirely off the land. Lots which at one time had perhaps only 10 to 15 acres under the plough, were now cleared and cultivated to a much greater extent. Vegetation near the crossing, the bluffs of poplar east of the village and the heavily wooded lands north and northeast of the Church were the principal areas to undergo substantial modification after 1900. The sparseness of the vegetation at the site at the present time attests to this landscape evolution.

This landscape study has attempted to focus on the 1885-1890 period. Restoration, whether partial or complete, should of course be based upon the landscape found at Batoche during these particular years. To this end a detailed comparative analysis of vegetation features has been given, however, a condensed summary of the study's major concepts as relating to Park Planning's breakdown of historic resource units, becomes necessary. The schematic map provided in Appendix C is helpful for visualizing vegetation changes since 1885.

Directly east and west of the Zareba-Caron farmstead there exists today groves of poplar not present at the time of the battle. Historical sources also indicate that north of this area large portions of poplar and brush have been removed, primarily after 1900. Until that time the region had remained virtually untouched by cultivation.

Wooded areas in the immediate vicinity of the Church, Rectory and cemetery have changed considerably since the focus period. Documentary and photographic sources have clearly substantiated this conclusion. Between the Zareba and cemetery stood a large stand of poplar through which passed the trail from Humboldt. North of the Church was another grove of trees which effectively blocked any view of the village from this location. More precise contours for this vegetation can be seen
on the accompanying map (Appendix G).

The village site itself was ringed to the south and east by broken bluffs of poplar which provided much of the cover for the Métis defenders at Batoche. More than likely a ploughed field existed between these trees and the settlement, as did an open plain to the north. Immediately southeast of Letendre's store were two groves of poplar, probably only of moderate height and density. Riverbank vegetation, especially near the village, has changed the least. Only two wooded areas south and west of the village as evident in Appendix G were not present before 1900.

The ferry crossing on the east and west sides, as well as the trails leading to them, have changed quite dramatically since 1885. Other than the disappearance of the cable and towers, the trails have become considerably overgrown with vegetation. The drop in depth of the South Saskatchewan has also extended the marshy flood plain, making reconstruction of the crossing a difficult undertaking. The crossing at lot 41, closed in 1969, is perhaps more indicative of the way Batoche's ferry would have looked around the turn of the century. North of the ferry and village area is the large plateau fringed on its eastern boundary by a thin line of brush and poplar. Most likely this area was heavily treed in 1885.

Knowledge of vegetation in the vicinity of Champagne's farm on lot 44 is seriously lacking. The absence of photographic or even documentary accounts has provided few clues as to the area's appearance. Approximately 250 meters east of the complex, however, the wooded section present today were probably even more extensive in 1885. It is apparent, though, that this area's landscape has evolved only marginally in the last 95 years.

The west side at Batoche has changed the least due to the relative absence of cultivation in the area. The pattern of brush and open ground has undergone very little modification,
As well, the section of the Carlton trail leading to the west side crossing has become overgrown. Because of its current use as a cow path, the trail south to Gabriel's Crossing has remained, however, fairly intact.

Recommendations
Any restoration of the Batoche landscape cannot, of course, be completely accurate. Though the location of some vegetation can be ascertained, others are relatively obscure. Historical sources provide a guideline for assessing period landscape features even though, at Batoche, a number of gaps remain. In these cases the landscape must be interpreted so as to reflect the conditions of the focus period, i.e. the tactics of the battle and the history of agricultural development.

Landscape restoration, therefore, can be carried out at a number of levels. Priority areas are, of course, those which relate directly toward an understanding of the battle and Métis settlement. Economic feasibility and simplicity of design are also factors, however it is not the role of this particular study to make recommendations on the basis of cost-benefit, but rather on the basis of historical accuracy. From the suggestions made below some working alternative can be chosen which most easily fits into the themes and objectives of the planning process.

The following restoration proposals are ranked according to period significance and comprehensiveness of design.

Level A. Total site restoration and interpretation of period landscape

1. Planting of poplar along the slope of the rise approximately one half mile south and east of the village site, in accordance with the design represented in the map, Appendix G. Reconstruction of rifle pits along the perimeter of this vegetation.
2. Planting of poplar groves of dimensions described in Chapter 4 and depicted in Appendix G, south and east of the village site. Rifle pits to be dug bordering this vegetation as well.

3. Removal of vegetation south of Letendre's house, east of the ferry crossing, and east and west of the Zareba (as illustrated in Appendix G).

4. Planting of poplar north and south of the Church and Rectory, and east of the cemetery.

5. Poplar to be placed along eastern boundary of plateau north of village site so as to complement existing vegetation. See Appendix G.

6. Reconstruction of ferry crossing on both the east and west sides. This would involve widening of the ferry trail, the placing of earth or gravel fill at the actual crossing site, and the erection of ferry towers and a cable.

7. Reconstruction of east side trails, especially the Carlton and Humboldt trails, which would greatly facilitate interpretive design. As Batoche was a fairly major transportation centre in the 1873-1890 period, it is felt that some type of physical trail construction is essential for a proper appreciation and understanding of the site's historical and cultural significance. Actual construction does not have to be elaborate. Some type of clearing of the short grass vegetation in typical trail style, or the use of some packed sand or gravel could be employed to simulate trail outlines. The use of period wagons or carts could be used to convey visitors to the village site, ferry crossing and other historic resource areas within the park. As well, such trails would greatly facilitate transportation from the proposed visitor information centre, whether it is constructed near the Zareba or north on lot 44 near Champagne's.
8. Reconstruction of some 1885 rifle pits (at locations described in proposals 1 and 2) in accordance with documentary and illustrative evidence outlined in the above text. The digging of these pits would require minimum cost and effort and would significantly enhance period interpretation of the battle.

9. Some reconstruction (at least in shell form) of village buildings and Letendre's house. Though this would be a major undertaking in terms of cost and labour, site interpretation and visitor appreciation would be considerably enhanced. Research gathered by site historian Diane Payment and by Engineering and Architecture would aid such a reconstruction.

10. Planting of large areas of vegetation east and north of the village site. Though the exact extent and configuration of brush in this area is highly speculative, the region today is almost devoid of any significant vegetation.

11. Some reconstruction of west side trails, especially the Carlton trail from the crossing area to the west village, and the trail north to Prince Albert.

Level B. Partial restoration of period landscape

1. Planting of poplar on rise east of the village. This would be essential for an understanding of Métis battle tactics. As well, there could be construction of some rifle pits within the borders of this vegetation.

2. The removal of vegetation south of Letendre's and east of the ferry (see map, Appendix G). Rather than removing the trees on the northwest wall of the Zareba, sight lines could be cut through them so as to simulate, in some respect, the area's landscape in 1885.

3. The planting of vegetation immediately southeast of the village in accordance with the representation in Appendix
G. Reconstruction of some rifle pits in this area could also be carried out.

4. Widening of the Carlton trail from the east village site to the crossing area.

5. The planting of a narrow line of poplar immediately north of the Church and Rectory and running in an east-west direction so as to simulate the timbered area.

6. Reconstruction of Carlton and Humboldt trails as described in number 7 above.

Level C. Minimum landscape restoration

1. If the battle of 1885 is to be physically interpreted at Batoche, some level of landscape restoration must be undertaken. Specifically, restoration of the vegetation on the ridge south and east of the village (as described in number 1, level A, above) is essential. Of course, at this minimum level of period landscape recreation, site interpretation would be severely handicapped. Without restoration of the trails, rifle pits and vegetation of the village and ferry crossings the park will reflect very little of its historic past.

These recommendations have been made in order to provide a representative re-creation of the Batoche landscape for the 1885-1890 focus period. Although factors of both time and cost will play a major role in the level of restoration to be pursued, it is hoped that at Batoche the landscape will accurately facilitate interpretation of the site's cultural and historical significance.
I Introduction

1 Specifically, the study will concentrate on the village area east of the South Saskatchewan on lots 45 through 47 (T43-R1-W3), the Church, Rectory and cemetery area on lots 50 and 51, the Zareba-Caron farm complex southeast of the Church on lots 51, 52 and 53, and the Champagne farm area to the north on lots 43 and 44. As well, the ferry crossing at lot 47 and section 19 will be examined. In accordance with planning directives, lowest consideration will be given to historical landscape evolution on the west side, especially river lots 9 through 19, and sections 18 and 19.


5 The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (hereafter cited as OMI), had come to Quebec from France in 1842. The arrival of Fathers Taché and Aubert to St. Boniface three years later began the expansion of the OMIs missionary activities in the west, particularly in the Saskatchewan district.
II The Batoche - Fort Carlton District, pre-1873


3 Abouguendra and Coupland, op. cit., pp. 5-8.


5 According to Chap. VII; "Biophysical, Scenic Resources and Contemporary Assets at Batoche," in *Batoche N.H.S.: Background Information Package and Identification of Planning Issues* (unpublished Parks Canada planning report, p. 170); the vegetation of the site is at least regionally significant, and contains six tree species, 42 shrub varieties, 79 graminaid and 150 forb species, as well as mosses and lichens.

6 R.E. Redman and E.A. Ripley's historical information comes from the journal of Anthony Henday on his trip from York Factory to the Blackfoot country in Alberta via Batoche and Clarke's Crossing. Henday makes reference to the presence of "Fir" trees on August 20, 1755, when crossing the Wapesekcopet (South Saskatchewan) River.


1976, p. 45; and Joseph K. Howard, Strange Empire
9 Neal Putt, A Preliminary Analysis of Historic Settlement
Patterns at Batoche National Historic Park, p. 41.
10 Diane Payment, Structural and Settlement History of
Batoche Village (Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series,
Number 248, Ottawa, 1977), p. 16.
11 A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939), p. 42.
12 Henry Kelsey (1929), The Kelsey Papers. Introduction by
A.G. Doughty and C. Martin, Public Archives of Canada,
Ottawa, and Public Record Office of Northern Ireland,
as quoted in Redman and Ripley, Ecology of the Batoche
National Historic Site, pp. 3-5.
13 Redman and Ripley, op. cit., pp. 7-10.
14 Morton, op. cit., p. 338.
15 According to A.S. Morton, ibid., p. 16, "Atsena" was the
Blackfoot name given to the Gros Ventres.
16 Thematic Study of the Fur Trade in the Canadian West,
1670-1870. Unpublished staff report (Historic Sites
17 Gregory Thomas, "Fire and the Fur Trade: the Saskatchewan
District: 1790-1840," The Beaver, Autumn 1977, p. 34.
18 Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA),
Journal of Events at South Branch House, B.205/a/1,
September 24, 1786.
19 HBCA, Journal of Events at Carlton House, 1829-1840,
B.27/a/34, B.27/a/44.
21 Capt. John Palliser, Papers Relative to the Exploration
See also a discussion of Palliser's botanical observations
in Redman and Ripley, Ecology of the...op. cit., pp. 13-17.
22 Henry Youle Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River


Cheadle writes "On the 25th of September we reached the south branch of the Saskatchewan, here a stream about eighty yards wide, flowing in a valley cut deep into the plain level, the sides of which are steep and wooded." W.B. Cheadle and V. Milton, The Northwest Passage by Land 1865 (Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 57-58.

Provincial Archives of Alberta, OMI Collection, Père André à Bishop Taché, Document no. 12, January 4, 1867.

PAA, OMI Collection, Père Caer à Bishop Taché, Document no. 23, May 20, 1860.

Payment, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

Ibid., p. 17.

III The Founding of the Village to the Eve of the Rebellion, 1873-1884.

1 Diane Payment, op. cit., p. 20.

2 Although the store operated by Letendre in 1885 was not the same one he operated in 1873, he does state in his homestead file (number 81184, May 3, 1884, Archives of Saskatchewan, Department of the Interior) that he had been, in continuous residence on lot 47 since 1873. More than likely his earliest store had been managed from a residence near the crossing.

3 PAA, OMI Collection, B-VIII-38, Correspondence du Père Végréville, "Compte-rendu de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche, 1881."
55


5 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Faithful Companions of Jesus, from the Diary "Liverpool to Prince Albert," c. 1883.

6 According to modern topographical maps the elevation of the village site is approximately 1520' with the land to the east approximately 1600' above sea level, a rise of 80 feet.

7 Col. I.R. Snider, "The Métis were well entrenched at Batoche: Further Reminiscences of a Private of the 90th in the Northwest Rebellion," Winnipeg Tribune, April 22, 1933.

8 Glenbow-Alberta Institute (hereafter cited as GAI), Diary of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, "Liverpool to Prince Albert," 1883.


10 Canada, Dept. of the Interior (1886), "Descriptions of the townships of the Northwest Territories between the third and Fourth Initial Meridians," Dominion of Canada (Maclean Roger and Co., Ottawa), p. 27. Montague Aldous surveying the area in 1878, notes "a few bluffs of poplar" and "numerous small ponds" on lots 40 through 60, T43-R1-W3.

11 Ibid., p. 27. The slough that Reid mentions could possibly be evident in the foreground of figure 7, Appendix C where there appears to be some kind of makeshift bridge. As well, the "jog" or dip in the Humboldt trail at its approach to the village, visible at the extreme right of the 1891 Steele and Wing Photo (figure 1a, Appendix B) might account for the existence of a slough at this spot. Surveyor William Hart writing in 1884 to D.L. Macpherson, the Minister of the Interior, concerning land and trail surveys along the South Saskatchewan, noted that at Batoche, "parts of some of the trails located are very crooked. It could be on account of the numerous lakes and ponds."
12 Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as AS), Department of the Interior (Canada), Homestead files No. 81184 and 36612. Abraham Montour, on the NW¼ of section 19 had only 16 acres planted by 1876. Alexander Fisher (who purchased the ferry from Letendre in 1878) had only a three acre potato patch on the SW corner of section 19 in 1878. Elzéar Parisien, on river lot 15 and 16 reported cultivating nine acres between 1876 and 1879, while Thomas Lépine had 4 acres on lot 13 under the plough by 1883.

13 GAI, op. cit., "From Liverpool..." 1883.
14 Ibid.
15 PAA, OMI Collection, B-VII-38, Correspondence of Père Végréville, "Compte-rendu de Xavier Letendre sur la fondation de Batoche, 1881."
16 J.L. Reid, Dominion Land Surveys, notebook number 764, 1879.
17 AS, Dept. of the Interior (Canada), Homestead file no. 21383, Emmanuel Champagne, river lots 43 and 44, T43-R1-W3.
18 Ibid., Homestead file No. 81184, Charles Thomas, 1884.
19 Ibid., Jean Caron Sn., and Jean Caron Jr., 1884.

IV The Battle and Post-Battle Period, 1885-1900
2 Ibid., p. 346.
4 Excerpts from the diary of Edward Chambers, Royal Grenadiers, in Carman Miller, ed. Lord Melgund and the Northwest Campaign, Chapter XX, "Recollections of Batoche's Ferry - After
the Battle," p. 252. According to archaeological estima-
tions, the earth walls of the Zareba were no more than
three or four feet high with equipment and baggage placed
on top to provide greater protection. Physical evidence
for the exact location of the Zareba's west wall is not
available due to the ploughing and cultivation which has
taken place in the area over the years. However, through
historical documentation its approximate position can be
estimated.

6 Ibid., p. 252.

7 Ibid., p. 212.

8 General Frederick Middleton, Suppression of the Rebellion
in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885 (ed. by G.
H. Needler), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948,
pp. 49-50.

9 Charles Boulton, Reminiscences of the North West Rebellion

10 Ibid. Middleton wrote: "Having heard that there was a
large piece of open prairie to the northeast of Batoche,
I sent out Capt. French with some scouts to ascertain if
this was the case." Suppression of the Rebellion in the
North West Territories of Canada, 1885, p. 49.

11 Boulton, op. cit., p. 263.

12 Ibid., p. 264.

13 Excerpts from the diary of Edward Chambers, Royal Grenadiers
in Carman Miller (ed.) Lord Meglund and the Northwest
Campaign, p. 24. The Humboldt trail is described as
passing between the open space in front of the priest's
house and the riverbank which is "very high and steep and
covered with thick brush." Immediately behind the Church
the brush begins again and a little further on the ground
falls rapidly.

14 C.P. Mulvaney, A History of the Northwest Rebellion of 1885,
p. 253.

15 Excerpts from the diary of Edward Chambers, Royal Grenadiers
in Carman Miller (ed.) Lord Meglund and the Northwest Campaign, p. 25. Chambers continued, "on a pretty knoll in the angle of the river...was a little cemetery enclosed in a neat fence. A ravine, densely wooded [ran] between the trail and the cemetery.

16 The historical photograph entitled "First Sight of Batoche" is more than likely mislabelled. It would perhaps seem very unwise for the Canadian soldier shown in the picture's left foreground to leave himself so completely exposed to Métis fire from defences that almost certainly occupied the bush area directly in front. It is more probable that this particular photograph was snapped after the Métis had been routed from their pits on the final day of the battle.

17 General Sir Frederick Middleton, op. cit., p. 46. The shelling of the village came from guns positioned near the Church from where the "houses of Batoche...were visible from a spot just below the crest." Canada. Sessional Papers, "Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories and Matters in Connection therewith," 1885, Vol. V, no. 64.

An unofficial translated copy of the narrated diary of Gabriel Dumont states that the militia established their Gatling gun near the Church, "on a small meadow, at the high point on the road descending to Batoche which is at the left of the road then used, but now abandoned, and to the right of the present one," Provincial Archives of Manitoba. Dumont's reference to a change in the location of the Humboldt trail cannot be corroborated in any other historical account.

18 Boulton, op. cit., p. 263.

19 See, for example, a photograph of the house's north side (c.1910) (Figure 12, Appendix C) which gives no evidence of any substantial fencing other than a few broken down
posts on the immediate vicinity of the house's northwest corner. As well, the vegetation bordering the river edge of the property in this later photo looks significantly more extensive than in the 1886 photo (Figure 11, Appendix C).

20 A modern photograph (Figure 11, Appendix D) looking west from the vicinity of the Carlton trail, shows clearly this stand of poplar. The site of Letendre's house is to the far left and back towards the riverbank, while the village remains are on the right.


22 G.A. Flinn Diary, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG3, C13, p. 25. Mulvaney, op. cit., described these dugouts as being fifteen to twenty feet in length, five or six feet wide, approximately four feet deep, and "carefully covered with trees, brush and earth."

23 Ibid., p. 25.


25 See, for example, T.A. Haultain's "A History of Riel's Second Rebellion," in the *Canadian Illustrated War News*, August 29, 1885, p. 30; the papers of G.H. Young, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG3, D1; and Charles Boulton, op. cit., pp. 263-264. An 1885 photograph (Figure 5b, Appendix B) entitled "Batoche from where Lieutenant Fitch was killed," does indicate clearly the existence of a strip of vegetation along the ridge to the east of the village.


27 Col. I.R. Snider in an article entitled "The Métis were well entrenched at Batoche," *Further Reminiscence of a Private in the 90th in the Northwest Rebellion*, *Winnipeg Tribune*, April 22, 1933, wrote that: "...The troops had generally to approach over open ground with slight hills and gullies providing but little cover."

28 Boulton, op. cit., p. 260 wrote "We saw men moving about
the edge of the bush which encircles the prairie ridge at the top of the valley." Extant rifle pit clusters in this area of the east side are quite few due to the ploughing and cultivating which have taken place over the hundred odd years since the battle.

29 Haultain, op. cit., p. 31.

30 Ibid., The descriptive legend accompanying the Curzon printing labels this ploughed field as the area "where our men suffered most."

31 Archaeological findings (see Figure 5, Appendix A) indicate clusters of rifle pits in and around the village site. The Métis' defensive positions on the east side were in roughly 3 lines, one to the south of the village, one to the east and the last circling the buildings themselves. George Woodcock in his book, Gabriel Dumont (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975), p. 210, describes the rifle pits as being "in staggered lines over the prairie to the south and east of Batoche with the present Church and Rectory lying outside them..." For further information on rifle pit locations see the Batoche military study currently being prepared for Parks Canada by Walter Hildebrandt.

32 PAM, The Papers of G.H. Young, MG3, Dl.

33 PAM, MGl, Dl and MGl, D2, The Papers of Louis Riel (including evidence given against him at his trial).

34 Col. I.R. Snider, op. cit., Winnipeg Tribune, April 22, 1933.


37 Boulton, op. cit., p. 263.

38 Haultain, op. cit., p. 30.

39 See especially the homestead file of Abraham Montour (#81184, Canada. Dept. of the Interior) on section 19 and the survey drawings of J.L. Reid (Figure 3, Appendix E).
42 Payment, op. cit., p. 93.
43 AS (Saskatoon), Dept. of the Interior files, F. White to A.M. Burgess, December 29, 1895.

V Landscape Evolution in the Decline of the Village, 1900 - c.1960
1 Payment, op. cit., p. 111.
2 Dept. of the Interior, Canada, Homestead file #2495452, Pilon broke three acres each year for 1914 and 1915, four acres in 1917, two in 1918, and four and five acres for 1918 and 1919 respectively.
3 AS, Land Branch Files, Dept. of Agriculture, AG11, R.L. 43, T43-1-W3.
4 Payment, op. cit., p. 127.
5 Prince Albert Land Titles Office, River Lots 16, 17 and 18, T43-1-W3.
7 Macmillan's representation of the Carlton trail (the broken line intersecting the axis measuring scale) portrays it as being considerably more winding than is interpreted on the map in Appendix G. It must be realized, however, that the measuring scale interrupts the trail, making it appear to curve and twist more than it actually did.
Bibliography

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Appendix A
FIGURE I.

LEGEND
1. FOREST
2. UPLAND SHRUB
3. FLOODPLAIN VEGETATION
4. WETLAND VEGETATION
5. GRASSLANDS
6. VEGETATION ON ERODED SLOPES
7. CULTIVATED VEGETATION
8. NON-VEGETATION
9. WATER

BATOQUE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
NATURAL RESOURCES
FIGURE VI

VILLAGE VEGETATION
NOT PRESENT ca. 1885

EAST VILLAGE
DETAIL:

MAJOR HISTORIC
RESOURCE UNITS
AT BATOCHÉ

1 ZAREBA/CARON AREA
2 CHURCH/RECTORY
3 EAST VILLAGE
4 CHAMPAGNE PARK
5 PERRY
6 WEST VILLAGE
FIGURE VII
ZAREBA/CARON AREA
DETAIL:
Appendix B
Period-Modern Photographic Analysis
Figure 1a. General View of Batoche, Acker Collection, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

This photograph, taken in 1891 by professional photographers Steele and Wing, is from a point west and slightly south of the village. On the left is Letendre's house with the fenced and cultivated area in front clearly visible. The village is on the right and contains Letendre's store, Garnot's house, Boyer's store and the store of Georges Fisher. The Carlton trail can be seen to run directly in front of the buildings (Batoche Avenue) from right to left. The continuation of this trail to the east is at the extreme edge of the photograph, where it is joined by the Humboldt trail. The Humboldt is clearly visible as it moves toward the viewer, separating into two forks at a point slightly south of the Carlton. The figure in the left foreground is standing on the path to the church. The other section of the trail curves off behind the vegetation (see map, Appendix G). This photograph is also extremely helpful for understanding the vegetation pattern of the immediate village area. One fairly substantial grove of poplar, stands south of the Carlton trail and west of the side trail to the Church and Rectory. The second stand of
Figure 1a. (cont'd)

The poplar to the left of the photograph (behind the figure) is between the two trails and further south of the village.

The ferry crossing on the west side can be seen in the centre of the picture. As well, the density of the river-bank vegetation and the interrelationship of bush with open area is very clearly evident. The house visible on the west side is thought to be that of Abraham Montour on section 19.

This particular photo, when compared with another taken from approximately the same angle (see figure 2a), is interesting for the apparent height from which it was shot. In order to see above the groves of trees the photographer had to have been at a considerable elevation, more than likely the ridge to the east of the village. However, when one stands on this elevation today (see figure 1b), the distance is considerably greater. More than likely, because the picture appears to have been taken with a wide angle lens, some magnification is probable. This would explain the photo's peculiar angle.

Except for the fenced field adjacent to Letendre's, no cultivation appears evident, although the historical documentation suggests a ploughed field south and east of the house.
Figure 1b.
The modern photograph, taken from approximately the same position shows the village site, slightly right of the middle, just north of the treed area visible in the centre. The site of Letendre's house is immediately adjacent to the lone tree shown at the far left of the photograph. Note that the bush area is quite heavy between these two sites. In the historical photograph, however, this area between Letendre's and the village, is almost completely devoid of vegetation (see map, Appendix G). The location of the Carlton trail in the modern photo would run along a line from the village site toward the small grove of vegetation visible at the extreme right. The Humboldt and church trails would run across the centre of the photograph.
Figure 2a. Batoche from where Lieutenant Fitch was killed, 1885. Public Archives of Canada, C-3452.

Taken from approximately the same position as figure 1a, this photograph, dated 1885, shows the village on the right and Letendre's house on the left. Clearly visible in the foreground is a row of sparse poplar running along the slope of the ridge. Because the photo was taken at the time of the battle (what would appear to be soldiers' tents are visible to the left of the village) the leaves on the trees would not have budded.

Interestingly, the vegetation adjacent to the village so clearly visible in Figure 1a, is hardly discernable in this particular photograph. The picture, however, is of much poorer quality, and taken at a greater distance from the village. Nonetheless, some vegetation is suggested immediately in front and to the right of Letendre's store. No evidence of growth can be seen above the riverbank, between Letendre's and the village, and as well it is impossible to tell if the area between the foreground poplars and the village site is cultivated. The poor quality of the photo does not allow any analysis of vegetation on the west side.
Figure 2b. Batoche from the southeast.
This photograph has been taken from the same position as figure 1b. The site of Letendre's house is on the left, the village in the centre.
Figure 3a. Batoche, Watercolour by Lt. Col. Wyndham, 1885 AS Photograph.

Wyndham's painting illustrates the groves of poplar southeast of the village. Letendre's store can be seen on the right and his house on the left. As well, the Humboldt trail is visible south of the village.
Figure 3b. Batoche from the southeast.
From the same position as figures 1b and 2b.
Figure 4a. Our Pits on the River. Public Archives of Canada, C-18933.

This 1885 photograph, looking southwest, shows the South Saskatchewan from a point slightly west of the Zareba. The foreground area to the left is the present site of the historical monument erected in 1967. Militia rifle pits ringed the edge of this lookout point and shielded the troops from Métis fire coming from the ravine below and to the north of this small plateau, as well as from across the river. Due to the poor quality of the picture, the extent of the plain on the river's west bank, clearly visible in the modern photo, cannot be ascertained.
Figure 4b.
The modern photograph illustrates the large open field on the west side of the river, south of the village. Most likely, this particular field is natural prairie and had essentially the same appearance in 1885. Remains of militia rifle pits located on this small lookout point are not visible in the photograph.
Figure 5a. First sight of Batoche. Public Archives of Canada, C-3465.

Taken at the time of the battle, the photograph is shot from a point west and north of the Church, looking towards the village locale. Though the stores are not visible, Letendre's house, the Carrière structures and the house of Charles Thomas can be seen. Also visible on the opposite side of the river are a few of the structures associated with the west village. The location of the vegetation evident at the centre of the picture is somewhat confusing. It would appear to be much deeper than the present growth, and probably would have extended from the riverbank east toward the heavy timber north of the Church (see map, Appendix G). The southern flank of Métis rifle pits were located in this particular treed area.
Figure 5b.

It is felt that the sloping ridge evident in the foreground of this photograph, was the location for the beginning of the vegetation depicted in the historical photo. It would follow, therefore, that the modern bushline actually formed the northern edge of this vegetation. Figure 5a is the only historical photograph which shows this particular line of bush. As well, it is not illustrated on any of the period maps or illustrations. Directly south of the Letendre house remains, can be seen a dense stand of poplar which, if it had existed in 1885, would have effectively blocked any view of the village structures from this location. The map in Appendix G, illustrates this particular area as being at least post-1885.
Figure 6a. Rear of Rebel position, 1885. Public Archives of Canada, C-18937.

Taken from near the village site, this photograph looks east toward the poplar fringed ridge where Métis rifle pits were located. The height of the rise, however, and the presence of what might be perhaps snow in the foreground, suggests that this photograph might have actually been taken in late April at Fish Creek.
Figure 6b.

From the east of the village, near the Carlton trail, the modern photograph shows the treeless rise which surrounds the village. From the historical accounts, it is suspected that the militia gatling gun might have been located in the treed area to the left of the photograph.
Figure 7a. Batoche, 1895. Public Archives of Canada, C-9197.

Taken in 1895 from the west side, this photograph provides a very clear view of the whole village and ferry complex. At the left are visible the trails to the crossing, as well as the ferry towers and cable. Batoche "Avenue," Letendre's house, the Carrière brothers' building and the home of Charles Thomas are all visible, as is the east side's dense riverbank vegetation. Noteworthy, however, is the groves of trees east of the village and between it and Letendre's clearly evident in Figure 1a. Poplar bluffs can also be seen along the ridge east of the village and to the south near the Church. To the distant east are very widespread poplar growths and scrub vegetation.
Figure 7b.
The modern photograph, shot from the west side, shows the Church on the horizon slightly right of centre. The area between the Church and village is, of course, much more open than in 1885, as is the land further east.
Figure 8a. Batoche from west side of River showing old Police Barracks (Letendre's House) in the distance, c.1910. AS Photograph.

Taken from almost immediately above the crossing area on the west side, both Letendre's house and the east crossing are visible. To the extreme left of the photograph can be seen some village structures and the trails which run down to the river's edge. The vegetation along the river bank below the house appears to be quite dense. At the crossing, the cable tower, visible in the 1895 photograph, is not evident in this later picture.
Figure 8b.
Shot from approximately the same spot as 8a, the remains of Letendre's house are located beside the lone tree visible slightly right of centre, on the top of the east bank. Though the east crossing area is not visible in this photograph, the riverbank vegetation looks considerably less dense than in the 1910 picture. As well, the area east of the village site is much more open in the modern shot than it is in the historical photograph.
Figure 9a. Batoche in 1885. N.F. Black, History of Saskatchewan, Vol. 1, p. 168.

This photograph was taken in 1885, from the west side of the South Saskatchewan in the vicinity of the west village. Not visible in this print, but clearly identifiable in the original, is Letendre's residence and the stores on lot 47. To the right can be seen the probable buildings of Walters and Baker.
Figure 9b.
Taken almost directly across the river from the site of Letendre's house, the cellar depressions of the west village are evident to the right of the standing figures. It would appear that vegetation on sections 18 and 19 is actually more dense today than in 1885.
This photograph, taken from the cemetery, clearly shows the area of thick brush which surrounded the Church and Rectory to the north and east. The Humboldt trail, coming from the southeast, would have run from right to left directly adjacent to the mission. To the left can be seen the undergrowth and shallow ravine described in many of the battle accounts.
Figure 10b.
Most noteworthy in this modern photograph is the absence of any significant vegetation northeast of the Church. To the left, however, the brush covered ravine remains virtually unchanged.
Figure 11a. Batoche Avenue, 1885. AS Photograph

Batoche Avenue from the west showing the various village structures. The poor quality of the photograph prohibits any analysis of background vegetation northeast of the village, although fencing can be seen immediately behind Fisher's store on the left.
Figure 11b.
From the same angle as Figure 11a, the village remains are visible, as is the vegetation on lot 44 to the north.
Appendix C
Though inaccurate in terms of scale, this map does give a good general idea of topographical features. The shaded areas illustrate the elevated ridge surrounding the village to the east, the steep riverbank, and the plateau north of the ferry. The open flat south of Letendre's and west of the Church, as well as the prairie area northwest of the village, are pictured clearly. The trails are indicated in a schematic fashion, while no information on west side vegetation or topography is provided.
PLAN
OF POSITION AT
BATTLE OF BATO Che,
May 10th, 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
1. Midland Batt.
2. Grenadiers
3. 90th Batt.
4. Surveyors' Scouts
5. Button's Scouts
A...House shelled by gun on left of our line
B...House which contained the 9 prisoners.
Troops shown as advancing in skirmishing order at commencement of engagement.
Figure 2.
"Plan of the Attack on Batoche," George F. Cole,
PAC Photograph.

The river course and topographical features in the Cole map are highly stylized and, for the most part, inaccurate. Vegetation, however, is depicted in the area north of the Zareba and along the rise to the east of the village. Though somewhat useless for landscape purposes, it does give a good picture of troop positions and the line of attack of Batoche.
PLAN OF THE ATTACK
ON
BATOCHE
BY THE NORTH-WEST FIELD FORCE
UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. SAM ZINNELL Vincent
May 1885

[Map of the attack on Batoche by the North-West Field Force under the command of Capt. Sam Zinnell Vincent in May 1885.]

THE MANITOBA
THE QUEEN'S
HEAD QUARTERS
FOR
FINE CUTLERY,
RACKS,
PLATED WARE,
HOUSE FURNISHINGS,
AND
MORE

Wm. Bell
DRY GOODS
GENTS' FURNISHINGS.
206 Main St., Winnipeg

R. A. BARVIE
Dentist.
456 Main St.

A. W. BURKE
Merchant and Military Tailor.
406 Main St.
WINNIPEG, MAN.
Figure 3.
Sketch of Batoche Battlefield 1885, by Capt. H. de Haig, Royal Engineers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Although radically out of scale (especially the river), the map does give some indication of vegetation areas at the site. Note particularly the ploughed field shown left of the village, the basin below it, and the large open plateau described by Middleton and Boulton north of the Zareba. As well, the Humboldt, Church and Carlton trails are all depicted, as are the broken lines of rifle pits surrounding the basin area. Again, the west side topography, except for the heavily wooded area along the riverbank, has not been illustrated.
The poplar bluffs, east of the village along the ridge, and north of the Zareba, are portrayed as are the Humboldt, Carlton and St. Laurent trails. This sketch also includes schematic rifle pit locations (both on the east and west sides) and the various structures on each side of the river.
Figure 5.
PAC Photograph H3/540.

This particular drawing was more than likely the preliminary, on site, sketch for the map shown in Figure 1. Locations of the various regiments are indicated.
Plan of
The Battle of Bataan
May 12th 1895

Drawn by: Burrows & Denny R.D.S.
Surveyors Corps

Scale
4 inches = 1 mile.

Explanations

1. Enemy's Rifle Plts
2. Our Dvo B't
3. Midland B't
4. Grassiers
5. Oak
6. Salt
7. Surveys Corps
8. Boultons Corps
9. House shelved by gun on left of line
10. House which contained prisoners

Troops shown advancing into skirmishing order at commencement of engagement.
Figure 6.
Dogout shelters on the west bank for Métis women and children, 1885. Archives of Saskatchewan Photograph.
Figure 7.
Batoche Village, c. 1885, AS Photograph.

Looking west from a location between the Humboldt and Carlton trails, a bridge-like structure can be noted near the centre foreground. If it is indeed a small bridge, it might traverse the slough described as being located near Batoche's store (the building on the extreme right). A large open area on the west side (section 19) can also be seen. Interestingly, between Fisher's store and the structure to the left, is what appears to be some type of early threshing machine. Research has shown that a similar machine was present at Maple Creek in 1883. The correspondence of Joseph Riel (MG3, D2, PAM), states that David Maxwell was an agent for the Manitoba Dealers Farm Implements works. Later, in 1886, a claim by a David Maxwell of Batoche to the Rebellion Losses Commission (claim number 498, RG15, Vol. 932, PAC) asked for $206 in reparation. The claim was not allowed.
Figure 8.
Woodcut of Batoche Village, 1885.
Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Taken directly from the photograph in Figure 7, the bridge structure is illustrated, as is a small trail to its immediate left. The tresher is depicted as some type of fence or gate.
Batoche

(This village has been settled since 1812, and named by a party of buffalo-hunters.)

1. Blacksmith shop owned by Batoche. It was unoccupied, as far as I know, at the time of the fight.
2. This is George Fisher's new store, and was occupied at the time of the trouble begun. It is where we kept our provisions.
3. Boyer's store. It was in charge of Riel. It is occupied by the Mounted Police now; at least it was when I was there at the time of the general election.
4. Philip Garneau's house is now vacated.
5. Batoche's store. Used at the present time as a store. A cannon ball knocked the end off this building during the Rebellion.
Figure 9.
Xavier Letendre's Store, ca. 1915. AS Photograph.
Figure 10.

Village ruins, c. 1940. AS Photograph.
Figure 11.
Letendre's house, c. 1886. AS Photograph.

Seen from the southeast, the fenced area in the front of the house is clearly evident. It is apparent, though, that the ground in the immediate foreground is uncultivated. As well, little vegetation can be seen behind the house to the northwest.
Figure 12.
Letendre's house, c. 1910. AS Photograph.

Viewed from the north, this later photograph indicates that the fence had been dismantled. Wooded areas can also be seen west of the house along the river slope.
Figure 13-
Field on which General Middleton camped, 1885.
AS Photograph.

The exact direction of this photograph is uncertain. It is possible that the buildings to the left belong to Jean Caron Sr. on lot 52, in which case the photographer was looking west from the Zareba toward the river.
Figure 14.
The Zareba, Batoche, 1885. PAC Photograph, C-3454.
Figure 15.
Batoche Church and Rectory, c. 1940.
PAC Photograph, C-18047.
Figure 16.
Batoche Church and Rectory, c. 1925.
AS Photograph.

From the southwest near the cemetery, looking northeast. Note the heavily wooded areas behind the Church not present in the later photograph.
Figure 17.
Rifle pit north of Batoche, n.d.
AS Photograph.
Figure 18.

"How they left their pits," Rifle pit, Batoche, 1885.
PAC Photograph, C-3449.
Figure 19.
Graves of Métis killed in Batoche Battle, n.d.
PAC Photograph, C-1714.

Métis mass grave on the southern border of the cemetery. The vegetation visible in the photograph no longer exists (see map, Appendix G).
Figure 20.
South Saskatchewan River, south of Batoche, looking north, July 1953.
AS Photograph.
Figure 21.
A Battery supporting the guns, 1885.
PAC Photograph, C-3457.

More than likely, this photograph depicts the plateau west of the Church. The soldiers are firing north toward the village.
Figure 22.
"Opening the ball at Batoche," 1885.
PAC Photograph, C-3464.

Taken from the edge of the Zareba, this photograph probably looks northwest toward the Church.
Figure 23.

Note Letendre's house above the riverbank on the east side. As well, the trail to the ferry crossing can also be seen.
On the west side of the river the trail to Prince Albert can be seen quite clearly below Montour's house on section 19.
Figure 25.
"View of the position to which we advanced on the 9th, 10th and 11th of May, 1885," by Capt. H. de H. Haig, Royal Engineers.
Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Drawn from a vantage point southeast of the Church and Rectory. Illustrated on the right is the wooden area and line of brush which stood north of the Church. On the left is the ravine next to the cemetery.
Figure 26.
View looking toward Batoche from where guns fired, May 29, 1885. Captain H. de H. Haig, Royal Engineers. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

This sketch shows the brush south of the village and northwest of the Church. Also indicated is the fenced area next to Letendre's house and the Humboldt and Carlton trails. Some small areas of vegetation are represented to the southeast of Letendre's store.
Figure 27.


Though highly romanticized, the painting does indicate the broken lines of poplar overlooking the village, as well as the ploughed field east of Letendre's.
Figure 28.
The Steamer Northcote running the Gauntlet at Batoche, May 8, 1885 from Canadian *Illustrated War News.* Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
THE STEAMER "NORTHCOTE" RUNNING THE GAUNTLET AT BATOCHE, MAY 8TH, 1885. [See page 39.]
Figure 29.
Rifle pit at Batoche, May 1885, Captain H. de H. Haig, Royal Engineers.
Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
The usual type of Rifle Pit made by the Rebels at Ratoche, to feet deep; ramp to descend by; loopholes made with logs. Always placed at edge of woods, branches stuck into turned up earth to conceal pit. Holes for cooking things, cartridges, &c.
Ground usually sloping to the rear and upwards or flat to the front. Soil firm and sandy.
Figure 30.
Rebels rifle pit with wounded, May 1885. *Illustrated War News,* June 27, 1885.
Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

Note, especially, the firing holes in the immediate foreground.
Figure 31.
The bayonet charge at Batoche, May 1885.
Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
THE BAYONET CHARGE AT BATOQUE.

"But the heaviest charge was made by the Midland Battalion, who rushed forward with a cheer which was taken up and received by the whole line with such force and vigor that the enemy became panic-stricken."—Special to the Mail.
Appendix D
Figure 1. East bank of South Saskatchewan looking north from a point west of the Zareba. Note the high bluffs and heavy vegetation.
Figure 2. Canadian forces rifle pit on terrace overlooking the river south of Batoche.
Figure 3. Plateau on the west side (lots 16, 17, and 18) from Terrace west of Zareba.
Figure 4. Wooded ravine between Church and cemetary which is visible on the left.
Figure 5. Church and Rectory from the east.
Figure 6. Crossing area, east side.
Figure 7. Ruins of Letendre's house from the south.
Figure 8. Humboldt trail looking southeast from the vicinity of the village. Church is visible on the horizon.
Figure 9. Looking S.E. toward the Church from the village. Note beginning of wooded area on the right between Letendre's and the Church.
Figure 10. Wooded area referred to in Figure 9. This stand of poplar was not present c. 1885. See map, Appendix G
Figure 11. Village site from the east. Treed area in background is more extensive today than in 1885. See map, Appendix G
Figure 12. Northwest wall of Zareba looking east. Poplar growths not present in 1885. See map, Appendix G
Figure 13. Northwest wall of Zareba looking west.
Figure 14. South wall of Zareba.
Figure 15. Northwest wall of Zareba. This particular area was considerably more open in 1885.
Figure 16. Front of Zareba looking north from rear wall.
Figure 17. Slough in S.W. corner of Zareba.
Figure 18. Church and Rectory from east wall of Zareba.
Figure 19. Caron buildings lot 53, south of Zareba.
Figure 20. Plateau area N.W. of village site.
Figure 21. Plateau area N.W. of village site. Note line of brush which shielded Métis women and children during the battle.
Figure 22. Trails to village and to Letendre's from the vicinity of crossing on east side.
Figure 23. Looking southeast toward Zareba from cemetery. Immediately beyond the fence visible in the foreground was a heavy grove of poplar. See map, Appendix G and figure 19 Appendix C
Figure 24. Carleton trail, west side, looking west.
Figure 25. Carleton trail, west side, looking east.
Figure 26. Carleton trail, west side, looking east. River is in the background.
Figure 27. Trail to Prince Albert, looking north.
Figure 28. Trail to Gabriel's Crossing, looking north.
Figure 29. Crossing area, west side.
Figure 30. Rifle pit, west side.
Figure 31. Cellar depression for the store of Walters and Baker, west village (speculative).
Figure 32. Looking north along location of Humboldt trail. Village remains are to the left.
Figure 33. Line of poplar N.E. of cemetery and south of Church.
Figure 34. Poplar grove south of Church, taken from cemetary location.
Appendix E
Surveyors' Notebooks
Figure 1

ISIDORE DUMONT

Township 43

Range 1 WEST OF 3RD MERIDIAN

EAST Boundary of Section 31

1.50

Road

1.50 Allowance

South

Breach

T.P. H

House

Farm

74.27

71.00

Class 1

59.00

40.00 Post

32

40.00 Willow

Section

Poplar and

20.00

16.00

9.00 Willow

Post

Poplar and

32

9.00 Willow

Post

1.50

1.50 Allowance

Source: J.L. Reid, Surveyor's Field Notebook 882, 1879, p. 30
Figure 2

JOSEPH PARENTEAU

Township 43
North Boundary

Range 1 West of 3rd P.M.
Section 30

1.50 Road

1.50 Allowance

South Branch

Class 2

61.40 Post

TP

Willow

Poplar and

40.00

39.00

38.00

34.00

Cart Prairie

34.00

19.00

Cart

Sand

1.00

0.00

Road Scrub

1.50 Allowance

1.50 Post

Source: J.L. Reid, Surveyor's Field Notebook, Book 882, 1879 p.37
Figure 3

ABRAHAM MONTOUR

Township 43

Range 1 West of 3rd P.M.

North Boundary of Section 19

Road 1.50

Allowance 1.50

Class

South Branch

Section 30

Post 40.00

Houses

Ploughing

Prairie

Poplar

Road 1.50

Allowance

Post

Source: J.L. Reid, Surveyor's Field Notebook, 882, 1879, p.38
Figure 4
T43-R1-W3 Survey of G. Macmillan, 1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boulders</th>
<th>193.72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poplars and</td>
<td>189.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poplars 1'-6'</td>
<td>187.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willows</td>
<td>186.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willows</td>
<td>182.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>165.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>164.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>158.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>151.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poplars 1'-4'</td>
<td>127.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>108.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>102.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poplars 1'-4'</td>
<td>84.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>40.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slough</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Thick</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lot 48 269°59' 11 Nov. 1908

Lot 47

Figure 5

T43-R1-W3, Survey of R.C. Purser, 1916

Base Line across lots 40 to 47 inclusive - St. Laurent Settlement Course 32°02' later deduced by turning from Course 270°04' N. by Lot 48.

The above line was run on the 6 day of October 1916 chained 11

Source: R.C. Purser, Survey of T43-R1-W3, Government of Saskatchewan Land Survey Branch, Book 16554 p.73
Figure 6
T43-R1-W3 Survey of R.C. Purser, 1916
North Boundary of River Lot 4 Course 270°04' from observation on Polaris

The above line was run on the 7 & 9 day of October 1916
chained 11

Source: R.C. Purser 1916, Book 16554 Page 74
The above line was run on the 9, 10, 11 day of October 1916 chained 12

Source: R.C. Purser, Book 16554, Page 76
Appendix F
Township Survey Maps
Batoche T43-R1-W3
St. Laurent T44-R1-W3
PLAN OF
TOWNSHIP No.43
RANGE 1 WEST OF THIRD MERIDIAN

Dominion Lands Office
Ottawa
25th June 1890
Approved and confirmed 'E. Deville'
Surveyor-General

Compiled from surveys by
J.L. Reid DLS 1879-89
M. Aldous DTS 1879
M. Hart DLS 1884
C.F. Leclerc DLS 1889

Contents
Land in Sections 7234.00 Acres
Roads 393.00 Acres
Water Acres
Total Area 7627.00 Acres

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS
Woods, Scrub or Prairie and Woods
Marshes
Water
Settlers Improvements
Land dispersed by the Government
PLAN OF
TOWNSHIP No. 44
RANGE 1 WEST OF THIRD MERIDIAN

Scale

Topographical Survey
of Canada
Ottawa 6th October 1890
Approved and confirmed
'E. Deville'
Surveyor-General

Compiled from surveys by
C.F. Leclerc DLS 1889
J.L. Reid DLS 1879
W.F. King DTS 1878
A.L. Russell DLS 1877
Milner Hart DLS 1885

Contents
Land in Sections 18091.13 Acres
Roads 690.00 Acres
Water 1109.00 Acres
Total Area 19860.13 Acres

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS
Woods, Scrub or Prairie and Woods
Marshes
Water
Settlers Improvements
Lands dispersed by the Government
Appendix G.
Representational Vegetation Map
CHANGES IN VEGETATION AT BATOCHE, 1885-1980.
This map was recently found in the papers of abbé Cloutier who though not present at Batoche during the actual battle, based the drawing on the accounts of the Métis participants and a personal visit to the settlement in 1885 and 1886. It is significant for its representation of the vegetation, the location of military landmarks and the rough estimation of distances (in paces) between buildings. Of particular note is the open area north and west of the Church and Rectory, and the location of the Gareau house east of the trail from Humboldt. The height of land ("hauteur") bordered by the vegetation east of the village is depicted, as is the plateau which sheltered the Métis women and children.

The small extension of riverbank vegetation shown between Letendre's house and the Church would seem to contradict some of the photographic information. The picture entitled "First Sight of Batoche" would suggest that this area was open, however, because it was taken in the early spring and/or because the vegetation might only have been of the small scrub variety, it might not be visible to the camera.

The map remains the only non-governmental depiction of the site at the approximate time of the battle.
Source: Archives Archiépiscopales de St-Boniface (AASB), Journal de l'abbé Gabriel Cloutier, 1886.