‘Zones of Intelligibility:’ The Trial of Louis Riel and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Media

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A Thesis

In the Department

of

Humanities

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

December 9, 2013

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ABSTRACT

‘Zones of Intelligibility:’ The Trial of Louis Riel and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Media

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‘‘Zones of Intelligibility’: The Trial of Louis Riel and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Media” is a critical discourse analysis of Louis Riel’s 1886 trial transcript and, using a post colonial, intersectional, and critical race approach, I examine various Canadian media upon which the event was predicated. Using an interdisciplinary approach, my research project enters Canadian history in the mid-nineteenth-century setting of Riel’s 1885 high treason trial and uniquely draws together three distinct areas: Canadian media history, illustrative print culture, and the intertextual use of Shakespearean works in a selection of media. The 1886 trial transcript is my point of departure from which I address how the tripartite discourses of sovereignty, civility, and memory, each with inherent paradoxes, operate through the media to cultivate a specific national pathos that shaped the *zones of intelligibility* and naturalized the (mis) representation of Louis Riel, the Métis peoples, and Aboriginal Nations in Canada. My analysis of Louis Riel’s trial transcript is concerned with critically addressing the historic and inherently dichotomous verdict, guilty or innocent, to uncover what it elides. Here, I argue, Riel’s trial was not about his guilt or innocence, nor his insanity or sanity; Riel’s trial and his execution were about Métis people’s sovereignty.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly grateful to my advisor and teacher, Dr. Yasmin Jiwani for her encouragement and brilliant acumen, especially when I felt that I was lost. Her knowledge, insight, and generosity are woven throughout this work; she is a constant and guiding presence. I am thankful to my Shakespeare Studies advisor, Dr. Meredith Evans for believing in me and letting me take Shakespeare to crazy places. Thank you for your keen intellect, creative energy, and for giving me courage. I am grateful to my advisor, Dr. Charmaine Nelson for her generosity and continual words of wisdom, her open office door, and her enduring support and encouragement. My thanks to the women who were the initial spark for this project and who continue to inspire me: Dr. Kim Anderson, Monique Mojica, Yvette Nolan, Helen Thundercloud. My thanks to my enthusiastic peer readers, Dr. Alan Wong, Dorota Lech, Leslie Cheung, Dr. Angela Facundo, and Dr. Peter Milner. Thank you for being so incredibly smart, saying yes, and reminding me to put a subject in my sentences. I am grateful to my brothers, Richard Moll and Edward Moll for their support, and to my father, Richard Moll, senior; he would have been very proud. I am thankful to the people who have endured my forced discussions about obscure nineteenth-century newspapers: Patricia Davenport, Tatiana Koroleva, Karla Dawn Packwood, and Dawn Owen. My thanks to Dr. Michael Keefer for the "extended" loan of his great grandfather's scrapbook, in which I found Riel's voice. I am especially grateful to David Milner for his love, encouragement, and for being happy to listen to me as I try to figure things out. This project is dedicated to the two women who have come before and after me, my mother Corrie "Jimmy" Kommer, and my daughter Baritte Rose Williamson. Thank you for your love and for just being you.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

> And seeing and yourself understanding how it is difficult for a small population as the Half-breed population to have their voice heard, I said what belongs to us ought to be ours. (Riel, 1886, p. 157)
>
> If Native people are to have a future that is of our own making, such a future will be predicated, in large part, on sovereignty. (King, 2012, p. 193)[2]

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[1] My geographical focus is Canada's North West, which during the period was a wide swath of land reaching as far west as British Columbia, north to Labrador, South to Montana, and East toward Ontario. I examine the Anglophone major and minor presses only. The French media would entail an entirely different and very full project.

[2] The Métis peoples living in Canada's North West during the nineteenth-century is my central focus. Métis communities, however, were located throughout North America. For Canada's North West, the terminology is explained more fully by Louis Riel in the Prologue. The heterogeneity of Aboriginal peoples sovereignties, lineages, cultures, languages, spiritualities, sexualities, identities, customs, economies, politics, rituals, and kin systems in Canada was reduced within historic government designations encapsulated in such documents as the Indian Act resulting in the classifications of Status Indians, Non-Status Indians, Métis and Inuit people. This colonial process of homogenization representing indigenous identities was enforced through national policies, pedagogies, and media. This massive production of misrepresentation is examined throughout my chapters; particularly, how indigeneity was targeted to denigrate Métis people's identity and sovereignty. The paradox, however, is that as I strive to identify the discontinuities that occur with representational homogeneity, I also utilize terminology that falls within that bracket by using the reductive terms such as Aboriginal, Indigenous, and Métis. With this in mind, I make every effort to be specific in my description of individuals and Nations, which includes using the plural form of "Nations" and "peoples." For this work, I use the designation of Métis, which formally encompasses French and Aboriginal lineage. I use this term also to include individuals from English and Aboriginal family lines. During the period, the term "Half-breed" was utilized to denote English and Aboriginal ancestry, which I use when it appears in the media, the transcript, or correspondence. In keeping with the nineteenth-century nomenclature, I utilize the term "Indian" as it appears in the media or by Métis and Aboriginal scholars who utilize the language. When speaking about particular Nations or individuals, I am specific when possible. The ancestry of the individual or collective participants during the Resistances is at times impossible to ascertain. I therefore utilize the term "Aboriginal peoples" or "Indigenous peoples" to differentiate from the Métis. I also apply the term "First Nation" ("Status Indians" and "Non-Status Indian"), even though it appears in the twentieth-century lexicon. From time to time throughout my chapters, I position Aboriginal Nations and peoples (Status Indians and Non-Status Indians) with Métis peoples because of the historic (and often silenced) alliances relating to collaborative petition efforts, strategic economies, political activism, and Resistances. In this way, I also make clear that Riel, as one of the Métis leaders, was not "acting" alone, which is how he was represented, charged with treason, and is often remembered. The issues in the North West comprised a layering of complex and historical antecedents, which affected many different communities, bands, and Nations in many different ways. The designation of "white settler," which is also utilized, is in itself complex and comprises a range of emigrants in the North West, who were at times Métis allies. However, it is crucial to note that during the nineteenth-century the classification of "white" was employed to designate very specific Eurocentric signifiers, specifically "superiority" for political and social agendas transmitted by, among other areas, the media.

In October 2012, I was flying over the long stretch of Saskatchewan prairie on my way to complete my research in Regina's Royal Canadian Mounted Police archives, as well as to see the building where Riel's trial took place, and the spaces where he was imprisoned and eventually executed. My copy of the 1886 transcript[3] lay open on my lap, and I was about to continue to read, when my attention was caught by the in-flight movie, *Twelve Angry Men*. The 1957 drama takes place largely in a single jury room in which twelve men decide the fate of a young man who is from, what is described as, the "slums." He is charged with murdering his father. I had seen the film version of the original 1954 teleplay several times. Henry Fonda plays the chivalrous protagonist who decides that the defendant is not guilty based on what he perceives as reasonable doubt. Fonda stands alone against his eleven peers who have unanimously decided the defendant's guilt and see no reason to postpone submitting their verdict. *Twelve Angry Men* is a film that confronts the intimacy of judicial procedures and how member resources,[4] individual and collective, are drawn upon when deciding a subject's guilt or innocence; more to the point, the film makes accessible how individual prejudices, social discrimination, while wrapped in a sovereign ardor of civility, clouds the truth and their implications. It is here, as my plane was landing, that I found a parallel: my project is not interested in verdicts; rather, it is concerned with unveiling social prejudices and more specifically to examining how cognitive resources and internalized experiences operate during the

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[3] Although the trial took place in 1885, the transcript was published in 1886.

[4] Norman Fairclough uses the term "Member Resources" (MR) to describe a subject's cognitive resources or the internalized experiences from which they draw during their discursive interpretive processes and their social conditions of production (2001, p. 20). The terminology will be referenced throughout this project's chapters.

processes of discursive interpretation and their associations with social conditioning through the media (Fairclough, 2001, 20). How do the (re) circulating production of media flow, converge, and ultimately create what Hariman and Lucaites call *zones of intelligibility*? (2007, p. 26). The authors' analysis "isolates texts, images, discourses and arts that have developed historically through the use of modern communicative media to define the relationship between the citizen and the state" (p. 26). The core interest in my project is an analysis of "the relationship between the citizen and state," but more specifically, who is excluded from that bonding state and why. Hariman and Lucaites further propose that, "terms such as 'public speech,' 'public opinion,' 'public interest,' and the like articulate a zone of intelligibility wherein specific forms of discourse interaction, and responsibility are recognized and capable of becoming authoritative" (p. 26). This project is interested in the construction of these zones and the role of the media and its agents. My analysis of Louis Riel's trial transcript is concerned with critically addressing the historic and inherently dichotomous verdict to uncover what it elides. Here, I argue, Riel's trial was not about his guilt or innocence, nor his insanity or sanity; Riel's trial was about Métis sovereignty.

My project's focus on Riel's trial and the circulating nineteenth-century media related to issues of sovereignty, civility, and memory has not been undertaken in scholarship. As an example, Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson's (2011) research for their book, *Seeing Red: The History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, found a significant dearth in Canadian scholarly studies of nineteenth-century media and the representational formations of indigenous peoples. The revelation is shocking considering how the media delivers an "agenda setting" formula or as

explained by Anderson and Robertson, the media's "social learning stresses its particular influence in the case of race and what to think about" (2011, p. 41).

"Zones of Intelligibility: The Trial of Louis Riel and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Media" is a critical discourse analysis of Louis Riel's 1886[5] trial transcript and, using a post colonial, intersectional, and critical race approach, I examine various Canadian media upon which the event was predicated. The trial was, and continues to be, a national spectacle, an inaugurating event for a burgeoning nation to showcase, through its various instruments and technicians, a pedagogical event of making known. Jacques Derrida (2008) would identify this formation of rhetoric as fabular and it "would be always, through and through, the putting to work of a fable, a strategy to give meaning and credit to a fable […] and therefore to a story indissociable from a moral, the putting of living beings, animals or humans, on stage […] destined to educate" (Derrida, p. 35). But what exactly was being made known during the trial? The Regina courtroom was a stage through which the trial of Riel and its discursive formations played out; however, the nineteenth-century Canadian media, as part of the colonial statecraft, was already busy repeating and reproducing familiar narratives that told of queens and outlaws, and of wolves and sovereigns. The recognizable narratives engaged fifteenth-century imaginations, just as they continue to do for twenty-first century audiences.

Riel's trial set in motion the mnemonic devices fortified in the law and in the media by the Christian European subjugation of divergent people who lived outside of the norm of civilized conduct. In his analysis of the print revolution emerging from the Renaissance with the Gutenberg Press, Peter Burke (2005) suggests that images drew

---

[5] Although the trial occurred in 1885, the trial transcript was published in 1886.

largely from the fables of Aesop which were not necessarily created for children but instead had two layers: the manifest and the latent (2005, p. 44-6). The double articulation is found in Lyle Dick's (2005) study of Canadian media in the nineteenth-century, specifically after Confederation (1867). Dick explains that

> the central Canadian Anglophone media asserted their capacity to construct identities for the new nation according to their values, realized through countless representations of the country's constituent peoples and legitimized through the media's developing status as the principal vehicle of advancing truth about the external world. (2005, p. 1)

What manifested in Canada were the discourses of naturalized ideologies like western European sovereignty and civility; however, what lies beneath the advancement of "civilized truth" are the latent and very real formations of colonial violence which continue to be sanctioned against Métis and Aboriginal peoples.[6] The circulating images that constituted identities were produced and reinforced by Eurocentric values and technologies, and developed meanings and a connotative knowing that Roland Barthes (1997) describes as a meta-message or the myth, specifically here, concerning race, colour, and otherness (Hall, 1997, p. 229).

Using an interdisciplinary approach, I enter Canadian history in the mid-nineteenth-century setting of Riel's high treason trial and uniquely draw together three distinct areas: Canadian media history, illustrative print culture, and the intertextual use of Shakespearean works in a selection of media. The 1886 trial transcript is my point of departure from which I address how the tripartite discourses of sovereignty, civility, and memory, each with inherent paradoxes, operated through the media to cultivate specific

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[6] Although Riel and the assertion of Métis sovereignty is this project's focus, within the North West geography there lived multiple Nations asserting their sovereignty and many participated in the Resistances with the Métis. Not to discount their contributions, and to differentiate First Nations from Métis, I position Métis and Aboriginal Nations often within the discussion. Specific First Nations are identified throughout the chapters as required. The Prologue provides additional details.

national narratives that shaped the *zones of intelligibility* and naturalized (mis) representation of Louis Riel, the Métis peoples, and Aboriginal Nations in Canada. Although the core of this project is the 1886 transcript, it is necessary to return to sites that, I argue, deeply influenced the nineteenth-century subjects' cognitive resources in the functioning of their interpretive processes, which (re) circulated through the social conditions of production, specifically, during the trial.

Media examined include, among others, Columbus' 1493 letter; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651); Canada's first paper, *The Halifax Gazette* (1752); James Fenimore Cooper's novel, *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826); Paul Kane's artwork and travel narrative, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* (1859) and his association with the Hudson's Bay Company; a tobacco card with Riel's image (c.1869); Canadian poet, Charles Mair, also known as "Canada's Shakespeare" and his association to the Red River Rebellion in 1869, which, as Riel explains in his address to the court, cannot be separated from the events in 1885 and therefore is integrated throughout the chapters (Riel, 1886, p. 126).

If Riel's trial was assessed as about Métis sovereignty, how did the Crown's charge of treason and the defense's plea of insanity function to omit the assertion? Moreover, how did the media operate to support or contest the Dominion's efforts to distract from Riel's sovereign stance? The following section explores these questions as my project's research problematic.

Research Problematic

Louis Riel's trial and execution was not a singular event. Rather it was, and continues to be, a palimpsest of multiple discursive formations that emerged in the nineteenth-century

as a mediated spectacle in an attempt to constitute a unified commonwealth consciousness within a fractured, contentious, and complex populous. The trial occurred within a colonial continuity where the dominant culture represented Riel as the "enemy-other," and an outlaw who was treasonous against the sovereign Queen— a colonial formula that is not far-fetched from the Hobbesian model of sovereignty. With this in mind, how did the sovereign state use Riel's act of treason as a strategy to materialize and to consolidate a narrative of national unity with its counterpoint in the imagined and constructed formations of "The Indian"? How is sovereignty constituted? When approaching my research problematic, Himani Bannerji's suggestion is helpful: "we must look for the flash moments within the times of danger to oppose the national narrative of unity" (2000, p. 2). Louis Riel's trial transcript, as an archival document, represents a "time of danger" in Canada. The transcript offers a scholarly opportunity that has not yet been addressed, as I detail below, to examine the document's intersocial relationship to the circulating narratives and pictorial representations; furthermore, the transcript provides a site from which to question how "flash moments" are produced, circulated, and impressed into collective memory to create *imagined communities* and *zones of intelligibility*.

Daniel Francis (1992) asserts that there is no such thing as "an Indian"; it is a white man's fantasy built through the subjectification of manufactured images which are assembled to cohere particular ideologies (p. 15). Francis considers stereotypes and examines how they affected public policies specifically in the court of law. Aboriginal historian, Daniel Paul (1993) concurs with Francis' assessment as he focuses on the relationship between the Mi'kmaq and the history of colonization in eastern Canada and

its rootedness in the imagined figure of "The Indian." He sees the polarization emerging from the social infrastructure of a Christian and civilized discourse that mobilize, animate, and reduce indigenous peoples into the malleable image of "the other" (1993, p. 7, p. 282). How then was the stereotype manufactured and distributed in Canada? How did the Riel trial operate within, and subsequently inform, the colonial apparatus of image and vernacular making? Why and how do the Métis and Aboriginal Nations' Resistances, Riel's trial, and his execution still persist as a "flash moment" and a "time of danger" in the Canadian psyche and what is its relationship to national sovereignty?

I use Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology[7] to examine my primary sources, colonial contextual frameworks, and the external causes and trends in such areas as the printing press industry, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Hudson's Bay Company, the circulating Shakespearean discourses, and the political, social and economic networks and their agents' activities to gauge how seemingly incongruent relationships were in fact quite intimately aligned with each other and with Riel's trial. Harold Innis (1950) contends that "the capacity to concentrate on intense cultural activity during a short period of time and to mobilize intellectual resources over a vast territory assumes to an important extent the development of armed force to a high state of efficiency […] it becomes an index of power" (1950, p. 133). With this in mind, military, literacy, and communications were the tentacles of power stretching over contested and coveted territory. Daniel Coleman (2008) argues that the symbols of industry, heralded as enlightened progress, "gave civil subjects a mandate for managing the circumstances of those perceived as uncivil" (p. 18). However, from the civil

[7] Since each chapter will focus on specific media formations, I use and describe the applicable CDA methods for each analysis in the respective chapters.

mandates in these networks of civilization and its "index of power," paradoxes also arise as exclusions. As Coleman further explains "the paradox of civility in liberal modernity […] must exclude to protect and define its very ideology that demands freedom and equality" (2008, p. 13). The paradox that fosters exclusion, thus, was naturalized. The civilized agenda instructed by the ideals of progress cast out, with public acquiescence, "the uncivil" and "the savage," a process of disqualification that remains steadfastly privileged and operates invisibly and thereby remains taken for granted. It is therefore within the bonding-breach in which civility is constituted where the discontinuities of national narratives and imaginings can be evaluated, and forgotten resistances can be surfaced. The search for the discontinuities within the conceptual formation of "nation" permits an analysis of how and why the triangulated codes of sovereignty, civility, and memory operate and where they appear even in their absence at the site of Riel's trial. The search brings me to the core question in my project's research.

Central Research Question

What were the associations between the media and the trial of Louis Riel? Using my research question as my project's central base camp, I examine how Riel's trial was part of the colonial apparatus that operated through the mechanics of sovereignty, civility, and memory to shape a national consciousness that contributed to a unifying ideology that Eva Mackey (1999) calls *Canadian*-Canadians (p. 3) or as Anderson and Robertson (2011) describe as "imagined Canadiana" (p. 9). The ideology of national unity necessitated a continuing reconstitution of the polymorphic image of "the Indian" and its subsequent represented elimination into the "vanished Indian." The visual and literary pervasiveness of the imagery coincided with the massive rise in newspaper readership

particularly in the illustrated press during the nineteenth-century. Furthermore, my research analyzes the discontinuity in the colonial and paradoxically inscribed narrative that Canadian sovereignty *protected* Aboriginal peoples, while the media, in partisan relationships with the government, fortified and instilled stereotypes of Aboriginal identities. The media, as a collective resource in the nation, vilified indigenous distinctiveness and dismissed, as examined in this project, Métis sovereignty – a consequence of controlled mass memory making, or, zones of intelligibility that were deployed across Canada in the violent abjection, reduction, and exclusion of indigenous peoples. The binding triangulated force that frames specific intelligible zones at the site of Riel's trial comprise, sovereignty, civility, and memory and are presented as my epistemological framework.

Epistemological Framework

The Canadian sovereign authority implemented the trial and the deliberation of treason to maintain state order through the process of discipline and punishment. Carl Schmitt (1996) argues that "of all juristic concepts the model of sovereignty is the one most governed by actual interests" (p. 16) while always being held in varying proximities to ideological constructions. Sovereignty, in its concrete and abstract formations, therefore is the primary constellation from which I trace the trial's discursive infrastructure; as well, I follow its interconnecting, converging, and colliding relationships with civility, memory, and Louis Riel.

Sovereignty

Nineteenth-century media was not a singular monolith, nor was the conceptual formation of "nation"—far from it—both were a myriad of complex, highly contested, and unstable

power networks. Whether contesting the government's policy on the Canadian Pacific Railway or lauding it, the potential to physically and psychically solidify an otherwise fractured national consciousness was held together with a tight-fisted civilized doctrine that extolled a unified and constructed sovereign body. To be obedient was to be protected. The trial's discursive formation, as a judicial proceeding, was one of the multiple arteries of power pulsing through the state's sovereign body in 1885. What then is sovereignty? What is the meaning of sovereignty in relation to Riel and his trial? Moreover, what were the social difficulties, anxieties, and fears during the period and how were they fostered to meet political objectives? How did the social apprehensions affect not only sovereignty, but also the understanding of "sovereignty" within the public's member resources, as well as by Riel? States were determined to control and account for their borders, as well as their subjects to maintain order and to ensure security against invasion and internal disobedience. It is not my intention, in the scope of my dissertation, to provide a historical survey of European sovereignty; rather, it is more directly relevant to contextualize how "sovereignty" in Canada's North West functioned and how it was mobilized with the colonial ideology of civility in the work of nation-building through the media, and ultimately in the judgment of treason against the figure of Riel. With this in mind, treason was and continues to be the greatest crime against the sovereign body.

The opening lines in Jean Bodin's "On Sovereignty," in his *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (1576; 1992), describe sovereignty as "that absolute and perpetual power vested in a commonwealth" (p. 25). Bodin's book was published in 1576, and similar to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651; 2010), his tract was in response to the outbreak of

civil war that plagued his country. Hobbes and Bodin had a distinct fear of anarchy and social division and both were resolute in their call for an absolute sovereign under which all subjects would be controlled through their complete submission. Schmitt describes the sovereign as one who decides on the state of exception (1996, p. 5). Expanding upon this definition, Agamben explains the "exception" as

> the decision made in the state of an emergency or *necessitas legem non habet* (necessity has no law). The exception is made in the suspension of law itself; it is a no-man's land between public law and political fact. The paradox of sovereignty, however, is that it is always both outside and inside the juridical order." (2005, p. 15)

While Schmitt and Agamben diverge in their philosophical approaches to matters of sovereignty, common to both approaches is that sovereignty embodies a "protector [who] then decides who the enemy is by virtue of the eternal relations of protection and obedience"(Schmitt, 2007, p. 44). The ideology of "protection" is thus one technique wielded by the sovereign to establish obedience and thereby decides who is inside or outside of the law and who is civil or the enemy.

Within this political configuration, Aboriginal peoples were legislated as "wards," a state paternalism that positioned "The Indian," as legislated in The Indian Act (1876), outside of the civilized in order for the government to control territory under the guise of protection. Riel explains a discrepancy in this relationship during his address to the court: "The people themselves did not feel any security […] they sold their lands because they saw that they had no protection" (1886, p. 160). The Dominion's state apparatus depended on a commonwealth, a unification of an imagined, civilized community that could only be accomplished if the entire population, held within a zone of intelligibility, submitted to the Crown's rule; dissent against the state would be punished accordingly,

otherwise the Leviathan of civil war would return the population to anarchy. Riel, in a bold anti-Hobbesian move, dared to unleash a counter force against the sovereign's claim of "civility" by declaring the Métis as sovereign in their North West territory while simultaneously unmasking the Dominion's violent expansionist and military agendas against indigenous peoples. Thomas King (2012) explains that, "sovereignty, by definition, is supreme and unrestricted authority. However, sovereignty in practice, as a functional form of governance, is never an absolute condition. Rather it is a collection of practical powers that include, among others, the authority to levy taxes, set the criteria for citizenship, control trade, and negotiate agreements and treaties" (2012, p. 194). King adds, "Aboriginal sovereignty, by the way, is a given [...] Just in case you didn't know (p. 194).

The making of treaties, the Indian Act, the Manitoba Act (1870), the Canadian Constitution, Supreme Court decisions, and Riel as an elected Member of Parliament on four occasions in 1872 (Riel withdrew his candidacy as a favour to John A. Macdonald), in 1873, again in 1874, and in a by-election during that same year are part of the Métis people's sovereign paper trail. Still, then, why are Métis and Aboriginal sovereignties not known, or, as with King's reminder: "just in case you didn't know." How was Métis sovereignty diminished in theory and practice? In terms of sovereignty, treaties establish a Nation to Nation discourse in the very act of one sovereign body negotiating with another; the caveat, as King points out is that treaties are the *sine qua non* of the [Indian Act]: "Treaties aren't the problem. Keeping the promises made in the treaties, on the other hand, is a different matter" (2012, p. 225). King further extends that "technically, I

think treaties could function without the legislation. They might even function better. But without the treaties, the Indian Act is a parasite without a host" (p. 169-70).

While it is as instructive as imperative to grasp the discursive legacy of sovereignty defined within western culture and how it is wielded, it is counter intuitive to apply it wholesale to an understanding of the Métis peoples and more specifically Riel's trial and his representation in the media. The tendency in historical accounts is not to distinguish between sovereign forces, particularly if involving an Aboriginal Nation, rather the normative continuity, in the nineteenth-century colonial framework, is to subscribe to the singularity of sovereign queens and her agents – all "others" are excluded as "the rebel forces." While Bodin (1992), Hobbes (2010), Derrida (2008), Foucault (1965; 1977; 1978; 1995; 2003; 2006; 2012), Agamben (1995; 2008), and Schmitt (1985; 2007), with their similar and dissimilar views, will all be engaged throughout the chapters, it is critical that their western philosophies and theories do not overwrite the critical approaches taken by Métis and Aboriginal writers and scholars concerning issues of sovereignty. With this in mind, throughout the chapters, Riel's trial speeches and his other writings will be kept at length to elucidate how he attempted to shift colonial sovereign paradigms.

Civility

The etymology of the word "civility" finds its origin in the late fourteenth-century as the "status of citizen" and later in the mid-sixteenth-century as "good citizenship" or "behavior proper to civilized persons" ("civility," 2013). Benet Davetian (2009) extends the definition of "civis" to a space, the *polis* or the city and "how [and where] life is to be lived best"; state and conduct thereby synthesize to symbolize the ideal character in

social systems (p. 9). It is perhaps not surprising that the word "civility" surfaces in the western lexicon in the fifteenth-century when the "Doctrine of Discovery" was first sanctioned in a papal bull[8] to legitimize European possession of land, a time when the delineation of who was deemed as civil and who was not was crucial to sovereign expeditions of territorial acquisition. Robert A. Williams (1989) argues that the sovereign's decision was determined by "whether or not the territory 'discovered' was civilized, in other words, inhabited by Christians; if it was not, the land was available to be claimed and its original inhabitants, if not complicit in European religious conversion or displayed civility, would be removed, enslaved or killed" (p. 63). Riel, in his speeches, contests the Crown's claim of "discovery" by stating that Métis people were present to be consulted; moreover, he reveals the fault line in the Dominion's bracketing of power into a singular sovereign by asserting Métis sovereignty, indigenous codes of civility, as well as alternative collective and cultural memories.

The term civility and its definitional offshoots "civilized," and "civilization" have a complex etymology and shift depending on the period. A common thread that runs from the Age of Discovery at the beginning of the fifteenth-century to the nineteenth-century is the European's use of the term to justify conduct or control the conduct of others. The law of nations, *jus gentium,* for instance, was a common body of European law and finds its origins in the sixth-century Roman Emperor Justinian's *Corpus Juris* (Hall, 2010, para. 1).[9] The corpus was built on the writings of statesmen and jurists, Cicero, Seneca and Tacitus. Norma Jean Hall (2010) explains the associative roots and constraints embedded in the language of "civilized" in her work on Métis history in Red River. Hall

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[8] A papal bull or bulla is a document authorized, signed and sealed by the pope declaring letters, charters or proclamations.
[9] Riel's use of Emer de Vattel's 1797 *The Law of Nations* is discussed in the Prologue.

points out that the "Justinian's assertion that land was not to be allowed to exist without a sovereign – hence the European justification for usurping land occupied by 'uncivilized' peoples" (2010, para. 2).[10] In context with the Métis peoples in Red River during the nineteenth-century, the popular rise in the use of the term "civilize" in the global "civilizing mission" and its economic affiliations populated discourses to evoke "superiority" (2010, para 8), and primarily white race superiority.

Riel, in the trial transcript, uses the definition to expose the paradox of the Crown's "civility" and thus enters the colonial zone of intelligibility to challenge the "imagined community's" narrative of nation by showing the unreliability of not only the Dominion's account of its state, but also its actions, history, and the resources from which its conceptions are drawn. Among the resources were newspapers, literature, art, and policies in which the narrative of progress and civilization were utilized to craft, project and inculcate publics. The social resources in terms of memory and its processes in terms of Riel's trial will be discussed in the following section.

Memory, as Member Resources

> If we can reproach memory with being unreliable, it is precisely because it is our one and only resource for signifying the past-character of what we declare we remember. (Ricoeur, 2009, p. 21)

The third area of my epistemological framework is memory. Paul Ricouer's quote signals the slippage, contradiction, and paradox which occur between memory and declaration, between impression and inscription, and more specifically, the kinesis or acts of power circulating within and through the lacuna of how nationhood is remembered and

[10] See Norma Jean Hall (2010). "A Brief History of the term 'Civilized' - Provisional Government of Assiniboia: Acknowledging the Contribution of Original North American Peoples to the Creation of Manitoba." Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia Project. Online. Retrieved from http://hallnjean2.wordpress.com/resources/note-on-terminology/a-brief-history-of-the-term-civilized/

transcribed. Part of the deficiencies or discrepancies of memory as described by Fairclough (2001) can be found in the processes of Member Resources: "you do not simply 'decode' an utterance, you arrive at an interpretation through an active process of matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations you have stored in your long-term memory" (p. 9). When undertaking my analysis of the trial transcript and the media, in the context of memory and how it operates, I focus primarily on "member resources" as an element of memory to examine and de-code the work of the circulating images and narratives, and their relationship to the representation of Riel and the Métis Resistances. As Ricoeur (2009) further explains, "testimony constitutes the fundamental transitional structure between memory and history" (21). I am interested not only in the declarations or utterances recorded as evidence during the trial, but also, and more directly, the antecedent discourses that support the trial's structure. The word "testimony," as giving evidence, is from the fifteenth-century and from its Latin root *testimonium,* to give proof, and from *testis* to witness ("testimony," 2013). Riel, in the hierarchal and sovereign space of the court, is deemed as outside of the law, an outlaw, and thus his testimony (his memory) to the court is delegitimized. The testimony of witnesses for the prosecution, or what they remember, however, within the bracket of the civilized, are substantiated and considered authoritative. The sub-textual formation of "testimony" with its connective tissue to masculinity in its linguist root, *testis,* renders (and genders) Riel's "testimony" which consequently negates Riel's accounts and his sovereign assertion and thereby emasculates as it usurps his leadership and power.

My epistemological triad appears in Nicholas Flood Davin's (1885) opening

editorial for the trial, in the *Regina Leader*.[11] The paper's declaration that Riel is the "leader in a rebellion" marks him as a captured "enemy" awaiting his fate pending the sovereign's decision. When considered with Foucault's analysis of the liturgy of punishment, the press's account of the trial functions as a renewal of the sovereign's triumph – an impression of government conduct deployed in the ritual of execution that is sealed in the publics' memory (1977, p. 21). Consider Davin's opening to the trial:

> Regina is about to be the theatre of one of the most interesting events which have ever taken place in Canada – a state trial, the trial of a leader in a rebellion [...] in which his life is at stake. (1885, "Trial of Riel," p. 2)

The discourse of theatre, as a performative and pedagogical tool, functions as a media resource to locate Riel outside of civility's gates while it simultaneously holds him under the jurisdiction of a sovereign ready to perform the ritual of punishment.

But how was Riel constituted as being devoid of civility, as criminal, and as "savage"? What were the available and perhaps even absent member resources in the nineteenth-century milieu to facilitate the process of interpretation? What is the origin of the public ritual of evaluation, the narratives, and the zones of intelligibility that marginalized indigenous peoples as the "other," and as such the "enemy?" How was the media utilized to determine a subject's social inclusion or exclusion? In the next section of this chapter, I review the literary works consulted and analyzed with these questions in mind when engaging with Riel's trial and the circulating media.

Literary Review of Sources Specific to the Riel Trial

The document *The Queen Vs. Louis Riel: Accused and Convicted of the Crime of High*

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[11] Nicholas Flood Davin, owner and editor of *The Regina Leader,* and his associations with the federal government and its adjunct networks and agents will be examined throughout the ensuing chapters. Conventionally, nineteenth-century reporters' writings were anonymous; thus, Davin, as the *Leader's* editor and owner, is cited as responsible for his paper's output.

Treason comprises the Report of Trial at Regina; the Appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench, Manitoba; The Appeal to the Privy Council, England; the Petition for Medical Examination of the Convict; and the List of Petitions. The Queen's Printer published the proceedings in Ottawa in 1886. The original transcript has since been reprinted with varying degrees of quality by such presses as Nabu Press (2010; 2011), General Books (2009), and the popular *Queen Versus Louis Riel* by Desmond Morton published by the University of Toronto Press (1974). After reviewing each publication, I decided to use the *Early Canadiana Online* version (2013) for the textual analysis. The quality of the print is consistent, as well as being free from in-text amendments or footnotes from the editor and publisher. However, it is crucial to note that the stability of the 1886 publication of the *Queen V. Riel* trial transcript must be called into question. I discovered serious omissions in my comparative analysis between the media and the transcript and within the transcript itself. With this in mind, it is important to note that not only does the transcript reflect problems that originated in the courtroom, such as transcribing, translation, and interpretation, but the text was edited and published in London, England under the direction of the Dominion of Canada one year after the trial without Métis consultation; thereby, the objectiveness of its content must be continually scrutinized and challenged. This issue will be discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

Much literature, in a wide variety of genres, continues to be produced concerning the figure of Louis Riel, such as biographies, literary fictions, plays, films, art exhibitions, comic strips, musicals, and an opera, as well as the publication of his letters and poetry. Annual plays are staged across the country, by all age groups, in classrooms and community centres to determine whether or not Riel was guilty. John Coulter's play

The Trial of Louis Riel, for example, was written as part of the Centennial project in 1967 and is acclaimed to be the second longest running play in Canada with *Anne of Green Gables* taking the categorical lead. The play, in its 45th year of production, is supported by the Saskatchewan Arts Board's *Culture on the Go* pilot program. The performance project is funded through the Ministry of Tourism, Parks, Culture and Sport.[12]

Historical accounts include writers such as Albert Raimundo Braz (1957), George Stanley (1963, 1974, 1985), Desmond Morton (1972, 1974), Rudy Wiebe (1977), Peter Charlebois (1978), Frank W. Anderson and Robert K. Allan (2007), Jennifer Reid (2008), and Joseph Boyden (2010), among many others.

One of Canada's most prolific writers on the life and politics of Louis Riel is Thomas Flanagan, a retired political scientist from the Calgary School.[13] Flanagan's work concerning Riel and related research were federally funded. Interestingly, he also served as a senior advisor for Aboriginal peoples affairs in Canada for the current Prime Minister, Stephen Harper. Flanagan's overt colonial perspective (1983; 2000) not only concerning Riel but also in regard to ongoing Métis land claims, as well as his stance on First Nations sovereignty in Canada culminates in his book *First Nations? Second Thoughts* (2009): "Owing to this tremendous gap in civilization, the European colonization of North America was inevitable and, if we accept the philosophical analysis of John Locke and Emer de Vattel, justifiable" (p. 45). Flanagan's conceptual formation of "civilization," his western philosophical rhetoric, and his colonial ideologies are

[12] Rielco Productions' website can be viewed at: http://www.rielcoproductions.com/.
[13] In 2013, Flanagan was dismissed from his CBC pundit position and Conservative party members and other government affiliates have distanced themselves from him for his statement: "child pornography does not harm." Coverage of the controversy can be found in the February 2, 2013 *National Post* report "Ex-Harper advisor Tom Flanagan fired from CBC after saying viewing of child pornography does no harm." Available online http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/02/28/ex-harper-advisor-tom-flanagan-fired-from-cbc-after-saying-theres-nothing-wrong-with-viewing-child-pornography/

similar to those deployed throughout the nineteenth-century. His discourse is predicated on the imagined colonial binary to which end Flanagan places Aboriginal peoples as "uncivilized," and therefore he argues they have no claim to land. In *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (1983), Flanagan does provide an analysis of the transcripts, though only to support his theory of Riel's guilt and to reject any attempts to pardon him. When considering my epistemological framework, Flanagan's assertion that "we should leave history as it is" is significant with regard to his Conservative government partisanship. The pronoun "we" in Flanagan's assertion excludes those (the Métis) who requested, as he puts it, the "sentimental gesture" of Riel's posthumous pardon. Here, Flanagan deploys the colonial binary of the "civilized" (reason) and the "uncivilized" (emotional) to fix the state of "history" and how it should be left. In other words, Flanagan leaves the government exonerated from the questionable "fairness" of Riel's trial, and the Métis without their rights to their territory. The repetition of Riel's trial and the continual question of his criminality, or by default "madness," functions to elide the real issue at hand: Métis sovereignty.

Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson's recent publication *Seeing Red in Canadian Newspapers* (2011) is the first book to examine the representation of Aboriginal peoples in nineteenth-century Canadian press. The publication includes a chapter on Riel; however, distinctly absent from this entry is mention of transcript or trial details. Although, Anderson and Robertson do provide an analysis of the relationship with the national and international press circulating around the Métis Resistance, the media's connection to the trial is omitted. "The conflict" according to Anderson and Robertson, "comprised of resisting Métis and Aboriginal […] [and] was quashed by

government forces. Riel and some others were hanged" (p. 192). The statement that "some others were hanged" demonstrates a naturalized apathy of a mass execution which occurred days after Riel met his fate, and that even with a critical inquiry of Aboriginal representation in nineteenth-century newspapers the identities of "the others" remain un-inscribed as a public resource and is thus reduced to the space of the "other."

When I began my writing, I was not looking for Riel; rather, I was looking for Shakespeare. In the fourth year of my undergraduate work at the University of Guelph, I enrolled in a Shakespearean adaptation class. One of the first works we studied was a play called *The Fair Grit; or, The Advantages of Coalition.* Nicholas Flood Davin penned the adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1876, the same year the Indian Act was passed. Davin, an Irish immigrant, settled in Canada's North West and became the first Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West (1887-1900). He was also a lawyer, politician, editor, and playwright known as "Canada's voice of the North West." His paper, the *Regina Leader*, will be examined throughout the chapters and specifically in Chapter 2. Under the direction of then Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald (1873), Davin wrote the *Report of Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* on March 14, 1879 in which he wrote thirteen recommendations to initiate the residential school system for Aboriginal and Métis peoples in Canada. During my research work for the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project (CASP) at the University of Guelph,[14] I was interested to discover if Davin used Shakespearean works in his newspaper. I undertook a quantitative analysis of his press in order to measure his use of Shakespearean discourse within his reporting tactics and examine if there was a correlation to his representation of Aboriginal and

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[14] Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project website (CASP) can be view online at http://www.canadianshakespeares.ca/.

Métis peoples in the North West. *It was a long shot.* As I sat in the University of Guelph's library at a microfiche bay scrolling through the years beginning in 1883 (when the paper was launched), I arrived to the period of 1885 and the figure of Louis Riel appeared. It was during this early research in my analysis of the *Leader's* trial coverage that not only did Shakespearean allusions appear one after another, but another association appeared with Davin and the government of Canada: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It was at this moment, that I realized more critical work needed to be done concerning Riel's trial and the media.

The convergence of media, Shakespeare, the trial transcripts, and the Dominion of Canada captured my attention. Davin's quotes from *King Lear*, *The Tempest*, and *Henry V*, among others, in his nineteenth-century newspaper led me into the 1885 courtroom where Riel, through the constellations of power was, in a sense, unkinged. But what did this all mean? My questioning beckoned me into a closer and comparative analysis of the media, as well as extensive archival research which has taken me to the British Library (London, UK), The University of London (London, UK), The Globe Theatre (London, UK), the University of Alberta Rare Books Library (Edmonton), the National Gallery in Ottawa, the McGill University Library and Rare Books and Special Collections (Montreal, QC), the McCord Museum (Montreal, QC), the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), The Gabriel Dumont Centre (Winnipeg, MB), The Royal Canadian Mounted Police archives, and Heritage Centre (Regina, SK), as well as multiple on-line archival portals, and even nineteenth-century scrapbooks. What I found unusual is that within the plethora of material and extensive academic as well as popular attention that is focused on Louis Riel, a critical discourse analysis of Riel's trial transcript and its

interrelationship with the media has not been carried out – this unexplored space is at the core of my work.

Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis

Media, nineteenth-century Canadian print culture, and Shakespeare studies offer multiple and cross-cultural entry points to apply the strategies and tactics of critical thinking and writing in diverse yet interconnected ways. My interdisciplinary approach opens new lenses through which to analytically engage with the Métis Resistances, the trial transcript, Riel's execution, and their representation in the media. Media scholars agree that the massive rise in readership in the nineteenth-century was also a period of establishing collective memory through print culture, specifically illustrations; nevertheless, this era continues to be neglected academically even when considering how the period was foundational in the infrastructure of Canadian media and communication systems. National imaginaries, shaped as state borders, were being drawn through ideological discourses that were relative to economics, education, security, and unity. It is within these imaginaries that I un-map the interpolating formations of sovereignty, civility, and memory.

My methodological approach to resuscitate the historical event through the trial transcript and other media involves a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of primary nineteenth-century materials. My CDA method follows the strategies of Norman Fairclough (1992; 1995; 2001; 2003; 2006). Fairclough's linguistic and practical applications investigate the ways subjects communicate and how they influence and are influenced by the structures and power relations in social institutions. The method

advances an analysis of the meanings found in linguistic expressions and systems as a process of naturalization, which result in the closure of meaning through "the self-evidentness of conventional (and ultimately arbitrary) ways of interacting" (2001, p. 89). My intention is to de-naturalize the continuities and break down their discursive armor by analyzing how sovereignty, civility, and memory functioned in the colonial project to reconstitute and subjugate the representations of Riel as a Métis leader, and Métis sovereignty altogether. I apply the CDA methodology to examine, throughout my chapters, the experiential, relational and expressive values in language, collocations or how words co-occur; the synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy in the text; oppositional wording, metaphorical transfers, and ideological contested language that occur under the guise of semantics; as well as the social relationships among participants.

Fairclough's methodology is influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault; for example, the essay "Docile Bodies" is congruent with Fairclough's work when navigating discursive formations, which mobilize bodies and objectify them as fixed states or as images to teach, and to fit within a colonial taxonomy (1977, p. 135). When considering the trial discourse, Fairclough's method contributes to a cohesive structure for my examination of "the discrepancies that exist between *what is said* and *what is meant*" and in how people interpret meaning from *what is said* (2001, p. 9). Riel's trial transcript is an untapped site from which to analyze critically the legitimized and authorized pejorative representations of Métis and Aboriginal Nations that operate to undermine their sovereign states. Within this context, the mediation of circulating stereotypes that affect the content and longevity of public memory profoundly influenced

interpretations of “the enemy”— impressions and inscriptions that continue in present day trajectories of racialized representations of indigenous peoples.

The work of the period’s technicians will be considered to identify how their political affiliations determined and constrained social narratives, and thus “by marking out these relations one may determine the ways by which the circulation, the transfer and the modification of concepts […] are made possible between one domain and another” (Foucault, 2002, p. 67).

My analysis is informed by Aboriginal scholars, historians, and writers such as Kim Anderson, Robert Berkhofer, Sarah Carter. Olive Patricia Dickason, Daniel Francis, James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson, Thomas King, Emma LaRoque, Bonita Lawrence, Louis Owens, Sherry Farrell Racette, Andrea Smith, Rudy Wiebe, Robert A. Williams, the Manitoba and Ontario Métis Federations, and the writings and speeches of Louis Riel. I utilized the post-colonial and media criticism of Himani Bannerji, Peter Burke, Lyle Dick, Julia Emberley, Robert Harding, Stuart Hall, Robert Hariman, Yasmin Jiwani, John L. Lucaites, Anne McClintock, Charmaine Nelson, Ann Laura Stoler, David Spurr, among others. Through an intersectional and interdisciplinary analysis, I examine the situational, political, and social networks including their associations to Upper Canada’s capitalist interests in the North West and their direct and indirect participation in the representational production of Métis and Aboriginal peoples. In doing so, I address the unfailing Foucautian question: “What was being said in what was said?” (2002, p. 30). In the following section, I explain how this work unfolds in an outline of my chapters.

Chapter Outline

Prologue

As the words that go before, the Prologue provides the historical background of the Métis peoples in the North West. I discuss specific events through which Métis identity and sovereignty were shaped—all of which were antecedent to Riel's trial. The Prologue also offers a contextual grounding through which the media currents and content ran and fed into public and private forums. With this in mind, a historical sketch of Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk and Seven Oaks, the nascent government policies which were foundational in the Indian Act, treaties including the Manitoba Act, the Canada First Party, the 1869 Red River Resistance, Riel's exile, and the 1885 Resistance and its battles are outlined. In my concluding reflection chapter, I review the landmark 2013 Canadian Supreme Court decision a/effecting Métis people's status.

Chapter One

Riel's Trial Transcript: Paradigm Shifts in Sovereignty, Civility, and Memory

Louis Riel's trial, as a perpetual space of memoriam, is a fixed national site situated inside a sovereign paradigm of abstracted judgment. The cultural phenomenon, in its material form, appears in the trial transcript and has become a seemingly reliable component in the history teaching of Canada and finds its root in the government-authorized and London-published document released in 1886. The trial commences in the opening chapter and in my analysis I focus on the keywords "sovereignty," "civility," and "memory" and their occurrence throughout the transcript. A qualitative analysis follows with the results examined in a broader social context. Within this framework, my central question veers away from the conventional "guilt" or "innocent" verdict; rather, I analyze the colonial continuities in which the trial unfolds and how Riel contested the existing

paradigms and contexts held as civilized by British European constructs. What if Riel was proposing and activating a new context to transform the psychic and material prisons built by colonization that subjectified the Métis peoples in the North West as incapable of governing? What if Riel's trial was considered, at its core, about Métis sovereignty?

Chapter Two

"Discoursemachineweapon": The *Regina Leader* and the Trial of Riel - A Case Study [15]

Continuing with my transcript analysis from Chapter 1, in Chapter 2, I examine how the trial's proceedings were transmuted, or changed from one element to another, through a case study of a dominant press, the *Regina Leader*. I examine the reporting styles utilized by a newspaper agent in the courtroom during the trial including "direct reporting," "indirect reporting," "free indirect reporting," and "narrative report of speech acts," as well as the consequences of these reporting devices. The *Regina Leader's* weekly Thursday editions, and its special Daily supplement along with their editorial inclusions (and exclusions) of the trial are taken through a comparative analysis against the transcript addressing a range of orientations in the reporting discourse at the scene of the trial. The editor's detailed, descriptive, and romantically driven narrative style creates a visual tableau for the reader. These styles, appearing in The *Leader,* did not operate in a vacuum and were informed by a long history of narratives that fabricated the multiple renderings of "The Indian" and its zone of intelligibility, which impacted the Métis peoples. In Chapter 3, I examine the media circulating in Canada during the late-

[15] It could be argued that an enlarged comparative analysis with other circulating papers would enrich investigation among and within dominant and or marginalized presses; however, my analysis will instead focus on a specific osmotic site in which a closer study of the mechanisms of power are amplified and silenced. Comparing multiple newspapers at this site is likely to result in a surface analysis of the multiple press content. A broader comparative analysis among the newspapers directly or indirectly reporting the trial could be left for another project.

nineteenth-century, the production of specific colonial narratives, and how they influenced, and were influenced by, the trial of Riel.

Chapter Three

Nineteenth-Century Canadian Media: Colonial 'Zones of Intelligibility'

How, then, are "zones of intelligibility" produced? In this chapter, I conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of text-based media, as well as their political and social affiliations, and how they were institutionalized as national pedagogies, and as such were prevalent during the 1885 trial of Louis Riel. As Yasmin Jiwani (2010) explains, "in a country the size of Canada, this sense of 'nation-ness,' of belonging to one country or one nation-state, is reproduced on a daily basis through a variety of rituals and practices (p. 295). With this in mind, I conduct a far-reaching examination of Canadian presses from 1752 to 1901 to identify the discursive chain and its repeated links in text and image continuities and their inherent breaches. The broad contextual literary survey produces a comprehensive perspective of how "memory" and its resources were assembled and installed through media practices. National narratives, however, were supplemented with illustrations. In the chapter to follow, I conduct an in depth analysis of print culture production which supported colonial ideologies and how they influenced Riel's trial while undermining Métis sovereignty.

Chapter Four

Illustrative Zones: The Material and Psychic Possession of Aboriginal Identity

Having laid the foundation of the conceptual discursive formations at work in the new colony, in this chapter I focus on the production of national images and how they were sustained through powerful economic networks, which reinforced stereotypes of not only

the “Imaginary Indian” but also its vanishing counterpoint. The artists and artworks in my analysis include, among others, Paul Kane, John Wilson Bengough, Henry Walker, and the cult of tobacco cards. In this material analysis of the master colonial narrative, I examine the formation of the “enemy-other” by critically addressing the Canadian illustrative canon and its supplementary texts that shaped the (mis) understandings of the indigenous identities and Métis peoples. Images and their adjoining texts were not solely produced in Canada. Narratives laden with ideologies departed from the metropole, crossed the Atlantic, and arrived to the new colony. In the discursive wave was the British literary corpus and included the works of William Shakespeare. In the following chapter, my analysis is concerned with nineteenth-century media writers who contextually aligned their Shakespearean adaptations with Riel.

Chapter Five

Shakespeare and Sovereignty: Canada’s Nineteenth-Century Media

Shakespearean text was a pedagogical prerequisite in the new colony and was among the many cultural resources distributed by the colonial media. In the matters of communication, politicians, editors, writers and artists—often not exclusive roles—interpolated their writing with Early Modern allusions to activate an intertextual effect to resonate and spark the growing publics’ material and psychic sensibilities. Shakespearean adaptations were formulated in the media through social orders, situational content, and interactional histories. The common ground or zone of intelligibility was cultivated by the cultural manipulation, distraction, and selling power of Shakespeare as an iconic force in the operations of imperialism and the representation of Riel. The symbolic rendering of

Riel did not end with this guilty verdict. In the following chapter, I examine the media and its response to the execution of Riel and its sovereign implications.

Chapter Six

Riel and the State of Execution: Last Words & Parting Messages

The focus of the final chapter is the press coverage of Riel's execution and, as a sovereign act, was necessitated by Dominion agents: "as it deploys before all eyes an invincible force" (Foucault, 1995, p. 48). Was Riel's execution the endgame to usurp Métis people of their sovereignty? At the 'flash moment' of capital punishment, however, I also investigate how the media coverage of Riel's execution elided Canada's first known mass hanging eight days later. Riel's trial was presented as the national ritual of discipline and punishment and with it dispensed a "lesson" to not only the Métis and Aboriginal Nations, but also to national and international audiences who could assess and perceive the "protective" force of Canada's sovereign's power.

Rationale - Why Riel?

I have been asked the question many times over the course of my research and writing: "Why Riel?" The e/affect of answering the question provides me with the opportunity to address my position within the work. One answer could be that as I happened upon the torrent of dehumanizing representations of Riel in the nineteenth-century press, I also realized that a critical analysis addressing the relationship between the trial and the media was lacking in scholarship and thus necessary. Another answer could be that additional work needed to be done within the context of Canada's nineteenth-century media and its representation of Aboriginal and Métis identities; moreover, how do these early representations inform the present day understandings of indigenous sovereignties,

histories and stories. It could be that late one night at a library's microfiche bay, I realized that something was not quite right when I read the Riel trial coverage in the 1885 newspapers. The answer could also be that I wanted to better understand how the mechanics of racism operate and figure out how the stereotyped matrix is configured and then dispensed into zones of intelligibility. All these responses would indeed be accurate; yet, these answers do not really resolve why I have not been able to let Riel go.

What I have come to learn over the years, and in fact what I am still learning, is that much of what draws me to the subject of Riel and Métis sovereignty has much to do with my own histories. Although I am not from Aboriginal descent, my corporeal and psychic being is a product of the colonial project. My father was Dutch; my mother was Indonesian. While not plunging the plumb line too deep into my own complex historical well (this work will be left for another time), what lies at the core of my affinity to Riel's history is my mother. As a half-caste Indonesian-Dutch woman, she was born into the Dutch colonized archipelago where she survived a Japanese internment camp in Indonesia during WWII. Her histories, similar to those histories of thousands of girls and women, who endured the violence of war and subsequent displacement, exile and loss of identity and geography, have remained largely undocumented. From the age of ten until she was fourteen, my mother was a prisoner in a camp along with my great grandmother, my grandmother, and my tanta.[16] One of my tantas was born in the camp. When the war ended they were further displaced into a refugee camp in Singapore before being forced to the Netherlands and into exile. My mother and her sisters were told never to speak of their origin, the camp, their histories, and their mixed race. Silenced was the history of my mother, whose hair was cut and her name changed to "Jimmy" along with her gender

[16] "Tanta" is Dutch meaning "aunt."

at the age of ten. She lived in the camp as a boy (a common mother's trick during war to save their daughters from being taken by soldiers as "comfort women"). The "comfort woman" euphemism of war facilitated the rape, exploitation, and the torture and murder of young girls. Silenced was my grandmother's smuggling of cigarettes out of the camp at night for medicine to try to save the malnourished, sick, and dying girls and women, one of which was her own mother, my great grandmother. Silenced was the sexual violence, my grandmother giving birth to a daughter in the camp, the racial hierarchies in all-women's camps that relegated the hybridity of Indonesian-Dutch women to exclusion and violence. Silenced were these histories and countless others under the guise of assimilation and shame. "We are now Dutch," my mother was told. But my mother knew she wasn't really Dutch. She didn't want to be Dutch. And in her bones she would never belong – anywhere; her hybridity, her half-breededness, her impurity would haunt her and, so it seems, would haunt her daughter. My mother always felt she lost her home, her land, her self. When she eventually arrived in Canada, she was indeed lost.

I am able to pass as white, yet beneath my skin, just under the surface I am an Indonesian hybrid that is determined to keep categories, whatever they may be, complicated and unfixed, and always with unstable histories. Complicated histories. Sarah Stillman explains that it is the obligation of scholars to "pursue the unknown ghosts and recognize the need for proactive digging to recover stories about those deemed 'disposable'; and valuing the structural integrity, details, and delicacy of each individual story you unearth" (500). Perhaps it is Riel's declaration in the *Montreal Star*: "But justice demands that we honor our mothers as well our fathers. Why should we care to what degree exactly of mixture we possess European blood and Indian blood?" (1885).

Riel's words struck a chord when defining his place, his identity, and his sovereignty; perhaps, what struck a deeper chord was the government negation of his rights and his identity. If I do not identify as mixed raced I negate my mother, my grandmother, my great-grandmother, and tantas' histories; I ignore the colonial violence they lived; I absolve the colonizer, and I devalue their daily acts of resistance. I erase their strength. I enable silence. Assimilation is amnesia's handmaiden. I am privileged to be stained by my father's whiteness, but I am, I believe, privileged to be haunted by the hybrid ghosts who never sleep, who speak to me, who toss and turn and at times beat their fists beneath the floorboards of my skin and demand that their histories are spoken. So, here I return to my initial question: why Riel? Truthfully, I am still not exactly certain. What I do know is that somewhere within the landscape of Riel's and Métis histories I recognize specters which continue to haunt me; and their need to be resurrected, to speak, to be recognized, to refuse the refusal of their sovereignty and to do the work to set it right. There is indeed work for the living to do.

PROLOGUE[17]

"That which goes before the words": Métis History in Canada

I begin to succeed. (Riel, 1886, p. 152)

Introduction

The documenting of Métis history in Canada continues to be undertaken by a great many Aboriginal and Métis scholars, international and national historians, activists, artists, lawyers, teachers, academics, writers of stories, and history buffs. It is published in the form of autobiographies and biographies, as well as performed and presented in theatre, art, music, prose and poetry. My intention here, therefore, is not to continue with this work in those particular forms. Yet, at the same time, my analysis of Riel's trial and the media circulating around and through it requires a relative framework from which to provide a "zone of intelligibility" (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007, p. 26) for the readers to contextually place Riel, the Métis peoples, and First Nations (Status or and Non Status) contextually within nineteenth-century Canada. While the content within this framework is by no means exhaustive, it provides a political and social *mise en scène* from which the material and psychic production of stereotypes and representative formations unfold. History is not linear; however, I present it as such to provide insight into the movement of Métis sovereignty and why the Métis peoples resisted, for example, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion's forces, as well as ultimately to offer additional platforms from which to question the representations of Louis Riel: Why was he persecuted? Why was he was hanged? Why is sovereignty silenced?

[17] "Prologue" is defined as "words that go before."

It seems fitting that an account of Métis history is encapsulated as a Prologue, or *that which goes before the words,* to identify the cornerstones (if such things exist) of what scholars and storytellers, to a certain degree, agree are specific periods in the histories of Canada that were foundational to the formation of Métis identities. These periods and their agents are referenced throughout my chapters. As Riel explained to the court, the events that led to the 1885 Resistance culminate and play out at the site of the trial (1886, 156). It is also necessary that the words that go before my project are Riel's when recounting Métis identity, histories, and sovereignty. The Prologue thus provides a space in which Riel's voice is heard and is the foundation upon which this account of Métis history is presented.

On November 28, 1885 the *Montreal Star*[18] published "Louis Riel's Last Testimony For His People." The document, the *Star's* editor reported, was left among Riel's papers, which the press successfully endeavored to secure. The article occupied the newspaper's two-page centerfold with one side in French and the other in English. Riel begins his testimony with a description of his people:

> The paternal ancestors of the Métis were the former employees of the Hudson Bay and North-West Fur Companies, and their maternal ancestors were Indian women of various tribes. The French word "Métis" is derived from the Latin participle *mixtus*, which means, "mixed;"(sic) in French "*mele*," it expresses well the idea that is sought to be conveyed. However appropriate the corresponding English expression "Half-breed" might have been for the first generation of the mixture of blood, now that European blood and Indian blood are mixed in every degree, it is no longer general enough. The French word "Métis" expresses the idea of this mixture in the most satisfactory manner possible, and thus becomes a proper race name.

[18] The *Montreal Star* founded in 1869 by Hugh Graham was the largest newspaper in Canada, as well as the dominant English-language paper in Montreal. The newspaper editor's decision to publish Riel's written testimony, in both English and French, could reflect the paper's Canadian Federalist politics to embrace English and French diversity while it capitalized on an outraged Montreal public concerning Riel's execution. The paper folded in 1979 as a result of an eight-month printer union strike ("Press: A Star is Shorn," *Time Magazine*, October 8, 1979).

In the same publication, Riel is also quick to describe the hostility that Métis peoples endured, in relation to their hybridity, from the white settlers; for instance: “You don’t look like a Métis at all. You surely cannot have much Indian blood. At any rate, you would pass anywhere for a pure white” (Riel, 1885). Riel discounts the settlers’ negation of Métis identity when explaining that, “how the Métis think of this matter is in their own hearts”:

> It is true that our Indian origin is an (sic) humble one. But justice demands that we honor our mothers as well our fathers. Why should we care to what degree exactly of mixture we possess European blood and Indian blood? If we feel ever so little gratitude and filial love towards one or the other, do they not constrain us to say: “We Are Métis!”

As evidenced above, Riel’s published testimony, as the words that go before my dissertation’s chapters, elucidates my project’s foci: sovereignty, civility, and memory. First, Riel claims his people’s sovereign jurisdiction in his declaration in the preceding quote, “We Are Métis” designating the pronoun “we” in a succinct, proud, and self-determined solidarity as he rejects being racially categorized as “pure white.” Riel locates the Métis people’s lineage as intimately connected to while separate from British Europeans and the Aboriginal Nations. Riel instead redraws the boundaries between each on his own terms and reasserts the relation of the Métis to each as a mixture “in the most satisfactory manner” (Riel, 1885). Also significant in his testimony is his emphasis on what the federal government was bent on dismissing in policies such as the Indian Act: Aboriginal women. Here, Riel describes the Métis people’s fidelity to their maternal ancestors thereby honoring the mothers as well as the fathers, a distinct departure from the patriarchal discursive codes embedded in the European settler’s ideological and singular formation of “the father” as sovereign in home and nation.

Second, Riel deftly manipulates the normalized signifiers of civility to unhinge the federal government's long history of using derogatory colonial stereotypes to represent Métis and Aboriginal peoples. Riel's rhetorical obeisance is a device, which operates as a vehicle to assert Métis history and rights as he unveils simultaneously the federal government's self-assumed civilized conduct as fraudulent, criminal, and violent:

> I ask it of all those who are enlightened by notions of truth and the most simple justice: Does rectitude allow a great people to wrest from a smaller people its country? Humanity answers no. Human conscience declares that such an act is criminal, and that its evil consequences are numberless and immeasurable. It is an evil that carries murder with it. One's country is the most important of the things of this earth, and moreover it is sanctified by the ancestors who have transmitted it. (1885)

Riel declares the Métis people's sanctified sovereign position, as he puts the Crown on trial and proceeds to interrogate the Dominion's pillars of civilization or "enlightened notions of truth and the most simple justice." Riel's judicial stance, however, is not arbitrated by six, white Protestant jurors or a magistrate in the pocket of the Crown; rather, it is judged by "Humanity," a unifying discursive move that exteriorizes the Dominion from its own constructed civility. Consequently, Riel's pronouncement of the Dominion's guilt in the theft of land and locating the act as criminal and evil exonerates Riel from the verdict of his guilt in the court of the "human conscience."

Riel also inserts the specter of his ancestors, who remain, within his indigenous cosmology, constant and connected to the land: "One's country is the most important of the things of this earth, and moreover it is sanctified by the ancestors who have transmitted it" (Riel, 1885). The Dominion's disregard for the Métis people's right to land and their wellbeing leads to Riel's diagnosis of the Crown's sovereign and civilized body as corrupt and out of joint. The specter of Riel is described by Canadian historian

George Stanley (1988) who explains that, “Riel’s ghost still haunts” the Canadian psyche and that “he has become a Canadian legend, if not the Canadian legend. He is our Hamlet, the personification of the great themes in our history” (p. 56). Stanley’s allusion is not far-fetched as William Shakespeare metaphorically personifies Hamlet’s damaged kingdom as a broken body or as a displaced shoulder. Although the body politic that the Prince speaks of is Denmark, the specter of the King and Hamlet’s desire to set his state right could be analogous to Riel’s political will to legitimate the new Métis Nation and to speak on behalf of the Métis people at his trial.

During his speech Riel remarks that, “I thought I would not be allowed to speak” (1885, p. 151). It is worthy to note that I discovered, upon conducting a comparative analysis between Riel’s posthumous testimony and his trial transcript that sections of the *Montreal Star’*s publication are the same as those that Riel articulated at his trial. Riel’s papers, seized by Father Taché and delivered to the *Montreal Star,* possibly were written with the intent to be published in the press in the event that, as Riel feared, Métis histories, sovereignty, and rights were silenced. His written testimony declares publicly his intentions, motives, and views for his people, the Dominion, and what is left for memory. The colonial rendering of the Métis and Riel in the media required his entry into the discursive streams to counter and destabilize the discriminatory continuities. As one example, Riel states in his published testimony: “I address my self (sic) to business men, to capitalists; let them answer for me all those obstinate and ignorant, or dishonest Ontario papers which for the last years have written about my doings and action only to calumniate me, to induce others into error and to rave”(1885). Riel’s comment inserts the Métis into the Dominion’s economic discourse; moreover, he asserts his association with

the nation's financial stakeholders—a connection to Riel that is all but absent in the media. Riel delegates out to the businessmen and capitalists to act as sureties for the viability of his economic plan in order to discount the owners of largely Upper Canada and Conservative papers that libeled him and "induce others into error." The continuity of Riel's characterization as merely a "rebel" is broken. Riel was a businessman active in the Canadian economy. Riel's assertion cuts through the propaganda dispensed at his trial, which accused him of profiting only for himself (1886, pp. 126; 162, 182). In contrast, if the white European notion of "business" were considered, Riel's actions would be defined as "money management," "investment," and "shareholding." Riel's desire to speak and to be heard was a counter rhetorical act against the colonial discursive sites diffused with negative imagery of Aboriginal and Métis peoples and specifically framed through Riel and the Métis people's fight for sovereignty.

To follow, I summarize the events leading up to Métis people's solidarity with the caveat that histories, stories, and voices are impossible to "summarize" without one also being guilty of producing historical absences of those hundred thousand moments that will fall outside of this purview. It is therefore also my objective in this project to provide a more nuanced rendering of Riel's trial and its media coverage to capture the slippages in histories which may have gone unnoticed before, as well as to revisit the sites which are returned to continually by scholars and students and ask different questions. As Riel explains in the *Montreal Star* article, "To have a pretty just idea of the condition of the Métis at the commencement of the year 1885, in the North-West, and particularly in the Saskatchewan, it is necessary to know how they were situated before Confederation." Riel's slight, but heavy entry of "just" counters rhetorically the Dominion's conception of

justice and brings forward the lineage of injustice against the Métis peoples. In the following sections, I enter such spaces as Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk and Seven Oaks, and explore the policies that led to the Indian Act, treaties such as the Manitoba Act, the Red River Resistance, Riel's exile, and the 1885 Resistance and its battles in order to illuminate the histories that informed the trial of Louis Riel.

Rupert's Land and the Company of Adventurers: The Hudson's Bay Company

The chartering of monopolistic companies by England and other competing empires was not a new phenomenon when on May 2, 1670, King Charles II signed off on the exclusive trading monopoly that covered a massive drainage basin of what would be named Hudson Bay.[19] The British bureaucratic method to establish trade, territorial expansion, access to natural resources, and dictate "ownership" over land had been occurring for hundreds years. The Royal Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) materialized on five pages of animal skin parchment, comprising seven thousand hand-lettered words that stated that the Company —in other words Britain —controlled over 40% of the land that would become modern day Canada. The relatively minimal paperwork contrasted its results of 1.5 million square miles that spanned as far east to Labrador and as far west as the Rocky Mountains in British Columbia and farther south than what would later become the United States and Canadian border (Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), 2013).

The Hudson's Bay Charter itself ties up all potential loopholes to guarantee perpetual ownership and control over the territory; consider the following extract that exemplifies the *will to empire*:

[19] "Hudson Bay" for the body of water and "Hudson's Bay Company" for the company.

> WE HAVE given, granted and confirmed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, DO give, grant, and confirm, unto the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas, Streights (sic), Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, and Sounds, in whatsoever Latitude they shall be, that lie within the Entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights, together with all the Lands and Territories upon the Countries, Coasts and Confines of the Seas, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our Subjects or possessed by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the Fishing of all Sorts of Fish, Whales, Sturgeons, and all other Royal Fishes, in the Seas, Bays, Inlets, and Rivers within the Premisses (sic), and the Fish therein taken, together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coasts within the Limits aforesaid, and all Mines Royal, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gems, and precious Stones, to be found or discovered within the Territories, Limits, and Places aforesaid, and that the said Land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantations or Colonies in America, called *Rupert's Land*. (HBC, para. 1)

The inclusion of the phrase “that are not already actually possessed by” is of interest. While the King’s Lord Privy Seal was busily drafting the charter determining ownership of the land, the territory was not only “actually possessed by” but also lived in by Nations with active communities, economies, social structures, cultural rituals, kinship systems, adversaries and alliances, and political networks that were well established and thriving.

Charles II signed over the territory’s governance to the charge of his cousin Prince Rupert (1619-1682) whose name graced the territory. The King granted the Charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson’s Bay and appointed them “true and absolute Lords and Proprietors over the basin whose waters flowed into Hudson Bay” (Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF), 1991, p. 8). In addition to its trading privileges, The Company had jurisdiction to “judge all persons belonging to the Governor and Company, or that shall live under them, in all cases, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of this Kingdom and execute justice accordingly” (MMF, 1991, p. 8). Over one hundred years later, the Hudson’s Bay

Company governor, Sir George Simpson related: “They [Aboriginal Nations] are under our jurisdiction […] when crimes are committed upon whites, but not when committed upon each other; we do not meddle with their wars” (MMF, 1991, p. 8). The Hudson’s Bay Company would, however, meddle in the Métis and First Nations’ land and economies.

Building chains of forts along the Hudson Bay was a priority for the company; still, the monopoly would soon find itself in an already-operating fur trading economy that included Aboriginal hunters, French and other European traders, and a growing Métis population. The stone in the HBC’s shoe was the growing and direct competition from a successful amalgamation of fur traders who operated under the North West Company (NWC) and who were, by the mid-eighteenth-century, seriously infringing upon the Hudson’s Bay Company’s profits. The NWC was a conglomerate of nine groups and was founded in 1779 by Simon McTavish. The Scottish emigrant united the traders to minimize their risks, profit share, and gather as a force against what they, and most others, considered to be an unfair and corrupt monopoly. The small company grew to expand its trade across the continent. It defied the Royal Charter unapologetically to the point where the NWC built its forts right next to HBC locations (HBC, 2012, para 6-9).

The infrastructure of each organization was quite different in that the NWC was run by Scottish, Aboriginal, and Métis traders known as *hivernauts* or “wintering partners,” who were working partners fully invested and active in the business of fur trading, while the HBC ran its affairs out of Britain, and directed the monopoly from the metropole. The disadvantage for the NWC was not having access to the Hudson Bay

waterways, which made overland journey routes long and arduous between, for example, Winnipeg and Montreal (HBC, 2012, para. 6-9).

Then in 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company sold 74 million acres of land located in the Red River region to the enterprising Scottish Earl, Thomas Douglas, the Fifth Earl of Selkirk, or Lord Selkirk to his friends. This territory spanned directly across the NWC trading route. The Métis and the NWC also known as the "Nor'Westers" (not to be confused with the North West's first newspaper), allied with each other in the fight against the Hudson's Bay Company sale.[20] The trade route problem was only one issue that would increase the tensions. Clashes, arrests, and violence increased leading to an armed conflict between the Métis and the Hudson's Bay Company at the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816 (described in the next section). The Battle and its outcome would eventually lead to the merger of both the HBC and the NWC companies on March 26, 1821. The result was a powerful and global fur-trading corporation, the Hudson's Bay Company, which lasted until the territory was sold to the Dominion of Canada on December 1, 1869. London received word a few days later that the North West Rebellion[21] was under way. I now return my attention to Selkirk's arrival in Red River.

Selkirk and Seven Oaks

The 1812 arrival of the Selkirk settlers in Red River, located in the District of Assiniboia, was an event that in many ways crystallized the advent of Métis self-identification. As discussed in the previous section, Selkirk, as the largest shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, purchased the Red River colony and his large procurement of land, made

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[20] See the Hudson's Bay Company website, "The North West Company." Retrieved from http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/acquisitions/furtrade/nwc.asp

[21] The event is known as the "Red River Rebellion," as well as the "Rebellion of 1869." I use the word "Resistance" throughout my chapters because the nineteenth-century action is perceived as such by Métis and First Nations peoples and scholars.

without consulting with the Aboriginal inhabitants, incited a Métis political and military solidarity to launch a collective act of resistance against the massive and strategic land grab. Selkirk's seemingly philanthropic inclination was to provide settlement land for the evicted Scottish Highland crofters (a manifestation of British colonization in Scotland); yet, at the same time, his acquisition was indeed bolstered if not guided by its capital appeal as he bought the swathe of land with profits he gained from his investment in the Hudson's Bay Company. To market and "flip" the "vacant land" to the landless Scottish immigrants would also satisfy several colonial imperatives: disband and continue to displace Métis and Aboriginal Nations' economies, fill the land with white settlers to populate the territory in order to ward off encroachment from the United States, inject new capital development, and support the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade monopoly by circumventing the competing NWC trade routes and livelihoods of independent fur traders. A significant player in the deal was Selkirk's brother-in-law, Andrew Wedderburn-Colvile, who partnered in the purchase. Colvile's family were sugar brokers in England and managed West Indian plantations through the slave trade; Colvile himself would later facilitate the entry of George Simpson as a Hudson's Bay Company governor.

Selkirk's colonial assumption of Canada's North West as *terra nullus* would make it ideal for Scottish families displaced by British colonization to settle first in Prince Edward Island, then Upper Canada, and finally Red River. The NWC, the Métis, and the Aboriginal fur traders vehemently contested Selkirk's action because of the dramatic effect on their trade routes in the remote North West and because, yet again, they were not consulted about the land allocated for the incoming settlers. These grievances were

answered with trade sanctions imposed by the Hudson's Bay Company's buffalo hunt restrictions enforced by Selkirk's people, and the issuing of the 1814 Pemmican[22] Proclamation, restricting the NWC, as well as the Métis and Aboriginal traders from supplying the trade posts, as well as fur traders with the common and necessary food staple. The Hudson's Bay Company and Selkirk's actions severely delimited their economies (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). Olive Patricia Dickason (2009) explains that "the Métis way of life had developed under the economic umbrella of the trade and in the isolation of the Northwest," thus, the Hudson's Bay Company's control over the economic and the geographical space restricted, if not entirely abolished, the region's food supplies, livelihoods, and well being (Dickason, 2009, p. 231).

The Métis, who traded with both companies, were already harbouring unabated concerns about the government's use of land, the displacement of people, and the extermination of the buffalo. Four years later, in 1816, the Métis kick-started their pemmican production and challenged the regulations imposed on them in a confrontation with the new Hudson's Bay Company governor, Robert Semple. After a winter of starvation brought on by the Hudson's Bay Company and Selkirk's restrictions many people died or were left destitute. Métis Nor'Wester captain, Cuthbert Grant rallied the Métis and First Nations' people, as well as likeminded settlers and traders. With stores of pemmican, they captured and ransacked the Hudson's Bay post, Brandon House (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). Fur traders began to usurp the Hudson's Bay Company's unauthorized territorial control. This resistance culminated in a fatal confrontation in the

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[22] Pemmican is a protein and usually comprises deer, bison, moose, buffalo, and fat mixture. Berries are also incorporated. Developed by Métis and Aboriginal peoples in North America, the mixture was packed in rawhide for storage. As a high-energy source of protein, the dried mixture was used for ceremonies, hunting, as well as utilized and traded among the fur traders.

early summer of 1816. Over twenty Hudson's Bay employees and settlers rode out and met head-on sixty or more Métis and First Nations at a Hudson's Bay Company trading post near Red River. The outcome, The Battle of Seven Oaks (1816)[23] as it came to be known, left 21 Hudson's Bay employees including the Governor Semple, and one Métis man, dead. Although both sides still wrangled over who fired the first shot, the resistance ended with a solidarity and consciousness among the Métis that would make them a considerable force (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). As a place "to settle," Red River quickly lost its appeal to Scottish immigrants and instead, for the time being, they looked to Upper Canada in their homesteading efforts.

As for the presiding government, the Hudson's Bay Company, Britain, and incoming white settlers, the event left another legacy and stereotype: the Métis would be associated with the term "massacre." Frits Pannekoek (2001) argues that "the word 'massacre' confirmed the image of the Métis as a barbaric and savage people"; moreover, "the term was reinforced by a generation of historians such as George Stanley, who interpreted the 1869 and 1885 rebellions as inevitable clashes between a civilised and primitive society" (p. 113). The resistances would continue and the torch of Métis solidarity was passed to another figure of leadership in Red River, Louis Riel, Senior.

In July 1817, at Île-à-la-Crosse in Saskatchewan, the father of Louis Riel, Junior was born to Marguerite Boucher, a Dene Chipewyan Métisse[24] woman and voyageur Jean-Baptiste L'Irlande Riel. Riel worked as a farmer and a miller, and emerged to be recognized as a leader of the Métis people in the Red River settlement. Advocating for

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[23] For his leadership, Grant was named "Captain General of all the Half-Breeds." As Dickason explains, Grant remained their leader until the rise of Louis Riel senior in the 1840's (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). See also Lyle Dick's article "The Seven Oaks Incident" which questions the relevancy and the classification by the Canadian historians to represent the incident as a "massacre" incited by the Métis people.
[24] "Metisse" is French for Métis and used here to indicate a French lineage.

English and French to be spoken in the district's courts, he also advanced the representation of Métis on the Council of Assiniboia. His leadership was cemented in May 1849 during the trial of Pierre-Guillaume Sayer, a fur trader who was convicted of illicit trading. Sympathizing with the free trading economy and their struggles with the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, Riel took a stand with the Métis and acted as an advisor to the traders and emerged as a leader against the charges Sayer faced. The jury ultimately found Sayer guilty, but granted him mercy. He was released. The decision was a fatal strike against the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly. With the court's decision, Riel and the Métis were successful in advancing the free trade economy and initiating the ultimate collapse of the Hudson's Bay Company's stranglehold over the North West.

Seeds of Sovereignty

In 1845—the first year artist Paul Kane wandered off into the North West to possess, through his sketches, canvasses, and narrative, the image of the "vanishing Indian," as discussed in Chapter 4—the Métis way of life was in peril. Yet, in response to the encroachment of white settlements, and well into the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade monopoly, the Métis peoples remained vigilant in their political and military strategies in addressing their concerns with the government. During that year, almost one thousand names were gathered on a petition to define their status. Two years later, they took their petition to Britain, and this time it also stipulated that the Hudson's Bay Company charter must be declared invalid and that the Red River territory was off limits and should instead be declared a colony (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). "The Métis," as Dickason argues,

"claimed special rights by virtue of their Amerindian[25] blood; the governor held they had no more rights than those enjoyed by all British subjects" (2009, p. 233). The wave of petitions were not left unheeded and incited considerable debate by the British Lords in Parliament because of their disdain for monopolies; yet, powerful forces saw the dangers of competition as outweighing those of monopoly and held that the Hudson's Bay Company provided the best means available to govern Rupert's Land. In her analysis of nineteenth-century Prairie West, Sarah Carter explains that, "[c]olonial rule involved the domination, or attempted domination, of one group over another. There was a racial dimension and a dimension of inequality, since the colonies were run by whites for the prestige, power, and profit of whites" (1997, p. 19-20). The Dominion's determination to sustain the hierarchy of space is evident in the oppositional argument waged against the concept of the Métis peoples claim to sovereignty. In order to assert "superiority" the racial paradigm or dimension was contextually redrawn in Canada and all those outside of the realm of the white race were "uncivilized." Colonial Secretary Perivale, for instance, found Native self-government to be unintelligible, or perhaps more accurately dangerous to colonial rule: "colonial status should only be granted to those regions where there were sufficient white settlers to ensure they would have control" (Dickason, 2009, p. 233). Perivale's anxiety to "control" replicates the ongoing imperial angst, which found its resolve in undermining the Métis people's entitlement to land.

By 1850, with strained resources and derisory support from Britain, the Métis found themselves alienated and in a Sisyphean association with the government. Still, all was

[25] "Amerindian" is a word used by Olive P. Dickason to locate and describe Aboriginal peoples as pan global, or as inclusive without boundary lines. For example, the governments and their survey teams would create borders, which were not recognized by tribes dwelling in the United States or in Canada. Many tribes would cross these imaginary lines to participate in the fur trade and other economies, conflicts, and ceremonies, etc.

not lost, as the following year proved to be a formative one for the Métis with a sequence of confrontations, changes, and resistances taking place in the territory. As an example, The Canada First Party (also known as The Canadian Firsters, and later the Canadian Party) initiated its campaign to lobby for the annexation of Red River to Canada, and with Confederation looming, the Canada Firsters became vigilant in "removing the 'old order' of the 'custom of the country', with its elements of Amerindian law" (Dickason, 2009, p. 233). In addition, the Métis' trading alliance with the United States, which facilitated borderless hunting, was floundering following the imposition by the latter of stiff American international restrictions. The Métis, as well as First Nations people, were finding themselves geographically penned in by the Hudson's Bay Company's policing of the north and west, the closing of the southern American border with the United States, and the encroaching colonial settlement's advancing from Ontario and Europe. Carter cautions that with an examination of the intersectional associations within the colonial framework, specifically in the North West, it is crucial to recognize that 'colonialism' is a term that refers to a great variety of asymmetrical intersocial relationships and that colonial rule is highly varied in administration and impact" (1997, p. 19). It is thus my focus throughout my chapters to examine these asymmetrical associations, the conceptual formations of indigenous sovereignties, and their impact on Riel's trial.

In spite of the colonial constraints faced by the Métis there were also contestations between and among First Nations in Canada and North American Indians in the south. In 1851, for instance, the Métis emerged victorious at The Battle of Grand Coteau in which the Métis fought their traditional enemies, the Sioux. In the end, the conflict reinforced the Métis' sense of unity, as well as their power as a militaristic and sovereign force

(Dickason, 2009, p. 233). Métis Cree military leader, and Riel's General in the 1885 Resistance, Gabriel Dumont and his father Isidore negotiated a peace treaty between the Métis and the Sioux in 1862 after the Dakota Wars. A treaty with the Blackfoot Nation would eventually follow (McCrady, 2009, p. 20).

It would take an 1858 decision to change the course of Métis history, as well as that of Riel: the building of a road. Ontario politicians and capitalists decided to cut into the North West's northern gateway with a road that stretched out from the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry in Red River. As a regular course of colonial inaction, neither consultation nor negotiation with Métis and Aboriginal communities were undertaken to clear the land title, nor were their claims for rights of passage fees or rights for timber acknowledged (Dickason, 2009, p. 236). To add insult to the neglect, "Amerindian wages were paid in scrip,[26] which could only be redeemed at the store owned by Dr. John Christian Schultz, leader of the Canada Firsters" (p. 236). Schultz would also become the owner of the newspaper the *Nor'Wester* in 1864, discussed in Chapter 3. During the 1869 Resistance, Schultz was taken prisoner by the Métis forces. He escaped, with funding from the Canada First party. Upon returning to Ontario, Schultz instigated and led the open aggression against the Métis for the execution, or what was regarded as murder, of his fellow Canada Firster, Thomas Scott. This event will be discussed later in the Prologue.

During the nineteenth-century, the Métis in western Canada like other Aboriginal peoples "were subject to several ordering strategies by the Ottawa government, mainly through education, medicine, but predominantly through criminal justice institutions" (Manitoba Métis Federation, 1991, p. 5). The impending road was, in a sense, a

[26] "Scrip" was a paper method of land transfer between the Métis people and the Crown.

microcosm of the growing struggle against colonization and would converge with another geographical change in 1869 when the largest land mass in Canadian territory, Rupert's Land, was transferred from Britain (under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company) to the newly formed Dominion of Canada—a consequence of which was called the Red River Rebellion.

The road development project brought with it Upper Canada surveyors, geologists, and newspaper owners, among others, who were also members of the Canada First Party, a Protestant, white Anglo Saxon collective with strong nationalistic ideologies.

The Canada First Party

The Canada First party was an Upper Canada nationalistic movement that envisioned and sought to advance an Anglo Saxon and Protestant "superior" race and order. As imperialists, they campaigned to instill the values and institutions of a white nation. Needless to say, the movement's ideologies put them in direct conflict with the peoples of the North West on many fronts, particularly when the 1869 Resistance commenced. Canadian poet and journalist, Charles Mair, who will be discussed in Chapter 5, was one of the Party's founders in 1868 (a year before the Red River Rebellion).[27] The movement, housed in Toronto's The National Club, did not gain ground politically; yet, its founders and members as the Upper Canada elite were placed in a cross section of social sectors such as law, commerce, journalism, religion, politics, and education; thus, although the movement was short lived, its ideologies carried on and were central to the building of Canadian nationalism in all sectors.

As mentioned earlier, John Christian Schultz, a Canada First leader, became part

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[27] Other Canada First Party members include Ontarians George Denison (1839-1925), William Alexander Foster (1840-1888), and Robert Grant Haliburton (1831-1901).

owner of *The Nor'Wester* newspaper in 1864, and in the following year he bought the paper outright. He left the publication in 1868 and founded The Canadian Party in 1869. The Canadian Party ran on the same principles as the Firsters, but focused its attention directly on the Red River Colony where Schultz envisioned a white Anglophone and Protestant race and did all he could do to encourage settlement from Upper Canada. The Party members' viral infiltration into the North West was backed by Upper Canada power and money.

Moreover, from 1871 to 1886 Canada's population increased dramatically from 3,635,024 to 4,324,810; the province to show the most growth was Manitoba, which saw an increase 247.2%.[28] The statistics are relevant in order to fully comprehend the realities faced by Métis and Aboriginal Nations' and the strategic counter force required to retain their identities and land. One year after Riel returned to Red River from a short stint in the United States, as well as working in Montreal as a law clerk, the 1869 survey of Dawson Road, from the Lake of Woods to Red River, was ordered by William McDougall. Riel along with the Métis stood their ground and stopped McDougall in his tracks. The Red River Rebellion was underway.

The Red River Rebellion

Riel began to speak out in public forums congregating the Métis and white settler residents to iterate their rights, specifically in the event of an annexation of the Hudson's Bay Company territory by Canada. Riel was fully aware of the federal agenda and its consequences, not to mention the financial backing and involvement of the Canada First

[28] Note that the statistics show the highest population increase occurs between both the 1869 and 1885 Resistances. See also Canada. (2013). "Canadian statistic in 1886." *Statistics Canada*. Online http://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb07/acyb07_0004-eng.htm

party. In September of that year, McDougall was appointed Lieutenant Governor. A month later, in the early winter of 1869, Riel and Métis horsemen rode to Pembina at the United States and Canadian border where they knew McDougall would enter the territory. Upon meeting him, they informed McDougall that he was not allowed to enter their land. On behalf of the Métis National Committee, a territorial declaration was made and McDougall was informed that unless a union with Canada was formed based on negotiations with the Métis and the population of the North West, the Council would block the passage of any federal representatives (Dickason, 2009, p. 269-72). McDougall knew he was powerless particularly because Ontario did not have jurisdiction over Red River and Riel had declared a Métis led government in the territory.

Despite these demands, on December 1, 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company (Britain), without representation from or consultation with the Métis or First Nations (as was typical with all colonial transactions involving Aboriginal peoples), transferred the territory of the North West to Canada. Riel responded by taking over Upper Fort Garry. There he requested that the English-speaking representatives elect 12 delegates to attend a convention with Métis representatives. Consider Riel's description of this event in his *Montreal Star* article:

> When the Dominion knocked at our doors, it consequently found us quiet. It found in the North-West not only the Métis people in good condition to live without its assistance […] but the Métis people with a Government of its own, free, at peace, and working on its own account at the task of civilization which the Company and England could not have accomplished without thousands of troops; a Government with a defined constitution and whose jurisdiction was all the more legitimate and to respect that it was exercised in a territory that belonged to it. What did the Dominion do? It laid hands on the country of the Métis as well as on its own. This alone was a proof that its plan was to rob them of their future. It even jeopardized their present status. For not only has it taken the ground from under their feet, but it has completely taken from them the usufruct thereof. (1885)

The Métis did not submit and fought against the government's intent to "rob them of their future." On December 8, 1869 the Provisional Government of Manitoba was formed with John Bruce as President. Riel would soon replace him. Dickason explains, "Riel issued the 'Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land and the Northwest,' stating that 'a people, when it has no Government, is free to adopt one form of Government in preference to another, to give or to refuse allegiance to that which is proposed'" (2009, p. 270). Riel deemed the HBC as a non-governing body and Ottawa as not protecting the interests of the people in the North West; thus, in an ironic twist, Riel used a 1797 western edict from Emer de Vattel's, *The Law of Nations* against the colonial government:

> The state is obliged to defend and preserve all its members (§17); and the prince owes the same assistance to his subjects. If, therefore, the state or the prince refuses or neglects to succour a body of people who are exposed to imminent danger, the latter, being thus abandoned, become perfectly free to provide for their own safety and preservation in whatever manner they find most convenient, without paying the least regard to those who, by abandoning them, have been the first to fail in their duty[29]

Significant in this massive political move, "Riel and his Métis were in control of Red River without having shed a drop of blood" (Dickason, 2009, p. 270). The political shift to declare sovereignty also reflected the Métis' deployment of power against the Hudson's Bay Company because up to that point the Red River Settlement was under the proprietary government of the Company. On February 10, 1870, the Métis produced the *List of Rights* as a tool to negotiate with the federal government. Seven days later Riel's

[29] Emer de Vattel (1797). Book I: Of Nations Considered in Themselves, Chapter XVII, "How a Nation may separate itself from the State of which it is a Member, or renounce its Allegiance to its Sovereign when it is not protected." *The Law of Nations, Or, Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns, with Three Early Essays on the Origin and Nature of Natural Law and on Luxury,* edited and with an Introduction by Béla Kapossy and Richard Whitmore (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008). Chapter: English Editions of *The Law of Nations*. Online http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/2246/212414 on 2014-01-04

army arrested 48-armed men at Upper Fort Garry. Charles Shultz, storeowner and leader of the Canada First Party was the only one who was able to escape back to Ontario (Dickason, 2009, p. 270-2)

Charles Boulton, a commander for a militia regiment and a member of the survey crew, was condemned to death in response to the Canadian attempt to overthrow the Métis government and to set an example of Métis power. Then on March 4, 1870 an event unfolded that would again change the course of Riel's life and that sits as one aspect at the centre of my examination of Riel and Métis sovereignty: the execution of Thomas Scott. Scott was a young Irish Canadian, an Orangeman from Ontario who was promoting and exercising the doctrine of white supremacy with The Canada First Party. Ready to begin work on the Dawson Road project, he arrived at Red River as an associate of Charles Schultz. According to historian George Stanley, Scott was taken prisoner on December 6, 1866, but managed to escape. When passing through Winnipeg, Scott made his way to Riel's cousin's house where he made threats to kill Riel or take him as a hostage (1936, p. 104-5). Scott was taken prisoner again and repeated his threats to kill Riel if he escaped. Riel met with Scott and entreated him to be peaceful, but to no avail. On March 3, 1870, Scott was brought before Métis Council in a war proceeding and judged by Ambrose Lépine. Scott was found guilty: "Puisque la majorité se rallie à la proposition, Scott sera executé" (Stanley, 1936, p. 105). In the presence of two hundred and fifty people, Scott was shot by a firing squad. Stanley argues that Scott's execution was a matter of policy (1936, p. 106). As Riel stated, "We must make Canada respect us" (quoted in Stanley, p. 106). Stanley further asserts that Scott was charged with

insubordination and threats on Riel's life. Ontario reacted with unmitigated fury and contempt for Riel; even Quebec winced.

Here, as with Riel's trial, I am interested in matters of sovereignty, which will be examined more fully in Chapter 1 and 2. Riel necessitated the Dominion's government to respect the Métis as a nation, as a sovereign power, which acted according to *Métis law and legislation*. It could be argued that Riel had imposed a state of emergency. As recalled from the Introduction, Carl Schmitt describes the sovereign as one who decides on the state of exception (1996, p. 5) and in doing so eliminates all laws in the event of a state emergency; for example, Riel, as leader of the Métis peoples, acted as a "protector [who] then decides who the enemy is by virtue of the eternal relations of protection and obedience"(Schmitt, 1996, p. 44). Alternatively, though, Riel necessitated and enacted Métis law and their list of rights rather than eliminating them. With that said, the execution of Thomas Scott was a political move to ensure that Riel's authority and the Métis peoples as a Nation would be recognized as such. *And so they were*. In May 1870, the Manitoba Act was passed and received royal assent. Soon after, however, instead of recognizing the sanctioned execution as legitimate under Métis law and its sovereign government, the media, particularly in Ontario, labeled Riel and Lépine as murderers (Figure 1).

The Manitoba Act

The outcome of the Red River Rebellion was the realization of Métis sovereignty and political and territorial rights as a people, which remain encapsulated in the 1870 Manitoba Act. For the Métis peoples living in the North West, the Act was based on the

Métis List of Rights,[30] of which there were four drafts, and was used as Manitoba's admission into the Dominion of Canada as its fifth province.[31] Specific in the Act is the safeguarding of English and French language rights, as well as Protestant and Roman Catholic educational freedoms for the people in the North West.

In the 1871 North West census, returns showed the population numbered at "11,400 of which 9,800 were French-speaking Métis and 4,000 were English speaking. Non-status people were not counted (Dickason, 2009, p. 232). The Métis majority in Red River hoped to join Confederation with terms that were designed to protect their political, cultural, and territorial rights. Riel and his councilors believed that Métis territory would be secured if control over public lands and resources were assigned to the provincial government. However, while the federal government conceded to the requests of the Métis for provincial status, for representation in the Parliament, and for French language guarantees, it retained control of public lands in the new province (Dickason, 2009, p. 232).

The ulterior motive of the Act,[32] nevertheless, would reveal the government's undermining of Métis rights in the territory, as the federal government still was in control of natural resources inclusive of unallocated land, much of which was used to promote settlement and install policies to halt any further military resistance. A central article in the Act is number 31, which guarantees 1.4 million acres of land for the Métis and their children:

And whereas, it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the

[30] See also University of Saskatchewan Archives. "Métis List of Rights." *Our Legacy*. 2013 Retrieved from http://scaa.sk.ca/ourlegacy/about
[31] The "Métis List of Rights" is provided in the Appendices (1).
[32] Manitoba Act, 1870. 33 Victoria, c 3 (Canada). http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ma_1870.html

> lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands, to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted, that, under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively, in such mode and on such conditions as to settlement and otherwise, as the Governor General in Council may from time to time determine**.**[33]

The government's control methods over the selection of "such lots or tracts" of land, for example, unavailable script, speculators, and the 'Infant Estates Act," to name a few would become part of the continually ignored grievances petitioned by the Métis and eventually led to the 1885 Resistance to be discussed later in the Prologue. Moreover, the Act, for the Dominion would be a quick-fix solution to quell the unrest raised by the Métis people until the federal military could be transported more efficiently into the region. By 1885 when the second Resistance occurred the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was finished and ran through the North West to the Pacific coast. As well, efforts were made to station more police in Manitoba, including the North West Mounted Police, who were already headquartered out of Regina, Saskatchewan and posted throughout the region. In addition, the Indian Act was quickly amended to feature further restrictions, such as making it illegal for persons of Aboriginal descent to meet collectively, in a group. In his published testimony, Riel explains how the federal process of usurpation unfolded:

> When the Dominion inaugurated the constitution of the Province of Manitoba, instead of leaving a fair field to all, and above all, to those with whom it had dealt, it issued warrants of arrest against them; it calumniated them, maltreated the people with whom it had sworn peace, and persecuted the chiefs [...] The Manitoba Métis have never had any satisfaction. The Dominion did not protect them; they got no justice. It oppressed them, and having, so to speak, made their

[33] ibid.

> country inhabitable for them, it distributed lands amongst them while the titled remained in abeyance, and the patents did not arrive, so as not only to force these people to sell their property at half price, at a quarter of the price, but to reduce them to the extremity of abandoning everything. (Riel, 1885)

Riel's remarks, in the above quote, would later be reflected in Thomas King's explanation of negotiations between the government, the Métis, and Aboriginal peoples: "It's not the Treaties that are the problem; it's the government not keeping their promises" (2012, p. 225). Between 1870 and 1884, and the promises of land for the Métis people were administered through the excessively and premeditatedly complicated distribution of scrip, and its subsequent circumscription of land. This bureaucratic land mine would, as predicted by the federal government, overwhelm and confuse Métis communities. Thus, the 1870 victory for the Métis would be short-lived and in the late summer of 1870 General Wolseley's expedition arrived in Fort Garry. The Métis Nation of Ontario details the arrival:

> Riel, as head of the Provisional Government, was charged with maintaining peace and order while awaiting the arrival of the first Lieutenant-Governor, Adams G. Archibald, and the troops that would accompany him. The troops, which arrived before Archibald, were supposed to restore order and keep the peace. But some of the soldiers were out to avenge the death of Thomas Scott. Warned of their intentions, Riel had time to flee to sanctuary in the United States. (2013, para. 1-2)[34]

As made evident in the above quote, the Canada First Party had enough political and public support, as well as funding to infiltrate and have access to the military, including its personnel and weapons, to meet their objectives.

In fear of his life, Riel fled to the United States. When Lieutenant-Governor A.G. Archibald, who sympathized with the Métis, arrived in Red River he found the community terrorized by the Ontario militia; yet, in December 1870, when Manitoba held

[34] For additional information see the Métis Nation of Ontario website, "Louis Riel, Part 4." *Who are the Métis*. Retrieved from http://www.metisnation.org/culture--heritage/louis-riel/part-4

it first provincial election, Riel was voted in as Member of Parliament for Provencher in the first of his four electoral victories. Riel, though, was never permitted to assume his seat in Parliament; he sought safety at the St. Joseph's mission in the Dakota Territory. The petitions from the Métis and First Nations people, as well as white settlers continued, but were left ignored by the government and its agents while the people of the North West lost their land, livelihoods, and lives, as many died of starvation.

Riel's Exile

Riel feared for his personal safety during his exile. With a $5,000 bounty on his head issued by Edward Blake, the Premier of Ontario, such fears were justified. This sanctioned vigilantism by a government official resulted in ongoing assassination threats and attempts on Riel's life. Predictably, perhaps, Blake was a supporter of the Canada First Party. Yet, Riel resolved to remain active politically and crossed the border to return intermittently to the North West. His covert trips to Ottawa, during which time he would sign the Parliamentary register, became well known across the Dominion through the means of newspaper writers and illustrators.

In the late winter of 1871, Riel began to suffer from the psychological and physical strains of his unabated stress. Still, he managed to return to St. Vital in the spring of 1871 and, contrary to anyone's expectations, he offered his assistance to the Canadian government by supporting Macdonald's forces, led by Adams G. Archibald, by gathering a Métis military force to confront the Fenians during the 1871 raiding parties, which were heading north from the United States into Canada. The truce was temporary, however, as word of an apparent "hand shake" between Riel and Archibald hit the press, which inflamed the already heated anti-Riel propaganda.

In the spring of the following year, Riel accepted a state of "voluntary exile," which led him to Minnesota. The move was in response to Macdonald's request that his departure would reduce tensions between Ontario and Quebec. Riel relinquished his candidacy as a Member of Parliament. Also brought forward and challenged was Riel's 1870 sovereign decision — more accurately deemed as illegitimate— by the government of Canada: Riel and Lépine were charged in 1874 for the murder of Thomas Scott. In the hierarchy of space, the Dominion had to be recognized as the singular sovereign body in the commonwealth of Canada. For that reason, it was impossible for the government to legitimize publicly the Métis' sovereign act of a state execution. Instead, Scott's execution was represented as murder as depicted in the image that appeared in the *Canadian Illustrated News* cover on April 20, 1870, "The Tragedy at Fort Garry." The figure in the illustration looks remarkably like Riel and rather than represent the event as a public state execution, it is illustrated to represent a homicide (Figure 1).

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VOL. I.—No. 25 | MONTREAL, SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1870. | SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS.

THE TRAGEDY AT FORT GARRY, MARCH 4, 1870.—See page

Figure 1.
“The Tragedy at Fort Garry, March 4, 1870,” woodblock illustration on paper, from *The Canadian Illustrated News*, Volume 1, no. 25 (Saturday, April 23, 1870), Public domain.

Lépine was found guilty; yet, his death sentence was commuted to two years of imprisonment and loss of political rights. In 1875, Prime Minister, Alexander Mackenzie,

the leader of the Liberal government, was caught between the Ontario and Quebec electorate and inflamed passions concerning the outcome of Lépine's trial and his guilty verdict. Governor General Lord Dufferin made the first move by granting Lépine amnesty, and Mackenzie, brandishing a strong dislike for John A. Macdonald, extended amnesty to Riel on the condition of that he accept a five-year banishment.

Between 1876 and 1877, Riel's anxiety increased and he spent the initial months of this period in an asylum in Longue Point, Quebec (1876) under the name Louis "David" Riel. Fearing that his presence in Canada would be made known to his political and public adversaries, he was transferred to Beauport asylum, also in Quebec, under the pseudonym, "Louis Larochelle." Upon leaving the institution, Riel made his way to Montana Territory where he worked as a fur trader, as well as finding employment as an interpreter. By the early 1880s, Riel became an American citizen and found employment as a teacher in a Montana school. In 1881, he married a young Métis woman, Marguerite Monet *dit* Bellehumeur (1861-1886). Together, they had two children: Jean-Louis (1882-1908), and Marie-Angélique (1883-1897). Marguerite also gave birth to another son on the October 21, 1885; yet, the complications she suffered during the birth would have fatal consequences, and her newborn son would die the same day—just one month before his father was hanged in Regina at the North West Mounted Police barracks.

North West Mounted Police

In 1873, the federal government formed the North West Mounted Police (NWMP). Many of the stationed outposts took over Hudson's Bay Company stores. In Alberta alone, for example, there were up to 100 posts, each with at least three police agents. The necessity of the Dominion to maintain law and order in the North West was influenced

strongly by the military success of the Métis in the Red River Rebellion, their growing political and demographic solidarity, and the continued petitions and resistances against the government by not only the Métis but First Nations and white settlers as well. The North West Mounted Police patrolled and regulated the North West in all matters, including maintaining order, establishing surveillance squads, railway security, controlling the illegal whiskey trade, managing livestock, and overseeing the postal systems.

Canadian artist, Henri Julien produced many early sketches of the North West Mounted Police. One of these, titled, "In the North West – Indians in Fort McLeod Observing Some of the Results of Civilization," was published in the January 21, 1882 edition of the *Canadian Illustrated News*.[35] The illustration depicts an unidentified man carrying a ball and chain. A North West Mounted Police officer, in full uniform, escorts the man. Although the prisoner is unidentified, his soft, wide-brimmed hat, white shirt, and high-waist pants are encoded with the symbols of the North West Métis; perhaps it is even Riel. In the background, another officer is raising a flag while standing beside an example of newly introduced military technology, the Gatlin gun. On the right edge of the illustration is a row of First Nations people outfitted in clothing that is unlike what they would have traditionally worn in Alberta at the time. Julien likely produced the image from his memory of a familiar colonial master narrative. A weapon or tool (a stone at the end of a long piece of wood) is held loosely at a perpendicular angle in the Native man's hand. It points to the tip of the rifle held in the North West Mount Police officer's hand. This visual phallic symbol, with its blatant codes of masculinity, connotes the

[35] To view image, see Henri Julien, *In the North West – Indians in Fort McLeod Observing Some of the Results of Civilization*. Ink on Paper. Published in the January 21, 1882 edition of the *Canadian Illustrated News*. Collection of Glenbow Archives, NA-1406-180.

North West Mounted Police's "superior" military and "civilized" technology as it imposes its uniformed sovereign force. The government's military technology or process of "civilization" was not a singular force; it was supported by government policies. In the following section, I review the policies put in place to control the Métis and Aboriginal population living in Canada.

Government Policies and Métis and Aboriginal Nations

The foremost intrusive governing policy for Aboriginal peoples in Canada is *The Indian Act*, a policy produced and implemented in 1876. The document had and continues to have fundamental consequences for both the Métis and the Aboriginal Nations in Canada. The Act asserted the government's economic, social, cultural, and territorial control over indigenous Nations. Indeed, the document's very title reduces the heterogeneity of up to 614[36]Aboriginal communities[37] living throughout the Canadian territory, representing up to 50 languages[38] into the legislated homogenous identity[39] of the "Indian." Consequently, its discursive formation facilitated the designation of who was an "Indian" and who was not as it partitioned territorial sovereignty, divided communities, forced assimilation, removed children from homes, criminalized cultures, banned language and literacy, disabled mobility, destroyed identities, and prevented resistance. The Act also

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[36] An interactive map is provided by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (AAND), which identifies the Aboriginal population in Canada. It is located at CBC – *8th Fire* – Maps. Online. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/doczone/8thfire/map.html

[37] See also the Government of Canada website: http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1303134042666/1303134337338

[38] The Assembly of First Nations in Canada provides a list of the Provincial Territorial Organization of Nations. (2013). Online. Retrieved from http://www.afn.ca/index.php/en/about-afn/provincial-territorial-organizations. The Applied History Research Group (2000) through the University of Calgary provides an comprehensive analysis of pre-contact indigenous populations and communities in Canada: "Canada's First Nations: Native Civilisations." Online. Retrieved from http://www.ucalgary.ca/applied_history/tutor/firstnations/civilisations.html

[39] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (AAND) provides a listing of the First Nations and their provincial territorial location throughout Canada. Online. Retrieved from http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchFN.aspx?lang=eng

did not include Métis or Non-Status Indians. The omission left individuals and communities, who by and large were excluded from the government census, without land or recognition as "citizens."

Yet, the Indian Act was not a spontaneous piece of legislation. In 1857, the British colonial government enacted the *Civilization of Indian Tribes Act*, which served to encourage Aboriginal peoples to assimilate by surrendering their Indian status, inclusive of their land, language, and culture in exchange for British colonial education, citizenship, and the right to vote. The Act, however, was not popular among the First Nations, with few following the lead of the government's political carrot. Those who did follow through lost their status, which was one way an individual would then be classified as "Non- Status." A decade later, in 1867, Confederation or the British North American Act (BNA) changed the geographical and political dynamics of Canada. The BNA ostensibly handed over all territorial governance from Britain to Canada in what "shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada."[40] The early provincial entries into the Act comprised New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario with the objective of such "a Union would conduce to the Welfare of the Provinces and promote the Interests of the British Empire"[41] The BNA, still under the Executive Power of the Queen, authorized the federal government of Canada, under the legislative authority of Parliament, to have control over "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians."[42] A proviso in the BNA[43] authorized the federal government to consolidate and

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[40] For details of the Act see: Canada. *Constitution Act, 1867. 30 & 31 Victoria, c. 3 (U.K.).* "3. II. Union." Department of Justice. (2013) Retrieved from http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-1.html
[41] ibid
[42] For details of the Act see: Canada. Constitution Act 1867. *VI. Distribution of Legislative Powers, Powers of Parliament, Legislative Authority of Parliament of Canada,* (91). Accessible online at http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Const/page-4.html#docCont

control, in the process of classifying the bodies of individuals within Aboriginal Nations, as well as Métis and Non-Status peoples, to consolidate and control the land while negating individual and tribal rights by specifically controlling access to arms (1867, p. 91, article 7), navigation and shipping (article 10); sea-coast and inland fisheries (article 12), criminal law (article 27), and penitentiaries (article 28). The lasting effects of the governmental control was marked by neglect and intrusion, as Riel describes in his published testimony:

> [In] '72, it [the government] put aside for the Métis of Manitoba the seventh part of the lands that had been granted them, and it distributed them in a way, saying to those of the North-West: "Wait, you will get as much." Five years passed whilst they waited. In '77, the Métis petitions from the territory began to knock at the doors of the office at Ottawa. In the Autumn of '78 these petitions became general […] But they were treated with scorn. The answer was not even vouchsafed. Respectful enough however, these demands were that came from a people that was at home and humbly asked for its own property from the audacious intruders who had dispossessed it […] How many letters written mildly and forcibly left his grieved Episcopal residence to solicit the Government to act equitably towards the Métis? […] They did not even acknowledge to the receipt of them. (1885)

Two years later, in 1869, *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, better management of Indian affairs, and to extend the provision of the Act 31st Victoria, Chapter 42* was implemented. The Act begins with a pithy preamble: "Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts the follows…" (p. 1). Significant in the Act's opening is that "advice and consent" would be from an exclusive assembly that comprised white, British males with a majority representation from Ontario. The date of the Act, if recalled from the earlier section, coincides with the Canada First Party's push for their Anglo Saxon nationalistic objectives.

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[43] The Constitutional "Distribution" entry is number twenty-four appearing between "Copyrights" and "Naturalization and Aliens."

Throughout the Act, the body of "the Indian" is racialized and objectified as the policy intimately connects the indigenous populations to the land as it simultaneously segregates them from it. Consider the phrase "claims to be of Indian blood," as articulated in the Act:

> In Townships or other tracts of land set apart or reserved for Indians in Canada, and subdivided by survey into lots, no Indian or person claiming to be of Indian blood, or intermarried with an Indian family, shall be deemed to be lawfully in possession of any land in such Townships or tracts, unless he or she has been or shall be located for the same by the order of the Superintendent General of Indian affairs. (1869, CAP.VI, p. 1)

From relationships and residence, to the ban on alcohol and political meetings (1869, article 3), the Aboriginal corporeal and psychic being was abstracted, reconstituted and negotiated by government forces without conference with the very people the Crown was defining. Dividing up among the members of any tribe, band, or body of Indians, any annuity money, interest money or rents, was resolved through blood quantum: "[A] person of less than one fourth Indian blood, born after the passing of this Act, shall be deemed entitled to share in any annuity, interest or rents" (p. 4). Moreover, the following stipulation was added to introduce another level of regulation against Aboriginal women: "provided always that any Indian woman marrying any other than an Indian, shall cease to be an Indian within the meaning of this Act, nor shall the children issue of such marriage be considered as Indians within the meaning of this Act" (article 6). A Status Indian woman, then, would also lose her status if she married outside of her band and the children would belong to the "father's tribe only." Aboriginal women would often marry European men, particularly through the monopolization of the Hudson's Bay Company and encroaching settlers, and in the colony, they would be known as "country wives." Article 6 would reappear in the Indian Act and continue to be enforced until June 28,

1985 when it was repealed with Bill C-31.

The legislated articles are awash with naturalized colonial stereotypes of Aboriginal people's "criminality;" consider, for example, the legislation for band election:

> The Governor may order that the Chiefs of any tribe, band or body of Indians shall be elected by the male members of each Indian Settlement of the full age of twenty-one years of such time and place, and in such manner, as the Superintended General of Indian Affairs may direct, and they shall in such case be elected for a period of three years, unless deposed by the Governor of dishonesty, intemperance, or immorality. (p. 10)

As evident in the above passage, the inclusion of "dishonesty, intemperance, or immorality" is the continuance of the colonial discursive strategy to delegitimize and exclude indigenous subjects based on constructed misrepresentations that usurp Aboriginal peoples' civility and, ultimately, their sovereignty. The stereotype is thus naturalized through the legal and binding doctrines and laws of the land, or Acts, that are ratified by governments and set into the discursive memory of a nation.

The government also establishes itself as the authority of standards in the deliberation of Aboriginal women's morality. In the 1869 Act, Article 18, for example, in the case of a male family member's death, the widow and children are permitted to reside on the Reserve "so long as in the opinion of the Superintendent General she lives respectably." The insinuation that "she" would not live respectably legitimates a colonial pattern of violence against women, as it legally constitutes Aboriginal women as those who are in need of surveillance and regulation because of their so-called moral deviance. Riel, alternatively, is explicit in explaining the violent realities endured by Métis and indigenous women and girls at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company employees, the North West Mounted Police, and government agents:

> It is true that instead of making the Indians die in as large numbers as it would

> have wished, from absolute starvation, it had established in their midst a sort of agencies, intended apparently to make them disappear more slowly by rusty rotten port, uneatable lean bacon, and by dealing out as liberally as possible all the venereal diseases; by plunging the Indian girls and women around its forts, into a demoralization impossible to describe. (1885)

Nine years later, in 1876, the Indian Act was produced; a piece of legislation that continues to regulate and control the indigenous populations in Canada.

The Indian Act

The Indian Act's ensuing objective in 1876 was to consolidate all existing legislation from the previous Acts that regulated Aboriginal Nations. The Act ostensibly was created to "protect" Aboriginal territory; the land, however, still belonged (as far as the government was concerned) to the Crown. While the government controlled the administration of the Reserve land on behalf of the First Nations people, it also regulated, monitored, and patrolled their lives and futures. The Act determined that Status Indians, to be discussed in the next section, were to be wards of the Crown, which in effect was a legislated seizing of Aboriginal power both psychically and materially. Indian Agents were appointed to represent the Minister of Indian Affairs. The role is best described as that of warden or police.

The Indian Act was an assimilation policy used to activate the narrative of the "vanishing Indian" into British European culture by eliminating the indigenous population's languages, origins, cultures, social, political, economic systems, and most specifically Aboriginal women's identity and status. The term "sovereignty," is not utilized in the Act in accordance to Aboriginal people's identity. The Act was amended a number of times from its inception to the recent "The Indian Act Amendment and Replacement Act Bill C-428," which had its first reading in the House of Commons on

June 2, 2012. The Act is an intense and fiercely intimate operation of extracting cultural formations distinctly linked to specific Nations; for example, the Sun Dance of the Lakota and Plains tribes was banned. On the west coast, the potlatch was banned. In addition, individuals would be forced to relinquish their status if they received a university education, or were ordained, or joined the military. Permission was required from the Indian Agent by individuals to maintain their local economies; permission was also required to leave the reserve at anytime for any reason. In short, autonomy was persecuted. It was not until 1960 that Aboriginal peoples could vote in Canadian elections without forfeiting their status. The Act also authorized the removal of children from their homes to be placed in Residential Schools where they were punished for speaking their languages; moreover, boys were taught farming and the girls, domestic labour. If parents refused to abide and not send their children to the schools, they would be imprisoned. Thousands of children and youth suffered abuse, sexual violence, endured medical experiments, and as many died of starvation and disease.

The Indian Act created political, social, and cultural borders around Aboriginal identities that were tied directly to their land and kin systems. With this in mind, in the following section, I discuss how identity and land were administered through the Treaty system in Canada.

Treaties and Sovereignty[44]

Harold Cardinal's (1999) assessment of the Treaty System in Canada is succinct: "The truth of the matter is that Canadian Indians simply got swindled. Our forefathers got

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[44]For details see: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). (2013). "Treaties and Comprehensive Land Claims in Canada - Natural Resources Canada Map." *8th Fire*. Online. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/doczone/8thfire/map.html

taken by slick-talking, fork-tongued cheats. It wasn't their fault […] They were accustomed to trusting another man's word, even an enemy's" (p. 33). The present section does not provide an analysis of Canadian treaties made with First Nations. Indeed, each treaty could encompass an entire book. Rather, here, I provide an outline of when and where each Treaty was concluded and with which Nation, and to provide an overview of how one level of Aboriginal sovereignty continues to be cast across Canada.

Status Indians or Treaty Indians are members of the First Nations that have signed treaties with the federal government. Non-Status Indians, even while potentially having full Aboriginal ancestry, are not recognized as "legal Indians" by the government for reasons such as enfranchisement, Aboriginal women who married a "Non Indian," Aboriginal peoples who entered into a profession such as a lawyer, politician, minister, teacher; attending university or joining the military also would result in loss of their status because of the required entry into Canadian citizenship. The Métis, as a sovereign people defined as such through the Manitoba Act, were also not recognized as "legal Indians."

The government's partitioning, while reducing Aboriginal and Métis Nations and identities, removed people not only from their land but also from reserves, communities, and families. It also provoked animosity among individuals, tribes, and Nations. The Métis and Aboriginal peoples' struggle was and continues to be based on their right to land and to live as distinct and sovereign societies as Riel explained in his address to the court concerning the Manitoba Act:

> Of course you cannot exist without having that spot of land. This is the principle. God cannot create a tribe without locating it, we are not birds, we have to walk on the ground, and that ground is enriched with many things which beside its own value increases its value in another manner, and when we cultivate it, we still

> increase that value. […] And as they made the treaty, I say they had to observe it and did they observe the treaty? No […]. (1886, p. 159)

From 1871 to 1921, 11 Treaties were signed between Aboriginal Nations in Canada and the Monarchs of Canada, including Queen Victoria, King Edward VII, and George VI. The treaties are agreements with Nations that are administered through the Government of Canada and overseen by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and cover a vast territorial range from Ontario to the Prairies, across the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and parts of British Columbia.

In 1871, Treaty 1 and 2 covered Southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan and were signed by the Ojibway and the Cree. In the years to follow, other treaties were signed by different Nations.[45] The territory of 220,000 square kilometers of North Saskatchewan and Alberta was left un-earmarked by the government because it was not considered suitable for farming by the government. It was not until 1906, when the Métis continued to demand their rights, that Treaty 10 was negotiated. Nations in the Peace River region of Northern Saskatchewan including the Dene and the Métis people signed Treaty 11, the last of the numbered documents. The Treaty covers parts of the Northwest Territories in the Mackenzie region. While the treaties signaled sovereignty and the government's promise that the Nations' interests would be protected, the Crown's primary interest was in the land and to advance capitalist projects such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, the

[45] Treaty 3 was signed in 1873 by the Saulteaux (Ojibway) peoples in Southern Ontario, specifically The Lake of Woods area. The Cree and the Saulteaux (Ojibway) peoples signed Treaty 4 in Southern Saskatchewan, specifically the Qu'Appelle region. In 1875, the Swampy Cree and the Saulteaux (Ojibway) peoples signed Treaty 5. One year later, Treaty 6, was signed by the Plains and Woodlands Cree peoples covering Central Saskatchewan and Alberta. Blackfoot and other Nations in Southern Alberta signed Treaty 7 in 1877. In 1899, Treaty 8 was signed by the Cree, Dene, Dogrib, and other Nations in Northern Alberta and included the northeast section of British Columbia. The Ojibway and Cree peoples signed the James Bay Treaty, Number 9, covering Northern Ontario, in 1905. Canada. (2013). "Numbered Treaties." Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Retrieved from http://atlas.gc.ca./maptexts/map_texts/english/trytxt_e.html#NU.

acquisition of natural resources, and propagate European settlement. Riel recalls the treaty process published in the *Montreal Star* article:

> In ’72 during the Indian treaties at Lake Qu’Appelle, the Métis reminded the Lieutenant-Governor of the Dominion of their rights; they represented that their rights in the North-West were in no [way] inferior to those of the Indians, and that they could not let go their country in that way. The other answered that the Dominion would treat with the Métis when it had got through treating with the Indians. If the Dominion had settled with the Métis then, it knew only too well what it would have to pay them, and the Indians would have demanded more perhaps then it wanted to give. (1885)

As reflected in the above excerpt, the Treaties caused division, as explained by Riel, among the Status Indians, Non-Status Indians, and the Métis particularly in the North West. However, as Riel also explains, even with the Manitoba Act, the Dominion would continue to parcel off and sell the land that families lived on:

> The Dominion at last put aside all moderation. It sold to a colonization society a whole Métis parish; the priest was there. It sold the parish of St. Louis de Lagevin with the church land, on which a chapel was being built; it sold the school lands and the property of thirty-five families. Is it astonishing that the Métis rose in revolt? What people in their place would not have done the same? Human patience has its limits, and when a despotism is without bounds, it is natural to try to rap the knuckles of the hand that wields it. (1885)

Allies for the Métis during the 1869 Red River Rebellion were hard to come by, particularly from the First Nations and white settlers; there were also adversaries to the Resistance among the Métis. However, by 1885, the tide had changed. In December of 1883 when the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs brought forward his annual budget, he recommended a reduction of $140,000. One area facing cuts was in the Industrial Schools [Residential Schools] where rations were cut from a pound and a half of beef to a quarter of a pound per pupil per day (Stanley, 1936, p. 270). The conditions on the Reserves were

made deplorable and as Stanley remarks "there is little wonder that the Stonies (sic) [46] proved to be the most implacable enemies of the whites during the rebellion of 1885 (Stanley, 1936, p. 271). Starvation, disease, and destitution were widespread. The Dominion government was fully aware of the conditions. They were warned publicly, often in the presses, about the mortal consequences of its policies that restricted, if not denied, food rations. Riel explains his response to the devastation:

> But Ottawa had foreseen the inevitable effects of its tyranny, and in order to hold the people as in a vice, it had previously passed a law by which it was forbidden to human beings in the North-West to form meetings of more than two persons regarding affairs that concerned the agents and the Indians. A law full of ambiguity whose punctuation was crafty and malicious; a law that could bear as many interpretations as the hues of the dove are many tinted. This law, which was primarily directed against the Métis came into force on June 1, 1885 (sic) [1884]. Not knowing what else to do, they sent for me. (Riel, 1885)

The Métis, First Nations peoples, and many white settlers in the North West, after years of petitioning that were continually ignored and policies that restricted their social and economic well being, decided that they needed someone to negotiate on their behalf with the government. In 1884, riding thousands of miles across the country, Gabriel Dumont[47] set out to find Riel to convince him to return to Red River and help the Métis in their struggle for rights against the federal government. Dumont and Riel's journey back to Canada would change Riel's life and the Métis people forever.

The 1885 Rebellion

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[46] The peoples of the Stoney Nakoda Nation were called different names historically; for instance, the Stoney Nakoda were called "Stony," the Mountain Stoney and the Rocky Mountain Stoney were called "Sioux," and neighbouring tribes named the Stoney Nakoda, "Assiniboine," or "people who cook with stones." *Stoney Nakoda First Nation*, "Welcome to Stoney Country," para. 1. See also the Stoney Nakoda First Nation website at http://www.stoneynation.com/

[47] Further information about the Gabriel Dumont Institute can be found at http://www.gdins.org/. See also the Institute's comprehensive site "The Virtual Museum of Métis History and Culture" at http://www.metismuseum.ca/main.php

The 1885 Northwest Rebellion, as it was called, would last less than three months; yet, its consequences, for Aboriginal Nations and the Métis people in particular, would continue to be felt politically, socially and culturally into the present day. During the 1880s, the Métis peoples were also dealing with government surveyors who were taking their territory and separating families through an ill conceived and bureaucratic land lottery system.[48] The Métis people and First Nations populations in the North West continued to engage against the government's disrespect of treaties and land scrip mismanagement while enduring starvation due to restricted rations, infested crops, and disease. Underscoring these realities was the extermination of buffalo in the United States and Canada. The loss of the food source for indigenous peoples, which was also woven into the social and cultural fabric of communities, was devastating. Moreover, the animal's leather was utilized as pulley belts in the rail technology, as well as for robes to warm European travelers who would shoot the buffalo from the moving trains for sport before reading the newspapers and books from the train libraries which spread the master narrative of the "vanishing Indian."

In the Saskatchewan territory, along the North Saskatchewan River, surveyors, geologists, military agents, speculators, writers, artists, and poets were re-mapping the North West territory and were erasing the Métis and First Nations preferred riverfront lots into an Upper Canada "patchwork" land system that can still be seen when flying above the Prairies. Once Riel crossed the border, though, the federal government's

[48] The government's land system would select individual names as in a lottery to distribute land among the Métis. The strategy, however, disregarded Métis kin, social, cultural, economic systems in which extended families had lived on land next to each other for generations. The land policy divided families and communities by often displacing individuals to another parts of the country. The government's plan is ironic because Riel was criticized and called "mad" during the trial for his foreign policy plan to divide the land equally. This area is discussed in Chapter 1.

attention was secured. Ottawa, and Upper Canada capitalists, were concerned that the Plains Cree peoples and other Nations would join the Métis; as well, Ottawa was worried about Riel's ability to draw in other allies from among discontented white settlers. Unlike in 1869, the North West Mounted Police were now situated in Regina, a proximity that kept the annex-hungry United States at bay, as well as the indigenous Nations in the North West policed. In early March 1885, the North West Mounted Police force received "reports" of the swelling unrest. In the bitter cold of early spring, Commissioner Acheson Gosford Irvine, along with a few officers, as well as a number of non-commissioned men headed north west into the region from Regina. Meanwhile, en route from Upper Canada, hundreds of men representing the Dominion's militia packed themselves into train cars and then traveled over the newly completed railway; not one would have predicted the outcome of the first "theatre of battle" at Duck Lake on March 26, 1885. Significant to Métis peoples and First Nations histories are their antonymous and collective battles against the oppression of the federal government – battles often won to assert their sovereignty and more often reduced under "The Métis Rebellion." The battles include Duck Lake (March 26), Battle of Cut Knife (May 2), Battle of Frenchman's Butte (May 28), Battle of Loon Lake (June 3) and the final battle at Batoche which commenced on May 9 and ended on May 12, 1885 with Riel's surrender. Another conflict occurred on April 2, 1885 which was not a military engagement but an act of aggressive resistance against the government's irresponsibility, neglect and abuse; more specifically, it was a desperate response to policies that led to impoverishment and left the Cree peoples, among other Nations, coping with starvation and destitution. The consequences of Frog Lake led to Canada's first known mass execution, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Frog Lake

The Treaty Cree had, like other First Nations, as well as the Métis, petitioned the government to assist in improving conditions on their reserves with the only response being an increase of police. In an action of revolt, the Plains Cree Ojibwa Chief, Kapapamahchakwew Wandering Spirit,[49] and Chief Mistahimaskwa Big Bear's son, Ayimisis captured Indian Agent, Turman Quinn among others. As they attempted to relocate closer to Frog Lake, Quinn apparently refused to move and it is said that Wandering Spirit shot him. More gunfire broke out and eight more prisoners were shot including Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock's[50] husbands John Delaney and John Gowanlock. The other members of the settlement were taken as captives and the Cree men then moved to occupy Fort Pitt (Chaput, 2013). It was for these actions that the First Nations men were charged, tried, and hanged in Canada's only known mass execution.

Sarah Carter explains how a strand of the event was turned into the literary genre the "captivity narrative," which emerged in Delaney and Gowanlock's *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear: The Life and Adventures of Theresa Gowanlock and Teresa Delaney*." Exciting the popular imagination in the Victorian public, "the earliest fictional representations of their story employed the saintly white female victim to reinforce the race and gender hierarchies in the west" (Carter 1996, p. 132). The book was published in a timely manner: November 1885, at the time of Riel's execution. Carter's comprehensive analysis of the emerging genre of "captivity" points out that one of "the book's emphas[e]s on the constant threat of the 'fate worse than death' carried the clear

[49] He also held the names Papamahchakwayo and Esprit Errant.
[50] Theresa Delaney and Teresa Gowanlock contributed to the new literary genre, captivity narrative with, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*. See Aboriginal historian, Sarah Carter's critical response in "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885," in J. Mouat and Catherine Cavanaugh, eds., *Making Western Canada*, Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996: 31–61.

cautionary message that unions between white and Aboriginal were abhorrent" (1996, p. 49). The "message" of miscegenation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 and 5. The colonial history of the Frog Lake event continues to be guided by a road sign that reads, "Frog Lake Massacre." It appears along the Yellowhead Highway south of the site and has perpetuated the negative view of Aboriginal peoples without disclosing their side of the event. The Historic Sites and Monument's Board of Canada's stone monument, unveiled in the spring of 1925, makes concrete "the history" as "Rebel Indians Under Big Bear Massacre" (Carter, 1996 1p. 34-5). Luana Ross explains that, "early 'crimes' of resistance by the indigenous people in Montana came in forms of warfare, the protection of homelands, and the continuation of sacred practices" (Ross, 1998, p. 41). The undocumented histories of, in this instance, the First Nations men, as well as indigenous peoples who took part in the Resistance manifested in other ways. Ross further explains that "impoverished yet courageous Natives are noticeable in the number imprisoned during the late 1800s for vagrancy and the early 1900s for stealing horses and cattle (grand larceny) from white men, burning jails (arson), and neglecting to send children to school" (1998, p. 44). These resistances were tactically waged against the government throughout the territory; Plains Cree Chief, Pitikwahanapiwiyin Poundmaker led one of these military actions. In July 1885, Cree Chief Wandering Spirit surrendered at Fort Pitt and Cree Chief Mistahimaskwa Big Bear was captured and imprisoned. Prior to this battle, the final engagement with the government had taken place and was sealed with the surrendering of the Métis leader, Louis Riel.

Battle of Batoche

Arguably, the most documented battle that took place during the 1885 Resistance was in

Batoche. Why this battle is *well known* could be because it signaled Riel's surrender. Perhaps the Aboriginal Resistance forces' victories at Duck Lake, Cut Knife Lake, and Frenchman's Butte would cause alarm for the Dominion's "citizens" who were celebrating the capture of the Métis leader as the singular "rebel," and "outlaw." The public recognition of Métis *and* First Nations' military forces with *multiple leaders* would also illuminate that the 1885 Northwest Rebellion's armies extended beyond the leadership of both Riel and Dumont. Public recognition would disrupt the plot line in the nation's master narrative, which represents an empty territory and the "vanishing Indian."

By the mid-1870s, many Métis and First Nations communities relocated west to the area of Batoche and Duck Lake, a migration due largely to the suffering and starvation they endured at Red River. With the Manitoba Act in place, it seemed that a new beginning was possible; yet, it would not be long before the infiltration of police and government agents followed the Métis and First Nations, and once again the latter felt their lives and livelihoods threatened. The government's surveys and geological missions carried on unabated as it parceled and advertised land sales that were marketed in national and international newspapers.

With the Resistance well underway by early May, up to 350 Métis and First Nations men fought against a thousand or more of General Middleton's militia and volunteers of the Northwest Field Force. The railway carried in the troops over land and military reinforcements also came by water. However, little noted is the steamship *Northcote,* loaded with riflemen, would be stymied by Dumont's strategy to sabotage the planned rear water attack by ordering the lowering of the ferry cable which effectively cut off the *Northcote's* smoke stack and sent the ship and its armed men adrift, unable to

land.

While holding out for three days, the Métis force could not sustain their line of defense against the attack of the Dominion's forces that continued to fire Arthur Howard's, unpredictable, yet effective, Gatlin Gun. Running out of ammunition and surrounded, the Resistance forces were overtaken by the Canadian volunteers. Fifty-one Métis and First Nations men were left dead. In the days that followed, homes were looted and burned, communities pillaged, and people were violated, persecuted, and imprisoned.

On May 12, 1885 the Battle of Batoche would end and, so too, what became known as the Northwest Rebellion. Gabriel Dumont took refuge south of the border in the United States. Chief Poundmaker surrendered on May 26. His trial lasted five days and the jury, deliberating for two hours, found him guilty of treason-felony. He was imprisoned for one year with an early release. Poundmaker died four months later (Library of Saskatchewan, 2013, para. 1-4). Louis Riel surrendered days later in the hope that by taking the stand at a public trial, he could speak on behalf of the Métis peoples and express their struggle and make their sovereignty known. In a train filled with North West Mounted Police officers, Riel was taken to Regina, Saskatchewan where the trial of the century would unfold.

CHAPTER 1

Trial Transcript: Paradigm Shifts in Sovereignty, Civility & Memory

> […] under the protection of Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigations of the Devil as a false traitor against Our said Lady the Queen, and wholly withdrawing the allegiance, fidelity and obedience which he should and of right ought to bear towards Our said Lady the Queen. (Riel, 1886, p. 5)

Introduction

In a small courtroom, no larger than fifty-feet long by twenty-feet wide, in a brick building owned by the Land Company, the trial of Louis Riel began (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Professor Oliver Buell, 1844-1910, *Louis Riel addressing the jury during his trial for treason,* photograph, no. 3623729, 1966-094, C-001879 (1885) Collection of the Library and Archives Canada. Public domain.

According to Nicholas Flood Davin, the editor of the *Regina Leader*,[51] the makeshift room was filled to capacity with the curious and the necessary quickly doubling the room's temperature on the hot prairie summer's day. As the spectators and agents of the court were busy finding their seats, the amplified din hushed as Judge Richardson entered and took his seat at the bench. Davin also reported that seated nearby were the trial counselors, Mr. Osler, Q.C; Mr. Burbridge, M.A. Deputy Minister of Justice; Mr. Leslie of the Department of Justice; Mr. Scot, the junior Counsel for the Crown; and Mr. Prescott Sharp. After a few moments, Richardson summoned "the prisoner" and Riel, escorted by the Sheriff, walked into the courtroom (Davin, *"Riel Charged*," p. 2). He wore a long black frock coat, a white shirt, and a dark cravat. Riel was directed to stand in the awaiting dock in the centre of the room; stepping inside the sanctioned space, Riel's hands held firm to the wooden frame that quickly enclosed him. Three North West Mounted Police officers stood nearby, at ease. Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney sat near the judge's bench flanked by the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) Assistant Commissioner, A.G. Irvine (*Leader*, 3.19, "Riel Charged"; Howard, 1994, p. 513). The spectators, stacked three to four deep against a rear wall, craned their necks to catch a glimpse while being corralled back by a dark oak railing.

Mr. Dixie Watson was the acting clerk. Wallace Mclean, J. S. Monahan, James T. Parkes, and F. R Marceau were the official court reporters and took their seats in the first row behind the dock's frame. A press gallery was assigned for newspaper personnel: Mr. Fox of the *Toronto Mail* and Mr. Harkens of *The Star*, among others (Howard, 1994, p. 513) were preparing their notes as they attempted to capture into words the nuances of the trial's opening. Nicholas Flood Davin, editor of the *Regina Leader* newspaper, was

[51] I refer to the *Regina Leader* newspaper as both the *Regina Leader* as well as the *Leader*.

publishing, along with his weekly edition, trial dailies.[52] Witnesses for the prosecution, John W. Astley, civil engineer; Harold E. Ross, deputy sheriff of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan; William H. Tomkins; Peter Tomkins; Thomas Sanderson; C.M. Newitt; Thomas E. Jackson; and J. B. Lash, Indian Agent for the government would be called throughout the course of the trial, as well as witnesses for the defense comprising medical experts who were prepared to testify in support of the defense's plea of Riel's insanity. The witnesses whom Riel requested to be called in order to defend his character and his actions in the Resistance against the government were apparently "unavailable." Under the Dominion Act 34, Vic. C.25, known as "The North-West Territories Act, 1880," David Alexander of Hamilton read the charges without interruption at 11 a.m. on July 20, 1885. Riel pleaded not guilty to the charges (p. 6). The following day, Judge Richardson allowed Riel's defense team, François-Xavier Lemieux and Charles Fitzpatrick, one week to procure additional witnesses and evidence. The attorneys met Riel for the first time four days prior the commencement of the trial. The court reconvened on July 28 and the trial of the century lasted five days. On August 1, 1885, the jury deliberated for one hour and returned with a guilty verdict, but with a recommendation for mercy that was based on "proof" presented during the trial of Riel insanity, "to such an extent that they [the jury] recommended Riel to the clemency of the court" (Riel, p. 203). Judge Richardson responded to the jury's verdict and their recommendation by stating that: "I may say in answer to you that the recommendation which you have given will be forwarded in proper manner to the proper authorities" (Riel, p. 154). Riel concluded his final address to the court. Judge Richardson did not deliberate. On August 1, 1885, Riel was charged with high treason and sentenced to death (p. 166).

[52] Nicholas Flood Davin's newspaper coverage of the trial will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

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The outcome of the trial remains a point of contestation, debate, interpretation, negotiation, and reinvention. What has been called the *trial of the century* has become somewhat of a cultural fetish, a judicial ritual that is worried over like a swatch of cloth from a larger breadth of national fabric. It is replayed and recast in, among other creative derivatives, a swell of biographies, historical accounts, fictional narratives, and trimmed down to sixty seconds in a *Historica Dominion* "Heritage/Minutes Video," which depicts Riel's hanging.[53] Riel, it would seem, is a fixed and reliable national monument, a go-to site from which to peer into the past to continue to deliberate and judge the guilt or innocence of the Métis leader and, just as well, the government of Canada.

The trial is an edifying phenomenon, an educational component in the history-making of Canada which finds its printed roots in the government-authorized and London-published trial transcript released in 1886, one year after Riel met his fate. However, in this chapter, as discussed in my Introduction, it is my intention to ask different questions from the transcript; for instance, what if the trial transcript was about something beyond a verdict of guilt or innocence, or something other than a man's sanity or insanity? What if Riel, in his nullified and delegitimized claims of innocence and sanity was instead contesting the existing paradigms and contexts held as civilized by British European artificial constructs? What if Riel was proposing and enacting a new context to transform the psychic and material prisons built by colonization that subjectified the Métis and Aboriginal Nations as incapable of governing? What if Riel's trial was considered, at its heart, about Métis people's sovereignty and rights to territory,

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[53] To view the Heritage Minutes segment see: *Historica Dominion Institute*. "Louis Riel." Heritage/Minutes. Retrieved https://www.historica-dominion.ca/content/heritage-minutes/louis-riel

about those Nations who contested a colonial imagined sovereignty that was transfixed into the national psyche by the circulating stereotypes?

My method to approach these questions is two-fold: 1) to provide a quantitative analysis of the primary and secondary use of the words “sovereignty,” “civility,” and “memory” in the transcript’s text, and 2) present a qualitative analysis of the results by examining the transcript passages, extract them from the colonial legal template, and analyze indentified discourses in a broader social and mediated context.

Yasmin Jiwani (2006) explains that, “news stories embody narratives that are themselves grounded in the historically sedimented stock of knowledge […] [and] they activate a whole chain of signification” (p. 36). The question concerning this chapter is to examine how these narratives, when the sediment is shaken loose, links (or does not) within the chain at the site of the transcript, in order to distinguish how Riel was objectified and his call for Métis sovereignty abolished. Although this chapter does not focus directly on the relationship between the media and the trial, this will be taken up in Chapter 2, it remains salient in this discussion to understand how “memory” functions in the trial in relation to, for example, Fairclough’s proposal that “one way of seeing news is as a form of social regulation, even a form of violence: news reduces complex series of events whose relationship may not be terribly clear to stories, imposing narrative order upon them” (2003, p. 84). With this in mind, as well as Jiwani’s argument stated above, I will integrate the media into this examination, from time to time. Using a critical discourse analysis, it is my intention to make visible the “imposed” narratives that run through and through the transcripts and indentify where and why they rupture at particular locations. For example, John A. Macdonald’s November 20, 1885 “Personal

and Confidential" letter to Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner and Lieutenant Governor for the North West Territory who served as a Conservative Member of Parliament in Macdonald's cabinet, speaks to the sovereign's strategy and the educational advantage of Riel's public trial and its multiple outcomes: "The execution of Riel will have I believe a good effect on the Métis. The executions of the [November] 27 [1885] of the Indians[54] ought to convince the Red Man that the White man governs" (Macdonald, 1885, p. 587). Macdonald's declaration that the "White man governs" encapsulates a disciplining and punish pedagogy as dispensed by the sovereign's agent, Judge Richardson. The decision to deliver a verdict of guilt was paramount for national security —a simultaneous move that demarcates the hierarchy of space through judgment and its pedagogy. Taking the conceptions of sovereignty within the trial transcripts further, and before moving to this chapter's literary review and its methodology, I will briefly outline how I contextualize "sovereignty" in the transcript.

Sovereign Concepts

> You as the jury must not think of the prisoner alone you must think of the people's homes – of the community at large who look to you for protection. You are not deciding now between the Ottawa Government and the prisoner but the people in the country and the prisoner. (Davin, "Riel Trial," 1885, p. 2)[55]

Judge Richardson's caution to the jury, and to the zone of intelligibility through the media, prompted as it necessitated the positioning of Riel into a state of exception and subsequently alienated him from "the people in the country." Moreover, Richardson's avowal elucidates a Hobbesian formula of sovereignty:

> if the essential rights of sovereignty be taken away, the Commonwealth is thereby dissolved, and every man returneth into the condition and calamity of a war with every

[54] The 1885 mass execution will be discussed in Chapter 6.
[55] Judge Hugh Richardson quoted as reported in the *Regina Leader*, "The Riel Trial," August 4, 1885, p. 2.

> other man, which is the greatest evil that can happen in this life; it is the office of the sovereign to maintain those rights entire and consequently against his duty, first, to transfer to another or to lay from himself any of them. (1651, p. 206)

As made evident in the above quote, the fear of disorder and anarchy instigated by a subject who turns away from the "established" sovereign body is "the greatest evil," and for late nineteenth-century Canada, the rogue force was represented symbolically in Riel. But why consider Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) at all when discussing Louis Riel? James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson, from the Bear Clan of the Chickasaw Nation and Cheyenne Tribe in Oklahoma, and the Director of the Native Law Centre of Canada at the University of Saskatchewan, considers the impact of the European scientific and legal colonial discourses imposed upon Aboriginal people's psychic and material states. Henderson argues that enforced ideologies were foundational in the process of conquest. He explains that Hobbes's "British seventeenth-century construct of the 'state of nature,' shows how this idea created the competing frameworks of treaty federalism, colonialism, and critiqued the relevance of the construct in Indigenous struggles" (2000, p. 11). Henderson highlights the period of Enlightenment, specifically in the field of science as a space that was determined by particular paradigms and when the applications to the paradigms did not "fit" its rule, it would be classified as a paradigm shift. Similarly in law, specific *contexts*, instead of paradigms, are set in place to establish order and if the contexts are breached, amendments are made, or discipline and punishment ensues. The structures of scientific paradigms and legal contexts deeply embedded within the relational infrastructure among Dominion forces and indigenous peoples were bound with, among others, the British political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and his treatise on sovereignty. According to Henderson,

> Hobbes's vision of the state of nature remains the prime assumption of modernity, a cognitive vantage point from which European colonialists can carry out experiments in cognitive modeling and engineering that inform and justify modern Eurocentric scholarship and systemic colonization. Indigenous peoples have experienced this concept as slavery, colonization, and imperialism, as well as liberalism, socialism, and communism. These derivatives of Hobbes's vision are the source of our difference, our suffering, and our pain, and it is our experience of them that unites us against continued domination of oppression. (2000, p. 11)

The intention of this chapter is not to conduct a Hobbesian analysis of Riel's court proceedings; rather, it is to consider and elucidate Hobbes's invasive influence upon the colonial philosophical framework in Canadian law and science and specifically during the 1885 trial. The entry of Hobbes during the trial is evident when the judge brandishes a Leviathanesque formula, as found in this chapter's epigraph, to admonish the jury. Henderson contends, for instance, that the impact of Hobbes upon social beings contains us in a "cognitive prison" and therefore an understanding of how we have learned and what we have been taught, namely artificial paradigms and contexts, espoused through European education to dictate outcomes (Henderson, 2000, p. 11). Indigenous people's struggles with the seventeenth-century model of sovereignty manifests in contemporary resistances and actions toward "a paradigm shift to replace the Eurocentric way of viewing the world with a new context that would be an ecological or natural context of Indigenous knowledge rather than a refined artificial one" (Henderson, p. 11). Although Henderson is speaking of twenty-first century issues related to Aboriginal sovereignty and knowledge, I argue that Riel and Aboriginal Nations were contesting these impositions long before, and then again during, the Red River Resistance in 1869, as well as during the fifteen years leading to the 1885 confrontation. Riel and the Métis Council

Members[56] were exercising Métis sovereignty that manifested in the *Bill of Rights* for Manitoba (1870), as discussed in the Prologue. The North West peoples' continual petitions for land settlement, negotiating solidarity among Métis, Aboriginal Nations, and white settlers, and Riel being summoned by Métis delegates to reassert their rights in a constitutional framework, were enactments of *the shift*, which demanded that they were to be acknowledged and recognized in their heterogeneous sovereign formations.

Riel's discursive acts of resistance during his trial speeches, among other sites, were part of the political and social transformation beyond the colonial strategies of oppression to secure Métis self-determination, governance, and sovereignty against the historically pejorative framework of "Imagined. Vanished. Doomed. Noble. Savage. Indian." What Riel saw as transformative, consequently, threatened the Dominion's fantasy of unification and, less euphemistically, lucrative capital ventures. Riel envisioned a French and Catholic demographic alongside English and Protestants, education and public health for all people in the North West, Métis and Aboriginal women's rights, a foreign policy that encouraged international immigration; negotiated policies with the U.S., and recognized First Nations sovereignty, territories and culture; however, the Dominion saw this vision as a loss of control of its state and thereby its access and acquisition of the land's natural resources. It therefore deemed Riel's claims as illegitimate and reduced him symbolically as an outlaw and legally as a traitor. Henderson explains that, "we [Aboriginal peoples] are seeking to challenge and transform the modernist of the state of nature and to replace it with an extraordinary context-breaking vision that relies on Indigenous teachings about our place in nature"

[56] 1885 Métis Council Members: Pierre Parenteau, Charles Trottier, Bte. Boucher, Pierre Henry, Ant. Jobin, Donald Ross, Pierre Gariépy, Damase Carriére, M. Lépine, and P.H. Garnot, secretary.

(2000, p. 14). Riel, as a subject of Our Sovereign Lady the Queen, refused to abide by the Hobbesian covenant: “I Authorise and give up my Right of Governing my selfe, to this Man [sovereign], or to this Assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up they Right to him, and Authorise all his Actions in like manner” (Hobbes, 1651, p. 105). Judge Richardson’s demand to the jury, what is “intended should be done,” evokes the fear of social chaos which is held symbolically at bay within the common power of the Leviathan artifice. Security is assured and bedlam halted only if there is a unified commonwealth; otherwise, sovereignty would be extinguished and subjects would not be protected. The fear of national security and the cracks in the sovereign model is gestured to in George Kerr’s testimony in the transcript:

> Q. What was the state of that part of the country?
> A. Greatly agitated.
> Q. Is not that a mild word? Was it only greatly agitated, what do mean?
> A. I mean that the whole country was excited, something like that.
> Q. What do you mean excited?
> A. That every man was taking care of himself as near as possible. (Riel, 1886, p. 67)

Kerr’s testimony reflects the cognitive modeling, which was informed by justified modern Eurocentric scholarship and systemic colonization (Henderson, 2000, p. 11). Richardson’s preemptive gesture toward a guilty verdict and execution is a call out to “the community at large who look to you [as members of their peers] for protection.” Richardson, as an agent of the sovereign, authorizes, or rather orders, “the people” as an amalgamated force to punish “the prisoner,” Riel.

Abraham Bosse’s frontispiece for Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (1651) depicts the commonwealth subjects with their individuality effaced. Unified bodies are fused to

comprise the totality of a zone of intelligibility and worn as armor upon the mythical figure of the Leviathan as sovereign (Figure 3).

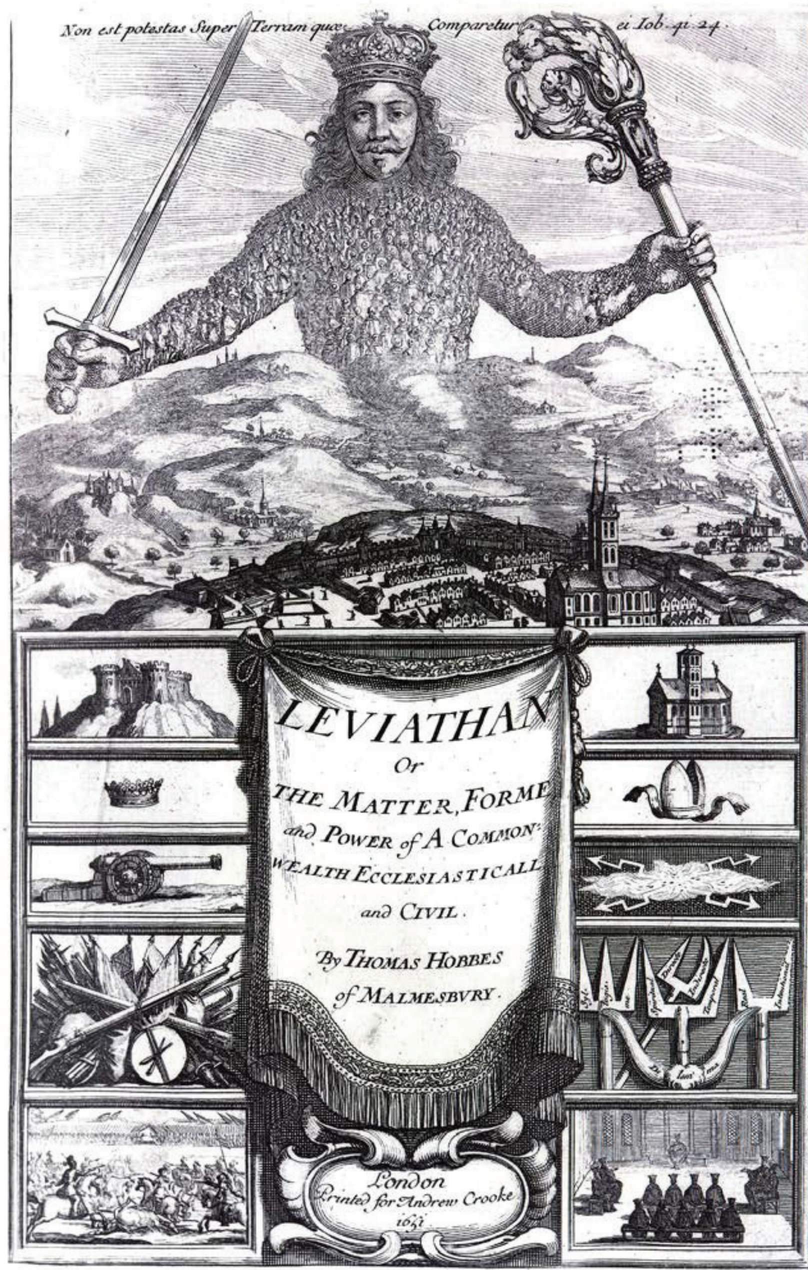

Figure 3
Abraham Bosse, 1651, Frontispiece from *Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, by Thomas Hobbes, (1651) wood block on paper. Public domain.

Sunera Thobani argues that, “despite the most ardent claims of a national mythology, the constitution of the nation as Euro-Canadian, that is, as white, was neither a natural nor a predestined inevitability” (2006, p. 22). What is assumed as inevitable becomes solidified as a “common ground” upon which “the capacity to exercise social power, domination, and hegemony includes the capacity to shape, to some significant degree, the nature and content of this ‘common ground’ which makes implicitness and assumption an important issue with respect to ideology” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). Henderson takes on the mythology of the Hobbesian social prototype of “natural” and of “modern society.” He challenges the European assumptions, which have been accepted unquestioningly by modern thinkers. Indigenous people, as Henderson asserts, “must remember that modern thought is conditional upon this assumption” and “from understanding of artificial contexts, Indigenous peoples can understand how to inspire alternative contexts to end the domination and oppression that are the residue of colonialism” (2000, p. 14).

Significant in both Henderson’s assertions and Richardson’s advice to the jury is the word “prisoner,” which brings to mind Foucault’s treatment of “truth” as expressions of power in practice that hold the modern self as “the prisoner of a docile body, the artifact of the Panoptic technology operating through the carceral network of a disciplined society” (Smith, 2001, p. 79). Foucault implements the triangulated frame of sovereignty – governance – discipline in his analysis of the population as the object of control (Curtis, 2002, p. 505-33). The chain that links the formation is found in Foucault’s separation between *word* and *concept*, in that a concept, “must give access to a structure of intelligibility” (Canguilhem, 1989, p. 19). Riel’s trial as a concept, in which

the actions of Métis sovereignty were judged as criminal and treasonable, sealed a "zone of intelligibility" in which Métis and Aboriginal Nations' sovereign positions continue to be delegitimized.

What remains curious is that Richardson's remarks, given in the courtroom, do not appear in the trial transcripts; instead, they are reported in the media, specifically the *Regina Leader*. Alternatively, Riel's address to the court speaking on behalf of the Métis and as well as his struggle for constitutional reform appear in the trial transcript and in the newspaper; yet in the latter, Riel's speech is minimized through a highly editorialized narrative imposed by the *Leader's* editor (Riel, 1886, p. 163).

The spatial and discursive segregation of Riel from the country by way of the courtroom, and represented through specific pejorative formations in the media, is an example of hierarchies of place, a term discussed by Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003). The author's examination of the academy and the pedagogy of spatial policing are relevant here. The agents in the courtroom and the media mark Riel as the enemy with material and psychic border patrol strategies, such as, using the binary of the "civilized" and the "uncivilized" to act as a verb and thus "demarcating [a] divide while masking the divide" (Mohanty, p. 28). In other words, the binding circuitry that suspends the dichotomy of the "sovereign" and "enemy-other" is a naturalized relationship, in the colonial zone of intelligibility, and subsequently masks the actions and consequences of one delegitimizing the "enemy-other." The common ground upon which spatial segregation operates "constructs the 'community' as a hyper-racialized homogenous space and it is usually not just any community but one that has been subject to forced dispossession" (Mohanty, p. 28).

It is not my intention to question *why* the false binary of the "civilized and savage" exists, this work has been undertaken by many post colonial scholars (Jiwani, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2012; Razack, 1998, 2002; Dickason, 1984, 2009; Hall 1987; Harding 2006; Lawrence 2004; LaRocque 2010; Smith, 2005; et al.); rather, I am interested in examining closely, at the trial's ritualized and (re)memorialized site, *how* Métis sovereignty was delegitimized and as such fed the colonial zone of intelligibility. At this juncture, Mohanty explains that it is necessary to demystify the cartographic rules by "identifying the operatives of the very idea of spatialization of power that puts to the social formation of multiple uncovered spaces, which individually and together make up the power/knowledge matrix" (2003, p. 29). With this in mind, I focus specifically on the discursive continuities in which the false binaries are constructed in order to uncover the discontinuities in the transcript and trace the codes associated with sovereignty, civility, and memory. In the next section of this chapter, I provide a description of the transcript, which is followed by my methodology.

The Text: The Queen Vs. Louis Riel

The document *The Queen Vs. Louis Riel* comprises 207 pages. It includes, as identified in the trial transcript title, the "Report of the Trial" (166 pages), an "Appendix" detailing the 20 exhibit items (9 pages), the "Appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench" (23 pages), the "Appeal to the Privy Council in Britain" (4 pages), the "Petition for a Medical Commission" (3 pages), and a "List of Petitions" (2 pages). "The Prisoner's Address" immediately follows the "Report of the Trial" and appears in two sections which are divided by the jury's verdict: Riel's address to the jury (7 pages), and his address to the court, which was presented after the jury was dismissed from the courtroom (12 pages).

The focus of this chapter's analysis is the "Report of the Trial" and "The Prisoner's Address" to the court and jury.[57] From time to time, however, I reference other sections of the transcript. I distinguish these areas as they appear in my analysis. Approaching the trial text is daunting because of its density and the multiple and potential areas for detailed analysis and close readings. For this project, I chose to focus on the three key terms at the core of my thesis: "sovereignty," "civility" and "memory" and how they occur and co-occur within the transcript. I explain my methodology in the following section.

Methodology

When approaching the trial transcript, its semantic complexity, as well as its historic and contextual convolutions, require that I identify how sovereignty, civility, and memory are played out or constructed to create a particular resonance in the imagined community of the Canadian nation. My method necessitates how these constructs were used and invoked in a combined analysis of specific linguistic elements that work to define, assert, as well exclude:

> when we come to texts as elements of social events, the "overdetermination" of language by other social elements becomes massive: texts are not just effects of linguistic structures and orders of discourse, they are also effects of other social structures, and of social practices in all their aspects. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 25)

How is the transcript's circuit board of linguist and discursive structures composed, and what are the a/effects of the social affiliations and practices that the transcript present and make absent? In my analysis of the attorney's lines of questioning, for instance, I study in detail the vocabulary, turn-taking, types of speech acts, expressions, and interactions among other linguist features to ascertain how they interweave to fix the overall structure

[57] Throughout my chapters, I refer to "The Prisoner's Address" as "address" and/or "speech."

of the text. My objective with using a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology is to *shake loose the sedimented monolith* known as “Riel’s Trial Transcript” by identifying the relational power dynamics and the ideological processes utilized in legitimizing and delegitimizing formations of sovereignty. As Jiwani contends, “as regimes of truth, these paradigms have the power to privilege certain forms of violence, while erasing other forms whose implications are just as violently searing on the individual and collective psyche” (2006, p. 29).

To distinguish the regimes, three key areas are examined: 1) how sovereignty is determined; 2) how civility is defined; and 3) how the memory of the trial participants (witnesses, court agents, readers, etc) is activated. The areas selected were gauged according to their application within the trial discourse and how they were mobilized to objectify Riel to maintain a specific colonial paradigm and context, or what Foucault would call “continuity.” I press these areas further in my analysis to identify the counter-shifts within these contexts and paradigms, or “discontinuities,” and where in the transcript they occur and co-occur. I begin by locating: 1) keywords; 2) the interactional process of their production; and 3) the social conditions of the production appearing in discursive cues.

Using a keyword search approach, I map (and un-map) the text to ascertain the different levels through which meaning is structured, for instance, “meaning utterance,” “local coherence,” and “text structure point” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 119-120). Once the elements of structure are located within the text, I examine a “repertoire of schemata” to arrive at contextual or situational interpretation based on external cues (Fairclough, 2001, p. 120). In other words, I study how *what is said* known? These external cues are then

analyzed to identify how metaphoric or coded symbolic transfers to themes and their projected images aligned with, or depart from, the existing narratives circulating in the media representation of Riel and Métis sovereignty.

Text analysis is but one level of examination. Language as a discourse is a social practice and therefore "one is committing oneself not just to analyzing texts, nor just to analyzing processes of production and interpretations, but to analyzing the relationship between text, processes, and their social conditions" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 21). The objective of the analysis, then, is to identify the "order of discourses" or the established set of ideologies that are naturalized within discursive frameworks, practices, and social preconditions within the transcript. It is within this ordering "that people are enabled through being constrained: they are able to act on condition that they act within the constraints of types of practices – or of discourse" (p. 25). The discourse of a trial's proceeding sets the *hierarchy of place* in which the networks of power, determined by sovereignty, "control orders of discourse; one aspect of such control is ideological – (at the society level) with each other" (p. 25). With this in mind, prior to my analysis of the transcript, I examine two formations that controlled the orders of discourse in the context of the trial: the concept of "treason" in nineteenth-century Canada, and the constitution of the jury. Yet, the trial transcript as a location from which to evaluate the constraints that maintain social norms and contexts, is also the locus in which the constraints are ruptured, contexts are contested, and appear, even in their absence, as discontinuities.

The Trial and the Transcript

Prisoner. – I have the honor to answer the Court I am not guilty! (Riel, 1886, p. 6).

The courtroom is a *hierarchy of place*. It is a place where the triumvirate of national discourses such as sovereignty, civility, and memory converge. It is a place where sovereignty, as the governing force, upholds the ideology of civility in which the trial and its specific systems of power are reinforced as they are conveyed through the media as a vehicle to disseminate resources for public memory. Within this context, and appearing in this chapter's epigraph, Riel is represented as being "seduced by the instigation of the Devil, as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen" as articulated by the sovereign's representative, Judge Richardson (Riel, a, p. 5). Riel is presented as the Devil's cohort 23 times in the transcript. Olive P. Dickason (1984) would explain this repetition as reflecting a "majority opinion [that] had Amerindians in league with the Devil" (p. 31). The colonial dichotomy, in the opening charges against Riel, legally binds him to this colonial opinion and within the circulating grammar of the outlaw. The bind, however, is doubly tied and produces a paradox that necessitates Riel's presence while it requires also his absence from the colonial arena of civility, articulated in the transcript as *fidelity* and *obedience*. Foucault explains this conceptualization as

> how the different texts with which one is dealing refer to one another, organize themselves into a single figure, converge with institutions and practices, and carry meanings that may be common to a whole period […] In relation to this implicit, sovereign, communal "meaning," statements appear in superabundant proliferation, since it is to that meaning alone that they all refer and to it alone that they owe their truth. (2002, p. 133)

The communal well from which the figures of the "the devil," "the criminal," and "the outlaw" is pulled and aligned with indigenous peoples is steeped with history and imagery. By the seventeenth-century, for instance, "French and English writers were calling all inhabitants of the New World savages" (Dickason, 1984, p. 65). The graphic litany of the "uncivilized" and the "savage" conceptually morphed into varying demonic

subjects as asserted by a Jesuit priest, Jérôme Lalemont, Superior for Canada (1593-1673), when he described the Amerindians as full of Diabolical Superstitions (Dickason, 1984, p. 251). As the opening charges in the transcript disclose, Riel is interlocked with the monstrous conceptual formation of "the Devil"; yet, how are these narratives interwoven with "treason;" moreover, what did "treason" mean in nineteenth-century Canada? In the following section, I describe high treason as charged by the Crown against Riel.

The Charge: High Treason[58]

"Treason" and "High Treason" are two separate but related offences found in Canada's Criminal Code, Section 46(1), Part II. Both are categorized as "Offences Against Public Order" and "the Queen's Authority and Person" (Canada, 1974). High Treason is a charge delivered by the state as the most egregious acts of disloyalty by a Canadian against their own country.[59] The specific act includes killing Canada's Queen and waging war against Canada, both of which carry the mandatory minimum sentence of life imprisonment. The offence also includes assisting an enemy at war with Canada, or any armed forces against Canadian allies or with whom they are in conflict with, whether or not a state of war exists between Canada and the other country's forces (Canada, 1974). Prior to 1869, any one of the offences appearing on the lengthy felonies-checklist could

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[58] Details of the Act include: "46. (1) Every one commits high treason who, in Canada,
(*a*) kills or attempts to kill Her Majesty, or does her any bodily harm tending to death or destruction, maims or wounds her, or imprisons or restrains her; (*b*) levies war against Canada or does any act preparatory thereto; or (*c*) assists an enemy at war with Canada, or any armed forces against whom Canadian Forces are engaged in hostilities, whether or not a state of war exists between Canada and the country." The details of the Act are retrieved from: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/page-15.html

[59] "The criminal law of England that was in force in a province immediately before April 1, 1955 continues in force in the province except as altered, varied, modified or affected by this Act or any other Act of the Parliament of Canada." Criminal Code of Canada, High Treason. The details of the law are retrieved from http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/laws/stat/rsc-1985-c-c-46/latest/rsc-1985-c-c-46.html

procure a sentence of death; however, after that period only murder, rape, and treason were punishable by execution. According to the Winnipeg Police Services, "the reality was that only murder carried the death penalty as no one was ever executed for rape and only one was executed for treason – Louis Riel" (Winnipeg, 2009). High treason does have a historical precedent in Canada. Nineteen men were charged with treason during the 1814 Ancaster Assize and eight men were hanged as American sympathizers (Marsh, 2012, para 1-3).[60] Twenty-four years later, high treason charges were delivered during the Upper and Lower Canadian Rebellion trials in 1838.[61] Yet, the only person to go to the gallows for high treason in post Confederation Canada was Louis Riel (Winnipeg, 2009, para. 3). For that, the government of Canada had to reach back to the fourteenth-century edict and apply the charge of high treason under Edward II, c.2 (The Statutes of Treason, 1352) to ensure Riel's penalty would result in death (Dickason, 2009, p. 118).

Newspaper editors did not overlook the profit potential in sensationalizing high treason to stir up their readership. Nicholas Flood Davin, owner and editor of the *Regina Leader* and also a lawyer, takes his time and much copy space to dramatize and teach his readership the processes of "the trial." He pays particular attention to the appropriateness of a six person, Protestant, unilingual (English) jury, and a judge who was also a stipendiary magistrate. In his July 28, 1885 coverage, Davin explains the fairness of the trial. While Riel's defense team did object to the jury's arrangement, a judge who was a stipendiary magistrate, and that the trial was held in a region without a Supreme Court,

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[60] Dayton Lindsey, Noah Payne Hopkins, John Dunham, Aaron Stevens, Benjamin Simmons, George Peacock Jr., Isaiah Brink and Adam Crysler were hanged on 20 July 1814. For details see: Marsh, J. (2012). "Ancaster Bloody Assize of 1814." *Historica-Dominion Institute*. 2013. The Canadian Encyclopedia.

[61] The Upper Canada Rebellion was led by William Lyon Mackenzie, and The Lower Canadian Rebellion was led by Louis-Joseph Papineau.

the defense team's objections did not disclose a concern about the stipendiary magistrate's political partisanship. Judge Hugh Richardson served as a Crown Attorney from 1856-62. He was the Chief Clerk for the Department of Justice at Ottawa from 1872-1876; he was appointed as stipendiary magistrate in the North West and acted as a legal advisor for the Lieutenant Governor, at the time Edgar Dewdney (1879-1888), who was in continual conflict with the Métis peoples. If the *hierarchy of place* is considered in the courtroom, it is not a coincidence that Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney was seated near the judge's bench. Judge Richardson, as recalled by Member of Parliament, David Kilgour (2002), was also a member of the anti-Catholic Orange Order (para. 3). He was considered unqualified by not only the defendant, Riel, but continues to afford contemporary criticism regarding his position in a trial of such magnitude. Richardson's appointment to the North West Supreme Court from 1887 to 1903, two years after the trial, suspends any questions concerning his loyalties to the Crown (Brown, 2012).

Davin uses all of page two, in six columns, to editorialize a justification for the trial. The editor's mobilization of the media reflects, "the hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of the capitalist class and other power-holders [who] depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 45). While displacement, starvation, and disease among the Métis and First Nations peoples is also reported in the newspaper coverage, it carries a simultaneous and systemic tendency to absolve all government responsibility. Yet, two years prior to the second Resistance, Macdonald sent a letter to Dewdney on September 17, 1883. Macdonald orders him to "keep down expenditures in the NW as much as possible." In his follow up correspondence Macdonald writes: "Glad to hear you can reduce expenses for the Indians

on November 17, 1883" (Macdonald, 1883).[62] One year later, the effects of the "cuts" are evident in the September 4, 1884 correspondence between Charles-Borromée Rouleau[63] and Dewdney, just months before the Resistance: "No doubt his [Riel] influence is great amongst the half-breeds, and consequently he can do a great deal of harm to this part of the country, if the half-breed's reclamations are not settled" (Rouleau, 1884, pp.4-5).[64]

In his correspondence, Rouleau adds that the "Indians and Half-breeds in the North-west are starving and are without proper clothing and he advises that the Indian Agents be more lenient in dispensing goods" (Rouleau, 1884, p. 3).[65] Davin's published legal lesson, "what treason is," neglects to explain the root causes of the uprising and that the Métis, Aboriginal Nations, and white settlers' acts of resistance were against the economic and social irresponsibility of the government. Davin's reporting style instead creates a "homogenous output" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 14) in step with the circulating stereotypes of "The Indian." The editor's rhetorical work thus *masks the divide* in which the government's betrayal against the Métis and First Nations takes place and erases the cause with authorial intrusion, circumlocution, and amplification in a verbose narrative which positions Riel as criminal.

Integrated under Section C-46, Part II of Canada's Criminal Code for High Treason are acts of "terrorism" (83.18 - 1) and along with the punishment of life imprisonment, the convicted must relinquish their property (83.14 - 1). As outlined in the

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[62] For details of the correspondence see: Macdonald, J.A. (1883). "Edgar Dewdney Fonds – Macdonald Correspondence." Glenbow Musuem. Series 8. M-320-p.443, 445, 447. Retrieved from http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/dewdney.cfm#table
[63] For further information about Charles-Borromée Rouleau see Louis A. Knafla, "Charles-Borromée Rouleau." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online.* Volume XIII (1901-1910). Rouleau was a school inspector, advocate, stipendiary magistrate, and judge. He presided over the case of Kapapamahchakwew (Wandering Spirit), as well as other the other Cree men charged with their part in the Resistance at Frog Lake. See also http://www.biographi.ca/EN/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7040
[64] Correspondence archive catalogue no.: M-320-p.1402.
[65] ibid (Retrieved http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/dewdney.cfm#series21)

Code, "the Attorney General may make an application to a judge of the Federal Court for an order of forfeiture in respect of (a) property owned or controlled by or on behalf of a terrorist group; or (b) property that has been or will be used, in whole or in part, to facilitate or carry out a terrorist activity" (Canada, 1974). As discussed in the Prologue, the government's stake in "property" held by the Métis peoples was 1.4 million acres. How then did Riel's conviction reflect on the disbursement of the land? The Manitoba Métis Federation with their lawyer, Thomas Berger, continue to fight the government regarding the Métis territory set out in the Manitoba Act—the outcome will be discussed in my concluding chapter. With this in mind, Berger presents a crucial question during the CBC program "Riel's Revenge": "Why were they not given this land? It's in the constitution" (2013). One reason for the government's dismissal of this right to land is found in the process of the jury's deliberation and their verdict. In the following section, I provide an examination of the jury members for Riel's trial.

The Jury (Figure 4)

On November 28, 1885, in the Debates of the House of Commons of Canada, it was argued that if Riel had been tried in Winnipeg

> he would […] have been entitled to a Superior Court judge whose independence is guaranteed by law and custom. Instead, John A. Macdonald stationed the trial in Regina, where there was no guarantee of bilingualism; therefore the jury comprised […] six English speaking Protestants: The only francophone out of the 36 people who were called had an accident and the only Catholic excused himself. (Thomas, 2013, para. 61)

In 1885 there was a motion to move the trial to Winnipeg so that Riel would have a Francophone jury, as well as a selection from a diverse demographic of which 80% were Métis. The government, however, was very aware that French Canadian support was

strong for Riel; for instance, after Riel was executed "fifty thousand people gathered for a demonstration in Montreal at the Champ-de-Mars" (Reid, 2008, p. 139).[66] To change the venue to Manitoba would have been a simple procedure: "a short Act giving the Government power to try the offenders within any part of the Dominion" (p. 177).

Figure 4.
Anonymous, *The jury members Walter Merryfield, Broadview; Henry Painter, standing; Frances Cosgrove, foreman, Broadview; Edwin J. Brooks, Indian Head; Ped Deane, Moose Jaw and Ed Evett, Moose Jaw, seated,"* photograph, no. 3406975 (1885). Collection of the Library and Archives Canada. Public domain. Note to image: as the photographer on site, Professor Oliver Buell may have taken this photograph.

While amendments to, for instance, The Indian Act were undertaken by the Dominion with ease, a change in the trial location, that would have provided Riel with a more "neutral" venue, was not in the Crown's best interest and thereby deemed impossible. For instance, Justice Alexander Campbell argued that, "Winnipeg would not be a good choice for the trial because of the potential of a 'mixed jury,' as well as 'confusion' over

[66] The media coverage of the mass gathering in Montreal, Quebec is discussed in Chapter 6.

whether or not Winnipeg would receive Riel" (Flanagan, 1983, p. 123). It has been argued that decisions concerning the trial were due to federal "administrative errors" (p. 121). Thomas Flanagan (1983) concludes that, "it was lucky that a legally correct decision emerged at the end" (p. 121). The colonial procedure to present state "errors" while simultaneously forgiving them disregards their destructive impact; furthermore, Flanagan's remark when saying that "luck" was involved in the final decision belies an important question: who exactly was lucky?

An answer to this question is found in Flanagan's closing remarks concerning the Regina venue: "Regina was chosen by the government for reasons of convenience and security, but the choice does not seem legally unfair" (p. 124). Flanagan's suggestion of "security" maintains the Hobbesian dictum of social order, and his passive and indifferent tone that it "does not seem" legally unfair implies that even if the trial were considered unfair it would have no consequence. With this in mind, Kilgour's (2002) recollection of a juror's statement complicates the discourses of "security" and "fairness," and instead reflects a discontinuity within the continuity of a "neutral" court with formations of racist vigilantism that were induced by, in this case, political and ideological partisanship. Edwin Brooks spoke about the trial five decades later and remarked: "we tried Louis Riel for treason, but he was hanged for the murder of Thomas Scott" (para. 3).[67] Of interest is how many of the six Protestant English speaking jurors belonged to The Canada First Party? Unlike Aboriginal scholars, Flanagan is quick to dismiss the implication that the trial was deliberately staged in a way that would be disadvantageous to Riel. He does nevertheless concede that the minister of justice was inept without reliable council and "a prime minister who does not know that Regina is on the rail line, who forgets that he has

[67] Thomas Scott's execution is discussed in the Prologue.

received unanswered memos, and who has to be badgered into taking action" (1983, p. 121). Flanagan's off-handed remark that Macdonald was unaware that Regina was on the rail line, even when the Prime Minister stationed the North West Mounted Police barracks next to it for the country's security, is erroneous; moreover, as a federally funded historian by a Conservative government, who advised Prime Minister Stephen Harper on Aboriginal affairs, Flanagan's statement is irresponsible.

Part of the "administrative error," at the trial was the dismissal of Riel's first language, French. The trial was conducted in English. Riel opens his address to the jury and court, with what might be assumed as an apology: "I cannot speak English very well, but I am trying to so, because most of those here speak English" (Riel, p. 147). In his opening remark, Riel demonstrates his awareness of the hierarchy of place in his use of the adverb "here." Riel locates the "here" in the courtroom— a place where the imperial language dominates and the Métis languages are diminished and mocked. The Métis and First Nations peoples are also excluded from the possibility of serving as peer jurors. Riel's use of "here," in its very arbitrariness, is subversive as he does not distinguish or identify the governing authority; for Riel, as he begins to speak in the "here," he remains sovereign. In addition, Riel's seemingly acquiescent and understated manner is a Socratic rhetorical style and used by "the other" when speaking in the space of the dominant, or the "here." Frederick Douglass, abolitionist statesman, author, and editor, used this manner of speech in his oratory and as a literary device in his autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845). Douglass' prologue, as with Riel's address, ostensibly yields to the governing powers, while the device enables subversive tactics against the master narrative from within.

The “Manitoba Métis Federation’s Justice Committee’s Presentation to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry” in 1983 indicates that almost 100 years after Riel’s trial the massive inequities continue in the judicial system concerning Aboriginal peoples. The Canadian courts assume

> that an Aboriginal accused will understand the proceedings simply because he or she has a fundamental grasp of English and does not ask for an interpreter […] [we] note that both the Law Society of Manitoba and the Legal Aid evaluations have stated that the vast majority of clients problems relate to poor communication between lawyer and client. (Manitoba Métis Federation, 1991, p. 169)

Later in this chapter, I illuminate the problems of communication that arise, as well as Riel’s issues with his defense team. Specifically, he disagreed with their plea of innocence based on his insanity. The court proceedings were also impeded by serious communication barriers that included evidence based on hearsay. Witnesses, when providing their testimony of “what they believed they understood” (occurring 33 times) and “thought they remembered” (occurring 15 times) often did not understand the language at the scene of the event they were recounting. The transcript reflects 24 areas in which interpretation and translation caused “poor communication,” a discontinuity that destabilizes the veracity of testimony and the transcript as a whole. The occurrences are troubling because objections are rarely raised by opposing attorneys during the trial; furthermore, witnesses were presenting testimony through interpreters who where not qualified translators and who worked on behalf of the Crown. This is evident in the following extracts, among others, from witness testimonies:

> Q. And will you state when Mr. Riel spoke, did he speak in French or English then?
> A. When Mr. Riel was speaking?
> Q. Yes.
> A. He was talking French.

> Q. Somebody interpreted it for you?
> A. I asked an interpreter that had it interpreted to him. He told me in Indian. (Riel, 1886, p. 52)
>
> Q. Well you understand it sufficiently to know what Riel said on that occasion, do you not?
> A. I understand some of it. I did not understand every thing he said. (p. 46)

As made apparent in the above testimonies, the "evidence" is based on unreliable sources because of linguist barriers; subsequently, the witness constructs their own assumptions from their own resources. The attorney's discursive tactics then control the unstable sources to procure the desired answers in directed questioning, for example "Well you understand it sufficiently […]?"

Another instance that reflects the communication problems that plagued the proceedings occurs while Lemieux questions Vital Fourmond. Arthur Lewis, the interpreter, interrupts the testimony and states that he does not feel qualified to correctly interpret the evidence. Mr. Casgrain, the prosecuting attorney, proposes that he translate the evidence given by the defense, and Mr. Fitzpatrick interpret the testimony given by the Crown. The judge agrees to this course of action. Prosecutor Osler finally interrupts the testimony and asks for a "regular" interpreter (Riel, p. 118).

Mohanty's discussion about "masking of the divide" (2003, p. 28), as referenced earlier, is reflected in the naturalized and prevailing linguist inequities, and thus open a discontinuity in the sovereign's model of a unified and homogenous nation at the site of the trial's pronounced and continual need for translation and interpretation. Here, the trial's masked racist paradigm is revealed in the selection of a unilingual jury and judge. The Dominion's valuing English language as superior in the court of law is congruent with the government's ban of all indigenous languages in such policies as the Indian Act.

The witnesses' providing evidence based on hearsay compounded the linguistic barriers and is evident in the transcript. In *Strange Empire,* Joseph Kinsey Howard (1994) acknowledges that, "some of their (Crown witnesses) testimony probably would have been excluded in a stricter court because it was hearsay" (p. 515). In the transcript, it is recorded that Greenshields finally protests and requests that, "there should be a limit to this hearsay evidence" (Riel, 1886, p. 61).

Riel was well aware of the Dominion forces that directed the proceedings of his trial, as he explains during his Address:

> Your Honor, because you appointed those men do not believe that I disrespect you, it is not by your own choice, you were authorized by those above you, by the authorities in the North West, you have acted according to your duty, and while it is in our view, against the guarantees of liberty, I trust the Providence of God will bring out the good of what you have done conscientiously." (p. 153)

As the above quote elucidates, Riel's oratory operates in a double articulation. On one level he presents an eloquent reverence for the colonial judicial process, while on another he interweaves his intent to pinpoint the judge's inability to act autonomously and judiciously as Riel surreptitiously scorns the presiding judge's power. Riel also identifies the structural hierarchy of the active (yet absent) sovereign forces guiding and instructing the trial to a premeditated outcome through the selection of, for example, a biased judge that was "authorized by those above."

European sovereignty and civility were ideological benchmarks and thus for the Crown, Riel's treason had to be located and charged for "certain political consideration that is necessary in all public matters" (Riel, 1886, p. 45). The rhetorical use of "necessary" recalls Agamben's definition, as the sovereign's decision to execute a state of an emergency or *necessity has no law* to be discussed later in this chapter. The word's

militaristic etymology implies the "necessity" to protect the civilized union against the enemy, a counter force that was aligned, in the case of Riel, with "the Devil" (Riel, p. 3-8). That being said, in order for the Crown to accomplish the task to eliminate the enemy, certain colonial allusions were activated in Riel's representation to conceptualize his inability to lead and to disavowal the Métis people's objectives. Ericson, Baranek, and Chan's (1991) argument posits that

> the news media and law also share an affinity in claiming that their policing is in the public interest. The basis of this claim is the appearance of neutrality. The consequence of this claim is that the news media and law are able to accomplish a degree of legitimacy and authority for their own institutions, while also selectively underpinning or undercutting legitimacy and authority of other social institutions. (p. 7)

In the courtroom, the boundary line is drawn to distinguish between "legitimate" and "illegitimate," a differentiation that is underpinned by the Eurocentric binarism of the "civilized" and the "savage." In the Riel case, for instance, the media facilitated the social cartography and dispensed the ideologies for public interest because it is "fundamentally a discourse of morality, procedure, and hierarchy, providing symbolic representations of order in these terms" (Ericson et al. 1991, p. 5). Robert A. Williams (1989) describes the network of power as the West's *will to empire* (p. 8). To locate the discursive constellations that form the empire and its will at Riel's trial, I turn to the results of my quantitative and qualitative analysis and the themes of sovereignty, civility and memory found in the transcript.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Transcript

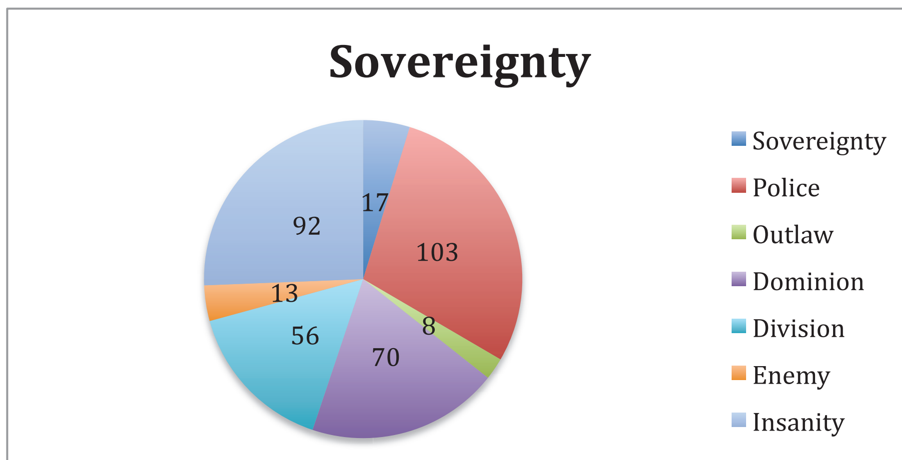
Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis comprises a global primary search of the transcript using three keywords: "sovereignty," "civility," and "memory." The keyword analysis examines the

speaker, the questioner, the location in the transcript, and the context of the passage in which the keyword appears. The initial search is followed by a secondary analysis of the collocation of, what I call, "secondary words." I analyze how the words co-occur and re-occur to determine the ideological framework and how the words function in relation to the keywords. As an example, the secondary words associated with the keyword "sovereignty" include "police," "outlaw," "Dominion," "division," and "enemy."

A qualitative analysis follows the quantitative work to establish how a local coherence is formulated when the keyword is deployed, engaged, and contested within specific passages. In the next three sections of the chapter, I examine the results of the quantitative analysis (numerical results shown in graphs). The qualitative analysis then follows in which I tackle specific examples from the outcomes to evaluate the *texturing* within the procedure of the court.

Sovereignty



> The Sovereign form as integral part (sic) of the Canadian as of the British Parliament, the Executive authority is vested in the Queen. So far as related to her internal affairs, Canada stands in a position of equal dignity and importance with the United Kingdome, and, except in so far as the action of the Sovereign may be indirectly controlled by the Imperial Parliament, Canada

> stands in this respect rather in the position of a sister kingdom than in that of a dependency. (Judge Killam quoted "In Appeal," Court of Queen's Bench in Riel, 1886, p. 192)

The above excerpt is from the Crown's argument against the defense team's appeals concerning Riel's conviction. The passage reflects Canada's political alignment with Britain and defines Canada's sovereign position of authority as a delegated power to necessitate decisions on behalf of the commonwealth. The word "sovereignty" is repeated 17 times in the transcript. It appears six times (35 per cent) in the opening charges of treason against the "Dominion of Canada and under the protection of our Sovereign Lady the Queen" (Riel, p. 4). The witnesses state 3 results (Riel, p. 68), and 14 of the returns are in the arguments against Riel's appeals (64 per cent). It is procedural for the Crown to be expansive with the use of the word "sovereignty," for example, the Crown and its agents employed the word 16 times of its total combined results (99 percent), over the course of the trial, and the appeals. As the preceding quote makes evident, Canada's sovereignty is empowered, yet still is constrained by Britain. Though however natural it may seem that the language of the Crown's sovereignty infiltrates the space of law it is also essential to question what its hegemony elides. Riel, for instance, is not recorded in using the word "sovereignty." Yet, Métis sovereignty was the trial's catalyst, and specifically because of the charge of treason. The dominant discourse of imperial sovereignty, thus, in its superabundancy operates to make Métis sovereignty absent entirely, as if it did not exist. According to the transcripts, the acts of Métis resistance, as a force that distinguishes itself as sovereign, is instead situated, in the hierarchies of place, as criminal. Riel is charged with acts that "let loose the flood gates of rapine" (Riel, 1886, p. 166) and thus Métis sovereignty is distinguished as high treason, rather

than recognizing the Manitoba Act, political solidarity, petitions, and the Métis people's right to 1.4 million acres of land.

Still, Riel was challenging the government continually with his alternative vision and his stubborn methodology (until forced to do otherwise) to maintain constitutional, parliamentary, and judicial protocols in order to produce agreements through negotiation and civilized conduct. In George Kerr's testimony, for instance, Kerr recounts a meeting when "Riel proposed the health to Our Sovereign Queen Victoria" (Riel, 1886, p. 68). Kerr did not interpret Riel's gesture as implied sarcasm, rather as a demonstration of Riel efforts toward the British tactic of "fair play," in which an accommodation is made to one who is despised. Riel was not interested is destroying the Dominion. His efforts were constitutionally led with the hope of collaboration between the Métis people and Ottawa's parliament. Riel was interested in the Métis people's sovereignty, and that their rights as a people would be recognized and respected. The Crown refused to recognize the effort; if it did, it would have to recognize Métis sovereignty as an alternative and competing body within a court of law. Thus, the Crown was not protecting *all*; it was protecting itself. Henderson argues that, "from understanding of artificial contexts, Indigenous peoples can understand how to inspire alternative contexts to end the domination and oppression that are the residue of colonialism" (2000, p. 14). In the due process of the trial, however, Riel's alternative vision was marked either as treason or as insane.

Riel's demands to defend and speak for himself were thwarted and then dismissed in, for instance, the judge's pithy response to Riel during his address to the court: "Are you done?" (p. 154). "Discipline," as Foucault explains, "functions in spaces that are

constructed – artificial (2007, p. 19) while “sovereignty capitalizes a territory” (2007, p. 20). Said another way, in the spatial hierarchy of the court, as transcribed, “sovereignty” and “discipline” operate in concert in order for the sovereign to exploit territory inside and outside of the courtroom. The Crown’s psychic and material alignment of power, for the public, made conceptual sense in the colonial zone of intelligibility, especially in the management of the political economy and security of a unified and Anglo-Saxon Canada. With this said, within the constellation of sovereignty and the doctrine of “protection” appears the word “police” with 103 returns in the transcript. The “increase of police” is mentioned 4 times; however, the police, as Riel, makes clear were present to service colonial interests. As an example, during the trial, Exhibit No. 7 and No. 8[68] were presented to produce into evidence Riel’s letter to “The Half-Breeds of Lake Qu’Appelle.”[69] The exhibited letter reflects how the Métis peoples and the Aboriginal Nations were outside of the zone of state protection and rather than continue to be in fear of its violence, Riel moved from constitutional redress to advocate, or rather necessitate, the action required to protect *themselves*: “Justice commands you to take up arms” (Riel, p. 169):

> But fifteen years of suffering, of poverty and underhand and malicious persecution, have opened our eyes, and the sight of the abyss of demoralization into which the Dominion plunges us deeper and deeper every day has, through the mercy of God, struck us with terror, and frightened us more of this hell where (sic) the mounted police and Government are trying to drive us openly than we are of their fire arms, which after all can but destroy our bodies. In our alarm, we have heard from the bottom of our hearts a voice which said: “Justice commands you to take up arms.” (Riel, p. 169)

[68] The single “letter” is sectioned and presented as two court Exhibits under 7 and 8.
[69] Translated from French into English in the transcript.

Consider as well the letter written by Riel, presented as Exhibit 10, "To My Brethren the English and French Half-Breeds of Lake Qu'Appelle and Vicinity.[70] Here, Riel details the violence issued by the police against communities, specifically targeting women and girls:

> The Ottawa government has taken possession of our native land. It's now fifteen years that they deny us our rights and that they offend God Almighty by heaping thousands of injuries upon us. The employees [Hudson's Bay Company] commit all kinds of crimes. The members of the mounted police scandalize every one by their bad talk and their bad conduct. They are depraved so that our wives and daughters are no more in safety when living near them. They haven't got the least respect for the rules of decency. (p. 170)

Riel representing the North West Mounted Police as "depraved" destroys the narrative of civility encoded in the heralded police force, as well as dismantles the convention of security within the dogma of sovereignty. Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, Riel's advocacy on behalf of the identity, rights and safety of Métis and Aboriginal women and girls locates him as one of the singular voices of the period to do so. However, the exhibited letters provided to the court and the content of these documents, although submitted as evidence against Riel, are omitted from the "Trial Report" and therefore Riel's statements were not disseminated in the newspapers.

Riel's state of exception is not singular; rather, it encapsulates the Métis peoples, and all Aboriginal Nations, as non-citizens, outside of the law, yet inside of it. One of the many areas in which the segregation that separates "citizen" from the "other" appears is in the transcript's "List of Petitions." The table of petitions delineate, by territory, individuals who support Riel and separate "Citizens" from "Inhabitants" and "Half-breeds" (p. 206-7). The discursive segregation also occurs in the word "outlaw," which shows eight returns. Seven, or 99 per cent, of the results reference, or are referenced by,

[70] Translated from French into English in the transcript.

Riel. As discussed in the Prologue, Riel was forced into exile from 1875 to 1884 and labeled as an "outlaw" in the press, a designation that will be discussed in Chapter 4. One of the results in the transcript is directed against Métis leaders:

> One was small, but in its smallness it had its rights. The other was great, but in its greatness it had no greater rights than the rights of the small, because the right is the same for every one, and when they began by treating the leaders of that small community as bandits, as outlaws leaving them without protection, they disorganized that community. (Riel, p. 160)

In the above quote, Riel reveals the Dominion's use of language to isolate communities and then authorize its violence against them, rather than exercising its "duty" to inclusively protect the rights that were to be enjoyed by all.

As mentioned above, Riel references the word "outlaw" six times (75 percent) in the transcript; however, Riel complicates the discourse by unveiling how his status was constructed and determined by Canada's Parliament:

> Besides I was expelled from the House twice, I was, they say, outlawed, but I was busy as a member in the East and that the trial was the West I could not be in two places and they say that I was outlawed, but no notification was sent to my house even of any proceedings of the court. They say that I was outlawed […] Why? Because he [Riel] had given political rights to Manitoba. (Riel, p. 159-60)

Here, Riel repeats "outlaw" three times directed by the subject verb formation "they say." He then undercuts what "they say" by explaining that, "I was busy as a member in the East"[71] and then answers his own rhetorical question of why he was an "outlaw." In this sense, Riel was an outlaw because he rejected the Dominion's demand for his submission and with it his assimilation. Riel was acting outside of the sovereign's parameters while concomitantly exercising his own rights and duties as a member of his own sovereign nation. The government and their strategies to misrepresent Riel was as pervasive in the courtroom as it was in the press, and agents working for both the former and the latter

[71] The "East" was the nineteenth-century Canadian nomenclature describing Upper Canada.

were determined to undermine Riel's intellectual and corporeal being in the contextual framework set by the Dominion.

The word "Dominion" showed the third largest result with 70 returns in connection with sovereignty. This, again, is not particularly revealing with a trial being prosecuted by the Crown. With 14 less results than the word "Dominion" is "division," which appears 56 times in the transcript, and presents its underpinning as Canada's Hobbesian philosophical base and Riel's crime against the state— his so-called desire to divide the Dominion. Henry Walters explains "the division" in his testimony when examined by Mr. Scott:

> Q. What were they going to do?
> A. If successful he told me they were going to divide the land.
> Q. How was he going to divide it?
> A. One 7th to the pioneer whites, one 7th to the Indians, one 7th to the French half-breeds, one 7th to the Church and schools and the balance was Crown Lands, I suppose Government lands." (p. 70)

The inaccurate testimony representing Riel's land division policy is illustrated with each witness offering confused and contradictory testimony. Riel in his address speaks to the issue:

> A good deal has been said about the settlement and division of lands, a great deal had been said about that. I do not think my dignity today here would allow me to mention the foreign policy, but if I was to explain to you or if I had been allowed to make the questions to witnesses, those questions would have appeared in an altogether different light before the Court and Jury. (p. 147-8)

Here, Riel raises the discursive bar beyond those set in the colonial forum when he states that "my dignity today here" does not allow him to discuss the details of the matter. Riel speaks back to the defamation of his character that classified his policies as an "insane scheme" to divide the land; instead, Riel overturns the derogatory semantics to articulate his foreign policy. Zero results show the prosecution, defense, or the witnesses referring

to Riel's policies and philosophies as political and/or sane.

Riel does however address the issue of land later in his address: "The Half-breeds had [...] the land grant of 1,400,000 acres [and] owned about 9,500,00, if I mistake not, which is about 1/7 of the land of Manitoba. You see the origin of my insanity and of my foreign policy" (p. 157). Riel's political terminology shifts the language from "division" to "foreign policy," a policy that would open the country up to immigration and trade relations with the United States and with Europe by equally portioning the land into sevenths —leaving one seventh or 1,400,000 acres to the Métis. Ironically, the government continued to implement a similar foreign policy soon after Riel's execution. The Dominion, however, omitted from its land policy the constitutionally ascribed distribution of territory belonging to the Métis Nation.

Matters of sovereignty also appear implicitly throughout the transcript. Consider the evidence provided by the witness, Dr. John H. Willoughby who, when examined by Robinson, was asked to recall Riel's plans concerning the Resistance:

> A. He said the time had now come when those plans were mature, that his proclamation was at *Pembina*, and that as soon as he struck the first blow here, that *proclamation* would go forth, and he was to be joined by Half-breeds and Indians and that the United States was at his back. (Riel, p. 12-3, italics mine)

Two critical words appear in this section of the transcript: "Pembina" and "proclamation," both detailed in the Prologue. "Pembina" signifies the place where the Métis asserted their sovereignty in 1869 by confronting federal agents and refusing their entry into Métis and Aboriginal territory unless the Crown negotiated with them. The "proclamation" refers to the 1870 Manitoba Bill of Rights created by the Métis Council, which in turn became the Manitoba Act, a process of sovereignty that constituted Métis rights and their identity as a people. With this in mind, even though the Dominion as a

figure of sovereignty is presumed to be the steering discourse in the transcript, also very present, even in its absence, is Métis sovereignty. Yet, when Métis acts of sovereignty do appear, they are juxtapositioned discursively with “the enemy.” The word “enemy” is repeated 13 times in the transcript and each time it is located with Riel. As with the outlaw discourse, Riel’s status as “the enemy” was grounded in the colonial material and psychic stereotypes of the “Indian” circulating in the media; its production and reproduction will be examined in the forthcoming chapters. Riel’s sovereign stance, however, was most vulnerable with the word “insanity,” which put to trial not only his reason and leadership, but also the Métis people’s identity as a Nation, symbolically.

The word “insanity,” with 92 results in the transcript, may seem more appropriate as a secondary word under the keyword “civility,” particularly if its association to “mania” or a behaviorism exteriorized from Victorian civil conduct, is considered. Yet, my decision to position “insanity” with the keyword “sovereignty” allows for a closer analysis of Riel’s defense team’s submitted plea of insanity against the charge of treason. In contrast to the defense’s plea, for Riel, his “treasonable” offence was committed with full reason and with the goal to enact Métis sovereignty. The consequence of the defense team’s submission of such a plea stripped Riel of agency, and circumvented his argument that he was leading, with reason, a sovereign nation. Riel repeated his concern in his address to the court. Riel’s defense team’s refusal to abide by his demands, and the subsequent submission of the plea regardless of Riel’s wishes, was informed by the pejorative and colonial narrative and logic perpetuated through the media: Métis peoples were incapable of governing and therefore their sovereignty, as a concept, was unintelligible and insane. As Riel explains “I struggled not only for myself, but I

struggled for the rights, for the inauguration of the principles of responsible and constitutional government in Manitoba" (Riel, p. 163).

When discussing the legitimizing process through media networks, Jiwani explains how sustained discriminatory networks are determined through structures of power and the discursive devices are utilized to "obtain consent from those they govern" (2006, p. xiii). Still, all is not lost: these spaces, as Jiwani contends, are also sites of intervention "where such power can be challenged, transformed, or diverted in the interests of privileging subjected knowledges" (p. xiii). Riel introduces this transformation into the discourse of the trial when he accepts that a guilty verdict removes the notion of his insanity: "Up to this moment I have been considered by a certain party as insane, by another party as a criminal, by another party as a man with whom it was doubtful whether to have any intercourse. Today, by the verdict of the Court, one of these three situations has disappeared" (Riel, p. 155)

During the second half of the trial, the "diagnosis" of Riel's madness takes centre stage, specifically his "megalomania"[72] – a Victorian buzzword disease that John A. Macdonald may well have suffered. Interestingly, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the earliest example of the word's use in the English language is at the site of Riel's trial as represented on December 11, 1885 in Manitoba's *Daily Free Press*: "The unfortunate leader of the Metis (sic) was a prey to what may be termed 'megalomania' and 'theomania', which alone can explain his way of acting until his last moments" ("megalomania," 2013, para 2). The OED, as a popular and academic touchstone to verify a word's definitional standard, authorizes as it delegitimizes not only

[72] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines "megalomania," in psychology as "delusions of power or self-importance, esp. resulting from mental illness; a passion for grandiose schemes. More generally: lust for power, a desire to control ("megalomania," 2013, para. 1).

Riel's reason and leadership, but also Métis sovereignty by aligning it conceptually with insanity.

Madness in the nineteenth-century was coupled with criminality. Foucault explains that "the presence of the mad appears as an injustice; but *for others* […] [m]adness was individualized, strangely twinned with crime, at least linked with it by proximity which had not yet been called into question" (1988, p. 228, italics Foucault). Riel's conception of Métis sovereignty, the New Nation, and his call for its practical application (1886, p. 153) was outside of the colonial zone of intelligibly, a paradigm shift at the site of trial that was deemed criminal – whether he was sane or insane. Vital Fourmond's testimony, when cross-examination by Casgrain about the opening days of the Resistance, polarizes Riel as being twinned with both criminality and insanity:

> Q. You said there was no other way to explain his [Riel] conduct than to say he was insane or a great criminal, and you would rather say he was insane. Rather than say he was a great criminal, you would say he was insane?
> A. I did not say that, but in my mind it was the best way to explain it. (p. 119)

Casgrain's repetition of the leading question and the reversal of the designations within the question obscure the already hazy lines between Riel's insanity and criminality. The testimony reflects not only Foucault's proximity between the states, but also its popular confusion as an "applied science" during the nineteenth-century.

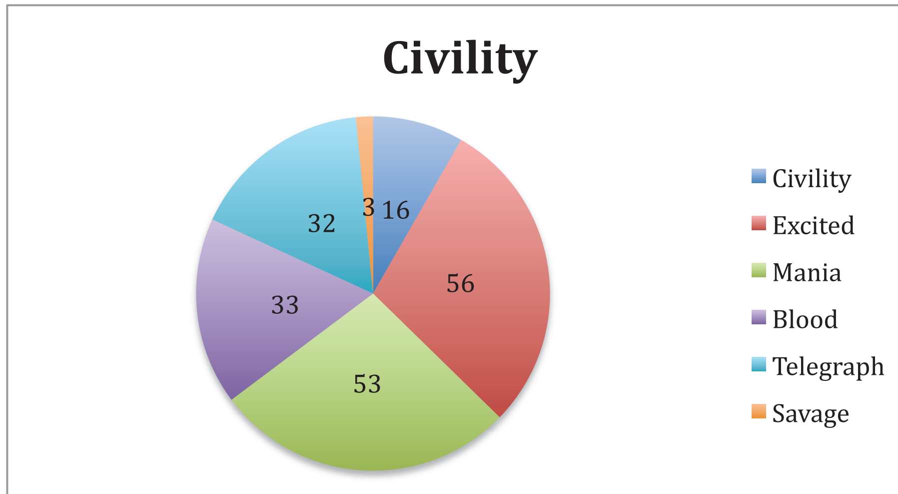
Riel's criminality was contingent on the word "traitor" which appears 27 times in the transcript. It is used 25 times in the charges, and twice in witness accounts of Riel accusing individuals of treason because of their opposition to the Resistance. In the transcript, the prosecution uses the witness's memory to support the charges of Riel's treason against the sovereign; concomitantly, the defense, although advocating on Riel's

behalf, in their plea of "insanity," also uses the witnesses' memory to position Riel as incompetent to act within determined norms and thus betraying social protocols.

Riel, alternatively, repeats the word "treason" five times during his address in order to defend his sanity. In an interesting turn in the trial, the word "treason" makes another entry in the defense's attempt to *justify* Riel's actions in the Resistance and consequently makes the government accountable for their irresponsibility. However, the intervention is cut short by the prosecuting attorney when he states, "If this was given in evidence we will have to answer it in many particulars, and then there would be the question of justifying the government policy of the government." (p. 111). The judge then responds: "It would be trying the government." The line of question is then withdrawn (p. 111-2). The discursive transaction is crucial in context of the trial. Here, the Crown is asserting itself as being outside of the law, while inside it, and thereby as a sovereign force is not required to be accountable for its actions.

The discursive battle between Riel and his counsel concerning their plea of insanity is also located with the term "treason." The word is used 40 times, out of its 50 results, by the defense in their appeals to secure Riel's "not guilty" verdict by arguing, against Riel's will, that he is insane. Inversely and more intimately, in this sense, Riel was betrayed by those who were in the position to protect him in matters of treason. In maintaining his claim of sanity against all odds, Riel's objective was to defend his conduct on behalf of the Métis peoples as within the contexts of civilization. Following this theme, in the next section I focus on the treatment of "civility" in the transcript.

Civility



The word "civility" and its connected formations in "civilized" and "civilization," as discussed in my Introduction, can be misconstrued particularly when evaluating historical documents. Moreover, the language is burdened with contextual complexities.[73] During the nineteenth-century to be "civilized" and to behave with "civility" was in step with the ideological "progress of civilization." In this way, the language was very much tied to the economy and congruent to the social and cultural standard of superiority in conduct, manners, and education. Thus, the colonial hierarchical meter to gauge the "civilized" was tuned continually against who was "uncivilized." With that said, if Hobbes is central to the British political philosophy of sovereignty, Benet Davetian (2009) would assert that the "origins of English civility are deeply rooted in [John] Locke's philosophy of human relations and human rights" (p. 92). As with Hobbes, it is not my intention to provide a Lockean analysis of the transcript; rather, I wish to cast a different light on the transcripts to elucidate Locke's influence on western ideologies particularly around

[73] Other sources concerning the conceptual formations of the word "civilized" are found in Edward J. Dudley, and Maximillian E. Novak's *The wild man within: an image in Western thought from the Renaissance to romanticism.* Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1972; Timonthy Paul Foran's *Les Gens de Cette Place: Oblates and the Evolving Concept of Métis at Île-à-la-Cross, 1845-1898*. Ph.D diss. Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 2011, 23-24; and Catherine Lavender's "Modernism – A Working Definition." Lavender outlines an argument rejecting of the "civilized" and "savage" binary.

concepts of property and its relationship to civility. For instance, by presenting grievances on behalf of the Métis, as well as leading military resistances (1870 and 1885), among other actions, Riel challenged the government for autonomous and sovereign territorial recognition; moreover, he confronted and disputed the government's founding principals of "civilization" influenced by John Locke.

For the sake of background, Michael Sandel explains, in his Introduction to Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, that "for Locke, the right to life, liberty, and property is an unalienable right; it is not ours to give away, even by our own consent" (2007, p. 83). Fundamentally, Locke is clear that central to justice is doing no harm to others and that all subjects are servants to God: "for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker—all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business—they are his property (Sandel, 2007, p. 85). The commonwealth, as modeled by Locke and in some ways parallel to Hobbes, is one within which all men share one community of nature and thereby make a commonwealth. Locke outwardly creates equanimity among all men and this is only revoked by a criminal transgression or "that every one has the right to punish the transgressor of that law to such a degree as may hinder its violation" (Sandel, 2007, p. 85, 7). And therein lies the rub. Although, Locke's principal of justice is multivariate in that it relies on multiple disciplines, a central precept is that "individuals are responsible to live their lives properly and ethically, and this requires that they be able to choose how they act" with the convenient caveat that individuals must be 'civilized'"(Duncan 2005, p. 38). Williams (1990) argues that Locke's formula to justice and property was part of the history of colonizing discourse and an ideological argument in the dispossession of

land (pp. 244, 248). The conception of what is "proper," in the mediation between the moral (civilized) and the immoral (transgression), is authorized by a sovereign authority and decided by the majority; as Locke asserts "therefore God hath certainly appointed government to restrain the partiality and violence of men" (Sandel, p. 87, 13). The government's act of appointing a unified delegation to work on its behalf, as sovereign, is at the crux of the trial's arrangement. Alternatively, Riel in his mission saw *himself* appointed. Macdonald did not agree. When considered in the context of the trial transcript and the discourses of "civility," Locke's statement that

> To be free from such force is the only security of my preservation; and reason bids me look on him as an enemy to my preservation who would take away that freedom which is the fence to it; so that he who makes an attempt to enslave me, thereby puts himself into a state of war with me (Sandel, 2007, p. 88, pt 17).

Locke's use of "enemy" echoes Middleton's repetition in the transcript of the Resistance army as "the enemy" (13 times), specifically when the distinguishing the Dominion's sovereign position. In this case, Riel is located as the one who represents the "violence of men," and therefore a traitor. The repetition of words such as "excited," and "mania," afforded to Riel, points to the "transgression" which triggers the Lockean precept of "civilized": "that they be able to choose how they act" (Duncan 2005, 38).

The formations of "civility" are utilized 15 times in the transcript— 14 times (94%) by Riel. Riel uses the term to challenge the government's notion of "civilization" by stating in his address: "Yes, you are the pioneers of civilization, the Whites are the pioneers of civilization, but they bring among the Indians demoralization" (Riel, p. 150). Prior to the court's adjournment, Riel requests the jury to deliberate on the following:

> 1st. That the House of Commons, Senate, and ministers of the Dominion who makes laws for this land and govern it are no representation whatever of the people of the North-West. 2ndly.That the North-West Council generated by the

> federal Government has the great defect of its parent. 3rdly.The number of members elected for the Council by the people make it only a sham representative legislature and no representative Government at all. British civilization, which rules to day (sic) the world, and the British constitution has defined such Government as this which rules the North West Territory is an irresponsible Government, which plainly means that there is no responsibility, and by the science which as been shown here yesterday your (sic) are compelled to admit it, there is no responsibility, it is insane.

As made evident in the quote, Riel's use of "science" is pivotal when juxtaposed with the question of his sanity. Riel identifies the colonial science or paradigm that has cast him as insane, and then shifts the discourse to reveal that it is the government that is insane, a rhetorical move that undermines the government's conduct, which is set supposedly by reason.

"Civilization" or the "action or process of civilizing or becoming civilized" and the "action or process of being made civilized by an external force" makes its appearance in the English lexicon in 1656 within a moral discourse. In 1728, it is first presented in a legal context as "the action or an act of turning a criminal case or process into a civil one." Its definitional use within a social parameter in the eighteenth-century is "not only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, but the species itself from rudeness to civilization" ("civilization," 2013, p. 1). The word "civility," has an earlier beginning in 1384, and defined as "the position or status of being a citizen," or "civil order; orderliness in a state or region; the absence of anarchy" ("civility, p. 1). Thus, in the etymology of "civility" the dichotomized proximity separating and designating "order" from "disorder" is established. To produce an orderly state, the government controlled not only the land but also those who occupied the land. "Property rights," Charles Murray insists, "are a way of distinguishing between thine and mine […] [and] are essential to a free society in the same way a freely determined price structure is essential" (Sandel, 1997, p. 28).

Murray's idea of "free society" and its ideological conflation with "property" and "economy" are also embedded in a western Libertarian checklist for "civilization": intensive agriculture; urbanization; division of labour; intellectual advances; advanced technologies; and formalized, hierarchical government (Flanagan, 2000, p. 33).

Riel, however, posed a significant problem to the Dominion. The government and its agents, for instance, understood Riel to be a charismatic orator and rhetorician, intelligent, and a strong political leader who garnered wide-reaching support from allies for the Métis' sovereign mission. Riel's power was very intelligible to the government and, thereby, he posed a danger to the Dominion's pursuit to secure the massive stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and onward to Asia. Macdonald set his sights to conquer by rail what the Northwest Passage explorers failed to deliver by ship. The government and its agents also understood that Riel could potentially fortify the North West, the Métis, the First Nations, as well as settlers, perhaps even the US, with an alternative sovereign vision that countered Macdonald's— the stakes were high and thus Riel had to be eliminated. The government's objective would also use Riel as a archetype for those who dared to resist the sovereign's force, a force that hinged its efforts in the discourse of the "civilized." As Locke argues: punish the transgressor of that law to such a degree as may hinder its violation" (Sandel, p. 85, 7). Riel's transgressive conduct, outside of the codes of the "civilized," appears with the word "mania" with 56 results. The term is used to describe Riel when the court's proceedings move to the defense's plea of Riel's innocence based on his supposed insanity. If the transcript is read through a Lockean lens, Riel is represented as one who was not "able to choose how they act," whether criminal or insane, and accordingly he was not competent to have rights to

property.

The British political system, as Davetian explains, "had a considerable influence on the formation of a distinct English civility ethos" (2009, p. 141). Central to this standard was that even within the British history of conflict, a usurpation of the monarchy did not transpire. Davetian sees this steadfast resilience as a political and social strategy that delegated "the allocation of power to a landed gentry class that stood as a buffer zone between the peasants and a strong monarchy surveyed by an active parliament" (2009, p. 141). A parallel approach could be seen in the settling of Canada's North West with British and European subjects. The move away from revolution to civil protest, as Davetian explains, "was facilitated through parliamentary legislation, the court system, and the mercantile and state network of fair play" (2009, p. 146). The British idiom, "Fair play," as discussed earlier, is the playing out of civility or to be friendly or "polite" even when you don't want to be. In his address, however, Riel implies that the British social practice also encompasses hypocrisy: "When I see British people sitting in the court to try me, remembering that the English people are proud of that word 'Fair play'" (Riel, 1886, p. 149). In witnesses' testimony, Riel's character was under constant fire as connections were being drawn between his civil conduct and "mental state" (Riel, 1886, 204).

The highest result, under the key term "civility," is the secondary word "excited," with 56 results. The etymology of the word and its connection to the body is recorded in 1831: to rouse or emotionally agitate ("excited," p. 1). Riel responds to the repetition of the word "excited," and how it was used by witnesses in descriptions of his state: "It would be easy for me to-day to play insanity, because of the circumstances are such as to excite any man and under the natural excitement of what is taking place to-day" (1886, p.

147). The seemingly innocuous word and its use against Riel reconstitutes him as a colonial object and metaphorically transfers his association to a handbag full of colonial images including the figure of the cannibal. Williams (1990) examines the lineage of the image of the cannibal and its appearance in the tomes written by early-sixteenth-century historians, such as Pietro Martire of Anghiera who detailed the Spanish conquest. In the narrative, Martire makes distinctions between the "cannibalistic" and "noncannibalistic Indians." Maritre "described the noncannibal Indians as 'meek and human people' who freely imitated the kneeling posture of the praying Spanish sailors" (1990, p. 127). The historian's differentiation thereby also marks, for his audience, the movement of the indigenous peoples who submit, convert, and assimilate, and those who do not. The allusion, as a stereotype, appears in Thomas Mackay's testimony when examined by Greenshields and Robinson. The section in the transcript has not been paid scholarly attention; therefore, I am providing Robinson's examination of the witness in full:

> Q. What was on the table when you went into the council chamber?
> A. Some dishes and some spoons, some fried bacon and some bannocks.
> Q. Any blood in the dishes?
> A. No. I did not see any.
> Q. Will you swear that there was not? Will you swear that some of them were not eating cooked blood at the time?
> A. Not that I saw.
> Q. How long after the conversation with him did he use the words "he wanted blood'? – A. He left me and came back again, it was then he said it.
> Q. Was he in a very excited state of mind when he talked about blood?
> A. He became very excited. I told him that I did not think that he had adopted a wise way to redress their grievances.
> Q. In what position was he at that time?
> A. Standing striking the table. (Riel, 1886, p. 25)

The collocation of the words or how they co-occur is significant in the above passage to determine the specific ideological framework being directed and established by the

attorney; for instance, the repeated assertion that there was "blood in the dishes."[74] The object and its ordered position with Riel determine a specific behaviour, as well as a metaphoric transfer from one domain to another. Riel is represented as eating blood followed by the word "excited" describing his behavior when he strikes a table. The conduct is deemed outside of the zone of British civility and inside the colonial vernacular of the exteriorized and exoticized "other."

As made evident in the trial passage, Riel's behaviour is represented as a danger to society. He is constructed as a figure with an appetitive and consumptive desire that would lead him to eat his enemy, as well as his own people. As Hayden White (1978) explains, "a given culture is only as strong as its power to convince its least dedicated member that its fictions are truths" (1978, p. 153). What fictions are being made true in this specific passage, and how? The convincing of the public about the fictions produced during the trial, and establishing the narratives as "true," is accomplished through the media. Consider Davin's newspaper reporting of the above testimony within the contextual framework of civility:

> Riel became excited and said they wanted blood
> [The sentence ends and the sub heading is inserted]:
> BLOOD! BLOOD! [then continues]
> […] said it was a war of extermination! That the Hudson Bay and the Government were a curse and threatened witness's life" […]
> Mr. Greenshields – Will you swear there was no cooked blood on the dishes? (Laughter).
> Witness – No; I saw none. Witness continued, Riel told me to go and come as I pleased.
> Counsel – On the whole he treated you pretty civilly?
> Witness – No; I don't think he did. (Laughter). (Davin, "Facts," 3.22, p. 4)

[74] The combination of blood and milk is not an uncommon source of protein and was consumed by the Métis people including Riel.

Significant in the analysis is the attorney's repetitive and aggressive line of questioning of the witness concerning Riel's eating "blood." The discursive tactic activates the hegemonic and colonial metonymic chain among blood, savage, and cannibalism. Riel, and the North West Resistance, is discursively polarized to reset the familiar dichotomy between the indigenous war-like "savagery" and the civilized "wise way to redress their grievances." Moreover, the very charge of treason or the consuming of one's own by inciting civil war as an "infidelity against the Lady Sovereign" is analogous to a military cannibalism.

Hayden White's analysis of metaphors is illuminating when considering Davin's media coverage presented above. White explains that "metaphors are crucially necessary when a culture or social group encounters phenomena that either elude or run afoul of normal expectations or quotidian experiences (1978, p.184) and he further writes, "if we do not know what we think 'civilization' is, we can always find an example of what it is not" (1978, p. 152). Davin's coverage, in the comparative analysis, uses mythopoesis. The device employs specific narrative formations to capture an ideal readership, with sensational and romantic tendencies that were palpable to his readership. Sensational news items, such as a trial, sells papers because of the ideologies already instilled in the publics' imagination.

Interestingly, here, and throughout his trial coverage, Davin inserts (Laughter), a form of bathos that he utilizes 53 times in his reporting. The theatrical device diminishes the severity of the proceedings as it injects the public into the space of sovereignty (and the joke) to consolidate the unification of obedient subjects while demarcating the enemy who is no longer dangerous, and hence can be mocked.

Not included in the graph, but in association with Locke's civilized tenet, is the term "looting" with three results. Also noteworthy is the word "arms" which had 63 returns during the given testimony about the Resistance's army and their weapons. George Kerr in his testimony, when being examined by Casgrain, provides his accounts *vis-à-vis* the looting of stores:

> Q. Did you recognize any of them?
> A. They had some frying pans which were ours. I said to my brother: "Jack, these are ours." He said "no." I said "I think they are." I went to one of the women and asked her and she said they had broken into the store and taken everything out. WE walked on down to the store and when we went into the store there were four or five Indians pulling nails out of the beams, the store was upside down and the Fairbanks scales were turned upside down, nothing was left in the store at all." (Riel, 1886, p. 65)

Significant in Kerr's statement is his detail concerning the object left behind, the Fairbanks Scales. It remains a mystery as to who was responsible for 1) leaving the Fairbanks Scales behind, and 2) turning them "upside down," Still, the item in its disrupted position and its abstracted meaning is striking because Kerr remember it. The Fairbanks Scales is a tool of measurement that was used to gauge a fair and just trade between, in this case, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Métis and First Nations fur traders (Figure 5).

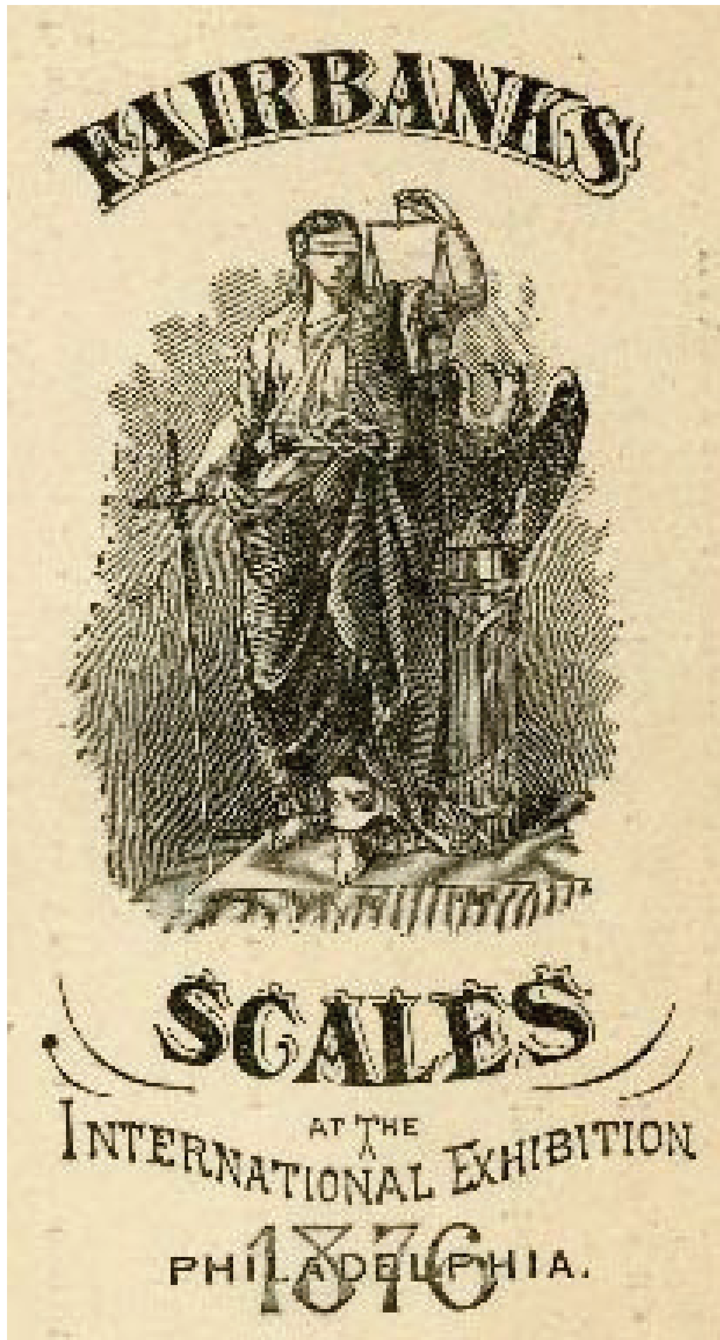


Figure 5.
Anonymous, Fairbanks Scales at the International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876, woodblock on paper, exhibition poster, (1876). Public domain.

The object is symbolically encoded and imparts a metaphoric transfer to the "scales of justice." The Fairbanks Scales was showcased at the International Exhibition in

Philadelphia in 1876 and by 1885 was a standard trade tool throughout North American trading posts. Its iconic representation would be well known in nineteenth-century Canada. With that said, the flipping of the scales and leaving it behind, in an otherwise empty store, was a message left, by someone from the Resistance, to be remembered by the colonizer as the inversion of justice against the Métis and First Nations peoples.

Riel's articulations reflecting the injustices against the Métis was at the core of his oratory, writings, and is found in his series of poems, *Poesies: Religieuses et Politiques*, written during his period in exile (c.1874) and published in 1886, one year after his execution:

Carthage n'a jamais vanté sa foi punique,
Parce que ses enfants avaient encore du coeur.
Mais l'Anglais d'aujourd'hui se vante sans pudeur
De sa justice Britannique.
Et nous savons qu'il veut par d'infâmes leçons
Et par tous les moyens nous rendre anglo-saxons.

Carthage never boasted of the glory of its creed,
Its people still retained some heart indeed;
But the English of to-day do not feel amiss
Boasting without shame of their British justice.
We know they want by their infamous lessons
And by all other means make us Anglo-Saxon. (p. 8)

Riel's "Carthage" allegory is applied in two ways: 1) drawing a comparison between the Métis peoples and the Dominion by alluding to the Punic Wars in which the Carthaginians fought against the larger power Rome; and 2) perhaps more indirectly, how *their* history was written and therefore *their* representation possessed and circulated by dominant powers of both Greek or Roman historians. Riel's sarcasm fells the English hubris of assumed justice while he makes visible that its concept of "justice" includes the decimation of Métis culture, identity, and sovereignty. Whether it was Riel or a member

of the Resistance who left the message for the government, the object resonated with Kerr because his memory led him to recount the symbol in a space where injustice had taking place. Its quiet presence in the transcript transcends the continuity of so-called Métis and Aboriginal people's criminality because "the message" was left by a member of the Native community to symbolize the colonizer's theft of their land, which was at the core of the Resistance.

In the colonial narrative of the "looting enemy" which appears in the transcript also makes present, in its absence, an irony that illuminates the fluid interplay between the ideological structures of sovereignty and civility, and their respective paradoxes. General Middleton was contending with his own "scandal" concerning his "acquisition" of furs, among other items – theft and violence that was struck from the historical and parliamentary record. Appearing in the periodical *The Canada Presbyterian*, on August 26, 1885, under the column "Notes of the Week," the editor calls attention to the pillaging by the Canadian forces against the peoples of the North West and how they "afflicting several cruelties on them":

> For some time it has been asserted that the volunteers plundered the defeated Half-breeds, and inflicted several cruelties on them. Now Pere (sic) Andre makes specific charges and accuses General Middleton of not only not restraining his command from looting, but that he himself was guilty of the same offence. It is claimed that he appropriated a horse and carriage. These charges have been denied. But it is due to the General and those who fought with him that all doubt on these serious charges should be removed. There ought to be an official and thorough investigation.

In response to the scandal, Desmond Morton (1990) describes the fallout for Middleton: "Suddenly, his career was in ruins. At Battleford, a Métis man named Charles Bremner discovered, upon his release after being arrested in May 1885, that his furs, stored by the North West Mounted Police, had vanished. The trail led to General Middleton and his

staff, including Samuel Lawrence Bedson" (1990, para. 22). Middleton, in response to the charges, states: "I thought I was the ruling power up there" (para. 22). Middleton, as the sovereign's delegate, assumed a designated and authorized power to "do pretty much as I like" which also for Middleton involved looting. The agent, Bedson, was a warden for the provincial jail and later, the penitentiary in Winnipeg. During the Resistance, Bedson conveniently held the roles of Chief Transport Officer, as well as being involved in scouting activities. The recorded charges which appear in the *Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada* show this act as "not an isolated transaction, but was part of a series" (1886, p.529). The members of the parliamentary investigation used their power to both authorize and mask Middleton's crimes:

> (a.) That furs taken at Batoche were appropriated by General Middleton,
> (b.) That horses were taken by General Middleton and appropriated to his own.
> (c.) That Bedson appropriated to his own use a pool table and horses taken from the settlers at Batoche.

A motion was passed to strike clauses "a," "b," and "c" of the charges on the grounds that there had been no authority given to the Committee by the House to investigate such charges (1886, p. 529). Middleton's attorney excused the actions by stating that, "this is five years ago, in the heat of the rebellion" (p. 530):

> Mr. Lister. – I want to say one word to Mr. Girouard [Middleton's Defense]. I am sorry that he used the word "stealing." If General Middleton thought he had the power to confiscate these it was not stealing. The object of the statement made here to-day is to prevent costs being incurred in bringing witnesses from the North-West, since every witness brought from Battleford will cost $208 in fares alone.

The expense of bringing in witnesses, who were Métis, to testify against Middleton is viewed as extravagant, however, the value of what Middleton stole was up to $7,000 in beaver, mink, bear, fisher and other minor furs, as valued in the minutes. Moreover, the

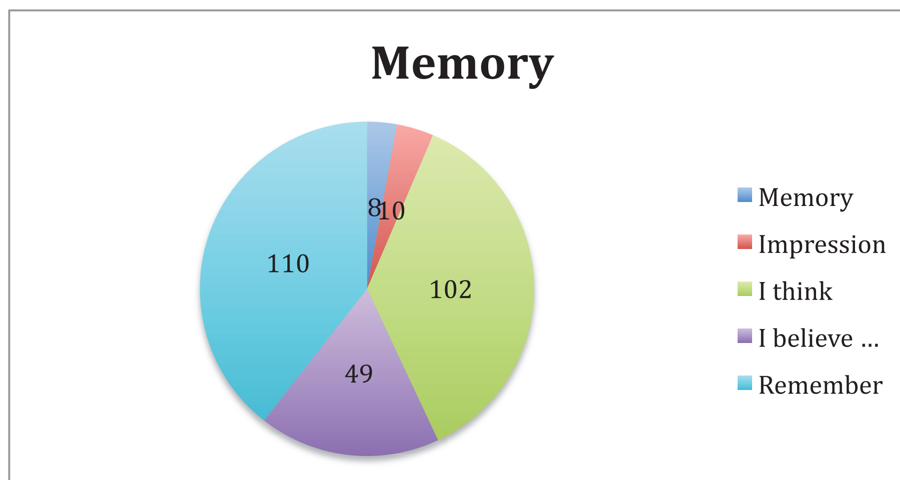
parliamentary record makes evident the criminal network within the sovereign ranks including the assistance of the Quartermaster and the North-West Mounted Police (1886, p. 534). The committee report reflects the discursive process of legitimizing while reinforcing the colonial model of "civilized" behaviour, and its discursive loop-holes; for instance, the use of the word "appropriation," the omission of the other cases of theft, and how the term "stealing" was deemed as inappropriate when applied to the General's actions because Middleton felt that "in the heat of the rebellion" he had the power to do whatever he wanted to do. The risk of sexual violence against women and girls by the "uncontrolled troops" is absent entirely from the proceedings.

In contrast, Riel, in each account of his so-called "looting" and "stealing" did, as testified by witnesses, tell the store owners that he would reimburse them after the Resistance. Henry Walters testifies to Riel's reciprocity when examined by Mr. Scott: "he asked me to give them up quickly and peaceably, and he said that if they succeeded in the movement, they would pay me back and if they did not the Dominion Government would pay for them, it would be all right either way" (p. 69).

The *Leader* picked up the Middleton scandal and it was circulated in the media with the Toronto's *Globe* reporting that the General "has degraded his high position, disgraced the uniform of a British officer, and hurt our ideal of the English gentleman" (Morton, 1990, para. 24). While a disgraced Middleton left the country and returned to Britain, he was seen as an anomaly in Canada's untarnished zone of civility and "our ideal of the English gentleman"; meanwhile, the federal government, in a similar vein as Middleton, intensified its directed energies in its "acquisition" of Métis and Aboriginal people's land and natural resources. Middleton's conduct swirls in the pool of civility and

sovereignty and ultimately falls to the bottom of Canada's well of historical and strategic amnesia: "Middleton led the forces against the Métis Rebellion" – period. With this context in mind, in the next section of this chapter, I conduct a qualitative analysis of how the discursive process of "what is remembered" it utilized during the trial.

Memory (Member Resources)



As discussed in my Introduction and to be examined in detail in my following chapters, the media in its varying formations continue to shape "what is known" in a wide and varied spectrum of publics. The circuitry of this "knowledge" flows through a myriad of gateways that perpetually inform, consciously and unconsciously, individuals throughout their every day experience. The media, as Jiwani (2006) argues, play an instrumental role in advancing common-sense explanations of crime, explanations that resonate with the mutual stock of knowledge. As an example, Jiwani explain how "the emphasis on policing certain groups of people and certain types of crimes is reflective of the social stratification system underpinning Canadian society" (2006, p. 47). The identification of particular groups and their associative valuing, such as, Riel being marked as an "enemy to the state," is a phenomenon that is not spontaneous. The discursive activity is part of

the *stock of knowledge* production directed in a large part by the dominant culture and regenerated through the participants "member resources," and becomes what is known by individuals through their complex matrix of memory.

Of interest in this section is how "memory" functions for the trial participants with attention to the use of their member resources. Here, I locate the continuities and discontinuities within the trial's discourse to understand how "memory," submitted as evidence, could also be destabilized and how its supposed authority could also be called into question; for example, how stable is the phrase, "I think" which appears 103 times throughout the transcript. The subject verb combination articulates a personal belief that is generated through experience and relational valuing. Riel uses the phrase 13 times in defending what "he thinks" when critiquing the trial's proceedings. Interestingly, almost the entire balance of its usage is in the witnesses' testimony reflecting their uncertainty in the evidence they were providing; for example, "Yes, I think I said there seemed to be a number of men armed" (p. 25), and "I think massacre was the word used" (p. 45). Similar, in this context, is how the phrase "I remember" is predicted, influenced, and constrained by the witnesses' social conditions, imperatives, and the ever-circulating and superabundant imagery of "The Indian."

The word "remember" is used 110 times in the trial transcript; however, within the field of "memory," the results reflect the slippage of this cognitive resource and how memory is a narrative that is ever-changing and then mobilized to cast particular ideologies. Throughout the transcripts, the attorneys' lines of questioning and witnesses' testimonies make conspicuous memory's malleability. In spite of this, the power and the conviction which "memory" leverages, when co-opted by authorized agents, enable the

ideological safety of “a memory” to throw salt the icy divide between “what is known” and what is not. The fact that the prosecution, working on behalf of the Crown, is biased toward the Dominion’s agenda in supporting specific sovereign ideologies, notions of civility, and framing Riel as a traitor, is a given. Yet, how the lawyers cull evidence from the witnesses, based on their memory is also revealed the transcripts. For instance, a witness’ “not remembering” an event is transformed miraculously in the process of questioning to gain the witness’s submission to particular formations of “colonial memory” which operates to congeal the Crown’s power base, as well as reflect a manifestation of a subject’s obedience:

> Q. Did he say anything more about his men or what any of them had done at the fight?
> A. No, nothing that I heard.
> Q. Nothing that you remember.
> A. No.
> Q. Well, did he say anything about yourselves?
> A. He said that probably we were brought in there for our lives, to have our lives saved, whereby if we had been out I suppose we would have been shot, that is the way I understood it.
> Q. He said that probably you were brought in there for your lives’ sake, that if you had been out you might have been shot?
> A. Yes. (Riel, 1886, p. 50)

The above interrogation makes evident a knowledge-based exchange. The attorney presents himself as “unknowing” in the mode of questioning. His repetition of the question, and his response, “nothing you remember”? act as rhetorical devices which prompt the witness to finally say, “I suppose we would have been shot.” The process of conjecture and the *not really knowing* is inverted by the attorney and subsequently turned into a “truth.” Even with the injection of the adverb “probably,” the supposed memory of the violence and its articulation to the jury, is then interpreted through their member resources to determine a verdict. At the site of Riel’s trial, however, what is troubling is

Riel's defense. The defense's witnesses, comprised of medical experts, are prompted to recall similar cases of Riel's mania including his lack of reason, claims of being a prophet, religious mission, narcissistic behaviour, and lack of authority. The catalogue of pejorative characteristics all fall within the rhetorical bracket and continuity of nineteenth-century pseudo scientific notions of mania, hysteria, and insanity and then conjoined with Métis identity. In this manner, the memory utterances given by the witnesses, for by both the prosecution and the defense, were utilized to condemn Riel as criminal, even if proven innocent.

But how does memory get out? The courtroom, as described earlier in this chapter, was a small room, filled to capacity, and included newspaper reporters. It is at this point that the osmotic fluidity between the court and the media flow-exchange-transmit the resources for memory. Davin's courtroom reports appear under the headline, "The Facts." The article was printed on July 30, 1885, two days before the verdict:

> I will now open to you the facts that will be proved in evidence […] We find him, the prisoner, calling the half-breeds to bring their arms to a meeting to be held on the Third of March. On the 17th of March he made statements that he proposed to effect a change in the Government of the country. He said he intended to become a ruler in the country or perish in the attempt. On the 18th he sent out a large body of men, taking prisoners and looting and taking possession of stores at or near Batoch (sic). Freighters were stopped and matters became so serious that the authorities are alarmed. On the 21st the Half-breeds were in arms and were aided by the Indians who were excited by the prisoner. (p. 3)

As made evident in the above excerpt, Riel's proposal to effect a change and determine Métis self-governance was disregarded in the media and the actual facts were superseded and replaced with colonial fictions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the discourses of sovereignty, civility, and memory and how

they functioned in the context of the trial's transcript. By indentifying the colonial continuities within the document, my analysis revealed Riel's use of counter discourses in his constrained location within a courtroom's hierarchies of place. "Of course," as Foucault asserts "discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech" (2002, p. 26). Thus, within these discursive spaces, as Foucault also suggests, it is the "'more' that we must reveal and describe." (2002, p. 26). The "more" was made evident in the signs as they appeared throughout the transcript, such as the inverted Fairbanks Scales left behind in an empty store.

Following this analytic path, in this chapter I identified key words in the *langue* transmitted from the space of the courtroom, and from there I traced the power/knowledge matrix that constituted colonial ideologies which materialized in the transcript. Here, Riel's discursive strategies attempt to transform the colonial systems of oppression and violence and break through the imperial zones of intelligibility. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2008) argue that, "critical person-narratives are counternarratives, testimonies, autoethnographies, performance texts, stories, and accounts that disrupt and disturb discourse by exposing the complexities and contradictions that exist under official history" (p. 12-3). Ultimately, it was by identifying and listening to the courter discourses from which I located the cracks in the continuities of what is assumed to be "truth," and thus allow for a deeper reflection upon *what was being said in what was said* at the trial of Riel.

Riel's address to the court and jury disturbs the "official colonial history," and thus the specific continuity which is built on the Eurocentric dichotomy of the "civilized"

and the "savage." The Dominion relied on the fixed narrative to assert its sovereign force in the performance of disciplining and punishing the "enemy-other" in the setting of a trial. The legal proceeding is established to pass judgment and determine "guilt" or "innocence," based on who is deemed as uncivilized and civilized. For Riel, however, the trial served another purpose. The trial for Riel provided a public venue in which he could unmask the Dominion's violent political strategies and criminal behaviour, invert the colonial binary, while he articulated the objectives of Métis sovereignty and their rights to their land. When considering the colonial dichotomy Dickason (1984) sees one flaw, among many, in the colonial masking: "the savage and the civilized binary in fact does not exist" (1984, p. 273). The false binary is a discursive strategy in which the enemy must be targeted in order for the sovereign to sustain its power. Obedience is key to the sovereign's success. Riel wasn't interested in submitting to the Crown; therefore, he was charged and rendered guilty for the act of high treason.

Riel, at the site of trial, was objectified to symbolize the transgressor, the criminal, and the outlaw: "The body now serves as an instrument or intermediary: […] If it is still necessary for the law to reach and manipulate the body of the convict, it will be at a distance, in the proper way, according to strict rule, and with a much 'higher' aim (1977, p. 11). In this case, the Dominion's "higher aim" had its sights set on Canada's North West and the "acquisition" of the land. In the following chapter, I present a critical discourse analysis of the osmotic association between the courtroom and the media. Using the *Regina Leader* newspaper as a case study, I examine a dominant press' discursive reporting styles from the site of Riel's trial to understand the tactics utilized by its editor and owner to reach the Dominion's "the higher aim."

CHAPTER 2

"Discoursemachineweapon":

The *Regina Leader* & the Trial of Riel (A Case Study)

> In the acts of Riel, in his face as we watch the changing light in his dark Indian eye, in his theories, political and religious, in his speaking (he is an orator, and as Father Andre assures us very powerful in French) we see the civilized man struggling with the Indian. We have the cunning, the greed, the close verbal reasoning, the superstition, the cruelty of one, and the ideas and large political conceptions of the other." (Davin, 1885, August 6, "Riel's Sentence," p. 2)

Introduction

The media is a *discoursemachineweapon* (Case, 2007, p. 95).[75] The interlocking mechanics of ink, ball, and paper, specifically in the Remington typewriter, was used to produce formations of script and was manufactured by a company that also operated assembly lines for guns during the American Civil War. The typewriter, a printing press progeny, is a militarist prosthetic, a Haraway cyborg, which by late nineteenth-century in Canada, was used to wage discursive wars with a textual arsenal, along with the wood block and lithographic technologies. "Diskursmaschinegewehr,*"* from *Dracula's Legacy* (*Draculas Vermachtnis*), is Friedrich Kittler's 1982 conflated wordplay to amplify the period's social anxiety related to machines, capitalism, and invasion (Case, 2007, p. 95). The angst proliferating in the literary world is discharged in the subversive hands of Mina Parker who is Bram Stoker's anti-hero in his 1897 novel, *Dracula*. The novel, as well as being a gothic horror classic, is part of a sub-genre known as Invasion Literature,[76] a popular literary movement fostered by western bourgeoisie xenophobia and sparked by the fear of military invasion.

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[75] "Diskursmaschinegewehr"*,* from *Dracula's Legacy* (*Draculas Vermachtnis*) by Friedrich Kittler.
[76] Dynamite Fiction, as another related literary subgenre, emphasizes urban criminal culture.

But what exactly does a British literary sub-genre have to do with the *Leader* newspaper, or Riel's trial transcript? Davin's use of literary devices in his newspaper's discursive structure, patterned on a British press model, encapsulates while it deploys themes from the invasion genre, which are contrary to the newspaper editor's professed role "to report the real" (1885, April 21, "More Alarmist Reports." *Regina Leader*). When this chapter's epigraph is considered, how then does Davin's editorial reporting style mask a naturalized circuitry that turns a colonial narrative into the conceptual formation of a "truth"? While no longer the editor at the *Leader*, Davin's remarks to Senator James Robert Gowan, after Davin's 1896 electoral upset, still provide a clue in his reporting strategies with matters of invasion and how he used the press: "I am like a general without artillery fighting a thoroughly equipped army. I have no newspaper to protect my movements and shell the enemy's batteries of falsehood" (Herd, 2003, para. 22). While the genre of Invasion Literature is not the central focus of this chapter, it is helpful to clarify the material and psychic dimensions of Davin's writing strategies, and how he reconstituted the figure of Riel for his reading public by locating him outside of the realm of the civilized by portraying him as a security threat to the "nation." Yasmin Jiwani (2010), in her analysis of the representation of race in the news, explains that "the news media racialize particular groups of people, demarcating them as different from the majority and imputing qualities that emphasize their difference, and then, by inferiorizing, trivializing, and exoticizing these quality, ultimately render such differences deviant" (p. 40). In this sense, I am interested in examining an editor's reporting methods, devices, and styles of "imputing qualities" on a targeted subject, in this case Louis Riel. Following this objective, I analyze how the trial proceedings were transmuted, from the

courtroom to the press. My focus is Davin's discursive and editorial strategies from his position as reporting "on-location,"[77] and thus provides a critical reading of a dominant press during the period and the implications for Riel and Métis sovereignty.

In the next section of this chapter, I delineate my methodology when approaching the material, which includes a comparative and critical discourse analysis among the *Regina Leader's* weekly edition, its special Daily trial supplement, and extracts from Riel's trial transcript.

Methodology

Nicholas Flood Davin and his newspaper trial coverage in the *Regina Leader* have not received scholarly critical attention and as a result provide a unique entry point to locate the reporting continuities and discontinuities in the Canadian dominant press during the late-nineteenth-century, specifically the news reports of Riel's trial. My focus is the *Regina Leader* newspaper from July 18, 1885 to November 20, 1885 with other attention paid to the coverage leading up to and at the closing of the trial. How did Davin's reporting style recontextualize the trial's content and Riel's speeches; in addition, how did Davin's association with the Conservative Macdonald government, the Canadian Pacific Railway, as well his relationship with the North West Mounted Police, among other factions, surface?

Unfolding in three ways, I approach these questions using a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology to examine Davin's range of orientations in reporting the

[77] It could be argued that a broader comparative analysis with other circulating papers would enrich the analysis among and within other dominant and or marginalized presses. However, a comparative examination of multiple newspapers within the constraints of a single chapter would deliver a surface analysis of each publication. My analysis will instead focus on a specific site in which a closer study of the mechanisms of power are amplified and silenced. I intend to conduct a broader comparative analysis among the newspapers, directly or indirectly reporting on the trial, in another project.

trial scenarios including his use of “direct reporting,” “indirect reporting,” “free indirect reporting,” and “narrative reporting of speech acts” (Fariclough, 2003, p. 49). Second, I use a CDA method to compare and contrast the trial transcript’s content and context with the weekly edition of the *Leader*, and the daily edition’s coverage to identify omissions and inclusions. Lastly, I complete a qualitative analysis of the outcomes.

The process of news reporting creates an intertextual forum from which the engagement of different voices and texts collide, are naturalized, or are excluded altogether. In this context, I analyze the polarized and naturalized inter/texts of Davin’s coverage to unravel how they are constrained within “the speech or writing or thought that is reported and the text in which they are reported” or not reported at all (2003, p. 49). To this end, Davin’s inter/texts are traced, identified, and classified as follows:

- *Direct reporting*:
    - Quotation marks that distinguish purportedly the actual words used.
    - Quotation marks with a reporting clause (e.g. She said: “He’ll be there by now”).
- *Indirect reporting:*
    - Summarized content of what was said or written, not the actual words used.
    - No quotation marks with the use of a reporting clause (e.g. She said he’d be there by then).
    - Shifts in tense (“he’ll” shifts to “he’d”).
    - Deixis[78] (“now” shifts to “then|) of direct reports.
- *Free indirect reporting:*
    - Neither direct nor indirect reporting.
    - Deixis tense shifts typical of indirect speech, but without a reporting clause.
    - Use of figurative language and devices (e.g. Mary gazed out of the window. He would be there by now. She smiled to herself).
- *Narrative report of speech act:*
    - Reports the speech act without reporting content (e.g. She made a

[78] “Deixis” is a literary term used to identify a reference by means of an expression including, among others, time, place, and person in order to place the context of the utterance, for example, time (“now,” “then,” “later”), place (“here,” “there,” “near”), and person (“I,” “we,” “them”).

prediction). (Fairlclough, 2003, p.49)[79]

The voice relationship occurs within the authorial account and the attributed voices, which tend to galvanize the authorial framewor. Still, the textual encounter arises in associated issues depending on the orientation of power. Along with the editorials and representations of Riel, I examine how voices are ordered in relation to each other, and how these are structured in an implicit hierarchy between and among the presumed antagonists and protagonists at the trial.

The intersectional areas in the analysis comprise a) the relationship between the on-site reporting and the transcript; b) the relationship between the report and the rest of the newspaper in which it appears and the reporting configuration in the text, and c) the work the reporting does in the text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 51). I scrutinize advertisement placement, for instance, as well as the reporting of parliamentary news, editorials, opinion pieces, literary columns, colonial events, and community politics, among other news items. How do these specific placements create relational valuing during Riel's trial?[80]

The *Leader's* weekly edition was published every Thursday, while the daily ran for a longer period and included the trials of Cree Chief Pitlkwahanapiwiyn Poundmaker, as well as Cree Chief Mistahi-maskwa Big Bear. During this particular news sequence, Riel's trial is written as flashbacks. The daily special edition does not include coverage of Riel's execution, which suggests that the publication, as a complete volume, was

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[79] Excerpt of four reporting styles from Norman Fairclough's *Analysis Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (2003, p. 49).

[80] Reflecting upon Davin's acute awareness of the power in organizing information, John A. Macdonald admitted, "Davin has his faults, but he also has great merits. He is industrious, well read, and can sift and classify evidence" (Herd, 2003, para 19).

distributed in the early autumn of 1885. The following timeline clarifies how the trial coverage was managed in coordination with the paper's weekly and daily publication.

Trial and Newspaper Publication Timeline

Trial Dates / 1885	Event	*Leader* Weekly Thursdays	*Leader* Daily 20 volumes
July 6	Riel charged	July 9	
		July 16	
July 20	Trial begins		July 17
	Trial delayed for Defense to prepare and produce affidavits	July 23	
July 28	Trial resumes		
July 29			
July 30		July 30	
July 31			
Aug 1	Verdict		
		August 6	
			August 17

The *Regina Leader* (Weekly Edition)

Nicholas Flood Davin worked in law before shifting his attention to newspapers. In Britain, he was employed as a parliamentary journalist, a war correspondent for both *The Irish Times* and for the *Westminster Review*,[81] as well as a freelance journalist for the *London Standard* during the Franco-Prussian War before settling in Canada to work at George Brown's *Globe* located in Toronto. Davin's literary works include *The Irishman in Canada* (1877), as well as poetry, and play writing. He was also Secretary to the Canadian Pacific Railway Royal Commission from 1881 to 1882. On January 4, 1882,

[81] *The Westminster Review* is a British publication (1823- 1914) and was founded by Jeremy Bentham, Foucault's panoptical muse.

Davin wrote to C.H. Gamsby concerning the Sandford Fleming geological survey expedition (1872) through Canada, making way for the national railway. The exchange reflects the relationship among the media, capital ventures, and railway and communication networks, including the telegraph system; moreover, it clarifies how resources, such as newspapers, functioned directly and indirectly with political and corporate agendas. Davin's fidelity to the railway also appears in the Canadian Pacific Railway holding prime advertising space in his paper.[82] Two years after Riel's execution, Davin's political affiliation continued when he was elected as a Conservative Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West. He held the seat from 1887-1900.

Settling in western Canada in the early 1880s, Davin was persuaded by a $5,000 promise of seed money to open a newspaper in a place called *Ooskunna Kahstakee* or Pile O' Bones Creek; it was renamed, "Regina," by Governor Edgar Dewdney. On March 1, 1883, the *Regina Leader* launched its first published run with a four-page, four to six-column weekly format. The fraternity of Canadian newspapermen quickly pegged it as an organ for the Conservative government. Davin's Victorian press format sustained a focus on community and national news with international coverage furnished by European and American papers. In summation, the first page comprised newspaper subscription information and small business advertising, as well as a persistent large ad for the Dominion Land Office. It also included headline news representing the nation, international news, and travel narratives highlighting the North West community. Page two contained regional headline news, specifics concerning the trial (during the event), as well as opinion pieces targeting other circulating presses and an advertising column.

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[82] Davin also served as Secretary to the Chinese Commission (1884-85; see http://www.vpl.vancouver.bc.ca/branches/LibrarySquare/his/StudyGuides/chinese_history.html).

Advertising dominated page three with recreation, society, and sports entries. Page four delivered local church and community events, details of society events and military activities, literary pieces, and birth and marriage notices. The following table is a sample of the newspaper format during the opening of Riel's trial (Davin, "Trial of Riel," 1885).

***Regina Leader* Newspaper Format (from July 9, 1885)**

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
Page 1			
- The *Daily Leader* Banner - Editorial and Subscription Information Advertising Professional Cards x 24; Business x15 - Large Advertising Placements: Dominion Land Office	Headlines: - Telegraphic News – National News; for example in the July 9, 1885 edition under the Header "Ottawa" followed by the subheading "Review of the Northwest Troubles." The article included excerpts from Blake's [Opposition Leader] seven-hour speech. Edward Blake (Member of the Opposition Government) condemned the government of grave instances of delay, neglect and mismanagement, to the extent of impeachment of the government. Macdonald's response was to blame the Opposition. - M.P. Laurier rebuking that the half-breeds and Indians rebelled not against the Sovereign of Great Britain but against the tyranny of the government.	- Moose Jaw: Northwest Council – Auction of Government Horses - "Capture of Big Bear" - Swift Current – article "the advantages of settlement"	Continued from column 3

Page 2			
1) Subscription Prize Notice: Bibles, Poems by Shelley, Pope, Bryon, Longfellow, etc. - Headline: “Trial of Riel” – Regina is about to be the theatre of one of the most interesting events which have ever taken place in Canada … - HEADLINE: “Lies Lies Lies.” Criticizing *The Globe* and the *Free Press* for criticizing the government. - HEADLINE: “Bearing Arms” Carrying of weapons with letter of permission by the Lieutenant Governor (Dewdney). - HEADLINE: “That Hotel” The Riel trial a great boon for Regina. - HEADLINE: “Louis Riel Charged.” Transfer of Riel to the courthouse. Report contains all 6 charges repeated in full.	Continued from column 1	Editorial Notes: - “A rush for the trial” edition - Sketch of the charge at Batoche - *Canadian War Illustrated News* - Parable and “The keeping of milk” - Publishing of military expedition - Criticizing the *Calgary Herald* as a Daily. Parable “Wanted His Change”	ADVERTISEMENT COLUMN - A great public Boon – Dry Earth and Ash Closets - Silverware - Lost and Found -Grain Produce -Florist -Mill Work - Railway (US) St. Paul, Minnesota, Chicago - Tenders: Building -Railway US -Druggist x 5 ads
Page 3			
- Recreation, Community, Sports - Story: The Derby -Personal / Beauty / Medical entries x 4 -Short Story Entry: “Tote your own skillet” – - Horticultural Entry - Trivia quote	Lost and Found – Animals x 6 entries - Electoral Information for District – 3 entries – Candidate’s self-promotion - Public Tenders – Urban Development - North West Mounted Police – Tenders -Auction News	Advertisements: - Mowat Brothers Maple Syrup -25,000 acres – CPR – Land Department – John H. McTavish -The *Regina Leader* Advertisement – large – “owing to its large circulation not only in the North West but in all parts of Canada and abroad.	Continued from column 3.

		-The Canada North West Land Company -Burdock Blood Bitters -Paper for sale -Hotel advertisement.	
Page 4			
- Church Directory - Local News – Town and Church Meetings - Personal Advertisements - Military – Troop Movement – "The MGA are about to depart, having by their modest, manly, and gentlemanly bearings won the hearts of our citizens." - Social Events / Society Page - Headline: Government House Ball "A Brilliant Assembly" – The Dewdney's gave a ball after the resistance. * Note guest list: Buell (NWMP photographer); T.C. Kerr (trial witness); Osler (Crown attorney).	Continued from column 1	- The Mounted Police Sports: "Excellent Fun" - Local Correspondence – Essay Life of an Indian Agent – narrative of landscape - Correspondence: Letters to the Editor -"The Crops" Military etiquette - The Bishop's Dress, The Bishop of Qu'Appelle and the College Site -Transport Service ** Maligning the Indian Department – letter criticizing a previous criticism about Dewdney.	- Literary Column: "His First Curacy" – by his Lordship Bishop (a continuing series) - General Gordon's Prayer Book – moral story * Note: Gordon was killed in the Sudan by forces led by Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi, who was proclaimed as the redeemer of the Islamic world. The leader and the revolt were compared to Riel and the Métis forces in Canada. - Birth Notices - Marriage Notices - Wanted - Lost and Found - Advertisements: California Oranges, Earth Closet, Building ad, cholera medicine.

When speaking about the media, John Peters Durham (1999) uses seventeenth-century poet and polemicist, John Milton as an example of a writer who "already has a sense for the impossible diffuseness of the media communications, the panspermic spilling of public media into private life" (p. 75). The above sample of the newspaper's coverage makes evident how military actions and celebrations *spill* into the quotidian of birth notices, political lobbying, church notices, policing, Californian oranges, and land sales.

Said another way, nineteenth-century media represented Riel in a particular and substantive way in order that "we" would know him. It is within this media spillage, or perhaps more accurately seepage, that the trial coverage entered into zones of intelligibility and with it carried the figure of Louis Riel, as an example of high treason against the state (Figure 6).[83]

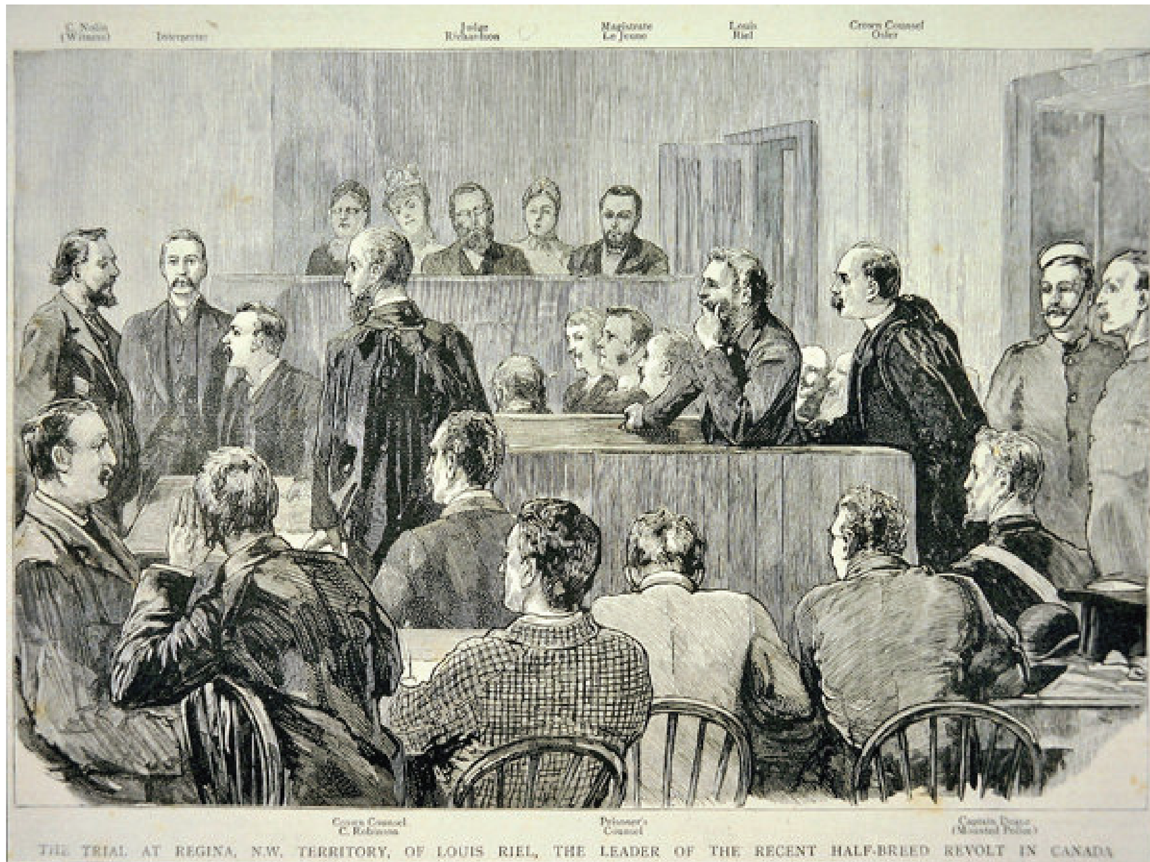

Figure 6
The Trial at Regina, N.W. Territory of Louis Riel, The Lead of the Recent Half-Breed

[83] In this illustration, "Charles Nolin, Riel's cousin, is testifying at the extreme left. Questioning Nolin is prosecutor, Christopher Robinson, standing in robes in the centre. Robinson was the son of John Beverley Robinson, a central figure in Upper Canada's Family Compact. Riel stands in the prisoner's box in the middle of the photgraph. Judge Hugh Richardson and Magistrate Henry Lejeune preside on the bench. Crown Counsel B.B. Osler is in robes on the right. North-West Mounted Police Captain R.B. Deane is seated at the far right. The Reverend E.F. Wilson, 1844-1915, completed the sketch. He was present in the courtroom the day Charles Nolin testified." Referenced from University of Saskatchewan. iPortal. "Details." http://iportal.usask.ca/index.php?sid=128788537&id=18387&t=details
The engraving of the artwork appeared in *The Graphic* (London, England) on September 12, 1885, p. 292. Source: Glenbow Museum Archives, Image No. NA-826-8. See Plate 1 in this chapter's "List of Illustrations."

Revolt in Canada, engraving on paper, from The Graphic (London, England, September 12, 1885, page 292). Collection of the Glenbow Archives. Public domain.

Accounting for this diffusion, on April 5, 1883, in a letter to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, Davin explains that his subscriptions are up to 4,500 per week,[84] he further states that he is willing to "stand by Sir John […] as long as I have a lance to break I will be ready to break it in his service" (Glenbow, a., p. 3). Davin's metaphoric *lance*, a weapon used by a humble soldier, is a tactical self-effacing estimate of the press' power and its relational worth to the government – a *discoursemachineweapon.* Advertising for the government is also discussed in Davin's September 11, 1883 correspondence: " I have ordered my foreman to set up the adverts even 'in spec.' This is common thing with newspapers on the side of the government." Davin extends the offer by stating that, "I think you might tell him that the *Leader* should be put on the list for full advertising patronage."[85] The federal government did support the *Regina Leader* newspaper (Mitchell, 1979, p. 12). Davin's trial coverage could be seen as politically managed organ to garner support for the Conservative's expansionist plan through the North West territory. It could be speculated that the Canadian Pacific Rail Road Company and The Land Department's permanent ads from 1883 to 1885 mark a reciprocal arrangement between the federal advertising patronage and Davin's rhetorical protectionism of the government. The advertisement, as discussed earlier, promotes the selling of over two million acres of land (Figure 7).

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[84] To view correspondence, see Glenbow Museum, *Edgar Dewdney Fond*. "Nicholas Flood Davin Correspondence, Series 9. M-320-p.677. Dated April 5, 1883. Retrieved from http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/dewdney.cfm#series9

[85] To view the correspondence, see Glenbow Museum, b. Edgar Dewdney Fond. "Nicholas Flood Davin Correspondence. M-320-p681. Retrieved from http://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/dewdney.cfm#series9

25,000,000 ACRES!

Canadian Pacific R. R. Company.

LAND DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE IN NEW STATION BUILDING.

WINNIPEG.

Twenty-Five Million Acres of Selected

Wheat, Meadow and Grazing Lands.

The Company offer their Lands for Sale within the Forty-eight mile Belt along the Main Line.

WITH OR WITHOUT CULTIVATION CONDITIONS,

At the option of the purchaser. Prices range from $2 per acre upwards, with conditions requiring cultivation, and without cultivation or settlement, at liberal figures, based on close personal inspection by the Company's Land Examiners.

When the sale is made subject to Cultivation, A REBATE, of one-half of the purchase price will be allowed on the quantity cultivated, and will be applied on the next payment falling due.

TERMS OF PAYMENT.

Payments may be made in full at time of purchase, or in six annual instalments. Land Grant Bonds can be had from the Bank of Montreal, or at any of its agencies, and will be accepted at 10 per cent. premium on their par value, and accrued interest.

Maps showing the Townships open for free entry under the Government Regulations and the homesteads already taken therein, can be seen at the office of the Company at Winnipeg.

The Land Department have *Agents* stationed at the principal towns along the Main Line who will furnish particulars as to lands for sale in their districts.

Land Agents are not authorized to receive or receipt for any monies in behalf of the Company, or to bind the Company by any agreements or acts whatever. Parties Purchasing can remit by Express, from any Express Office on the C. P. R., at the Company's expense, to the Land Commissioner at Winnipeg.

For further particulars and also for *Folders, Sectional Maps, Pamphlets and Guide Books* apply in person or by letter to CHARLES DRINKWATER, Secretary C. P. R. Co. Montreal; to ALEXANDER BEGG, General Immigration Agent of the Company, 88 Cannon Street, London, England; and to the undersigned, to whom all applications as to Prices, Rebates and the purchase of Land generally, should be addressed.

J. H. McTavish,

LAND COMMISSIONER.

Canada Pacific Railway Company, WINNIPEG.

The Canada North-West Land Co.

(LIMITED.)

NOTICE TO FARMERS AND OTHERS.

The Company has for sale on easy terms of payment, FARMING AND GRAZING LANDS in the Province of Manitoba and in the North-West Territories of Canada.

These lands are offered in blocks of from 160 to 640 acres each, without Cultivation or Settlement Conditions.

THE LANDS

have been examined by competent professional men, and have been selected by the Inspector of the Company as thoroughly suitable for *FARM PURPOSES*. A great part of the Land is in newly settled Districts, and near the Main Line of the

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

A number of Emigrants from Scotland and the North of England have within the present year settled in Districts where the Company's Lands are, and are well satisfied with the country.

Information and Maps showing the portion of the lands for sale [illegible]

Figure 7.
Canadian Pacific R.R. Company – Land Department, image of advertisement, from the *Regina Leader* Weekly Edition (Regina, 1885). Collection of University of Alberta, Peel Archives. Public domain.

Canada's multiple strands of "collective identity" was, if anything, tangled and intrinsically linked to land—to own land grounded and secured what Canada was supposed to be and thereby could be managed accordingly. The newly arriving settlers, for Macdonald, needed to reflect a solidarity as self-creating, property owning, civilized, and obedient citizens under the protective banner of a single sovereign. When discussing relations among sovereigns and publics, Michael Warner (2002) suggests that, "they [a sovereign body] seek to change policy by appealing to public opinion. They arise from contexts of crucial discussion many of them in print media" (p. 50). An opportunity to consolidate public opinion appears on July 9, 1885 under the heading, "Trial of Riel." Davin declares: "Regina is about to be the theatre of one of he most interesting event which have ever taken place in Canada." The "most interesting event" sets the stage to sell newspapers and coalesce public policies fostering progress, patriotism, nostalgia, protection, and a commonwealth.[86]

Leading up to the trial, Davin positioned his paper within the competitive presses and the noise of circulating polemics: "when this rebellion is over, the most remarkable episode in connection with it and by far the most disagreeable, will be the course the public press has taken" (Davin **"**Editorial," p. 1). Davin's April 21, 1885 editorial on one hand admonishes newspaper editors (exempting himself) who published alarmist and sensational news, as well as critical articles against the government forces and instead promotes the *Leader* as the vanguard of journalistic integrity which will, according to Davin, falter "unless our subscriptions are promptly paid." Davin further assures his readers that "we shall endeavor to deal with all public questions in a spirit of fair play and

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[86] As Jennifer Reid (2008) explains, the 1885 confrontation between the Dominion's forces and Aboriginal peoples was so pivotal for the country that it would not be 'seen' again until the Oka uprising in 1990 (p. 30).

impartiality and to give only such news as we believe to be true and authentic." Davin took full advantage of the other papers "sensationalism." In the article "More Alarmist Reports," he republishes an article in which members of the Blackfoot Nation were "pulling up rail lines, [to] kill the Whites and run the country" (Davin, "Alarmist," 3.8., p. 1). The tactic presents Davin's indirect reporting style, which functions to slur the competing coverage as "bad form" while simultaneously reporting the "alarmist" story. The double articulation masks the divide and instead situates *his* paper as a national resource of "unbiased" journalism.

In the July 16 edition, under the headline, "Dewdney's Rule," Davin protects the Governor's actions while he lambasts The *Globe's* criticism of Dewdney's breaking promises to "the Indians": "we are sick of these attacks on Mr. Dewdney. The lies are without originality." The "Editorial Notes" that surround the article include military activity, accolades to the government forces, General Middleton lauded and firework displays for his heroism and success, a letter from General Strange, the appointment of A.E. Forget to the Magistrate, a call for additional police, jury appointments, and wounded soldiers and repayment. Davin does include an item concerning the military and the Canadian temperance policy. Although trumpeting his stance to *stand by Sir John*, Davin was also a thorn in the Prime Minister's side. The instances of his critical press against the government perhaps were dispensed to impart some veneer of impartiality, or out of bitter spite against a Prime Minister who was stingy in giving Davin a much-desired cabinet post; for instance, he chides the Dominion for supplying inadequate ammunition to the militia and North West Mounted Police (NWMP) forces (Davin, 1885, April 21, 3.8. p. 2). Davin became a well-known critic of the North West Mounted Police

and reported on public drunkenness, brothel patronage, and inappropriate behavior.

Davin's reporting took advantage of his "Letters to the Editor" section in which he published readers' opinion to say what otherwise his paper would not say or have the authority to say as it drove home a partisan party line. Consider the Letter to the Editor published on April 21, 1885:

> We are informed on reliable authority that the total number of half breeds in the Edmonton district does not exceed 900, and that 2,000 would be above the number of the entire Northwest, the great majority of these being of course young children and it does not require a formidable army, to keep 300 half-breeds in check. Although there are undoubtedly many brave men among the half-breeds, still the greater part take after the Indians and have their cowardice and modes of fighting. The Mounted Police are quite strong enough, if they use their power, but unless they have used their rifles in the last skirmish, we believe we are practically correct in saying that they have never been known to fire a shot at a white, half-breed or Indian since they have been in the country. Had the Northwest Mounted Police been attending to what should have been their duty, the defence of the country, they would have checked Riel's intrigues in the bud. (p. 3.8)

In the above letter, the anonymous writer becomes a "reliable authority." Leading with a reporting clause, "Letter to the Editor," Davin imbues "the authentic" in a free indirect reporting style and makes full use of apparent statistics and empirical evidence while taking a shot at the North West Mounted Police and the government's military strategy. Leading with the combined surety of the "reliable authority's" empirical evidence, and Davin's claim to publish only "the truth" camouflages the slippages in the statistical figures and the census methods during the period; for example, the Red River Métis population alone reached 6,000 people by 1857, and 9,800 in 1871. The demographic comprised 86% of the population by the late-nineteenth-century (Corrigan, 1991, p. 196). Riel recorded approximately "15,000 Métis souls" on his map of the North West region (RCMP, c1879). The figure of 2,000 for "the entire North West" reiterates the national

colonial fantasy of the “vanishing Indian.” Moreover, the unknown interlocutor’s statement positions the Dominion’s “superior” military apparatus as colonial “strength” and “power” juxtaposed with the “cowardice” of the “Indians.”

In the April 21 edition, published weeks leading up to the Resistance, Davin published, “Riel’s Propaganda.” The article depicts the Métis peoples, Aboriginal Nations, and white settlers attempting to continue to work with the government to resolve outstanding grievances. The article follows a brief historical sketch of Louis Riel Sr. Riel’s father initiated and was successful in a monumental, yet relatively unknown resistance, discussed in the Prologue, against the Hudson’s Bay Company and was successful in initiating the dismantling of the Company’s trade monopoly which restricted Native economic systems, social sovereignty, and well being. The article, originally published in the *Toronto Mail* on April 12, 1885, included *The Revolutionary Bill of Rights*, created by the Métis Counsel. Davin, however, sub-titled the Bill “The Rebel Platform” to emphasize the stereotypical representation of “banditry” and its association to the Métis people. *The Bill of Rights* (also known as *The List of Rights*) discussed in the Prologue, was central to Métis sovereignty and its inclusion during the trial was omitted. Davin supplements the entry with, “It [the Bill] also contains a lot of other irrelevant, contradictory, and false and abusive matter which is so abundant just now, but for which we have no room in the columns of the *Leader*.” Davin’s dismissal of a Bill which is entirely reasonable, equitable, civilized, and eventually entered into the Constitution reflects the *hierarchy of place* and the power of the newspaper medium, in this circumstance, to reject Métis sovereign principals as “irrelevant” and “false.” Rather than speak of Métis sovereignty, Davin inserts his own incarnation of the Métis List of

Rights entitled the *North West Bill* or "What We Want in The North West" published on August 17 as the last entry in the daily *Leader* volume. The daily edition will be discussed later in this chapter.

Trial Coverage – The *Regina Leader* (Weekly)

<u>Riel's Trial: Day One</u>

The "First Day of the Riel Trial" was published on July 23, 1885. Davin incorporates the ideological and sumptuous trappings of civility in his false description of the courtroom. Davin recreates a Victorian colonial fantasy-court in his free indirect reporting approach:

> Gowns and white ties as in Osgoode Hall; within the bar young lawyers taking notes. Generals and famous Captains, and in that part made sacred for the fairer sex fashionable women known in courtly drawing rooms, youth and beauty. Mr. Sheriff Chapleau, full of dignity sits in his Sheriffs chair, with his understrappers to do his bidding as in an English court. (Davin, "First Day," 3.21, p. 2)

As made evident in the report excerpt, Davin normalizes as he romanticizes the space with symbols that signify a social hierarchy; for example, gowns and white ties of Osgoode Hall shifts the place to Ontario; Generals and Captains designate sovereign agents, and a militaristic and protectionist discourse; and race, gendered, and class-oriented designations appear as the "fairer sex," and "courtly drawing rooms" while he evacuates, specifically, Métis women from the scenario. Davin's editorial motivations secure a colonial white supremacist and gendered paradigm, which naturalizes the exteriorization of the Métis community—a paradoxical exclusion since Métis people's issues were primarily at stake in the trial context.

Economic exclusion of the Métis is illuminated in the July 16, 1885 edition under the headline "Telegraphic News – Ottawa - Supplementary Estimates Brought Down." Davin summarizes of the North West federal budget; the article proves insightful when

bearing in mind the petitions and the grievances brought against the federal government and to British Parliament. The petitions concerned land issues, script tendering, increased settlement, poor living conditions, delinquent funding, and outright violence protracted against the Métis and Aboriginal populations with increased policing and compulsory policies that delivered inadequate health, economic, educational, and social systems – issues demanded to be recognized in the Métis List of Rights. In the published report, the federal budget forecasted $250,000 earmarked to the North West Mounted Police, $50,000 toward land surveys, $660,000 for the CPR, and $6,000 to the "Halfbreeds" (Davin, "Telegraphic," p. 1). The budget signifies the government's priorities: security, acquisition of land, military transportation, and communication technologies through the North West. The economic discourse coheres government objectives while appeasing the apparent needs of the arrived, incoming, and potential settlers by financially guaranteeing that security is enforced, land is organized, mobility and communication services are accessible, and the Métis population was "vanishing." Conventional to the *Leader's* format, the article is followed by a travel narrative entitled "The North West as, a Home, for the Small Farmer" and in the following page, the headline "The End of the Rebellion."

In the same issue, the article "The Mounted Police – The Report of the Commissioner" presents the government's geographical segregation by race, the implementation of policies such as the Indian Act, and how these strategies were not accepted by Aboriginal communities and were instead forced upon them through settler surveillance, vigilantism, and policing. In the report, Macdonald condemns "the indiscriminate camping of Indians in the vicinity of towns and villages in the North West

[…] Indians should not be allowed to leave their reserves without a permit from a local Indian agent." The Indian Agent reports that

> I pointed out that the introduction of such a system would be tantamount to a breach of confidence with the Indians generally, inasmuch as from the outset the Indians had been led to believe that compulsory residence on reservations would not be required of them, and that they would be at liberty to travel about for legitimate hunting and trading purposes […] that discretionary power, according to circumstance should be vested in the officers of police, was wise and sound … The camping of Indians near towns is an unmitigated nuisance, and if they are to be allowed to wander off their reserves without even the small check of a permit from the local agent, what is the good of having reserves at all? (Davin, "Mounted," p. 2)

In the above extract, Davin invites his readers into the sovereign zone of intelligibility, the House of Commons. The article reinforces the mapping of spatial hierarchies as it authorizes surveillance and police power as a "wise and sound" method to maintain security while it establishes boundary lines between the civilized "towns and villages" and individuals from Native communities as an "unmitigated nuisance." Within the loaded and circulating colonial allusions found in, for example, Invasion Literature, the discourse further reduces the Aboriginal communities into "The Indians" and "the savage" with the allusion: "if they are to be allowed to wander." The metonymic configuration animalizes as it criminalizes the First Nations population by installing the concept that they must be kept confined and imprisoned.[87] The euphemism of *discretionary power* allocated to the North West Mounted Police elides the colonial violence and power imbalance in the rhetoric of security that specifically targeted women and girls. The police did not protect the rights or interests of the indigenous population;

[87] The nineteenth-century government's racist policies continue to have catastrophic implications. The 2009 federal report on Canadian incarceration statistics shows that Aboriginal people are 3 per cent of the Canadian population, but represent 22 per cent of sentenced custody; one in three women in federal prisons is Aboriginal (Therien, 2012, para. 3).

rather, it collaborated closely with Upper Canada business interests who paid their salaries (Garneau, 2012, para. 19). By 1883, 70 per cent of the Métis and more than 50 per cent of the Native English (Half-breeds) had seen the lands they occupied in 1870 patented to others mostly Ontario Orangemen newcomers (Garneau, 2012, para. 19).[88] The Métis people's displacement is explained by Fred J. Shore, in *The Métis: The Forgotten Years 1885-1960*:

> […] once relegated to a position of irrelevance in the Canadian mosaic, the Métis discovered that while they were denied full membership in the Canadian mainstream because of their "rebel" background and Aboriginal status, they were also denied status as "Indians" under the Indian Act. Literally caught between two worlds and not welcome in either, the Métis were forced further into the background economically and politically. (Shore, 2001, p. 1-2)

In a paradoxical maneuver, however, the Dominion had to position Riel and his Aboriginal lineage into the foreground to ensure that he was materially and psychically bound in the public's imagination as a criminal and rebel in order to vanquish Métis rights and sovereignty entirely.

To establish the contextual foreground, Davin uses a direct reporting approach within a theatrical framework; for instance, in his trial reporting, he sets off the speaker with a colon, as done in play scripts. The charge of treason is repeated six times in full and amended only with the change in location: Duck Lake (March 26), Frog Lake (April 2), Fort Pitt (April 15), Fish Creek (April 24), Cut Knife (May 2), and Batoche (May 9). Davin unnecessarily repeats the charges like an incantation. As examined in Chapter 1, the repetition reinforces Riel's alignment with the Devil to designate his treason. The coverage of Riel's treasonous charge is expanded on page four, in a brief item under "Local News." In the same article, Davin describes trial witnesses as they arrive to

[88] ibid. (retrieved from -http://www.telusplanet.net/public/dgarneau/metis50.htm)

Regina: "Messrs. G.A. and J. Kerr whose store had been plundered and gutted by Riel at Batoche on the 17th of March have arrived here."[89] In the guise of recording a current community event, the editor's accusation of Riel' guilt in "plundering and gutting" a store seeps into the newspaper even before the trial begins. Riel as a danger to the commonwealth is contrasted with the headlined article "General Middleton – Address from the Citizens of Regina," followed by Davin's accolades for the military leader:

> the great services rendered to the country by you [General Middleton]. We have only to recall the state of feeling, which prevailed a few months ago at the commencement of the outbreak and the sense of security and confidence which obtains today to measure the magnitude of those services. (Davin, "General." p. 2)

The address, as a document, is published with the signatures: Nicholas Flood Davin, as well as A.G. Irvine, the Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police. Davin's inclusion of his signature reflects his fidelity to the federal government's actions, the Canadian militia, and his association to the NWMP. Davin cues the audience that "we have only to recall the state of feeling" to set off "the fear" and the necessity to be grateful of "the sense of security." The editor of the *Leader* imposes fear again, in the July 30 edition, on page one under the headline "Saskatchewan Landing – Special to the Leader – Indian Outrage," Davin includes a supposed incident that occurred on July 25:

> A man named McKever has arrived to Saskatchewan Landing. He was on his way to Prince Albert in a boat, and while camping on an island, was shot by Indians. Ten shots were fired. He was hit in the abdomen, and is not expected to live. The Mounted Police gave pursuit. The Indians are believed to be of Little Poplar's band. (Davin, "Saskatchewn," p. 3)

Here, Davin's summarized content omits any statements by witnesses concerning the event. The free indirect reporting style fits the invasion literary genre in the context of the trial: "He was on his way to Prince Albert in a boat, and while camping on an island, was

[89] Recall the inverted Fairbanks Scales discussed in Chapter 2.

shot by Indians." It is unknown what the accused was doing on the island, or where exactly the island is, or if McKever was an antagonist in the confrontation. The fact that "the Mounted Police gave pursuit" suggests that they were already present at the scene, which during a period of "discretionary power" suggests that perhaps "the Indians" were defending themselves – this possibility, however, is not considered.[90]

Sovereign Forensics

Four columns on page two and most of page three are taken up with content under the Headline "Queen V. Louis Riel – Reply of Mr. Christopher Robinson – Brilliant Forensic Effort – Verbatim Report – Before Judge Richardson." Robinson, as the prosecuting attorney representing the Crown, received 80% of the newspaper space while the defense received only 20% in comparison. Immediately evident in my initial comparative analysis between the *Leader* and the transcript is that the verbatim account *does not* appear in the 1886 edition of the Trial Report.[91] Important in this coverage is that Robinson, in his argument to proceed with the trial in Regina, with a jury of six, and a stipendiary magistrate, introduces the Magna Carta or The Great Charter of the Liberty (also the Charter of the Forest) in his final address. The Charter was issued in 1215 and arose from the Charter of Liberties in 1100 by subjects who protested the arbitrary use of law by the monarchy. In 1215 an open rebellion against King John was undertaken by the barons to secure their liberties and maintain peace.[92] The King, after several unsuccessful military

[90] In a later section of the *Regina Leader* paper, Davin reports, "McKever Recovering" – July 27 – McKever shot by Indians […] is recovering.
[91] Additional omissions will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.
[92] Robinson references Coke and the 1215 Charter of Liberties when defending a jury of six in his closing speech: "No freeman shall be arrested, or imprisoned, or deprived of his freehold, or his liberties, or fee customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed (harmed) nor will we (the king) proceed against him, nor send any one against him, by force of arms unless according to (that is in execution of) the sentence of his peers, and, (or as the case may required) the common law of England (as it was at the time

procedures and a papal intervention, conceded and the “Articles of Barons” was formed and thereafter entitled Magna Carta. Section 61 is notable in context with the Riel’s trial; the Section permitted that a group of Barons may congregate, contest, and overrule the King if the Charter was not followed. Magna Carta did not finally solidify, largely due to papal authority, until King John’s death with the Edward I version in 1297 albeit with many articles removed and changed. However, by the mid-nineteenth-century nearly all the sections limiting the King’s power were removed including Section 61. The charter was foundational in the colonization process of lawmaking in the colonies (The British Library Board, 1995). Oddly, although anachronistically, it would seem that Robinson was defending the Métis Resistance; however, Robinson’s perspective was held in the zone of colonial intelligibly as a Crown prosecutor and he was defending, not necessarily the Crown, but the white Anglo Saxon settlers’ rights to the land. This point of view is made evident as Robinson advances his argument.

Robinson also references Edward Coke (1552-1634) throughout his argument against the defense’s affidavit. Coke[93] was an acclaimed lawyer, politician, and jurist of the Elizabethan period (1552 -1634).[94] As a prosecuting attorney for Elizabeth I, his cases largely involved treasonous plots including those committed by Walther Raleigh (c1552-1618), the participants in the Gunpowder Plot (1605), and Robert Devereux (1565-1601). In a similar historical vein, in the May edition of the *Leader,* which announces the upcoming trial, Davin lists the treasonous men prosecuted by Coke in 1603. Coke was

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of Magna Carta, 1215). Robinson dismisses the accusation of a corrupt jury and cites the Imperial Act and borrows from Edward Coke. (*Leader*, 1885, July 30, 3 -22, p 2).

[93] Edward Coke was not interested in theatre and was satirized by William Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*.

[94] For further information see Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton. “Allusions to Cases and Lawyers of Note – Sir Edward Coke, Sir Toby and Sir Hoby, and Cief Baron Manwood.” *Shakespeare and the Law 1929*. The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd. 1929. (p. 59)

instrumental in creating The Petition of Rights, which was an extension of the Magna Carta to ensure civil liberties while restricting sovereign power (Barton, 1929, p. 59). Robinson references Coke as well as the 1215 Charter of Liberties when defending Riel's right to a trial by jury.[95] Robinson goes further, as reported by Davin, to argue against the accusations that the jurors have been corrupted:

> it could not be suspected that the sheriff would be interested and would return a corrupt jury and surely this is one of these cases […] I say there is no qualification required; the only qualification is that the jurors shall be male, American citizens may be brought here; people may be brought here from Quebec who have no interest or knowledge of the country such jurors might be brought here to try this case. (Davin, 1885, July 30, 3. 22., p. 2)

Once again, Robinson, as the prosecuting attorney, would seem to be supporting Riel's case for a full jury and his right to resist the Crown and its potential bias; yet, it is in Robinson's Eurocentric use of Magna Carta, which negates Riel's rights and instead upholds the sanctity of six British Anglo Saxon subjects. Robinson clarifies the argument in his final statement:

> That all we require all we ask is a fair trial by a jury of our peers; that is all any man can expect, and I say that with men who are British subjects having acknowledge of the British Constitution, the descendants of those sturdy barons who wrung from their kin on the plains of Runnymede that great charter, the inviolable birthright of every British subject, I say with men such as these we can have nothing to fear. But in this case here at the present time we plead not so much the case of Louis Riel, but a case, which has great interest for every subject in these North West Territories. This is destined to be a great country, fruitful with promises of a brilliant future, but those promises will only be realized in so far as the principles of the British Constitution are respected, those principles, which made of the mother country the greatest land the sun has ever shone upon. (Davin, 1885, July 30, 3. 22, p. 2)

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[95] "No freeman shall be arrested, or imprisoned, or deprived of his freehold, or his liberties, or fee customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed (harmed) nor will we (the king) proceed against him, nor send any one against him, by force of arms unless according to (that is in execution of) the sentence of his peers, and, (or as the case may required) the common law of England (as it was at the time of Magna Charta, 1215)." Davin, *Leader*, 1885, July 30, 3.22, p. 2).

The prosecutions speech appeared in the newspaper but why is this statement omitted from the Trial Report? Why was it instead printed in the everydayness of a weekly newspaper? Ought not the lucidity and reason of a Charter that upheld the rights of peoples' liberty, as well as the right to supersede and counter the authority of the sovereign to enforce justice that is corrupted by a tyrannical power, be recorded in Riel's trial proceedings? Robinson's statement is clarified when he states that there is nothing to fear with the sturdy British kin who are acting as jurors. Robinson's confidence in the jury is recognized in the *Leader* on page four in a "News Brief" when Davin, against the judge's orders that the jury not to speak with anyone concerning the trial, reports: "We have spoken with all the jury, good solid men, and find they give a good account of the country." Davin's unrestrained vanity usurped the order of the Crown and the law, and reveals his confidence in the outcome and that "the good solid men" of the jury fit with Robinson's colonial prognostication that "this is destined to be a great country, fruitful with promises of a brilliant future."

Davin then reports under the banner of "Local News": "It is expected that the Riel trial will not last as long as at first anticipated, and Riel apparently surmises that it is going to go hard with him, and is putting on a touch of the Guiteau." The subtle but effective reference is deployed in one word: Guiteau. Charles Julius Guiteau (1841-1882) was a notorious American writer, lawyer and minister who assassinated United States President Garfield in 1881. Similar to Riel, insanity was used as his defense; he, again like Riel, was considered an egoist in the high profile case in which Guiteau considered that he had a higher power calling. Guiteau, similar to Riel, also tried to defend himself. Guiteau was executed by hanging.

As the trial progresses, Davin's reporting style shifts and moves from a blend of "verbatim" direct reporting with editorial and literary interventions to a merging of free and indirect style presented in a staccato-like and flippant brevity. Davin's writing begins to give the sense that the outcome is known and he is bored with the proceedings. On page four, under the headline, "The Riel Trial" illustrates the style change and the implication of Davin's summarization with indirect reporting, specifically the inconsistent use of the reporting clause. Davin interjects this method throughout his coverage, but begins to use it consistently as the trial progresses. His trial summations with literary and non-reporting clauses, differs from the trial transcript, which presents a standardized form of direct reporting. To follow is an example of how the deixis shifts performs a change in time and person, but also in space making it "appear" as if Riel is in the courtroom stating evidence against himself, or is confessing. John H. Willoughby's testimony is transcribed on page twelve of the transcript and is covered, as follows, in the July 30 edition. The section is discussed in Chapter 1, and is presented here as an example of Davin's reporting style:

> […] Riel told him the time had come for the half breeds to assert their rights. He paced the floor, suddenly stopped and said, Doctor the time has come when it were well for a man to have a good life. A crowd of men, about sixty or seventy drove up to the door. The majority were armed with shot guns. Riel said: I and many people intend striking a blow to attain our rights. I replied that there were different ways of doing this. Riel replied, no man knows better than I the grievances of the settlers. Have not I and my people again and again petitioned the Government and the only answer has been an increase of the police. You see now I have my police. In one week that little Government of police will be wiped out of existence.

Davin's literary style weaves through his reporting methods to embellish, amplify, and summarize for his reading audience Riel confessing his treason. Maintaining with the

“trial as theatre” motif, Davin inject a particular stage direction in his reporting style: (Laughter).

The Problem with (Laughter)

Davin presents the device of (Laughter) 55 times in his trial reporting during the July 23 (1) edition, July 30 (11), and again on August 6 (42) encompassing a total of 18 columns of summarized court reporting. The editor’s increase of the use of the device over the course of the trial reflects an amplified mocking of Riel. The method serves as a theatrical device doubling as a scene description and a stage direction. The reader, in this sense, is guided through the *mise en scène* of the court to comprehend how spectators in the court behaved (Laughter); moreover, how the reader is directed to behave while reading (Laughter). In addition, the transcribed punctuation creates, for the absent reader, a feeling of “being there.” In the case of a judicial proceeding, the question is, if the public’s outbursts of laughter had transpired to such excess, why did the judge not call for order in the court? The verbal gesture reproduces the court as a place where the colonial fantasy is played out as a “reality,” a place in which the “enemy-other” is parodied, emasculated, and portrayed as an objectified caricature. The effect of caricature deflates any residual fear related to Riel’s criminality. He is defused and (re)constructed by way of (Laughter) as ineffectual and impotent. “This is not simply a scientific ‘ethnography,’” Kay Dian Kris (2008) argues in her discussion concerning satire and the representation of the other, “but rather […] mobilizes a certain form of humour for specific ends” (2008, p. 140). The editor’s means to an end, in this case, depend largely on the public’s memory to comply and then generate a zone of intelligibility, one that would appeal to the so-called civilized body to execute “the enemy.” Consider the witness being cross-examined

by Mr. Johnstone:

> Mr. Riel was never particular about his dress (Laughter). I said when Riel spoke to me that I was travelling through the country in a surveying outfit.
> Mr. Johnstone – What was the object in telling him that?
> Witness – My main object was to secure my own safety (Laughter).

A double articulation occurs in the ambiguous pronoun "his" and its mysterious antecedent. The witness states that "Mr. Riel was never particular about *his* dress"(italics mine), and is followed by (Laughter). The placement of "his" suggests that Riel did not care about his own clothing; however, it is the land surveyor's outfit being discussed. The deixis shift enables the derogatory statement to be aimed at Riel's clothing as uncivilized and then interposed by laughter. The underlying intent also represents Riel as uncivilized by not accepting the progress of Upper Canada land surveyors. Riel was critical not of the land surveyor's clothing *per se* but what his uniform symbolized and its consequence: land theft. In addition, the Ontario land surveyors were composed of Canadian Party members, Protestant white supremacists, whose funded objective was to eliminate the Métis peoples. Emma LaRocque (2010) traces the colonial invasion by Euro-Canadian forces and follows how it continues to be disempowering to Aboriginal peoples and their well-being. The agents, as LaRocque argues, "are fur traders, missionaries, treaty and scrip commissioners, soldiers, colonial officials, police, land speculators, Indian agents, storekeepers and even [to be discussed in upcoming chapters] artists, travelers and poets" (2010, p. 74-5). In the colonial process of disempowerment, Riel's civility is targeted in the same July 30 coverage:

> Counsel – On the whole Riel treated you pretty civilly?
> Witness – No; I don't think he did (Laughter).

The instance is followed by testimony recorded under the subheading "Riel's Letter Identified":

> Mr. Osler remarked one of the documents was written in French. He could not read it with a Saskatchewan accent (Laughter). The reading of the letter to the Métis of Fort Pitt caused much laughter. Mr. Osler read a long document written by prisoner touching the conquest of Canada, the doubtful claim of England to the Dominion, and the expediency of annexation to the United States. (Davin, 1885, July 30, p. 2)

The editor's insertion of (Laughter) ridicules the French and Cree languages spoken in the North West and operates to signify Riel's hybridity as Métis. The editorial also standardizes Anglophone culture in the region as superior, as it emphasizes that anything outside of the Euro Canadian purview is strange and unknown – a tactic that delegitimized the languages and culture foundational for, among others, the French Métis people. Moreover, the contents of the "long letter" in which Riel explains imperial conquest of land and challenges England's ownership does not appear in the *Leade*r, nor does it surface in the Report of the Trial.

The theatrical device appears again in the July 30 coverage. J.W. Astley recounts being taken prisoner when examined by Burbridge:

> In the early part of the imprisonment they were treated well, but in the latter part they were treated in a manner than which a man could not be treated worse (Laughter) […] Saw Riel once carrying a rifle. When he was leaving to see the General he said if the women and children were hurt he would massacre the prisoners. (Davin, "The Riel Trial," p. 2)

Omitted from both the trial transcript and the *Leader* coverage is an account of the members of the Canadian Militia or the North West Mounted Police carrying arms. The absence of references in the transcript depicting the Dominion agents carrying weapons ensures that there is no evidence to show state violence or that the Métis and First

Nations people were protecting themselves; thus, the myth of the Canadian Dominion as civil protectors prevails. Riel, however, was determined to be speak and to tarnish this myth, fable, and master narrative.

Riel was concerned that he would not be permitted to speak at his trial and makes his worry known to the court and to his defense team. To follow is the newspaper coverage that appeared under the heading, "Riel Speaks Against His Counsel." I include the scenario at length to capture critical exchanges:

> Prisoner – Your Honor, would you allow me to put a question to this witness before he leaves the box?
> Judge – I will hear you at the proper time.
> Mr. Fitzpatrick – The time has now arrived your Honor, when it is proper to let the prisoner know any statements he has to make must be made through his counsel.
> His Honor – Yes.
> Prisoner – But your Honor, my good friends – my learned counsel – are trying to show I am insane.
> Judge – Are you defended by counsel?
> Prisoner – Partly (Laughter)
> Judge – Are you, I repeat, defended by counsel?
> Prisoner – Your Honor I want my cause to be pleaded as good as possible. My lawyers have the disadvantage of being from Quebec and they cannot be expected to put the most important questions to witnesses …
> […]
> Prisoner – All the Crown witnesses have gone through. I have repeatedly tried to get my counsel to ask these questions. I am accused of high treason and it is possible I will pass away my life in an insane asylum. For this mortal body I care little by the soul –
> Judge: Any further questions?
> Prisoner to *Leader* Reporter – "Take that well."
> Judge – Any further questions must be put to this witness by his counsel. His Honor then took a memorandum of the prisoner's remarks.
> Prisoner – Am I to keep silent?
> Judge – Speak to your counsel. (Davin, p. 3)

The silencing of Riel is paralytic: he is unable to be heard or to question, even through his counsel, the accusations made against him. Riel's question to the Judge, "Am I to be silenced?" is left deferred and is, in this sense, a microcosm of the colonizer's refusal to

respond to Métis peoples' grievances and petitions. As Jiwani (2006) argues "violence […] is a mechanism by which individuals and groups impose or maintain a position of power in a hierarchy structured in dominance" (p. 31). In this context, Davin locates his paper at an intimate proximity – as if Riel were speaking to the reporter directly, while it retains a dominant position of power in the hierarchal chain by having front row access for its subscribers. The interpolation provides the reader again with the sense of being within the scene and inside the sovereign circle. In the courtroom, the judge's silencing of Riel manifests the national narrative: Riel was vanishing. In the next section of this chapter, I examine the *Leader's* coverage of Riel's Address to the Jury and the Court in a comparative analysis with the transcript.

Riel's Speech and the Act of Mediation

In the August 6, 1885 edition of the *Regina Leader*, Davin condenses the final testimony of witnesses and Riel's speeches under the headline "The Riel Trial – Riel's Last Speech From the Dock – The Prisoner Makes Some Extraordinary Revelations – Sentenced to Death – Full Report." Davin's reporting style continues to change in this week's testimony coverage with a staccato-like inflection, impatient, point formed details, almost sarcastic in tone with an increase of (Laughter) by 81 per cent. Before presenting Riel's speech, Davin, provides his editorial of the trial under the headline, "Riel's Sentence":

> No one who followed the trial of Riel even by means of the newspaper reports can doubt the justness of the sentence on the leader of the Half-breed and Indian uprising. So conclusive was the evidence against the prisoner – the evidence of unimpeachable witnesses and of documents in his own handwriting – that his lawyers did not attempt to parry it. That Riel not only intended to rebel but to carry on a war of extermination of the whites who would not acknowledge his pretentions is also beyond doubt. (p. 2)

Davin's preface to Riel's speeches sets the tone for the reader to discount what they are about to read because "so conclusive was the evidence" that Riel's mission was to exterminate the whites. The phrase "war of extermination" is repeated 4 times in the context of the trial transcript – two times by witnesses and twice by Riel. Riel, I argue, activates a discourse of reverse colonization. He uses the "extermination" invasion literature terminology to articulate the need to rid the North West of the Dominion's corrupting force. The Dominion to Riel was invasive and infecting. Also evident in Davin's editorial is the shadow of an acute colonial fear of another form of invasion made possible if Riel was released: "the Dominion authority west of Lake Superior was to be broken and different nationalities invited to join the half-breeds in peopling and governing the North-West" (p. 2). The anxiety of the "half-breeds peopling" the North West resonates in the circulating ethnographic writing, travel narratives, novels, art, advertising, and the adapted use of Shakespeare's character, Caliban from *The Tempest*, detailed in Chapter 5. The colonial fear of miscegenation was symbolized in Riel's mixed racial identity and the Métis projected incursion of their political solidarity would crush the white supremacist fantasy of a nation built on so-called sturdy British Anglo Saxon stock.

Davin concludes his assessment of Riel's speeches as he introduces them with lines founds in this chapter's epigraph; he also adds:

> The savage in him strangled the civilized man – and left him for the Indian and the half-breed a power for evil. Sane at the time of the rebellion he certainly was in the only sense in which the law is concerned. Sane he is today; and in his speech to the court he demonstrated not only the justice but the necessity of his sentence by indicating that if free he would stir up rebellion again unless the seventh of the North West should be given to the half-breeds. Davin, 1885, August 6, "The Riel Trial – Riel's Last," p. 4)

Davin, as editor, is explicit in stating that Riel is unable to attain a civilized nature because of his "savage" or Aboriginal lineage. He also reveals his outright dismissal of the Manitoba Bill of Rights as a legitimized Métis sovereign document that protects land for the Métis and their children. Davin reporting that, "if free he [Riel] would stir up rebellion again unless the seventh of the North West should be given to the half-breeds" suggests that the territory was still up for negotiation and demonstrates his newspaper's support of the government reneging on their Treaty promise in The Manitoba Act. Davin, as well, more subtly implies that without land the Métis will lose their sovereign status – a reality that was at the heart of Riel's trial.

Emma LaRoque reminds us that, "many of us first saw the savage Indian image in comic books, in school textbooks, and in movie theatres" (2010, p. 104). LaRoque's question could be equally posed to 1885 audiences who were spoon-fed in varying incarnations the "Imaginary Indian" which was utilized to reconstitute Riel and thereby disqualify (in an imperial area) his political agenda.

Prior to Riel's speeches, Fitzpatrick for the defense and Robinson for the Crown presented their closing statements. The speeches are omitted from the Trial Report. Although Robinson's opening statement is reported as "verbatim," Fitzpatrick's closing statement in Riel's defense is highly editorialized in Davin's free indirect reporting style and peppered with his prosaic literary interventions. Consider the following excerpt:

> Mr. Fitzpatrick then addressed the Court for the defense in a powerful and eloquent speech. He referred to the alarm created throughout the Dominion by the rebellion in March last and the rallying round the national flag of the youth, manhood and old age of the country for the glorious cause of liberty and self protection. Counsel strongly dwelt on the defective jury system of the Northwest; there it was but a shred, still in the present jury he saw a silver lining to the black cloud of the many grievance inflicted in this western country; while all the loud in

> their praises of the troops could no voice be heard for the vanquished? (Davin, 1885, August 6, "The Riel Trial – Riel's Last," p. 3)

Davin recontextualizes the defense's closing statement to alternatively support the Crown by repeating "the alarm," and the "rallying around the national flag" for "protection" against the "black cloud" of "rebellion."

A summarized version of Riel's address to the court and jury is found on page four of the *Leader.* The excerpts correspond with the transcript with the following exceptions created by Davin's reporting tactics and editorializing. However, it must be stated, that the inaccuracies, as well the omissions between the press and the transcript continue to pose serious questions concerning the authenticity of the trial transcripts themselves. Although Davin's reporting liberties teeter on the hyperbolic, the editorial work undertaken by the printers in England must be continually questioned. To follow is a comparative analysis to present the discontinuities between the press coverage and the transcript. Notable, Davin adds the (Laughter) device 13 times or 25 per cent of the total discursive interference during Riel's speech. Along with condensing the speech, one very subtle inclusion occurs in the shift of a single word between the transcript and the *Leader's* reporting and in replacing an entire sentence. To follow is Riel's address in the transcript version:

> When I came into the North-West in July, the first of July 1884, I found the Indians suffering. I found the Half-breeds eating the rotten pork of the Hudson Bay Company, and getting sick and weak every day. Although a Half-breed and having no pretention to help the white, I also paid attention to them, I saw they were deprived of responsible Government. I saw that they were deprived of their public liberties, I remembered that half-breed are white and Indian and while I paid attention to the suffering Indians and the Half-breeds, I remembered that the greatest part of my heart and blood was white, and I have directed my attention to the help the Indians, to help the Half-breeds and to help the white to the best of my ability. We have made petition, I have made petitions with others to the Canadian Government, asking to relieve the condition of this country. We have

> taken time, we have tried to unite all classes even if I may so speak, all parties. (Riel, a., p. 147)

The *Leader* editorialized the above with the inclusion of the sub-heading as shown:

> When I came to the Northwest in July '84, what did I find? The Indians starving, and the half-breeds sick from eating
>
> The Rotten Pork
>
> Of the Hudson Bay Company. In assisting my fellow creatures I assisted the half-breeds white and black! I asked those to help me and I would help them. Had our petitions made over and over again to the Canadian Government been listened to there would be no rebellion.

The editorial omission operates on five fronts to elide 1) Riel's intent for unity, 2) the criminal charges directed against the Hudson's Bay Company in their procedures in race-based extermination, 3) Riel's affiliation to "white" Canada, 4) the charge that "white settlers" were also deprived of responsible Government, and 5) the inclusion of "black" communities in the North West demographic. Charmaine Nelson (2009) addresses the absence of documenting the presence of black communities in nineteenth-century Canada specifically in Canadian scholarship, history, and popular culture. Nelson identifies this specific amnesia arising from the fact that "most scholarship on transatlantic slavery, even that which is North America-focused, disavows Canadian participation in favour of a tropical plantation focus located mainly in scholarship on the American South, the Caribbean and South America" (2009, p. 20) Davin's inclusion, here, signifies the history of the North West and its diverse population. The identification of a "black" population does not appear in the transcript. The new colony, as Nelson argues, was very much part of "a global project." Canada's participation in African slavery makes its appearance in 1670 with Charles II assigning his nephew, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, as the governor and name-sake of the "acquired" territory, "Rupert's Land," as described in the Prologue.

Charles II, King of the British Empire, had capital investments in and was the executive manager of the slave trade in Africa. Does the inclusion then surface a discontinuity within the European-determined and reductive continuity that by 1885 the Métis were *only* constituted as Aboriginal and "white"? Riel contested the racial reduction in the *Montreal Star* (1885) article as outlined in the Prologue. The naturalized European dichotomy, as Riel points out, was no longer accurate in the North West (Riel, *Montreal Star*, 1885). Does the presence of a black community also pressure, and further question, the heterogeneous demographic living in the North West to include African Americans and African Canadians whose communities have been erased from early Canadian histories? With this in mind, should not the "transatlantic triangle of trade," which historically and contemporarily binds a critical analysis to an Africa-Americas-European geometry, also include such ports Halifax and Montreal? As Nelson argues, "the singular form of a triangle deployed within the term triangular trade is too simplistic to evoke the idea of multiple and simultaneous crossings and exchanges, the back and forth along diverging and complex branches and it has often led us to focus more on specific trajectories while avoiding and erasing others" (Nelson, 2009, p. 21) – notably Canada. Moreover, why was its inclusion omitted from a transcript that was edited and published in London, England? There were indeed issues concerning the audibility of the proceedings as illustrated in Plate 1. The image illustrates a court reporter having difficulty hearing as he holds his hand to his ear. However, the matter also raises serious questions concerning the transcript and how the proceedings were recorded by the court reporters constrained by bias and memory; for instance, if the given testimony was not

heard clearly, were the statements then assumed or filled-in for the purposes of transcription?

Another disparity occurs between Riel's address and the media coverage in the specter of Thomas Scott.[96] As discussed in the Prologue, Scott was an Orangeman and a Canada First Party member who was taken as a prisoner during the 1869 resistance. He was charged, tried, and executed by a firing squad. The excerpt from the trial's proceeding will be followed by the *Leader's* report to present the inconsistency. Riel's address in the transcript appears as follows:

> I wish to have a trial that would cover the space of fifteen years on which public opinion is not satisfied. I have, without meaning any offence, I have heard without meaning any offence (sic), when I spoke of one of the articles I mentioned, some gentlemen behind me saying. Yes he was a murderer. You see what remarks? It shows there is something not told. If told by law it would not be said. (1886, p. 165)

The *Regina Leader* coverage appeared as follows:

> In my case, I wish the English authorities would appoint a special commission to examine this question. Let them examine the charge against me of murdering Thomas Scott
>
> A Voice – You did! (Davin, 1885, August 6, "The Riel Trial – Riel's Last," p. 3)

Davin's editorialization is in contrast to the transcript, in which Riel hears the remark stated by "some gentleman." Moreover, Davin evokes the question of whether or not Riel "murdered" Thomas Scott, and rhetorically proceeds to answer it in the affirmative: "You Did." Davin's reporting device creates a collective agreement in the disembodied and public "Voice" that rises from the page like Hamlet's ghost from beneath the stage floor. In the sovereign space of the court, which excludes representatives from French or Métis communities, "A Voice" declares itself as judge, jury, and perhaps King with its

[96] Thomas Scott is discussed in the Prologue.

unanimous verdict. The paper resurrects the propaganda circulated by Ontario papers during the 1870s and early '80s that condemned Riel "guilty of murder" for a Métis government sanctioned act. As discussed in the Prologue, Riel was granted amnesty by the federal government. Davin's bias concerning the event is found in the August 13, 1885 edition of the *Leader* under the headline, "Riel and Sentiment":

> Can an excuse be found in his speeches, which show that, if at liberty, he would again seek to play the same game? Or is there an excuse to be found in the ghost of the murdered Scott rising from his bloody repose and pointing to his wounds and crying – Remember me? (3.24, p. 2)

Writers' adaptations of Shakespeare using Riel will be the focus in Chapter 5; here, however, it is salient to examine how Davin employs the scenario, in context with Riel's representation in his press and issues of sovereignty. The inter/text from Act 1, Scene 5 of *Hamlet,* adapts King Hamlet's ghost's farewell to his son, "Adieu, adieu! Hamlet, remember me." The specter that Davin is resurrecting is, in this case, Thomas Scott who dons the literary guise of the murdered King seeking vengeance through his son. The national pedagogy driven through educational agendas and the proliferation of Shakespearean allusions in the media was, during the late-nineteenth-century, a national colonial resource. Davin feeds his ideal reader the allusion in the hope that they would follow through with the full Shakespearean passage from Act 1, Scene 5:

> Hamlet – Alas, poor ghost!
> Ghost – Pity me not, but lend they serious hearing / To what I shall unfold.
> Hamlet – Speak; I am bound to hear.
> Ghost – So art thou to revenge, when thou shalt hear

Returning to the trial transcript and Riel's statement that "it shows there is something not told" reveals that Riel was fully aware of the Dominion's negation of Métis sovereignty and its decision to execute Scott for the Métis Nation's security and protection, as well as

to demonstrate *their* power – a familiar governing formula used by the British Empire and its colonial agents. Thomas Scott, as will be recalled, was charged, tried, and executed by the Métis as a sovereign nation. The ghost of Scott, however, would continue to haunt Riel through the media.

The Vampire Invasion

Riel was acutely aware of the colonial media's practice and rhetorically inverts the theme of "invasion" and Riel adopts one of its more favoured characters: the vampire. The metaphor of the vampire was the fanged offspring of the invasion literary sub-genre along with the formation of the cannibal. Riel used both figures symbolically in his address. Interestingly, the transcript section, shown below, was omitted from the *Leader's* coverage:

> The ministers of an insane and irresponsible Government and its little one the North-West Council made up their minds to answer my petitions by surrounding me slyly and by attempting to jump upon me suddenly and upon my people in the Saskatchewan. Happily when they appeared and showed their teeth to devour, I was ready; that is what is called my crime of high treason and for which they hold me to day. Oh, my good Jurors, in the name of Jesus Christ the only one who can save and help me, they have tried to tear me to pieces. (Riel, 1885, a., p. 153)

The sovereign here is reflected as the Derridian beast in its all-consuming predatory force and identified in Riel's *Poesies Religieuses et Politique* produced in c1873 while he was in political exile in Dakota at Saint Joseph:

> Je ne souhaite pas, Sir John, que votre mort
> Soit pleine de tourments, mais ce que je désire
> C'est que vous connaissiez et souffriez le remords,
> Parce que vous m'avez mangé, comme un vampire.
>
> I do not wish ye, Sir John, a death
> Full with torment, but it's my desire
> That ye suffer from the sting of regret
> For having eaten me like a vampire. (p. 8)

Riel uses of the colonial trope of invasion as a simile to invert the dominant vernacular that exteriorized "the other," and instead represents J.A. Macdonald as the appetitive vampire-cannibal. In an analysis of Riel's use of the image, it is insightful to note the repetition in the transcript of the antithetical figure: "prophet." The word is repeated 10 times by witnesses in association to Riel's "insanity." Testimony reveals Riel as carrying a large cross into battle. Riel, alternatively, uses the term 18 times when disputing its representation as madness. But what if, at this metaphoric intersection, the "invasion" motif is considered? The "cross" performs an antipodal twist representing Riel as a force of the good rising against Macdonald who is, in this sense, the invading vampire, in the act of colonization. The cross would thus symbolize, as it did in the Victorian literary genre, a tool to ward off "evil." From this perspective, Riel presents a sovereign counter force as "good" against "evil" to reassert that Britain and its "colonial sons" were the invaders, cannibals, and vampires of Métis and Aboriginal people's land.

In his address, Riel was interested in making public the Dominion's crimes against the Métis; yet, he was also intent on articulating how he wanted implement practical applications to support the Métis people to ensure their future well-being: Riel's inversion of the colonial rhetoric was a paradigm and contextual shift to create peace and pursue its practical application within Canada, a position many scholars have regarded as visionary. In 1999, Harold Cardinal, echoes Riel's assertions, when he explains,

> nothing less than new structures created in consultation with Indians and with the involvement of Indians will be acceptable. The new formula or structure must make provisions for the protection of native rights but it must be subject to joint control of the government and the Indian people. (1999, p. 41)

In the next section of this chapter, I examine the supplementary, twenty-volume edition of the trial and its connective orientation to the North West Mounted Police, or what became known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Figure 8).

The *Regina Leader*, Daily Edition; or, The NWMP Version

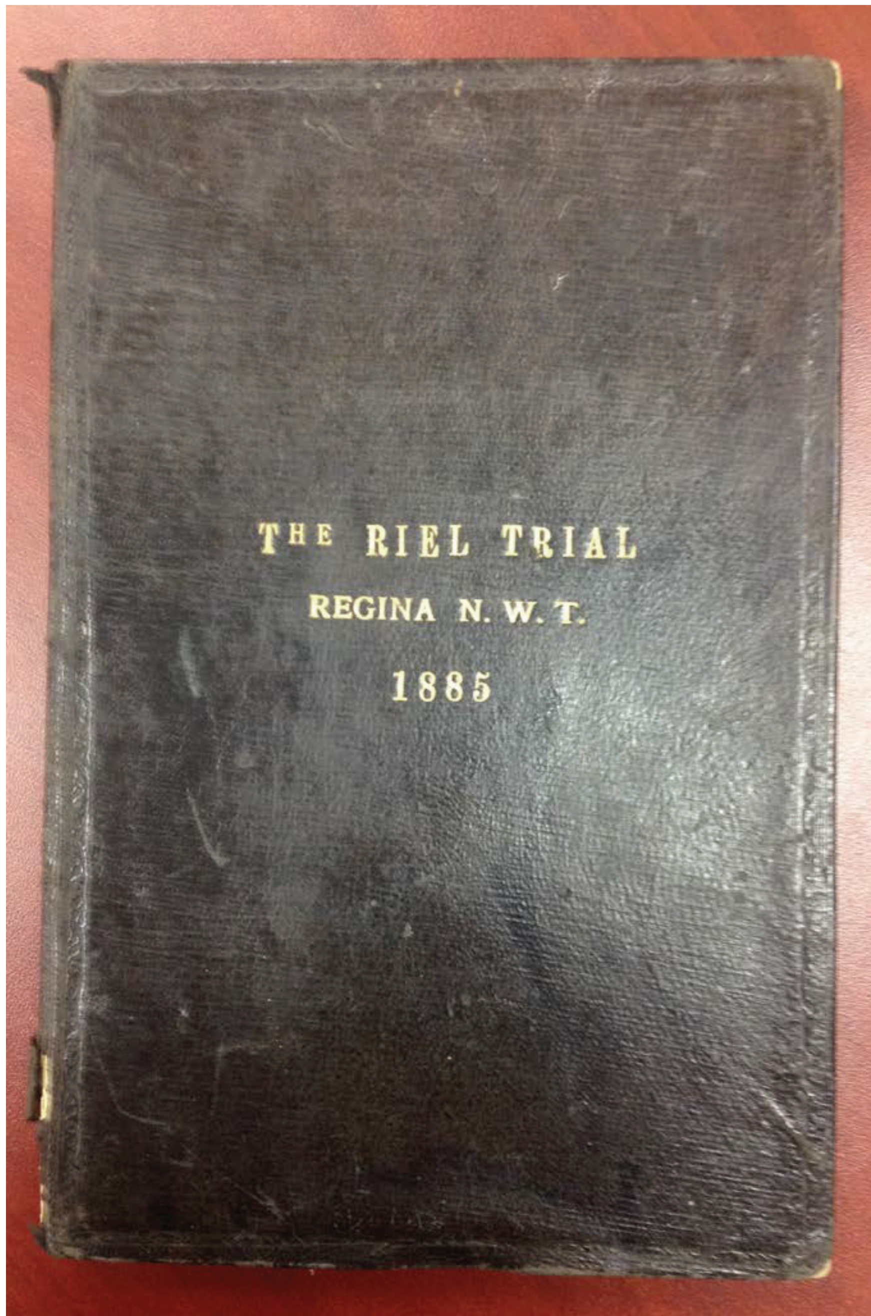


Figure 8.

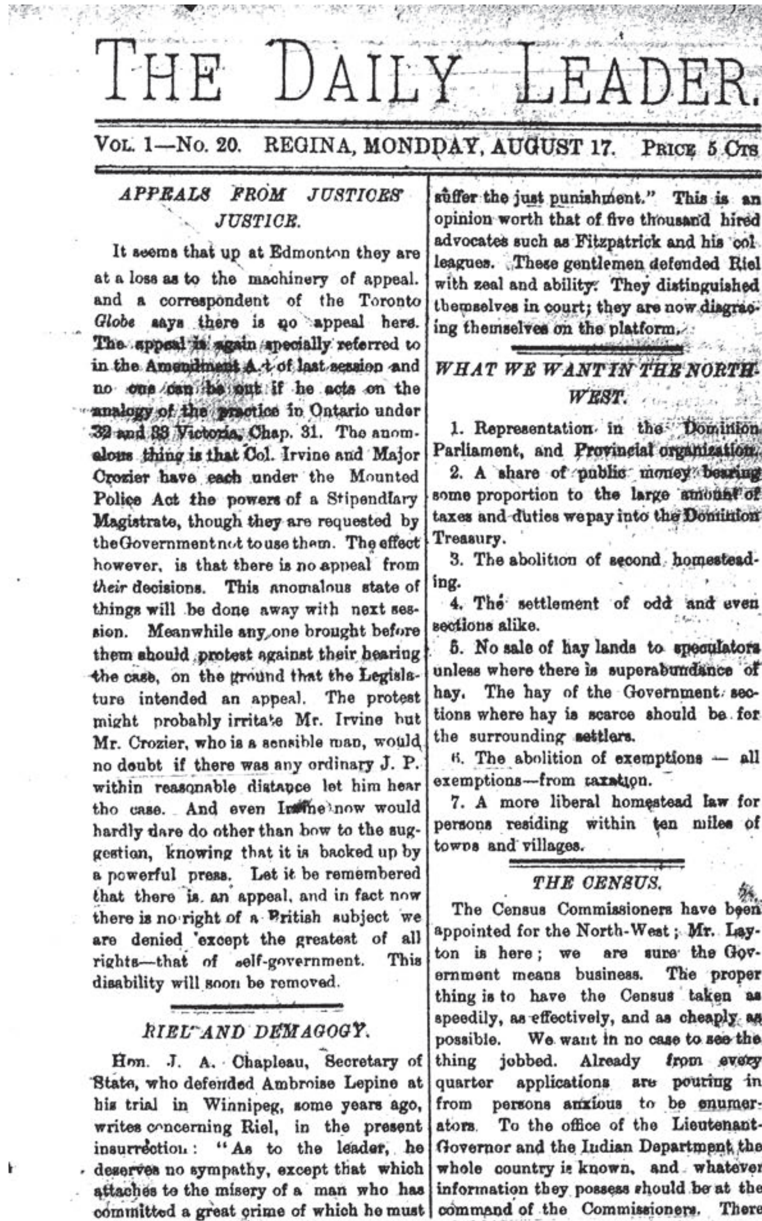
The Riel Trial, Regina N.W.T., image of object, newsprint paper, leather bound, gold leaf title, from the *Regina Leader*, 20 Volume Daily Edition (Regina, 1885).
Collection of the RCMP Historical Collections Unit at RCMP Heritage Centre, Regina, SK., Groupe des collections historiques de la GRC au Centre du patrimoine de la GRC, Regina, SK. Public domain.

Seven years ago, at a microfiche bay in the University of Guelph library, I was scanning the *Regina Leader's* 1885 coverage of the Riel trial. In blur of newsprint that scrolled passed, the sudden appearance of correspondence made me stop. The July 29, 1949 letter on Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) letterhead was addressed to Lewis H. Thomas, Esq., Provincial Archivist in care of the Legislative Library in Regina, Saskatchewan. E.H. Perlson, Superintendent Commanding, "Depot" Division, wrote the letter. Perlson requested to copy the *Leader's* daily 1885 trial edition for the archives.[97]

Although, the letter does not specify who originally commissioned of the *Regina Leader's* daily volumes, what is apparent is the RCMP's concern for the archival material's security. Perlson had to be supervised while copying and could not remove the edition from the Depot Division's location. In 2012, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) archivist in Regina[98] provided no releasable information concerning its provenance or information relevant to its publication (Figure 9). Calls and emails to the Editorial Library Archive at the *Leader-Post* also proved futile. A noticeable gap, during 1885, occurs in the usual flow of correspondence between Davin and federal government agents, therefore, and likewise, information could not be attained through the virtual fonds in national archives. What is known is that the twenty-volume series comprises

[97] "Letter." July 29, 1945. Royal Canadian Mounted Police "Depot" Division. Div. File No. B.16. to Lewis H. Thomas, Provincial Archivist.
[98] I deduced that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) archive's original version was the copy that was scanned and from which I conducted my original research by comparing and matching the documents' marginalia.

extracts from the *Leader's* weekly coverage of the trial that ran from July 9 to August 6, 1885; it was published separately and eventually circulated in bound leather. Its initial publication was most likely on newsprint. The leather-bound edition is embossed with gold-leaf lettering and each volume is 6-pages in length with a double column. There is no other publishing information beyond the DAILY LEADER banner (Plate 4).



THE DAILY LEADER.

VOL. 1—NO. 20. REGINA, MONDDAY, AUGUST 17. PRICE 5 CTS

APPEALS FROM JUSTICES' JUSTICE.

It seems that up at Edmonton they are at a loss as to the machinery of appeal. and a correspondent of the Toronto *Globe* says there is no appeal here. The appeal is again specially referred to in the Amendment Act of last session and no one can be out if he acts on the analogy of the practice in Ontario under 32 and 33 Victoria, Chap. 31. The anomalous thing is that Col. Irvine and Major Crozier have each under the Mounted Police Act the powers of a Stipendiary Magistrate, though they are requested by the Government not to use them. The effect however, is that there is no appeal from *their* decisions. This anomalous state of things will be done away with next session. Meanwhile any one brought before them should protest against their hearing the case, on the ground that the Legislature intended an appeal. The protest might probably irritate Mr. Irvine but Mr. Crozier, who is a sensible man, would no doubt if there was any ordinary J. P. within reasonable distance let him hear tho case. And even Irvine now would hardly dare do other than bow to the suggestion, knowing that it is backed up by a powerful press. Let it be remembered that there is an appeal, and in fact now there is no right of a British subject we are denied except the greatest of all rights—that of self-government. This disability will soon be removed.

RIEL AND DEMAGOGY.

Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State, who defended Ambroise Lepine at his trial in Winnipeg, some years ago, writes concerning Riel, in the present insurrection: "As to the leader, he deserves no sympathy, except that which attaches to the misery of a man who has committed a great crime of which he must suffer the just punishment." This is an opinion worth that of five thousand hired advocates such as Fitzpatrick and his colleagues. These gentlemen defended Riel with zeal and ability. They distinguished themselves in court; they are now disgracing themselves on the platform.

WHAT WE WANT IN THE NORTH-WEST.

1. Representation in the Dominion Parliament, and Provincial organization.

2. A share of public money bearing some proportion to the large amount of taxes and duties we pay into the Dominion Treasury.

3. The abolition of second homesteading.

4. The settlement of odd and even sections alike.

5. No sale of hay lands to speculators unless where there is superabundance of hay. The hay of the Government sections where hay is scarce should be for the surrounding settlers.

6. The abolition of exemptions — all exemptions—from taxation.

7. A more liberal homestead law for persons residing within ten miles of towns and villages.

THE CENSUS.

The Census Commissioners have been appointed for the North-West; Mr. Layton is here; we are sure the Government means business. The proper thing is to have the Census taken as speedily, as effectively, and as cheaply as possible. We want in no case to see the thing jobbed. Already from every quarter applications are pouring in from persons anxious to be enumerators. To the office of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Indian Department the whole country is known, and whatever information they possess should be at the command of the Commissioners. There

Figure 9.

The Daily Leader, 1885, Monday, August 17, ink on newsprint paper, image of newspaper, vol. 1 – No. 20, (Regina, SK). Public domain.

The focus is the trial but Davin does add supplementary local news; for example, the column that ran in the first volume, next to the trial's news was "The Moose Jaw Murderer Meets his Doom – Connor Hanged – Dies Without a Word." The volume was available to subscribers during the trial. A noticeably omission in the Daily version is advertising. In stark contrast to the Weekly *Leader,* in which advertising space serviced an average of forty companies including the government with 30 per cent for land related marketing content encompassing 50 per cent of the newspaper's space, the Daily version did not include advertising. A question then arises concerning the loss of advertising revenue in the daily version's publication: who filled the *Leader's* fiscal gap? A newspaper owner relies on advertising as critical receivable revenue to support the paper's existence. The expenditures to produce the daily edition would throw the paper into a deficit if it did not receive funding. As it stands, the edition is housed in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police archive and signifies their interest in the *Regina Leader's* coverage; the interest is congruent with the fact that it was regional paper, the NWMP involvement with the trial, and Riel's trial took place in Regina, and his execution occurred on the Depot's barracks.[99]

Also known is that on July 21, 1885, the weekly edition of the *Leader* under the headline, "The Riel Trial" announces the daily supplement in which there was produced a

[99] Yet there is a clue found in the marginalia in the leather-bound daily publication: "W.G. Routledge" is stamped onto the front matter and on the second page his signature appears with "n.w.m.p.," "Regina," and the date "25/8/88." After some digging, it seems Sergeant W. Routledge was a volunteer with the NWMP, "B" Division under Commander A.G. Irvine and it is likely that he purchased or was given a copy as a souvenir to reflect his military service (Dunlevie, "Service Record," 1885, p. 48). Routledge and subsequently the RCMP Archives considered the volume a valuable marker of the trial and its outcome.

"verbatim record of the trial – the most interesting in the Annals of Canada – […] issued daily price of 5 cents or one dollar a month." Davin assures the reader that the trials will last over two months. In my final section of this chapter, I examine entries from the daily, which although were extracted from the weekly, further illuminate the reporting styles of the publication's editor. Under the banner, "First Day of the Riel Trial," for instance, Davin declares, "it is not just a man on trial but what do we see?"

> On a spot where three years ago the only sign of life was the trail of the savage or the footprints of the buffalo, or the sweet short song of the prairie lark, or the less entrancing sonnet of the bullfrog, what we ask again do we see? The highest expression of civilization […] (Davin, 1885, p. 2)

Davin positions Riel in the proximity with the savage, or those who are within the colonial scope of "vanished," or who will be soon. Davin's cartographic daydream resounds in the romantic allusion of the wilds replaced with the civilized state of law. The discourse is procedural in the act of conquest. Sherene Razack explains: "colonizers at first claim the land of the colonized as their own through a process of violent eviction, justified by notions that the land was empty or populated by peoples who had to be save and civilized." (2002, p. 129). The apex of civilization for Davin is systemized in the ideology of sovereignty, which acts out in the courtroom and the media – sites in which Riel is identified as its "enemy."

In the concluding the daily volume, under the headline "Riel and Demagogue," the editor remarks that Riel committed a great crime and must suffer the punishment. Although the *Regina Leader* employed numerous reporters at any given time and all remained anonymous, as was the period's press protocol, Davin was the editor and thus implemented a specific template to reflect and maintain a standardized format. Davin's reporting styles contained and dictated not only what was to be known, but also how it

would be remembered. The separation of the special volume filled with editorialized transcriptions from the court are deemed as authentic and thus become authoritative; the newspaper, in reporting a trial, becomes a vehicle to parlay justice. In this manner, it establishes precedents upon which present day understandings are shaped and valued. As Lyle Dick asserts "literary strategies not only influenced the writers' selection of ordering of particular historical data, but actually required both the production of supporting 'facts' and the negation or omission of alternative 'facts' (2005, p. 5). By materially and psychically separating the Métis and Aboriginal peoples from their heterogeneous identities and sovereignties, economic and political autonomy, their land, their families, and histories, imprisoned them in the colonial paradigm and context – a partitioning off and away that Riel was determined to shift and transform.

Conclusion

Patrice Fleury from Duck Lake, Saskatchewan in 1912 recalled that "after due consideration at a meeting attended by French and English half-breeds, it was decided to approach Louis Riel who was then living in Montana, and get him to come here and argue our case, in a constitutional way" (Farrell, 2001, p. 43). The concerns that the Métis people were resisting, along with other Aboriginal Nations, in the late nineteenth-century continue to be fought for today, for instance, 1.4 million acres of land,[100] an outcome that will be reflected in this project's concluding chapter.

[100] "The MNC represents the Métis Nation in Canada at the national and international level. The Métis Nation's homeland includes the three Prairie provinces and extends into Ontario and British Columbia, parts of the Northwest Territories and northern United States. There are approximately 350,000 – 400,000 Métis Nation citizens in Canada. Métis represent approximately 30% of the total Aboriginal population in Canada, according to Statistics Canada." Retrieved from < http://www.metisnation.ca/press/06-apr03.html>. "Métis Land - Métis Rights: History on Trial."

The *Leader* was as weapon or as Davin describes as “a lance,” to reconstitute Riel as an icon to symbolize the “invasion” of the Métis peoples – a Nation within Canada that John A. Macdonald worked to exterminate for capital agendas. However, as Stephen Arata (1990) explains when discussing invasion literature: “British culture sees its own imperial practices mirrored back in monstrous forms”(1999, p. 18). Davin, as a writer was also a “crafter of vicarious experiences that [could] educate us to the consequences of sin without the sting thereof” (Peters, 1999, p. 78) and he utilizes a literary rhetorical style as a “safe flight simulator for life” (Peters, 1999, p 78) in order to seduce the reader and position Riel as a traitor. The writing of “history” gives the audience the luxury of distance in time, place and people – a position of safety for (“we”) as voyeurs to watch “the ceremonies by which power is manifested” (Foucault, 1977, p. 47). Davin used the “trial of the century” in the *Leader’s* weekly paper and daily supplement to materialize the colonial narrative of nation by reinforcing the criminalization of Riel to legitimate the government’s control of territory that belonged to the Métis peoples. Davin’s newspaper production is underpinned with his personal desire for a seat in Parliament, to make Regina the capital of the Dominion, and to guarantee his success and that of his paper. Davin’s stalwart resolve to stand by the government, even with the entries of criticism and being a stone in Macdonald’s shoe, manifested in his newspaper and he held to the possibility of it being a vehicle to success. However, Davin did not to rise to a prominent position in Parliament, Ottawa became Canada’s capital city, and he sold his paper in 1895. In October 1901, in a Winnipeg hotel room, Nicholas Flood Davin shot himself.

The matter of slippages between the transcript and the newspaper also raises serious questions concerning the stability of the transcript as reliable record of the

proceedings as a whole. Sarah Carter argues that "it is necessary to have knowledge of the past and to appreciate that there are often conflicting interpretations of the past, sometimes clearly as a result of present-day concerns (2007, p. 9). The transcript and the media interventions in translating the event remain open for continual reevaluation and critical analysis of the interpretations to better understand contemporary relationships among the Métis peoples, Aboriginal Nations, the federal government, and the spectrum of publics living in Canada. In the chapter to follow, I examine a range of publications that were circulating prior to, during, and after the trial to develop deeper understanding of the intersectional and relational a/effects that the nineteenth-century media had upon the trial and the representation of Riel.

CHAPTER 3

Nineteenth-Century Media: Colonial 'Zones of Intelligibility'

> That Indian wars are all the same, experience can
> determine –
> The wildest ways, the sudden blaze of fight that suits
> the vermin!
> First comes a tale of massacre with horrors sad and
> sickly:
> And then the braves to seize the spoil, vamoose the
> rauch[101] most quickly;
> They keep aloof – of ambushed light alone the choice
> they bring you –
> They'll fire, then fly, then quick return like angry wasps
> to sting you! (Anonymous as C.P.M, 1885, p. 2)

Introduction

The opening passage from the poem "Grip's Friendly Address to Col. Otter" appeared in the May 1885 edition of the weekly newspaper publication, *Grip: an Independent Political and Satirical Journal.* The paper, modeled after the British humour publication, *Punch*, was founded and illustrated by its formidable editor, John Wilson Bengough (1851-1923).[102] The poem, written as a commentary on Colonel Otter's military advance against the Métis and Aboriginal Nations during North West Resistance, provides a portal into the forms of media circulating during 1885. Symbolically, it opens an analysis of the late-nineteenth-century Canadian press as a discursive vehicle through which Riel's trial coverage was driven. My critical objective in this chapter is to develop a concrete understanding of the inner workings of the colonial "zones of intelligibility" (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007, 26), how they were informed by the multiple formations of the figure

[101] German, meaning "smoke."
[102] John Wilson Bengough's publications and his illustrations will be examined in Chapter 4.

of “The Indian,” and then were subsequently (re)presented, (re)interpreted, and (re)circulated into the nineteenth-century media network. Within this purview, I pay special attention to the political and social affiliations in the media that instituted the latent and explicit national pedagogies, which were prevalent and ultimately informed Riel’s 1885 trial.

Returning to the poem that opens this chapter, it presents a not uncommon example of the partisan relationship between the press and the federal government’s military missions touting Otter’s bravery as it tidily elides his resounding defeat by Aboriginal military forces. Instead, “the braves” are described with phrases such as “seizing the spoil” and “massacres with horrors” that amplify and ignite the stereotypes and fears in the reading public’s imagination. The poet, identified by initials only, assures the reader that “Indian wars are all the same, experience can / determine”; the writer’s depiction of the Métis and Native people’s assumed defeat reflects just how the period’s national images of “The Indian” were, by that time, well fortified within the contested geographical boundaries. But how then is the “experience,” as noted by the writer, *delivered to* and *known by* the public? How are the psychic and material understandings of the specific “experience,” that were imagined, battened down to secure conceptual Eurocentric fantasies of sovereignty and civil conduct within the margins of battle? The representation of supposed Aboriginal military ineptitude and savagery, signified in “the wildest ways, the sudden blaze of the fight,” would be decoded by the readership as the Métis military’s lack of strategy and control. The author’s rhetorical fashioning also usurps indigenous masculinities in two ways: 1) it undermines leadership strategies on the field, and 2) frames Métis and Aboriginal battle conduct as a “massacre,” rather than

the "civilized" government's military behaviour which follows an apparent strict gentlemen's protocol to project a refined Victorian masculinity and its usual colonial appendages: "bravery," "patriotism," and "heroism."

From a contemporary perspective, the Canadian daily news is a virulent root running through what Yasmin Jiwani (2009) describes as the "sense of nation-ness." Jiwani explains that, "in a country the size of Canada, this sense of 'nation-ness,' of belonging to one country or one nation-state, is reproduced on a daily basis through a variety of rituals and practices. From the singing of the national anthem at symbolic gatherings, the carrying of the flag [...] one participates in the continual construction of the nation" (2009, 295). Though Jiwani's analytic focus is the Canadian news coverage following the events of September 11, 2001 in New York, the media rituals and practices find distinct parallels, a century earlier, in a nation's identification of the enemy; or, who "belongs" and who does not belong, particularly at a time of crisis. The theatre of war presented by the partisan press is replete with its cast of heroes and villains. The typecast actors roam the national public memory banks to be recalled, when required by the national press, as "experience can determine."

When considered through a figurative lens, the poem territorializes as it reinforces the united space of "the Dominion" that is under apparent invasion by its externalized and de-personified enemies: "vermin" and "wasps." Ann Stoler (1995) argues that, "racism is not an effect but a tactic in the internal fission of society into binary opposition, a means of creating 'biologized' internal enemies, against whom society must defend itself" (p. 59). One colonial defense strategy, as Andrea Smith (2003) suggests, is the colonizer's (re)creation and subsequent elimination of the "enemy" in a method of sanitization.

Smith recounts Rawls' description of Native peoples in 1860 by white Californians as "the dirtiest lot of human beings on earth. They wear filthy rags, with their persons unwashed, hair uncombed and swarming with vermin" (Smith, 2003, p. 72 quoting Rawls, 1984, p. 195). The extermination of the "enemy-other" thus asserts sovereign power under the guise of national safety. Published twenty-five years later in a Canadian press, a similar theme appears in the mentioned poem and the author's use of predatory and parasitic allusions. The colonial dehumanizing catalogue is a satirical device that activates a double layering of meaning and leads to the central questions addressed in this chapter: How is the "enemy" constituted in the press and embodied in the figure of the "Imagined Indian"? Moreover, how does this popular and political narrative collide, align, or reconfigure with sovereign discourses that would later inform Riel's trial? I begin by delineating my qualitative methodology concerning the press selection, its application, and the method to establish meaning in the findings.

Methodology

While a quantitative and qualitative analysis of each of the nine publications I selected for my analysis would indeed produce a chapter on their own, it is my intention to complete a critical discourse analysis through an intersectional, post colonial, and critical race perspective over the selected range of media. The newspapers and periodicals used in my analysis follow three criteria: 1) date, 2) discourses that intersect with the 1885 Resistance and Riel's trial, and 3) circulation. From this material analysis, I provide a more concrete understanding of the late nineteenth-century audiences' resources; in other words, what did publication owners and editors produce for their readers when confronted with the 1885 North West Resistance? What were the zones of intelligibility?

Further, how were *the zones* recreated, reinforced, and transgressed? In my analysis, a far-reaching examination of Canadian presses from 1752 to 1901 is necessary to identify the thread of repetition in text and image continuities and discontinuities. The broad contextual framework also leads to a comprehensive perspective of how "memory," as member resources, in Canada was shaped and established through the varying media infrastructures, as well as its various agents who, as it turns out, were not only present at Riel's trial, but were profoundly and monetarily invested in dispensing the colonial language of sovereignty and civility.

But how does the psychic traffic of regular and popular fare in the national press influence its readers and, to a certain extent, its non-readers? Fairclough suggests that, "[n]aturalization is the most formidable weapon in the armory of power, and therefore a significant focus of struggle" (2001, p. 87). It is at the intersections of the these naturalized sites, within the ebb and flow of the Dominion's media currents, where I pause to undertake an analysis of the experiential, relational and expressive valuing in language; collocations, or how words co-occur; the synonymy; hyponymy; and autonomy in the text; oppositional wording; metaphorical transfers; the ideological contested language and the struggles that occur under the blanket of semantics; as well as the social relationships among participants.

The primary archival documents were found through the database *Early Canadiana Online – Periodicals*, as well as archives at Queen's University library, the University of Guelph, the University of Alberta, the McCord Museum, The Gabriel Dumont Institute, McGill University, and the British Library. While this chapter includes illustrations, its focus will be concerned with a textual analysis. The chapter to follow is

specifically geared to an analysis of the period's visual print culture. The publications selected offer a cross section of Canadian print culture and comprise education, history, popular culture, religion, politics, First Nations and Métis published newspapers, and a travel guide. Specifically, these include, *The Halifax Gazette* (1752-1766), *The Nor'Wester* (1859 -1869), *The New Nation* (1870), *The Canadian History Periodical* (1898-1900), *Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle* (1879-1894), *The Educational Weekly* (Jan 1, 1885 – 1887), *The Canadian Indian* (1890), *The Indian: a paper devoted to The Aborigines of North America, and especially to The Indians of Canada* (1885), and *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide* (1884).[103]

I conducted an initial search in Canadian periodicals using the keyword "Riel," without specifying a date. The outcome showed 4,029 results. I then localized the search to the keyword "Louis Riel" during the period between 1869 and 1901 (to include both Resistances). This resulted in 1,124 hits in 185 periodicals. Within these periodicals, a further search of the key word "Louis Riel" in 1885 and delivered 434 results. The keyword was then analyzed within its contextual framework in a qualitative analysis. Additionally, identifying co-occurring terms used in the period's nomenclature such as "Indian" and "Half-breed," I culled the 185 publications with attention to produce a cross sectioned cultural and social survey in Canadian media – an exercise that located additional publications that fell outside of the "periodical search" purview. Periodicals are produced to target specific publics with focused content to suit particular audiences' needs and tastes. The publications thus provide insight into the publishers' ideal reader and thereby can be examined to gauge exact interests, for example, financial, popular,

[103] *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide* (1884) was not published in Canada; yet, the railway technology facilitated a porous geography and the guide would have been available to travelers north and south of the tenuous borderline.

history, education, religion, agriculture, and politics. I have included the periodical listing in the appendices.

From the quantitative outcomes and in order to narrow my cross-sectioned analytic focus to comply with my chapter's constraints, I selected nine publications.[104] As an analytical comparative model, I studied the work of Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson's recent publication *Seeing Red in Canadian Newspapers* (2011) with attention to the authors' selection of media and how the authors partitioned their analysis and results. In the following section, I provide a sketch of media production during the nineteenth-century, as well as outline my literary review.

Literary Review

In the early part of the nineteenth-century few newspapers were in circulation in Canada; still, with the advent of railways, the telegraph system, advanced printing technology, and increased literacy rates, by Confederation (1867) press publishers were finally breaking ground in major, as well as smaller, cityscapes. It did not take the owners and editors long to position their political allegiances between Reform (Liberal) or Conservative political parties in their papers' content. Print shops owners faced not only challenges of technology and distribution, but also the pressures of government control. Rogue printing companies that did not toe the official government lines drawn in a Victorian Canada endured a high level of surveillance, and radical publishers were often in fear of police threats, prison, bankruptcy, vandalism, and physical abuse (Walkom, 2013, para. 1-20). Eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century uncompromising publishers such as

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[104] The analysis could be undertaken in multiple ways and because of the dearth in Canadian nineteenth-century media scholarship I encourage communication scholars to address these potential areas of investigation.

Anton Heinrich (1734-1800), Fleury Mesplet (1734-1794), and Louis Roy (1771-1799) became examples of such disciplining power along with William Lyon Mackenzie, Joseph Howe, Henry David Winton (1793-1855), William Wilkie, John Ryan (1761-1847), Joseph Willcocks (1773-1814), Pierre Bedard (1762-1829), Francois Blanchet (1776-1830), and Etienne Parent (1802-1874) – who all had to pay steep professional and personal prices for their literary subversions. By mid to late-nineteenth-century, although papers declared non-partisan positions to assuage a public ripe with mistrust, the government maintained control through advertising subsidies for compliant publishers (Walkom, 2013, para. 1-20). An analysis of this control in media discourse is undertaken in this chapter and includes popular, Métis and Aboriginal politics, satire, education, travel, and history. The cross section of media provides an opportunity to focus attention on the representation Métis and Aboriginal Nations in Canada before, during, and after a conflict, and how Riel's trial and his subsequent execution was utilized in differing publishing outlets within a colonial gaze, as well as how these papers were countered by Riel's own paper, *The New Nation*.

It will be recalled that in his address to the court, Riel declared: "the papers were raging against me?" (1886, p. 149). The "rage" against Riel was not an extemporaneous public outburst. To examine this issue further in my analysis, it is necessary to delve deeper into the hidden recesses of Canada's newspaper archive. For this reason, I examine Canada's first newspaper, *The Halifax Gazette* (1752), as it offers a site from which to analyze the initial representational negation of Aboriginal Nations. My analysis also includes *The Nor'Wester* (1863), which is the North West's first colonial paper and reflects how government patronage and the Anglo Saxon-led Canada First Party

attempted to buttress its presence in specific geographical and political spaces to counter Métis sovereign forces. Other publications I examine comprise, *The Canadian History Periodical* (1898-1900) which advocates that history be taught as a “fascinating story” in order to educate children. The Grip Printing and Publishing Company’s *Educational Weekly* (1885) was distributed during the 1885 Resistance, Riel’s trial, and execution. *The Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle* (1879-1897) provides a pedagogical base from which to examine the period’s burgeoning national curriculum and educational agenda. *The Indian* (1885), as a periodical devoted to “the Aborigines of North America and especially to The Indians of Canada” and launched one month after Riel’s execution, was founded and edited by Head Chief Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Dr. P.E. Jones) who advocated assimilation policies. *The Canadian Indian* (1890) offers insight into the political and capital associations to a paper dedicated to promote the welfare of “Indians.” In 1870, Riel’s publishing coup of the colonial papers, *The Red River Pioneer* and *The Nor’Wester,* established his political vehicle, *The New Nation* for the Métis, First Nations, and white settlers in the North West. Finally, though not a news or periodical publication, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide* (1884) is significant within my analysis because of its mass distribution as a standard railway guide serving as a template for other guides. The nine publications cover a range of media including a regional distribution centralized in the North West to national presses all of which were influenced by international media. My selection of these publications offers an analysis of nineteenth-century media and its association to Riel and Métis sovereignty that has not yet been addressed in Canadian media scholarship. Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson (2011) argue that “with respect to Aboriginal peoples in

Canada, colonial imaginary has thrived, even dominated, and continues to do so in mainstream English-language newspapers" (2011, p. 14). Still, what needs to be further examined in the authors' conclusion is how the "thriving" occurs?

The "stereotype," as a naturalized vernacular vehicle, is among one of the culprits at work and while the word is utilized within a wide spectrum of academic and social structures, it is for this reason that it is critical to pause and examine how exactly it functions. In the situational context of Louis Riel's and the Métis peoples' persecution and discrimination it is illuminating to provide a historical context in which the stereotype, in its material and abstract production, was and continues to be foundational in the making of the imagined "Indian" in Canadian media. Thus, "the stereotype" is the focus in the section that follows.

Stereotype: The Material and Psychic Matrix

"It becomes important," as Julia Emberley (2007) argues, "to study the historical mechanisms of colonial representation, especially […] by tracing how the figure of the Aboriginal was mobilized simultaneously and in conjunction with colonial state practices that ranged from genocide to assimilation" (2007, p. xv). Discursive applications were distinctly bound up with territory as capital and specifically for Riel in the 1,400,000 acres sanctioned and set aside in the Manitoba Act for the children of the Métis, as discussed in the Prologue. Riel was well aware of the circulating media and its affiliation to political agents outfitted in multiple fields working under the auspices of the government when he wrote *Poesies* during his period of exile: "your 'possessed' press growls its philipics" (sic) (Riel, 1886, p. 6).[105] Riel's words require deliberation when

[105] "Philippic" refers to a vehement speech, also known as a tirade.

considering Emberley's argument that posits visual technologies as a mode of representation that exert "their own power, sacrificing human subjects to a field of subjugation to advance colonial oppression and exploitation" (2007, p. xvii). How did the "possessed press" express itself in association with territorial ownership and alternatively its demonic tendering, and what were the consequences? Riel exploits the oft-used motif of animalism applied to Aboriginal nations in "growls" and throws it back in his accusations against the colonial driven media and their rage. Derived from Old French *raige* in the eleventh century, the word "rage" relates to rabies, and in due course "madness" (OED, "rage," 2013). Riel takes hold of the stereotypes naturalized against indigenous populations, specifically himself, and tilts the mirror back at the Dominion.

The historical imaginings of "The Indian" also surface in contemporary public memory as evident during the October 31, 2011 daytime television talk show, *The View*. The hosts were discussing the recent and popularized controversy concerning Bruce Jenner's comment about his daughter, Kim Kardashian, who was asked to return her engagement ring. Jenner responded by saying that Kim's ex-fiancé was an "Indian Giver." Much to the surprise of the talk show hosts, the comment raised criticism from Native American Indian groups. Barbara Walters, an acclaimed veteran of popular journalism, remarked that she did not understand what the problem was and that the term was just part of "our common vernacular" (*The View*, 2011). Walters' comments reveal the embedded stereotypes within "our vernacular" as well as the privilege pronoun, "our." The stereotype of "the Indian Giver" and its misrepresentation is part of a unique national attribute that is resurrected, or as Roland Barthe (1977) explains, to maintain explicit unities by excluding "the other" (p. 294). The impression of nation is built over

time in multiple configurations and through the combination of text and images solidifies reliable narratives or flexible discursive strategies that act as mnemonic devices for controlling populations. As Anderson and Robertson contend,

> the content of newspaper imagery derives from the larger culture in which its readers participate; one might reasonably expect a consonance between press content and pre-existing reader bias. The result is that the news constitutes a kind of national curriculum, which emerges organically, as if nothing were more natural. In short, as curriculum news images do not present new material so much as they simply reinforce the status quo. (2011, p. 8)

Walters' comment adds to the "national curriculum," supported by her popular authority, and adds "value" to the racist and ironic idiom "Indian Giver," while she undermines the relational realities of indigenous reciprocal, governing, and civil economies.

Stereotypes are not spontaneous phenomena. As Hariman and Lucaites contend "the zone of intelligibility" (2007, p 26) is where a meeting of minds can take place – and this takes time. But where does "the zone" or perhaps what Wilkie Collins used as the title for his 1858 essay, "The Unknown Public," occur? How is the power wired? Where are the outlets? How and where is the materiality of "an image" soldered together to transmit the flash into psychic and collective knowing? The word stereotype, for instance, in the genesis of its materiality, is part of the apparatus in print production technology. Developed during the mid-nineteenth-century in Britain, the stereotype facilitated the process for printers to enlarge the quantity of their production. The process involved molding the letters and engravings using plaster to create a matrix, and then the frame is dipped into hot iron. A new matrix is formed to produce illustrations and text *en masse* and available for mass distribution to national and international media outlets using ship and rail technology as their colonial conduits. The stereotype of "The Indian" and the power of its imageries circulated near and far as evident in Robert Berkhofer (1979)

description of an unnamed tribesman who posed the question in 1646 to a member of the missionary: “why do they call us Indians?” (p. 4).

The rise of print culture was not a linear process; it was influenced by a multidisciplinary and intersectional practices of differing yet converging operations in print, knowledge, labour, and production – tools assembled through the colonial power’s white gaze. When describing the representation of Métis and Aboriginal peoples in Canada’s nineteenth-century historian, Lyle Dick explains that, “from the time of Confederation, the media has generated images of Canada, its constituent peoples and regions, exerting a wide-ranging impact on the country’s culture. To study these images, especially in the key period after 1867, is to witness the nation-state in the process of its ideological construction” (2004, para, 1). Duncan Koerber (2011) in his analysis of communication networks in nineteenth-century Canada explains that, “copies of partisan newspapers circulated widely throughout the colony through the work of networks of agents who also advised editors and collected payments. These were the first widespread mediated political communications networks in Canada” (2011, p. 138). Koerber is in agreement with other media scholars who admit that when it comes to nineteenth-century media, “little is known about the backgrounds and relationship of agents and their place in the political and economic systems of the colony” (Buxton and McKercher, 1998, p. 138). While Koerber’s comprehensive research attends to this gap, his analysis omits issues concerning race.

An example of a government’s economic media deliverable appeared in the early twentieth-century under the direction of James Alexander Robb, Minister of Immigration

and Colonization who produced immigration posters to encourage western Canada settlement (Figure 10).

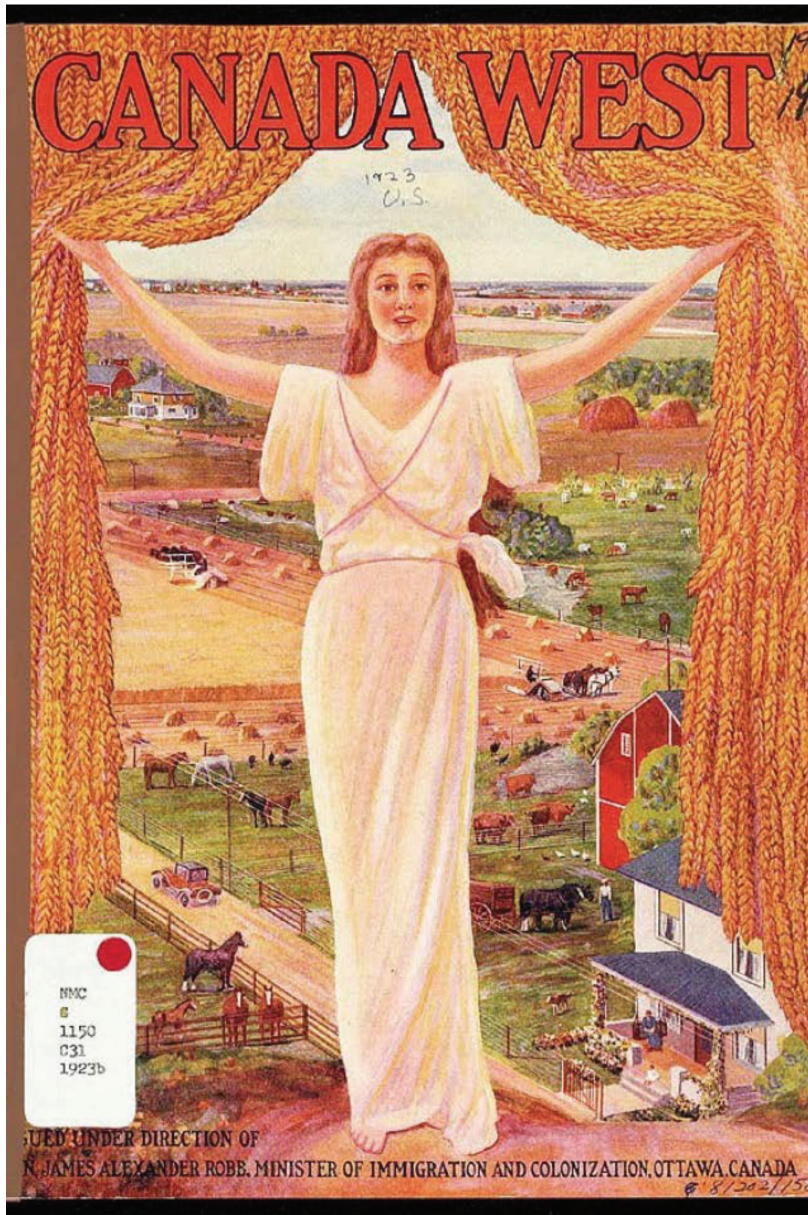

Figure 10.
Government of Canada. *Canada West,* colour lithograph, immigration poster (c. 1923-1925), issued under the direction of N. James Alexander Robb, Minister of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa, Canada. Public domain.

In the foreground of the image is the iconic white female figure similarly found in John Gast's painting, *American Progress* (1872), to be discussed later in this chapter. Absent from the poster's illustrated Canada West stage are the Métis peoples and First Nations communities. The government's advertising objective to increase settlement in the North West was met: between 1871 to 1886 Canada's population increased in the region with the highest escalation of growth in Manitoba at 247.2%.[106] The visible absence or invisible presence of Métis and First Nations within their sovereign jurisdictions was as naturalized as the colonizers incontrovertible sense of belonging in such promotional pieces and by extension their assumed belonging to the land. Emblematically, the invisible presence of Native peoples reproduced the stereotype of the "vanishing Indian" into what is seen as "real."

The nineteenth-century newspapers in America, Britain, and Canada were the most ubiquitous agent of popular education (Peters, 1999; Hildebrant and Soderlund, 2005; Burke, 2005; Brake 2009**;** Friesen, 2009, Anderson and Robertson, 2011) and owners and editors used stereotyped colonial ideologies as "real" occurrences to organize the meeting of minds, zones of intelligibility, and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" among strangers (2006, p. 6).[107] In his study of the development of Canada's citizenry and its association to communications and history, Gerald Friesen (2000) argues that in the nineteenth-century "bureaucrats hastened the adoption of laws and regulations by circulating them with the aid of library, newspaper, and telegram. Paper and telegraph

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[106] The statistics show the most growth during a period that bookends both 1869 and 1885 Resistances. Canada. (2013). "Canadian statistic in 1886." Statistics Canada. Online http://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb07/acyb07_0004-eng.htm

[107] See also, K. Hildebrandt and W.C. Soderlund (2005); G. Fetherling and D. Fetherling (1990); P. Audley, (1983); Canada, Royal Commission on Newspapers, *Report* (1981); Canada, Senate Special Committee on the Mass Media, *Report* (1970); J. Hamelin and A. Beaulieu (1966); W.H. Kesterton (1967); P. Rutherford (1978, 1982).

wire […] had replaced rivers and sailing vessels as the dominant media of communication in northern North America. The nation of Canada owes its birth to them" (p. 140). The colonial operations of the communication network, directed in a large part by Upper Canada elite, would also be applied strategically as it redefined space and time and who belonged (and who did not) within the "ordinary citizenry" (Friesen, 2000, p. 140). In short, the press authenticated, authorized, and naturalized the "we" and the "them" to constitute and polarize communities and its strangers.

The power networks in the nation of Canada were determined to deploy the ideologies of European whiteness and mobilize the stereotype of the "wild savage" and held within it the noble, the child, and the feminine. Nancy Black and Bette Weidman (1976) in their chapter "Feeding Memories," argue that to determine a sovereign state there must be an enemy and it manifested in the western illustrated press in the figure of "The Indian" (p. 130). Understanding that the nation's communication lines were inundated with the figure of "The Indian," in its multiple formations, begins to address Daniel Francis' (1992) question, which is also central to this project's analysis: "How did I begin to believe in the Imaginary Indian?" (p. 18). Francis considers stereotypes and examines how they affected public policies specifically in the court of law. He cites Justice Allan McEachern who, in 1991 borrowed from Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) when rendering his land claims decision between *Delgamuukw v. The Queen*: "the pre-contact Aboriginal life in this area was 'nasty, brutish and short" (1992, p. 15). McEachern's Hobbesian adage underscores the reach of a seventeenth-century sovereign model and how it remains as a viable rhetorical tool in a twentieth-century Canadian legal context particularly when considering the circumstance of McEachern's reference, his

judicial position, and Hobbes' stance on Indigenous peoples in the so-called "New World."

In the 'history' of establishing the "enemy-other," David Spurr explains that in "the Old Testament […] the accursedness of the Other, like the jeremiads of the prophets, has it origins in anxiety over the preservation of cultural order and in the need to designate the unknown by a set of signs which affirm, by contrast, the value of culturally established norms" (1993, p. 77). The "established norm" is hinged to the Foucaultian concept of continuity and how the precise function of, for instance, "the form of the same" influences the configuration of unity:

> it is intended to give a special temporal status to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical (or at least similar); it makes it possible to rethink the dispersion of history in the form of the same; it allows a reduction of the difference proper to every beginning, in order to pursue without discontinuity the endless search for the origin; tradition enables us to isolate the new against a background of permanence, and to transfer its merit to originality, to genius, to the decisions proper to individuals. (2002, p. 23)

However, the "preservation of cultural order" was not an easy task for editors and publishers who were in a constant battle to maintain subscribers, particularly in Canada with its far-reaching geography and printing houses that had little money and resources – creating a *zone of intelligibility* necessitated continuities in order for media networks to profit, and that required readership, advertisers, and sponsors. The government, however, was more than willing to oblige to contribute to its partisan (and self-generated presses) to maintain the capital flow, deploy its objectives, and maintain its sovereign order. The colonial *zone,* nevertheless, is fickle: disgruntled European settlers; divisive national politics; religious conflicts of interest; potential United States annexations; lack of an organized and effective military; susceptible national borders; government corruption;

inadequate railway and communication systems; provinces declaring autonomy and exerting bargaining power; increasing literacy rates; public mistrust and critical awareness of press partisanship; Métis and First Nations peoples land claims; political organization, and publishing; and radical writers and independent presses tactically hammering imperial fortresses, relentlessly, all exert tensions within such a zone. Most newspapers owners, even while declaring the evils of press partisanship, had government subsidies largely through advertisements. Nineteenth-century media networks were incestuous. Politicians worked as editors, and writers did double duty for both the government and newspapers. Journalists and artists were stationed as soldiers and military artists illustrated surveillance maps, which were reproduced into landscape lithographs and framed for hanging in Upper Canada parlors. As the Internet was the offspring of the industrial military complex in the twentieth-first century, so too the nineteenth-century newspaper finds its origin in military operatives delivered in many guises.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, the Industrial Revolution and the "acquisition" of timberland through Aboriginal territory made way for the rise of paper mills to support the growing publishing industry and its infrastructure. The formation of legislative assemblies in British North America (BNA) along with its political and religious factions skyrocketed the stakes for the government's growing need to invest in newspapers to convey its key motivations (Walkom, 2013, para. 1-20). Developing cities were encouraging settlement and industry while clamouring for advertising vehicles to promote capital ventures, as well as to satiate the burgeoning merchant demographics' growing appetite for political and war news. With the advent of the railway, the telegraph

and innovative printing technologies, broadsheets, newspapers, and periodicals were produced and circulated at a quickening rate and found easy allies in Canada's growing textile, domestic, travel, agricultural, and transportation industries to materialize the national narratives of progress and civilization (Walkom, 2013, para. 8). The continuity that bound the conceptual formation of "The Indian" with the federal government was, and continues to be, a complex configuration of power and capitalism. The government's work to consolidate and then divide the heterogeneity of Métis and Aboriginal Nations across Canada appears in, among other policies, the Indian Act and the signing of Treaties, as discussed in the Prologue. In the following section of this chapter, I trace and enter the "zones of intelligibility" to examine in more detail the continuities, discontinuities, and how the "enemy-other" was constituted through specific media operatives.

1493

The 1493 woodcut (Figure 11) "*Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*" ["Concerning islands recently discovered"] from Columbus' letter is what Foucault would identify as a discourse of historians and as such is related to the rituals of power (p. 66).

Figure 11
Epistola de insulis nuper inventis [translated from Latin, *Concerning islands recently discovered*] from Columbus's letter, ink woodcut on animal skin (c. 1493). Basel edition. Public domain.

The letter signifies "a moment of contact," in which the cultural and social value of the letter, and its illustrated offshoots, becomes an "operator of power, an intensifier of power" (Foucault, 2003, p. 66). Within this context, Foucault explains "the discourse of the historian to be a sort of ceremony, oral or written, that must in reality produce both a justification of power and a reinforcement of that power" (p. 66). The "axis of history" (p. 66) is also the site at which Columbus "demonstrate[d] the uninterrupted nature of the right of the sovereign and, therefore, the ineradicable force that he still possess in the present day" (p. 67). The axis of history, in wood block image, is stationed figuratively within the fifteenth century composition that situates the European ship horizontally in the foreground. The vessel cuts across the entire frame as a metaphoric guard to encode Spanish ownership, a press release of sorts, announcing their territorial claim to competing invading sovereign forces: the British, French, and Portuguese. It also embeds symbols to signify, for a medieval and largely illiterate Christianized European population, a biblical allusion to Noah's Ark and its cargo of two horses. Significant in this image is the female figure among the indigenous population who is crossing her hands over her chest. The Edenic tableau signals a cluster of meanings that legitimizes conquest as the colonizer's "civilized" duty, as a sovereign force, to redeem and save the "fallen savages." The Judeo Christian visual miscellany, thus, transforms as cues for the European readers who would draw from their collective knowledge, assumptions, and expectations to construct meaning(s). The rendered meeting of the "civilized" and the "savage" (each bound to interpretation) transcends from the pressed ink and wood to theoretical and philosophical conceptions of international western politics, art, science, and economics to assert particular European laws of religion, civility, and sovereignty.

The archetypal “savage” of the fifteenth century was not a singular or unique phenomenon; indeed, the imagery merely added “a new dimension to an already existing idea, that of *l’homme sauvage*, by revealing multitudes of people in the New World who appeared, to Europeans, to fit the concept, at least to some degree” (Dickason 1984, p. 63). The conceptual plasticity or floating meaning, here, is what Foucault might explain as a “notion of spirit”

> which enables us to establish between the simultaneous or successive phenomena of a given period a community of meanings, symbolic links, an interplay of resemblance and reflexion, or which allows the sovereignty of collective consciousness to emerge as the principle of unity and explanation. (2002, p. 24)

The communal meaning emerges in Renaissance Europe where the “savage” was interchangeable with “barbarian”; however; barbarian was more aptly applied to those who could be assimilated through education and religion (Dickason, 1984, p. 63). The narrative of the savage, on the other hand, “as long as the Wild Man existed in folk imagination […] influenced the European conception of the Amerindian” and was to remain exterior and outlawed from the civilized world (Dickason 1984, p. 80). The uncivilized “enemy-other” continues to be reconstituted in the colonization of Canada and is made palpable in the federal government’s historic and contemporary disdain toward and violence against Métis and Aboriginal Nations and their peoples.

Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott explain that after the war of 1812 the British as the European power in Canada

> eliminated the need for Aboriginal allies, thus rendering them irrelevant and expendable […] the Crown unilaterally asserted sovereignty over people and land. […] Aboriginal tribes may have had ‘natural title’ to land by virtue of prior occupancy; however, their seemingly uncivilized status allowed the British to rationalize acquisition in the name of civilization and Christianity. (2007, p. 180-1)

As discussed earlier, racialized designation based on western conceptual formations of "civilized" and its counter-point the "uncivilized" were a palimpsest of Canada as nation and emerge in Riel's charges that align him with the "Devil." The monstrous images and their narratives appear as naturalized in the systems of every day. The collective imagination, Dickason (1984) explains "set the pattern of representation as used in cartographical illustrations" (p. 51). Foucault would explain it as

> those ready-made syntheses, those groupings that we normally accept before any examination, those links whose validity is recognized from the outset; we must oust those forms and obscure forces by which we usually link the discourse of one man with that of another; they must be driven out from the darkness in which they reign. (2002, p. 25)

Yet, the ready-made syntheses that link *discourses* and *beings* are not all harboured in Foucault's metaphoric *darkness* but are quite visible, and practiced in Eurocentric modeled binaries and rely on individual zones of intelligibility. Robert A. Williams Jr. argues that one of the obscure forces in the colonizers' strategy toward the will of empire is found in, among other generated legal proclamations, *The Doctrine of Discovery,* as discussed in my Introduction. The Doctrine sanctions the "denial of territorial and self-determination rights for indigenous peoples equal to the rights of western people, which works to deny respect to the Indians' visions in numerous ways." Williams explains that as a consequence "certainly one of the most threatening is its denial of their right to an equal voice as peoples on the world stage" (1990, p. 327). Williams contends that the

> *Doctrine of Discovery* authorized sovereign ancient legitimating foundations of the superior rights of Christian Europeans the inchoate rights of conquest and ultimate title to infidel-held territories not yet granted to English American subjects. Thus while imperial policy of the eighteenth century recognized the Indian tribes' rights of occupancy over their lands, under the legal discourse of the proclamation that right was a diminished one. The Crown held the superior sovereign interest in their lands by virtue of 'discovery.' (1990, p. 229)

The law cohered to the blitz of adventurers' discovery narratives. Foucault explains

> how the different texts with which one is dealing refer to one another, organize themselves into a single figure, converge with institutions and practices, and carry meanings that may be common to a whole period […] In relation to this implicit, sovereign, communal 'meaning', statements appear in superabundant proliferation, since it is to that meaning alone that they all refer and to it alone that they owe their truth. (2002, p. 133)

Sovereignty recreates itself in the material it produces: "history was the history of sovereignty" (Foucault, 2003, p. 68). The spillage and seepage of the superabundant proliferation of images and narratives connected with, among others, the French who referred to the so-called New World men as *hommes, gens, habitants, indigènes*, or most likely, *cannibales*" (Dickason 1984, p. 64). When speaking specifically of war tactics, as this chapter's epigraph makes evident, Caribs would be classified as cannibals who were without reason according to Pierre d'Avity (1573-1635) "and must be considered as enemies of humankind, or else as maniacs who must be first rendered capable of reason and humanity, and then instructed in virtue and the Christian faith" (Dickason 1984, 69). Consider La Croix's writing on the indigenous peoples in Canada: "I rank with beasts those savage peoples who do not use reason" (Dickason, 1984, p. 65). Here, the artificial and *ready-made* congruence, the link, between "enemies" and "maniacs" or *discourses* and *beings* is distinctly relevant to Riel's trial as discussed in Chapter 1 and 2. The defense's plea of innocence *vis á vis* Riel's insanity, couched with testimony, such as, his "eating blood," operates to undermine his leadership and acts symbolically to delegitimize Métis sovereignty as a whole.

The gatekeepers of the imagined community disseminated legal discourse of territorial acquisition of the alleged "New World" through print production and travel

narratives to legitimize "new knowledge" by proxy or "a European being there" in order to distinguish "truth." Members of indigenous nations were of course not consulted to verify the "truth" about their lives, and if they were it was retold through the colonial voice and imagination. Foucault explains, "we are also subject to the truth in the sense that truth lays down the law: it is the discourse of truth that decides, at least in part; it conveys and propels effects of power." (2003, p. 25). The fabrication of these "truths" and "discoveries" were part-and-parcel of the mercantile economy that was hinged on law and media, and appeared in eighteenth-century Europe in two forms: the novel and the newspaper (Anderson and Robertson, 2011, p. 24-5). What was particular about these forms is how they operate to consolidate nation. Benedict Anderson (1983) explains in his definition of nation, that it is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (1983, 2006, p. 6). The media "provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that would signal and congeal 'nation'" (Anderson and Robertson, 2011, p. 24-5), or rather "one nation state," as Jiwani (2010) argues, a point which I elaborate upon further in chapter 4. The emergence of both styles was critical. In the hands of journalists, writers, politicians, and lawmakers' narratives, these formations would perpetuate the naturalization of unification with the images of "terra nullius," "discovery," and the "Indian." In the following sections, I provide a critical and qualitative discourse analysis of the publications outlined in my literary review. I begin with Canada's first official newspaper, *The Halifax Gazette.*

The Halifax Gazette

> Paper, sir? Paper!" That's the cry every hour of the day now, and almost every hour of the night, in all the civilized world. We cannot imagine life without the

newspaper. (Bushell, 1752, p. 1)[108]

In March 1752 while a small community of about 4,000 people living inland from the shores of Nova Scotia were reading, or listening to someone read, Canada's first newspaper from a two-page tabloid on folded foolscap, the British Empire was adopting the Gregorian calendar. From the modest print shop on Grafton Street, the alchemic pressings of ink, paper, and woodblocks were marking out a zone in which not only time was theologically and ideologically mobilized as Christian and western under a civil calendar, but imagined communities were tapped, filled, and ignited. Headlines presenting "Foreign Advices," and "From the British Prints" were pressed out on paper to embellish the staid rural listings with events from Europe and the other colonies. John Bushell's publishing arm of the colonial government would rely on its patronage to survive. The paper contained birth, marriage, and death notices that were side-by-side with information for the merchant class, local politicians, and military personnel. The paper's masthead illustrations were already acclimatized in the readers' imaginations. As settlers largely from the United Kingdom they would identify the branding of the British Empire and the paper's reader would be assured of their sense of belonging (Figure 12).

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[108] Opening editorial in the 1752 edition.

NOVA-SCOTIA. No. 1.

THE

Halifax GAZETTE.

MONDAY, *March* 23. 1752.

AS many of the Subſcribers to the Propoſals for publiſhing of this PAPER, may be deſirous of knowing the Cauſe why it hath been *ſo long delayed*; the Printer begs Leave to inform them, That the Gentleman who is poſſeſs'd of the original Subſcriptions, whenever deſired, will give them a ſatisfactory Account. And as the Letter-Preſs is now commodiouſly fixed for the Printing Buſineſs, all ſuch Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, as may have Occaſion for any Thing in that Way, may depend upon being ſerved in a reaſonable and expeditious Manner, by their

Moſt Obedient,
Humble Servant,
John Buſhell.

By the laſt Papers, &c. from London, *by the Way of* Boſton, *we have the following Intelligence, viz.*

FOREIGN ADVICES.

ROME, September 24.

A Few Days ago, as the Pope was going in his Coach to the Quirinal, an ordinary man kneeled in the Street upon his Knees as if he wanted to receive a Bleſſing from him, which as he was going to [illegible]

[illegible] to laſt twice as long. Secondly, Will ſave Numbers of Seamen, as well as preſerve the Cargoes. Thirdly, All ſuch Ships, that make uſe of it, require but little Ballaſt, ſo conſequently, will hold more [illegible]. Fourthly, The Ship will anſwer the Helm much better, and ſail faſter by ſome Knots in an Hour, &c. &c. &c.

Nov. 23. Laſt Saturday Night died, in the 78th Year of his Age, that great Mechanic Mr. George Graham, F. R. S. Watchmaker in Fleet ſtreet, who may truly be ſaid to have been the Father of the Trade, not only with Regard to the Perfection to which he brought Clocks and Watches, but for his great Encouragement to all Artificers employ'd under him, by keeping up the Spirit of Emulation among them.

Nov. 19. Laſt Week happened a very melancholy Accident, which, we hear, is as follows, viz. Mr. Dutoy, Confectioner to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Norris ſtreet, in the Hay-Market, being on Friday Evening at a Tavern near Pall-Mall, with an eminent Chymiſt, who was his intimate Friend and Neighbour, of a ſudden complained of a violent Pain in his Side, which he frequently labour'd under; his Friend endeavoured to perſwade him, that he would ſoon get the better of it, if he would go immediately to Bed, and take in the Morning a Doſe of Phyſick that he would ſend him for that Purpoſe, accordingly the Draught had it's deſired Effect; and on Saturday Morning about Eight o'Clock, he was ſeemingly quite recovered, and at his own Door. His Friend, who was glad to find him ſo much better when he came in the Morning, thought it adviſeable to order him a ſecond Doſe, which one of his Servants being left to prepare, (and at the ſame Time ſeveral Cheſts of Medicines being packing in the Shop for Exportation) by ſome unhappy Means, a Phial, containing a Liquid of a poiſonous Nature, was ſent inſtead; which, on the Patient's ſwallowing, he was [illegible]

Figure 12
The Halifax Herald, 1752, John Bushell, ed., image of ink, woodblock on paper, from *Halifax Gazette – Canada's First Newspaper* (Halifax, 1752), Collection of Government of Nova Scotia. Public domain.

On the left side of the image is a woodcut with a ship in the foreground—a 1493 palimpsest of *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*—and in the background is a fort with a British flag. The right side wood cut reveals a settler who is breaking through a forest with a similar fort in the background. The image is sated with symbols of "discovery," "settlement," and "New World" to convey the ideological maxim: "founders of nation." Yet, the colonial stamping evacuates the presence (and sovereignty) of Aboriginal peoples. It is instead rigged with the bobbles of British sovereignty in the hopes to gather a far-flung population into a collective imaginary of a new white colony protected by the

Empire. The illustration also occludes that three years prior to the *Halifax Gazette* being launched, Edward Cornwallis, who was stationed in Halifax, ordered the Scalping Proclamation[109] and issued a bounty with a reward of 10 guineas for the scalps of Mi'kmaq men, women, and children. The bounty was increased a year later to fifty pounds for each scalp (Paul, 1993, p. 10). In 1756, Governor Charles Lawrence continued the proclamation with amendments specifying the age of the child and the acceptance of prisoners (1993, p. 10).[110] The widespread colonial violence veiled by the illustrations of national innocence still remains in the Nova Scotia legislation.[111] Another instance of "whiting out" a history of national violence occurs in a notice of Cornwallis' appointment as agent for the colony that appears as the second last entry in the *Herald's* 1752 paper.

Presses began to appear across the eastern coast and moved westward with the population through Lower and Upper Canada. From these stations, publishers, writers, and politicians were looking west for territory, settlement, and economic gain. Over a hundred years after Bushell fired up his Halifax press, two newspapermen from Upper Canada headed to the North West to launch their paper, *The Nor'Wester*.

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[109] See also "Governor Edward Cornwallis: British Genocide – Scalping Proclamations: -1749 and 1750" at Daniel Paul's website http://www.danielnpaul.com/BritishScalpProclamation-1749.html. See also Daniel Paul (2007). *We Were Not the Savages: First Nations History – Collision Between European and Native American Civilization.*

[110] See also Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs and the Elders Advisory Committee. (2013) "3.0c Proclamations." *First Nations Orientation Guide.* Nova Scotia: Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat Inc. Online. http://www.gov.ns.ca/abor/docs/other-resources/Orientation-Guide-Atlantic-First-Nations-(2).pdf

[111] CBC reported that on January 4, 2000, Mi'kmaq Chiefs publicly demanded that the proclamation be removed, although this effort has been long-standing. The Liberal government responded by saying that "the bounty was superseded by later treaties. Then they added that they're not sure Nova Scotia has the power to rescind something that took place before Confederation. The Nova Scotia government's secrecy is also making it impossible for the public to access the documents as memo after memo, document after document is completely whited out" (CBC, 2000). The CBC article concludes in stating that economics may be the cause of the government's refusal to release information because of the potential compensation that would have to be paid to the Mi'kmaq Nations. For the full article, see CBC News. "Two hundred year-old scalp law still on books in Nova Scotia."(January 4, 2000). Online http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2000/01/04/mikmaq000103.html

The Nor'Wester (1859 – 1869)

The last spike struck in a finished intercontinental railway would not be swung for another twenty-six years (1885) when the *Nor'Wester* commenced operation. Writers producing narratives based on the Canadian Pacific Railway's (CPR) imagined completion was not uncommon in the press, including in *The Nor'Wester.* The CPR was the conceptual model of territorial unification and capital investment. The colonial fantasy was deemed necessary and used to market settlement to the North West and to keep, among other continental management strategies, British Columbia out of American hands, and more urgently to ensure a military transport, surveillance, and communication network which would stretch from coast to coast. The *Nor'Wester* was the first paper in Canada's North West and the owners were not sheepish in their efforts to profit from the speculator, settler, and industry economies. The challenge, on the other hand, for this neophyte press was technology: lack of a telegraph service, un-passable roads, no rail line, and an unpredictable news services that would reach the outskirts weeks or months after its published dated and usually received by the local Hudson's Bay Company post whose employee might have a subscription to Toronto's *Globe* or *London Daily Times*. (Garland, 1958, para. 4–13). Yet against these odds, printing forged ahead and pressed its way out of the Fort Garry print shop into the Red River settlement by two Ontarians, William Buckingham and William Coldwell. The two owners operated the press and made certain that the public was well aware of their Odyessian-like journey by oxen that pulled their printing machines across the land while the two men faced the perils of the "unknown wild" territory. The Métis scouts who provided the men with directions and

ensured their survival remain unacknowledged. On December 28, 1859 their paper opened for business and declared its objective:

> We came here "strangers in a strange land." Not as enemies, intent upon spying out its nakedness — not as adventurers, indifferent to all considerations save those of self — not as partisans, resolved to further the ends of party or of faction at whatever cost to the peace of the country. We came with a view of making this place our home. We came persuaded that the time has arrived when this fertile and magnificent country, thrown open to the people of all lands, needs an exponent of its opinion, its feeling, its varied and yet common interests, through the medium of the Press. And *The Nor'Wester* shall afford evidence of the genuineness of our movement. Today we scatter its broadcast amongst those who, though personally strangers, are already friends. (Buckingham and Coldwell, 1859, p. 1)

The editors' prospectus, contained within an ostensibly benevolent colonial continuity, is interrupted with the internal contradiction of the owners' future intentions. The declaration of non-partisanship is fractured in the knowledge that in 1864 John Christian Schultz, founder of the organization, The Canadian Party would become a partner in the enterprise. A year later, he became the sole proprietor. The Canadian Party, an offshoot from The Canada First Party, described in the Prologue, was driven by an Anglo Saxon ideology under the banner of nationalism and unification. The symbiotic relationship between race and nationalism was deployed when the newspaper disseminated government-supported ideologies while Upper Canada elite funded and supplied the Canada First party with arms during the 1869 Red River Rebellion (Dickason, 2009, p. 237-9; Peel, 1974, p. 31). By stating that they "came with the view of making this place *our* home" (italics mine) eclipses the owners work to circumvent the communities that were already living in *that home.* Moreover, in their "objectives," Buckingham and Coldwell draw from the colonial lexicon of violence concealed in the romantic euphemisms of: "nakedness," "fertile" and "scattering their broadcast" to "strangers."

The textual sketch resonates with Young's statement that "colonial discourse takes over as it takes cover" and in such a way "implicitly claims the territory surveyed as the colonizer's own; the colonizer speaks as an inheritor whose very vision is charged with racial ambition"(1995, p. 28). In addition, Young explains that the "unstated connections between the sexual and the lexical" is "the allegorization of colonized nations in terms of the female figure (bodily, rhetorical) [and] has been a cliché of colonial history" (p. 171). The colonial cliché, as a product of sovereignty, designations of civility, and bound to memory, also embraces a convenient paradox, forgetting – specifically the violence against Métis and Aboriginal women and girls which was "an integral part of nineteenth-century settler strategies of domination" (Razack, 2002, p. 130).

Forgetting is memory deferred. What is often deferred in the historical context of Riel along with the Métis peoples is their coup of *The Nor'Wester*. During the 1869 Red River Rebellion, Riel and his army gained control of the press, melted down the *Nor'wester's* iron letterpress with its stereotypes and used the scrap metal as bullets against the Dominion's forces, which included members of The Canada First Party (Peel, 1974, p. 37). The outcome, as discussed in the Prologue, was the Métis establishing itself formally as a sovereign government in the Dominion. During this conflict, Riel bought out another paper called *The Red River Pioneer* that was owned at that time by Coldwell. Riel launched *The New Nation*. His paper advocated for political rights on behalf of Métis and Aboriginal peoples, as well as white settlers in the North West and Americans. More significantly, the Métis were publishing to "their" readers within their zone of intelligibility.

The New Nation

Published weekly from January 7, 1870 to September 3, 1870 for three pence a copy, *The New Nation* was the realization of Riel's publishing and political takeover of the *Nor'Wester.* Operated by Riel, the four-page newspaper served as a political organ to report the details of the Métis Provisional Government. It was a radical and alterative media entry critiquing the happenings of imperialism, among other regional, national and international events. Located in the town of Red River (Winnipeg), *The New Nation* took shape as a printing house and advertised itself as a producer of ornamental printing, law forms, circulars, cards, bill heads, posters, handbills, sermons, pamphlets, books and job printing "cheaply and expeditiously executed." As an instrument to carry a counter colonial discourse, Riel infused its pages with content that set out to invert the colonial stereotypes held against the Métis and Aboriginal peoples or those who are deemed as stopping up "civilization." He made no apology to position the Dominion and its agents as his targets while manipulating imperial discourses and language to convey the message. The majority of items were printed in English with the occasional item in French. Riel published supporting news items from presses across Canada, the United States, and Europe, which demonstrates, in some ways, the cross section of the Resistance's advocates. In a similar rhetorical vein, as Davin's military-journalism metaphor,[112] Riel gathered his artillery and fired against the Dominion's well-crafted technology and discursive machinery. The presses' revenue was generated by local business advertising and located on page three and four. In stark contrast to the government's partisan papers, there is no advertising for land purchases.

One notable entry of subversion is a satirical ballad entitled, "The Masterly Retreat of Gov. W. Macdougall (originally published in the *Montreal Herald*). It appears

[112] Nicholas Flood Davin describes his reporting style figuratively as militaristic, as discussed in Chapter 2.

on page four of the first volume. The piece's sub-heading identifies the original source of the parody: "The King of Cannibal Islands." The ballad was first sung on a cold Saturday morning on September 18, 1858 at Glasgow's popular Poet's Box of St. Andrew's Lane. The chorus was tuned to the then familiar "Hokee pokee wonkee fum." Broadsheets were inexpensive to publish and thus widely distributed, often read orally as well as released in printed form; the ballad thereby was remembered and recounted with ease. The song's racist and not uncommon lyrical motif depicts a cannibal king who "was so tall – near six feet six / He had a head like Mister Nick's / His palace was like Dirty Dick's / T'was built of mud for want of bricks / And his name was Poonoowingkewant, Flibeedee flobeedee-buskeebang." The opening lines depict a Native chief as a simile with "Nick" (a common referent to the devil), and positions gibberish to parody an Aboriginal name. The second stanza unfolds as follows:

> This mighty king had, in one hut,
> Seventy wives as black as soot,
> And thirty of a double smut
> The King of Cannibal Islands
> […]
>
> Of fifty wives he was bereft,
> And so he had but fifty left
> He said with them he would make shift,
> So for a gorge all set off swift
> The fifty dead ones were roasted soon,
> And all demolished before the noon
> And a lot of chiefs vowed to have soon
> The King of Cannibal Islands.

The *New Nation*'s entry printed a version that subverts the lyrics as follows:

Willie Macdougall (sic) went one day
> Out to the Nor'West, far away
> A sacrifice for place and pay\Poor hungry Willie Macdougall
> Poor simple Willie thought, you see
> An Indian nabob he would be

In the dreary wilderness, so he
Made up his mind for a swinging fee.
But the Indians of Hudson's Bay
Made Willie shriek with sad dismay,
And the half-castes made a cast-away
Of hungry Willie Macdougall. (Cousin Sandy, 1870, p. 3)

The parody mocks William "Macdougall"[113] the proclaimed Governor General of Red River. As described in the Prologue, the Métis army refused him entry into their territory in 1869, a move that ignited the Red River Resistance. This particular work undermines McDougall as a sovereign agent, yet also positions him figuratively as a synecdoche, or a part of a whole with the Dominion, as the hungry imperialist, a colonial cannibal. Moreover, as a reverse tactic, the parody "casts out" or outlaws the Dominion, and its agent, not only symbolically in an independently run Métis press, but also materially at their geographical border.

"Cousin Sandy" signs off as the author of the satire. The pseudonym stands in for a Scottish emigrant to Canada, John Fraser (1838-1898) who resided in Montreal. Fraser, a well-known English Chartist, was held in constant suspicion because of the movement's denouncement of imperialism and its advocating on the rights of labour, as well as democracy in the bustling industrial age. Fraser's satire would appear often in the *Montreal Herald,* including the above parody republished by Riel. Other writings by Fraser appeared in the *New Nation*, which signals a journalistic allegiance that was located not only in Quebec, but also with Scottish settlers who denounced the invasion of imperialism in its multiple formations.

Another example of Riel's mediated strategy is in the article, "The North-West"; it appears on the first page, in the first volume on January 7, 1870 and was reprinted from

[113] The paper's editor, Riel, spells William McDougall's name incorrectly as part of the satire.

the *Halifax Nova Scotian*. I include the extract at length because of the dearth in the awareness of counter discourses, which appeared in Métis publications. The article also reflects how the Métis and the Resistance agenda were not contained phenomena, but known and asserted across Canada, the United States, and Britain. The article supports the issues that Riel raises in his address during his trial and in his condemnation of the Dominion. It opens with a reminder to the readership that the North West territory was sold by Britain (Hudson's Bay Company) to the Dominion for three hundred thousand pounds sterling:

> The people of the Red River Territory, whites, Indians, and half-breeds are never consulted about the transfer made of them by the Company. Rights that they believed themselves possessed of, not to be sure so well defined as those of persons in more civilized countries, were traded away, and before they had fully realized that they were entitled to the proud privilege of the citizenship of the Dominion they found our Government surveyors, with links and chains, parceling out the land of which they had deemed themselves the proprietors. Indian and white immediately determined to resist this robbery, and the surveyors were driven from their work […] Nothing else could be expected from those people, unless they could be supposed somewhat less than human; and the Dominion Government, in so summarily dealing with their territory, without making the smallest enquiry as to their wishes, has shown itself wanting in every quality of statesmanship […] But we fail to see that civilization should be spread by the violation of men's rights, or that the glory of the Dominion is to be increased by the robbery of a few thousand people. (Anonymous, 1870, p. 2)

Written 15 years before Riel stood in the Regina courtroom, the writer at the Nova Scotia press relates the same issues that Riel brought before the court in Regina when defending his acts of resistance. On February 4, 1870 edition on page one, Riel prints the outcome at the "Convention at Fort Garry, Bill of Rights." The time was noted as "Ten o'Clock, p.m.":

> English and French Representatives again in session. The minutes having been read and confirmed and the roll called. Dr. Bird, the Secretary of the Committee appointed to draw up the Bill of Rights presented the list prepared by the committee, which was handed to the Secretaries. The document was one

> containing a list of demands in the event of the country entering the Dominion as a Territory […] as far as possible, I may say in the name of the committee, we endeavored to deal with the principal points; and we must rely on the Convention to finish the work we begun (cheers). (Riel, 1870, February 4, p. 1)

Riel's recording and publishing the details of executive committee protocols inclusive of minutes, attendance, and the representation at a convention that comprises English and French symbolically counters the pejorative discursive colonial strategies that demarcate the Métis people's inability to govern, to establish a sovereign state, and to function accordingly within parliamentary protocols. The addition of the theatrically formulaic (cheers) punctuates the positive solidarity toward self-governance to be entered into the historical record, and more significantly that the meeting was witnessed. The parenthesis device, when recalled from Chapter 2, was used alternatively by Nicholas Flood Davin in the *Regina Leader's* coverage of the trial with his use of [Laughter] to undermine and humiliate Riel. Riel's determination to document the Métis sovereign movement and its history would be continually challenged by conquest technologies, government agents, and capitalists who would through the media refuse Métis history and instead instill what would be remembered as "Canadian History" reminding us of Foucault's assertion that "so the clash between the history of sovereignty and the history of race war leads to a perpetual interaction, and to the production fields of knowledge and of knowledge-contents" (Foucault, 2003, p. 78).

The Canadian History Periodical [114]

"History," it has been suggested, "is produced as a way to manage the past, a narrative which tends to yield the present as a happy ending" (Kelley, 1995, p. 8), endings where

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[114] The periodical was issued quarterly, priced at 15 cents, published by Barnes & Company, Printers in St. Johns, New Brunswick and was launch in1898.

“amnesia can be seen as an essential part of the culture of conquest: settled territories get described as pristine wilderness” (Kelley, p. 7). History is a palimpsest. Levels of narration are effaced, over-written by dominant imperial ideologies and cultural authorities; however, the lives, their stories and voices are always present, re-emerging, re-engaging. The *Canadian History Periodical* is a publication that ran from 1898 to 1900 and was designed to generate for the Canadian student a desire to learn history because “History so studied will be a happy mean between the delightful amusement of a ‘fascinating story’ and the dry husks of details to be memorized from text-books” (Editors, 1898, p. 3). The aim, as declared by the periodical editor, “will be to make history instructive” (1898, p. 2). One of the entries in the opening edition of the periodical is an excerpt from “Jacques Cartier’s First Voyage to the Eastern Coast of Canada,” edited by W.F. Ganong (1898). It appeared in the first quarterly edition of *Canadian History* distributed by the *Educational Review Supplementary Readings* in 1898. As an opening entry in the educational journal, how then is Cartier’s travel narrative to be considered instructive and what is the pedagogy in its *happy mean*? The following excerpt describes the indigenous women “greeting” the incoming crew from France:

> The other women who had crossed to the other coast where we were, came very friendly to us and rubbed our arms with their hands, and would lift the joined hands to heaven, making many signs of joy. And in such manner reassured us, so that finally we traded hand to hand with them for all they possessed, which is but of small value. We saw that they are people whom it would be easy to convert. (1898, p. 14)

The colonial imagery circulating representations of indigenous women and girls was already embedded into the British North American psyche, as deeply as it was cut into the wood that printed Columbus’ illustration (Figure 11). McClintock’s analysis of

imperial representation of "the other" brings forward questions concerning violence and power and its interconnectedness with desire and difference (1898, p. 15). As an example, earlier in the Cartier passage, the explorers shoot and kill approaching male Natives arriving in canoes; the women however are designated as "possessions with a small value." McClintock recounts Columbus' feminization of the territory in which he

> figures the earth as a cosmic breast, in relation to which the epic male hero is a tiny, lost infant, yearning for the Edenic nipple. The image of the earth breasts here is redolent not with male bravura of the explorer, invested with his conquering mission, but with an uneasy sense of male anxiety, infantilization and longing for the female body. (p. 22)

Almost a century after Columbus landing and Cartier's matters of territorial conquest were encoded within his travel narrative, the European male "would remain the epic hero in the machinery of conversion and acquire the women to fulfill the long tradition of male travel as an erotics of ravishment" (McClintock, 1995, p. 22). The women in the colonial zone are imprinted as nymphs-like boundary markers, as ambiguous mediators fantasized in the imagined zone represented as desiring the civilized while remaining at all times "savage" (McClintock, 1995, p. 24). Riel unveiled the colonial violence against women, a public revelation that was refused in politics, law and in the education of the public. His advocacy for the rights of Métis and First Nations' women and girls is discussed in Chapter 4.

McClintock argues, "all too often, Enlightenment metaphysics presented knowledge as a relation of power between two gendered spaces, articulated by a journey and a technology of conversion: the male penetration and exposure of a veiled, female interior; and the aggressive conversion of its 'secrets' into a visible male science of the surface" (1995, p. 23). As Cartier's writing explains, "I believe, more than ever, that the

people will be easy to convert to our holy faith" (1995, p. 14). Here, colonial ecstasy has multiple articulations through which the western god is used to mediate the acts of penetration, define gendered boundaries, and simultaneously authorize as it necessitates bodily exploitation and violence. Significant is the representation of masculinity. McClintock explains the colonial anxiety "as the visible trace of paranoia, feminizing the land is a compensatory gesture, disavowing male loss of boundary by reinscribing a ritual excess of boundary, accompanied, all too often, by the excess of military violence" (1995, p. 24), as recorded in Cartier's sixteenth-century narrative and adapted in the nineteenth-century by Ganong:

> […] five others of those coming from the sea united, and they came close to Our boat, dancing and making many signs of wishing our friendship, saying to us in their language, *Napou tou daman,asurtar*, and other words we understood not. But because we had, as has been said, but a single boat, we would not trust in their (male) signs, but made signs to them to draw off, which they would not do, but came towards us in such great force that they completely surrounded us with their seven boats; and, since they would not draw off for any signs that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them. (Ganong, 1898, p. 13)

The threshold of known and unknown, belonging and unbelonging are laden within Cartier's anxiety and invasion discourse. The Aboriginal males represented as "dancing," with "a language they know not," and that "we would not trust" created a hierarchical space to sanction a military intervention of hypermasculinity to conquer and subsequently feminize. Alternatively, the indigenous women and girls are represented as compliant through their "consensual" physical contact of rubbing the explorers' arms with their hands and lifting their hands with joy. The allusion resonates with the colonial discourse of "savior-transgressor" as "the indigenous women extend an inviting hand that insinuates sex and submission" (McClintock, 1995, p. 26).

The early template of racialized and gendered segregation are salient to consider

during Riel's trial as the spatial dynamics formed within masculine military discourses which authorize who has the power to judge, dictate, record, silence and ultimately execute in matters of sovereignty, civility and memory. Yet, as McClintock explains "the discoverers" who arrived were far from Vespucci's fantasy of iron armor or even in Cartier's silks but more likely

> filthy, ravenous, unhealthy, and evil smelling (and their minds) infested by fantasies of the unknown […] Their unsavory rages, their massacres and rapes, their atrocious rituals of militarized masculinity sprang not only from the economic lust for spices, silver and gold, but also from the implacable rage of paranoia. (1995, p. 28)

Colonial violence against indigenous peoples and their accompanying narratives and images would remain inside the zone of the colonial intelligibility naturalizing them as necessary to extinguish and exploit.

From Columbus, Vespucci, to Cartier and Champlain, the nucleus of religious conversion was intimately linked with the land and the body. "The Winter at St. Croix Island," Samuel de Champlain's 1604 travel narrative follows Cartier by continuing the theme of reforming the so-called "savages." The narrative includes a map of the established Habitasion and was published in Paris in 1613 (Figure 13).

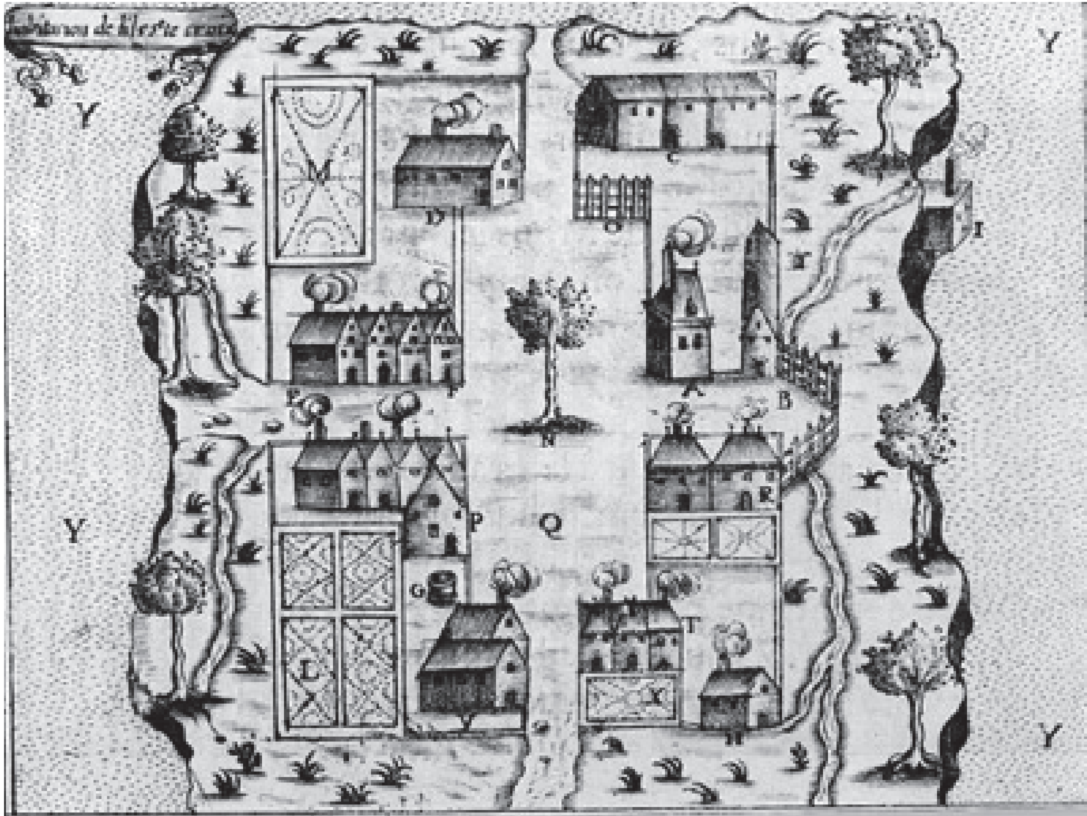

Figure 13.
Samuel de Champlain, Habitasion map from “The Winter at St. Croix Island,” ink, woodcut on paper (1604, 1613). Public domain.

The English-style community is bordered, as if cut out from the land, and surrounded by water on all sides and described as “the river which flows around the island.” Complete with a general meetinghouse, the illustration includes English style gardens, lodgings for the Catholic clergy, kitchens, the forge, and palisade. The map provides a spatial materiality of “the conversion” as it segregates what is deemed “civilized” habitation rather than what is described as “miserable.” Cartography denotes ownership. The colonial mapping of boundaries also designate spaces of transgression; the practice is recalled from Chapter 2 and the North West Mounted Police report in the *Regina Leader*, as well as appearing in this chapter’s epigraph. McClintock contends that

> map-making became the servant of colonial plunder, for the knowledge constituted by the map both preceded and legitimized the conquest of territory. The map is a technology of knowledge that professes to capture the truth about a place in pure scientific form, operating under the guise of scientific exactitude and promising to retrieve and reproduce nature exactly as it is. (1995, p. 28)

McClintock further explains "the failure of European knowledge appears in the margins and gaps of these maps in the forms of cannibals, mermaids and monsters, threshold figures eloquent of the resurgent relations between gender, race and imperialism" (1995, p. 28). The periodical's editor is careful to add in a footnote: "The description of the environs of the Island of St. Croix, given in the text, is entirely accurate" (17, fn 2). In this sense, the Native populations who remained unconverted-unassimilated resided among *the monsters* in the abyss outside of the established quarters of "civilized" borders.

Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle

National imaginaries were being reawakened as state borders were grounded, and by the mid-nineteenth-century in Canada, educational reform was underway with its new patron saint, Edgerton Ryerson who brandished a banner to fight the perils of unregulated mass media in the public milieu. For the Dominion there was an impetus to indoctrinate the masses "with moral education." The activity has many entry points in Canada and one appears in Britain with Charles Knight's 1832, *Penny Magazine* publication, the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. The publication's iconic literary line up was showcased to extol the ideals of civilized literature for not only the improvement and education of a quickly growing reading public, but also to control what that public read

(King and Plunkett, 2005, p 126).[115] His international publication included the *Penny Cyclopedia, Pictorial Shakespeare*, and *Pictorial Bible*. The impression of nation is built over time in multiple configurations and through the combinations of flexible strategies, texts, and images, reliable fictions emerge that act as mnemonic devices for controlling populations. *Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle,* ran from 1879 to 1897, promoted Charles Knight's publication and was designed specifically to support the fledgling Canadian education program. The editor's opening statement, "The Promotion of Culture," was published in February 1879 in which he states that "the not unreasonable expectation of those who closely and interestedly watch the results of educational work in Canada, is, that it shall largely contribute to the public culture, and be successful in elevating the tastes and refining the life of the people" ("Prospectus," 1879, p. 5). The editor also separates the periodical away from the "cheap performances of journalism" (p. 68) in the mass media by reassuring its audience that their publication strives for higher journalism through education. The published essay written in 1879, "Education a Succession of Experience," by A.R. Grote (1879) provides the "science" behind the government's method to implement education reform and thereby control the public at psychic levels.

> A study of the phenomena of the human intellect teaches us that there is a process going on by which external matters are being pictured in the brain through the action of the senses. The imagination itself is found to depend upon an ideal grouping of experiences, however fantastic and unconnected they may be made to appear. As time elapses and mankind advances, the brain-pictures seem to become more perfect, and to embrace more fully the characters of their originals, and their development in this direction is provided by our varying notions of

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[115] *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (1854) compiled by Adolphous Egerton Ryerson, John George Hodgins, and Adam Crooks and "Sanctioned by the Council of Public Instruction, under the authority of the Common School Act of 1854" is a catalogue of the educational texts distributed in early Canada. William Shakespeare is the only author to hold a section titled, "Shakespeare's Complete Works." The section comprises seven texts one of which is the eight volumes of *Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare*.

> things and our changing conduct towards them. Education may, then, be primarily conceived as the process of storing sense impressions in the brain, and the total condition and amount of the brain-pictures we might style knowledge. (1879, p. 69)

Norman Fairclough would describe Grote's "brain-pictures" as Member Resources (discussed in the Introduction). Fairclough explains that, "you do not simply 'decode' an utterance, you arrive at an interpretation through an active process of matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations you have stored in your long-term memory" (2006, p. 9). In other words, memory, in this instance, is described as the subject's cognitive resources or the internalized experiences from which they draw their discursive interpretive processes and their social conditions of production (2006, p. 20). Toward this end, the periodical's prospectus is a form of persuasion to foster the publics' desire for a higher educational model. The government's regulation of education was, in the imperial sense, for the "greater good," but it also was the nuts and bolts in the machine of social control and obedience.

Educational Weekly (Grip Printing and Publishing Company) Jan 1, 1885-87

Published out of Toronto through the Grip Printing and Publishing Company, *The Education Weekly's* objective was to "devote to the educational interests of our province" (Bengough, 1885, p. 3). In the province of Ontario, or what was Upper Canada, education for the paper's proprietors had but one aim: "the truly harmonious development of the child into the man into the citizen" (Bengough, 1885, p. 3). This "system" in the hands of white "trustees, municipal councilors, and representative in the legislature" (p. 3) excludes education for Aboriginal children who were forced into Residential Schools where the emphasis was not on academic potential, but rather on labour skills for boys and domestic work for girls. The segregation instituted the privileged and spatially

defined boundaries of who had access to education and who did not. An educational-cartography transcends the land and places boundary lines across bodies and through classrooms.

The periodical's subscription rate was two dollars annually. Advertisements focused on elementary to university education sundry items such as school desks, publication for school libraries, to official portraits for classrooms including Sir John A. Macdonald "with the robes and insignia pertaining to his new title (copyrighted)" (Bengough, 1885, p. 183). The themes covered western academic disciplines from arithmetic, art, drama, and music, as well as excerpts from British authors and writing submissions from teachers (p. 3), suggested teaching manuals, opinion pieces (p. 5), and sketches of leaders in education (p. 6). The first volume's opening story comprised the military events taking place in Egypt.

In his essay, "Moral Education the Great Want of the Age," Reverend Peter Prescott references John Locke's Treatise on Education. The passage asserts the moral and civil behaviour that education produces: "it is on education that depends the great difference observable among men." Prescott advocates that the educational system should strive for even higher causes modeled after the medieval bishop William of Wykeham (1332-1404) who founded Winchester School and Oxford in Britain. The bishop stood by the motto: "Manners Makyth Man." However, Prescott adapts William of Wykeham's use of "manners" and shifts it to "civility." He then quotes James I from the authorized version of the Bible: "Evil communications corrupt good manners," and stresses that "that moral education lies in the foundation of character" (1885, p. 12). The change of "manners" to "civility" speaks to the period's nomenclature and its link to education as a

vehicle to “teach” proper conduct within the desired and sanitized nation, as it excluded those who were deemed as “unteachable,” “corrupt,” and “unclean.”

In the second edition of the weekly, there appeared an advertisement for the Morse Soap Company Factory (Figure 14) flaunting it medals for purity and general excellence at the 1884 Industrial Exhibition held in Toronto.

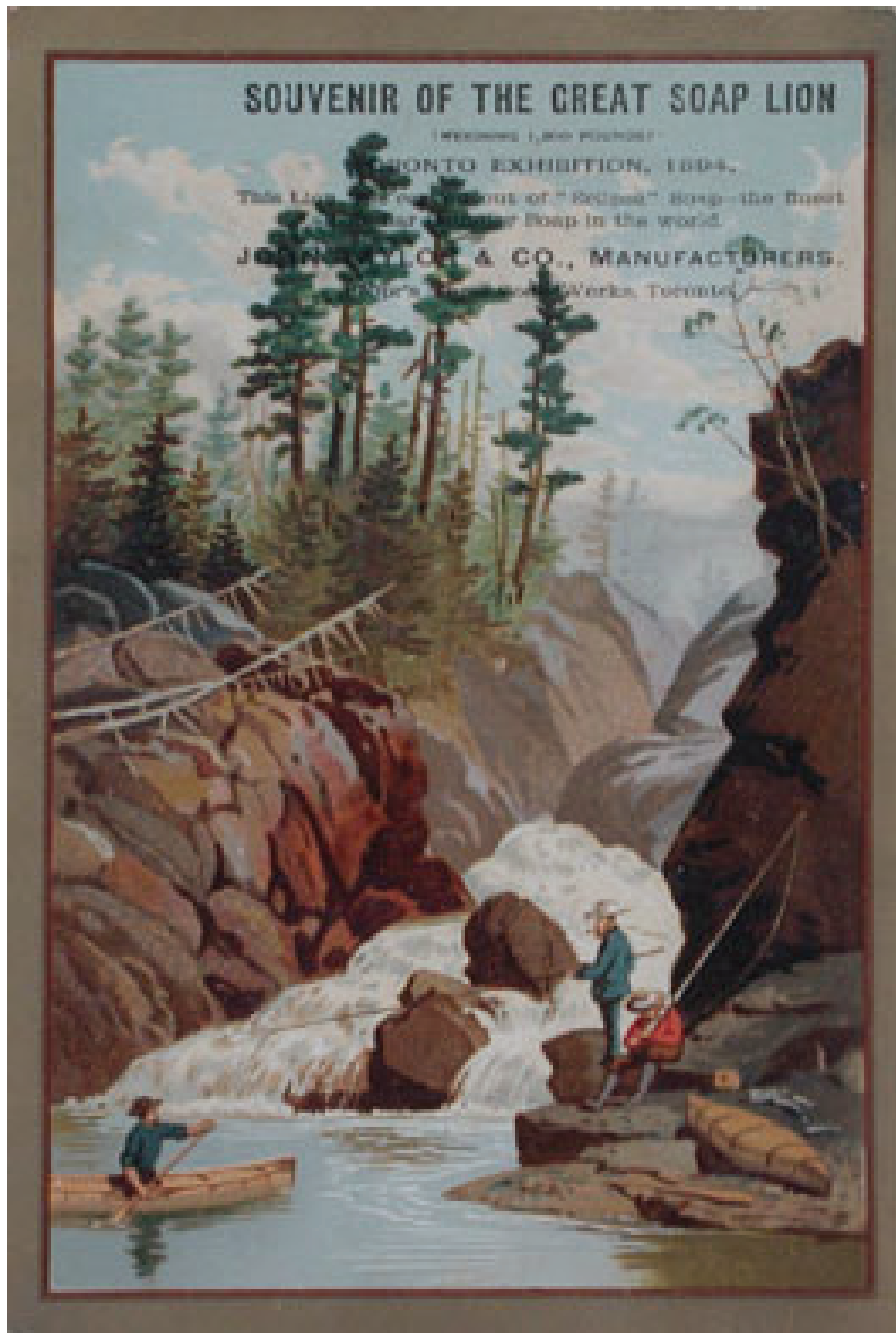

Figure 14.
Morse Soap Company Factory, *Souvenir of the Great Soap Lion 1884,* colour lithograph on postcard, from John Taylor & Co. Manufacturer (1884, Toronto Exhibition). Public domain.

The half-page advertisement seems at first incongruent with the surrounding ads for

Shorthand Schools and the *Grip's Comic Almanac*, but located above the Morse Soap ad appear illustrated banners for Hartland's Chemical Anti-Typhoid Compound, and a facial cream for tan removal. The clustered relationship between sanitation and the paper's emphasis of "moral" conduct and purity draws a connecting line from the image represented in the Soap Company's Souvenir Trade Card to the Victorian cult of cleanliness. Julia Emberley (2007) and Anne McClintock (1995) undertake their own independent studies of Pears' Soap and its multiple narratives of imperial progress refashioned as a mass-produced consumer product (Emberley, p. 124). McClintock describes the production as "commodity racism" (p. 209). Emberley takes this rationale further with the *image/text/commodity matrix* that mobilized the African body as "other" and thereby impure (Emberley, p. 124). Producers of soap advertisement by the turn of the century had a national impetus and firm belief that it "could convert other cultures to 'civilization'" (McClintock, p. 223), and as such "the poetics of cleanliness is a poetic of social discipline " (p. 226). Here, the advertisements for Morse Soaps do figure into both Emberley's *matrix* and McClintock's *commodity racism,* as "purification rituals […] can also be regimes of violence and constraint" (McClintock, p. 226).

As a souvenir and advertising postcard, Morse represents a visual snapshot of the Canadian landscape already realized in nineteenth-century narratives, illustrations, and paintings. Between the rocky crevices a torrent of white water spills into a still lake fished by three men. The wildness here is tamed, domesticated, and sanitized, or a "value laden site of exchange" (Emberley, p. 124). The picturesque symbol of purity is echoed by Reverend Professor Bryce, vice president of the publication *The Canadian Indian* and discussed later in this chapter, who submitted a paper in 1890 reflecting upon the Métis

Resistances: “It is during childhood particularly that it will be possible to inculcate in the minds of both sexes that mutual respect that lies at the based of a happy home-life and of social purity.” Métis and First Nations’ peoples are erased from this Morse Soap landscape with its highlighted waterfront. Significant in this otherwise placid colonial imagery is that the riverfront land was a contentious site with on going petitioning by the Métis and First Nations brought against the government concerning how land particularly riverfronts were divided by surveyors. The “acquisition” of the land led to the loss of livelihoods, displacement, and outright theft. In the following section I examine two publications that focus on Aboriginality in Canada with pro-assimilation agendas. The first periodical operated with direct support from the government, and the second publication was owned and edited by Mohawk Chief Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Dr. P.E. Jones).

The Canadian Indian (1890)

The Canadian Indian is a periodical that was “Published under the Auspices of the Canadian Indian Researchal Society” with its first edition released on April 18, 1890, five years after Riel’s execution. The publishing prospectus of editors, Reverend E.F. Wilson and H.B. Small, was to “promote the welfare of the Indians; to guard their interests; to preserve their history, traditions and folk-lore; and to diffuse information with a view to creating more general interest in both their spiritual and temporal progress” (Wilson and Small, 1890, p. 1). With such lofty and seemingly altruistic goals, the organization’s member registry, however, conveys ulterior and self-interested motivations.[116] The

[116] The periodical co-editor was Henry Beaumont Small, a naturalist from England who after holding various academic positions became the Secretary of Agriculture for the federal government in 1889. Other Council Members include The Bishop of Algoma, Rev. Principal Grant; Dr. Thorburn; Mr. H.B. Small;

publication's Patron was The Right Honourable Frederick Stanley, the Earl of Derby who was also the Governor General of Canada (1888-1893). The President, Sir William Dawson, was an education reformer in Nova Scotia and a renowned Canadian geologist who participated directly and indirectly in survey expeditions in the North West.

Members of the Council included capitalist and magistrate, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat (1834-1913) whose economic interest in the Canadian Pacific Railway was beneficial perhaps in his other role as an Reserve Commissioner (1878-1880) reporting on Indian fishing locations and arable and grazing lands. Sproat's interest in the Aboriginal Nations in Canada, appear in his chronicles of the Aht Nation of Alberni Inlet. In 1868, he wrote *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, one year before the Métis army met McDougall at the North West border and refused him entry. Sproat's ethnographical study is stitched within a sentimental discourse and does not stray from the Victorian lines that encased the narratives of Métis and Aboriginals peoples being "savage" unless educated and would be doomed to vanish. Sproat also contributed his "research papers" to the Ethnographic Society of London (Hamer, 1998, para. 1-10).[117]

Sproat's first chapter, entitled "Occupation of District," carries an epigraph from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*: "I pr'ythee now, lead the way without any more talking" (2.2). The quote recounts the shipwrecked Stephano and Trinculo who have come upon Caliban, indigenous of the island, and emblematically sets the hierarchal tone between Sproat and the inlet's peoples. The author then sets out to describe the Aht Nation under the title "Moral Dispositions" and its supporting sub-headings comprising

Rev. H. Pollard; The Bishop of Toronto, Rev. Dr. Sutherland; Chief Brant (not to be confused with Chief Joseph Brant); The Bishop of Caledonia, Rev. Dr. Sweeny; and G.F. Matthew.

[117] Sproat dedicated his book to Sir Edmund Verney a British navel officer, author, and Liberal politician, who served as a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons (1885-1891).

“coldbloodedness” (1868, p. 154), “human sacrifice,” (p. 155), “moral deficiencies” (p. 162), “absence of faith” (p. 163), “suspicious natures” (p. 161), and “ingratitude” (p. 164), all of which sustain the stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples as “uncivilized.” This master narrative and its association with Shakespearean works are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The Canadian Indian’s vice-presidents were The Lord Bishop of Ontario, Sir James Grant; G.W. Allan (discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to Canadian artist Paul Kane); and Reverend Professor Bryce. On January 9, 1890, five years after Riel’s trial and execution, Bryce was summoned to present a paper for the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (Blanchard, 2011). In the chambers of Winnipeg’s City Hall, the meeting was called to order and Bryce began his address by recounting his experience during the 1870 formation of the Provisional Government of Manitoba headed by Riel whom he called a “desperado” and the Métis peoples, “bandits of Fort Garry.” Bryce made no secret that he considered the Manitoba Provisional Government “illegal from every point of view” (Bryce, 1890). An excerpt from his speech is provided as a footnote to illuminate the contrary nature of the publication’s mandate to “protect the Indians.” Bryce summarizes his opinion concerning the Métis Provisional Government’s Second Bill of Rights: “The deliberations were conducted under a state of organized terrorism, with the Fort in possession of several hundred armed half-breeds, and no liberty of action was permitted.[118] It is a well-established principle that a government of pirates or robbers has no legal status” (Bryce, 1890). Bryce’s 1890 declaration is in conflict with the publication’s objective concerning the well being of Aboriginal peoples and “to guard

[118] An extended excerpt of Bryce’s speech includes his accusations against the Métis including their “hereditary bent toward insubordination,” “a band of robbers,” and “the acts of the banditti” (1).

their interests; to preserve their history, traditions and folk-lore, and to diffuse information with a view to creating more general interest in both their spiritual and temporal progress” (Wilson and Small, 1890, p. 1). Rather, the *Canadian Indian’s* pedagogical agenda serves to absolve the violence of colonization if not erase it completely:

> They should hear little or nothing of the "wrongs of the Indians," and of the injustice of the white race. If their early history is alluded to, it should be to contrast it with the better future that is within their grasp. The new era that has come to the red man through education, should be the means of awakening hopefulness for themselves. With education they will become useful and happy citizens, sharing in equal terms the blessings our Dominion; without it they are doomed either to destruction or to hopeless degradation." (1890, p. 6)

As made evident in the above quote, the object of the “educators” of history was to control and adjust its flexible contents to suit particular agendas.

In spite of the periodical’s venerable imperial vanguard and their extra curricular activities, there was one individual who questioned and at times parted ways with the fraternal pact: the periodical’s founder and editor, Reverend E.F. Wilson. Of interest is that Reverend Wilson was present during Riel’s speech (Nock, 1998, 1988). Wilson, a Church of England clergyman, had worked within the Methodist missionary circuit in Ontario and the North West (Nock, 1998, para.10–18). As an educator, he was responsible for implementing and operating residential schools for girls in Sarnia, Ontario, as well as in Alberta and Medicine Hat. While working with the Church Missionary Society he was influenced by Reverend Henry Venn who believed in Native self-governance and the training of Aboriginal clergy. The association, however, would have a profound and conflicting effect because Bishop Cronyn, Wilson’s employer, stood in opposition by maintaining assimilation policies in which he “did not believe that

natives would be good managers of church funds" (Nock, 1998, para. 10). By 1885, Wilson was disillusioned by his failure in his missionary service.

In the last days of July, 1885 Wilson found himself in Regina, Saskatchewan. Coming in from the hot prairie sun, Wilson entered the Land Company building and stood among the spectators to listen to the words of Louis Riel as he addressed the jury and the court. Later, Wilson also met with Assiniboine Cree Chief Pitikwahanapiwiyin Poundmaker who at the time was in prison. Buried deep within the reverend's family scrapbook is an illustration, drawn by Wilson, of the prison cells that housed the members of 1885 Resistance (Figure 15).

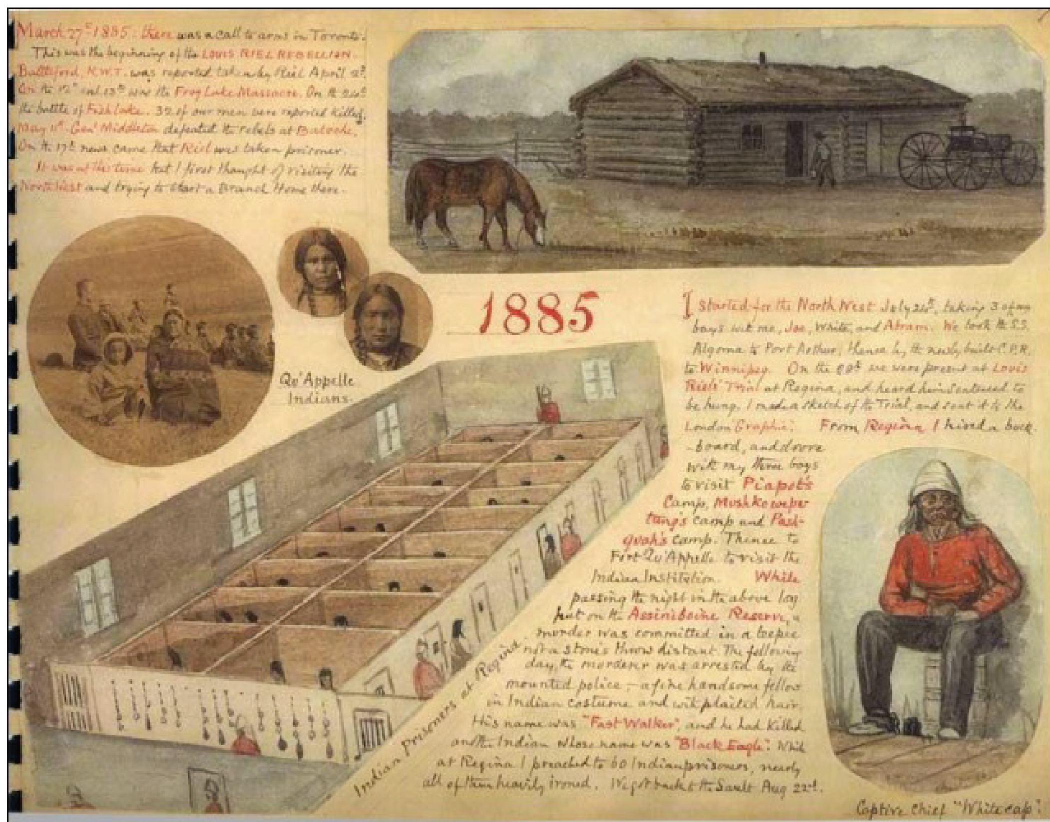

Figure 15.
Edward Francis Wilson, "Regina Prison Cells, 1885," from *Reverend Edward Francis Wilson: His Illustrated Family Journal, 1868-1908*, colour ink on paper, (1868-1908). Collection of Salt Springs Archives.

David Nock explains in Wilson's biography that Wilson believed that the government's assimilation agenda destroyed Native autonomy, and that the policies designed and implemented by the government, clergy, and education ministers were wrong. Nock suggests that it is likely that four articles published between March and June 1891 in the *Canadian Indian,* written under the pseudonym, "Fair Play," were indeed Wilson's. At this intersection, it is perhaps critical to recall Riel's use of the idiom "fair play" in his final address to the court and that his speech was witnessed by Wilson.[119] Wilson's "Fair Play" articles advocated for Métis and Aboriginal peoples self-governance and argued against assimilation. Nock concludes that it is unsurprising that Wilson wrote under a penname:

> Would it be any menace to the peace of our country," their author queries, "if the civilized Indians of Ontario were permitted to have their own centre of Government – their own Ottawa, so to speak; their own Lieutenant-Governor, and their own Parliament?" (Nock, 1998, para. 19)

Yet even Wilson, who offers not just the conventional "sympathies" for Native peoples but also advocates on their behalf for self governance, still separates the Aboriginal populations outside of the civilized: it was only until they are *educated* that they could form a legislature, manage procedures of government, and exercise sovereignty. He also segregates the "civilized Indians" of Ontario from those in the North West, a significant dichotomy when Wilson was aware that Riel and the Métis people were trying to negotiate with the federal government yet were met severely with discrimination and the police. It is also timely that Wilson identifies the Aboriginal Nations in "Ontario," as self governing just as John A. Macdonald implemented the 1887 General Enfranchisement

[119] Shakespeare, Davin, and Riel's all use of the idiom "fair play" is discussed at length in Chapter 1.

Act to include assimilated “Indians” in Upper Canada, a strategic move to broaden his Conservative electoral base.

The Indian: a paper devoted to The Aborigines of North America, and especially to The Indians of Canada. (1885)

The Indian was founded and edited by Head Chief Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Dr. P.E. Jones) and was first published in December 1885, one month after Riel’s execution. The annual subscription rate was $1.50 per year. The paper originated in Hagersville, Ontario and ran for one year. Dr. P.E. Jones’ objective was the enfranchisement of Aboriginal peoples and his paper’s mission was “to strive, with what means and ability we may have, to educate the Indians and by advice and suggestion, to elevate them step by step to the same position in the social, agricultural, and commercial world, which is now enjoyed by their white brethren.” The editor, although completely in step with the machinery of assimilation, makes no apology for the colonizer’s history of violence endured by Aboriginal populations: “The sins of intemperance and immorality; two crimes which have, almost altogether, been introduced by the white” (Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by, 1885, p. 1). The paper’s mission was to guide

> the Indian” reader into the ways of civilization with for example the full and true meaning of the laws of this country in regard to the Indians. Under this head the Dominion *Indian Act* will be explained, the *Indian Advancement Act* will be fully discussed and *The Franchise Act*, as far as Indians are concerned, will be made plain to our readers. (1885, p. 1)

Jones’ predisposition to educate his “Indian readers” about government policy as a mentor favours the discourses of conquest by propelling the assimilation fallacy that Aboriginal peoples will be citizens “like their white brethren.” Yet, enclosed within this assertion is that all of the noted Acts enforce inequalities that would *always* keep Aboriginal peoples in a state of marginalization.

Jones' through his paper uses his position as the omniscient editor to see and consume history, specifically Riel's history, and is congruent with McClintock's "panoptical time" (p. 37). For the late-nineteenth-century audiences, mass production facilitated media consumption: "the image of global history consumed —at a glance—in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility" (p. 37). The newspaper is a medium of colonization in which space and time reduces the heterogeneity of multiple nations, and the histories therein, into a consumable product for European purposes.

Chief Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by's opinion of Riel is of interest. He reprints, for instance, an article published originally in the *Family Circle* periodical and, as he assures his readers, it operates politically. The excerpt is left at length because it provides a glimpse into how the intimate details of Riel's history are mediated and fictionalized, in the popular press, from a point of privileged invisibility:

> Riel's father before him was a rebel. He led an outbreak against the Hudson Bay Company before that association sold its lands to the Canadian government. This little private insurrection enriched the elder Riel and made him one of the small great men of his locality. The spirit of revolt is, therefore, in the blood of Louis Riel. His father was ambitious to make his son a gentleman and to school him in all the ways of the white man's culture. The youth was a strong, bold, black eyed boy, with the mixed barbaric and French nature stirring in his lawless, restless soul. He was sent to a Canadian college. He learned easily the lessons set him, but the discipline of the good fathers who were his teachers made no impression on him. His untamed nature burst all restraints. He repelled […] advances of his school mates and shrank from human companionship, like a wild creature of the woods. At length by some chance a fellow student of refined, studious disposition was thrown with Louis Riel somewhat. He at once gained a marvelous influence over the half-breed youth. Louis formed a strange and strong attachment to the gentle comrade of white blood. He began to change, to heed his tasks and the admonitions of his teachers. His manners grew milder, and he began to be courteous and less reserved to those around him. The wild half-breed some of Riel the rebel gave promise of becoming a gentleman. In a week's time all was changed. The gentle, white schoolmate fell ill one day. The ailment developed into smallpox, and he was removed to the hospital. Young Riel passionately refused to remain at his lessons. He ran away from college and followed the schoolmate to his hospital cot-bed. He watched his friend with dog-like devotion, a devotion,

> alas! That was all in vain. The young man died of the plague.
>
> From the day of his death Louis Riel was little seen in towns and cities. He fled to his woods, up in the great Manitoba country. All the wildness in him broke out again. From that time on he dwelt among half-breeds and Indians the boldest, strongest, cruelest barbarians of them all. When civilization next heard his name it was as the leader of the outbreak of 1869. (1885, p.3)

Jones' decision to publish the highly editorialized, negatively biased, outwardly condescending, unauthorized, and fictionalized "biographical sketch" of Riel was to present the unrequited alliance between Riel and his "white" friend. The article is clear in its argument that if "the white boy's "marvelous influence" would have endured, Riel, quite possibly, could have been "civilized," but "alas," Riel it seems "fled to the woods." *The Family Circle* article consists of a superabundance of colonial stereotypes depicting "the savage" in its description of Riel. The article concludes with a spatial hierarchy in which Riel stands outside of a personified "civilization" and thus judged by it as being an outlaw. *The Indian*, although positioning itself in allegiance with Aboriginal peoples, was designed to support specific colonial ideologies such as "progress" which ultimately segregated Métis and Aboriginal peoples from within to further exteriorize them whether they assimilated or not, an act of displacement that erupted pictorially in the frontispiece designed for *Croffut's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide.*

Crofutt's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide

John Gast's "American Progress" (1872) is an image that I find myself returning to as I haunt the hallways of Canada's media history infrastructure. Although an American painting, historian Martha A. Sandweiss explains that the image captured the fantasy of the American frontier and had a wide distribution as a colour print during the late-nineteenth-century in the United States. As described by the publishers in their

introduction to the guide, it sold 344,000 copies and by 1869 Crofutt's book became a standard with twenty-three similar guides produced (Sandweiss, 2012, p. 14). Gast's painting (Figure 16) appears on the first page of the travel guide. The reader-traveler would pull out the three-fold print and be presented visually with the ideology of manifest destiny (p. 18). Marketing and selling the train, as travel, was crucial to the investors and shareholders in order to compensate and profit from the growing costs of the ever-expanding industry. To meet the fiscal goal, advertisers branded the train's practicalities, virtues, and luxuries, and promoted travel south of the 49th parallel, particularly before the Canadian Pacific Railway was finished, and travel through the United States was not uncommon.

Gast was commissioned by George Crofutt to recreate an image to encapsulate western expansion for his travel guides. The painting's composition utilizes a right to left visual tactic using light and dark to signal the movement of national "progress," and of civilized organization.

Figure 16.
John Gast, *American Progress*, oil on canvas (1872).
Collection of The Museum of American West, Autry National Centre, Los Angeles, CA.

The central figure in the foreground is a woman emblazoned with the Star of Empire on her forehead. She effortlessly carries forward a telegraph line with its length slung as a wreath on her arm. Her image is ensconced with flowing white fabric that signals iconic codes from antiquity, in the Humanist tradition, to awaken the Victorian public's imagination to the Greek goddesses Demeter, Artemis, Hestia, and Juno. The figure holds a book, symbolically a holy tome, entitled "School Book" to conceptualize a sworn testament toward the national endowment of "accessible" education. As a figure symbolizing Enlightenment's Republican Motherhood she carries also the ideologies of morality, family, and education. Her full body is draped to denote Victorian modesty, morality, and encodes her figuratively as chaste and pure. The image reflects Crown

attorney, Christopher Robinson's closing speech at Riel's trial as he heralds the virtues of British Anglo Saxon stock: "This is destined to be a great country, fruitful with promises of a brilliant future, but those promises will only be realized in so far as the principles of the British Constitution are respected, those principles, which made of the mother country the greatest land the sun has ever shone upon" (Davin, 1885, July 30, 3. 22, p. 2).

Set in the artwork are the conventional expansionist symbols of capital, industry, and progress; for example, three railway lines, the telegraph, the pony express, steam ships, stage coaches, settler-farmers, prospectors, and a rising sun. In the left corner, held in darkness, is a fleeing herd of buffalo and wild animals arranged with figures representing an Aboriginal community. In the image, an Aboriginal woman's breasts are exposed in contrast to the Republican Motherhood figure's apparent "modesty." All are forced out of the frame by the symbols of "progress" and into the colonial zone of "the vanishing Indian."

Conclusion

The newspaper is a ritual. Hariman and Lucaites (2007)[120] submit that media creates emotional scenarios that not only secure the readers' everyday habits such as eating breakfast, reading the newspaper, or taking out the trash, but also activate "vital repertories of social behaviour" that comprise sharing, archiving, and responding (p. 34). These three modules of behaviour fit with Warner's (2002) suggestion that "the particular character of a public is that it is a space of discourse organized by discourse. It is self-creating and self-organized; and herein lies its power, as well as is elusive strangeness" (p. 68-9). Publics, as Hariman and Lucaites further explain, "by their nature, require joint

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[120] Although Hariman and Lucaites' publication's focus is concerned with photo journalism, I argue that similar visual a/effects occur in print text media.

articulation of impersonal forms of identity (or they are not public) and must embody forms of sociality (or they will not be effective)" (2007, p. 45). Riel, the Métis peoples in the North West, and the Aboriginal Nations were very public, very effective, and had well established networks of power that held control over what the Dominion and its capital motivations desired: land. To counter this, the government used the military, policies, surveyors, educators, nationalists, writers, artists, missionaries, geologists, science, and the media, among others, to dispense readily available and newly constructed stereotypes to undermine and destroy them. The reduction of the Aboriginal heterogeneous sovereignties into "The Imaginary Indian" in its multiple text and images, including The Indian Act, was fixed into a national nomenclature, a ritualized discursive education securing the Dominion's sovereign unity as "one nation," "our nation," and to ensure the outcome of the colonial prognostication: "the vanishing Indian." For the newly forming nation of Canada this symbolic and material outcome was made manifest in the trial and execution of Riel.

In this chapter, I examined a cross-section of publications that were distributed in nineteenth–century media, and how their owners, editors, and affiliated membership shaped a national pedagogy to control as it naturalized a consensus of who belonged and who did not. Riel and the Métis peoples' actions in sovereignty were turned into a discursive ritual of criminality and was transformed into, through Riel's treason trial, a historical flash moment to reinforce stereotypes and affirm the "civilized" status quo. Following this discursive path, in the next chapter, I examine one of the most powerful forms of mass media operating in nineteenth-century Canada and how it produced the zone of nation: the illustrated press

CHAPTER 4

Illustrative Zones: The 'Possession' of Aboriginal Identity

> Sometimes at night, when he lay in bed and tried to figure it out, he felt as if he were descended from some madman's dream. Indians rode spotted horses over golden plains […] They lived in the light of the sun, where nothing was hidden and earth rose up to sky […] They sat horseback against the infinite horizon […] Those were the Indians they studied in school. (Owens, from *Wolfsong*, 1994, p. 54)

Introduction

In the early summer of 1854, Paul Kane set out to document his travels among the North American Indians. Embracing a keen sense of nostalgia, he embarked to animate his boyhood fantasy comprising "hundreds of Indians about *his* native village" (Kane, 1854, p. xvi italics mine). Kane engaged his pencil "during a sojourn of near four years" (p. xvi) and among his early sketches was the daughter of a Lake St. Clair Chief. Kane explains that the girl "gave me much trouble in prevailing on her to sit for her likeness, although her father insisted upon it; her repugnance proceeded from a superstitious belief that by so doing she would place herself in the power of the possessor of what is regarded by an Indian as a second self" (Kane, p. 5). Kane's early entry is striking in that it simultaneously represents the unidentified Ojibway girl's antagonism against her father's supposed insistence, as well as her refusal to partake in the common Victorian act of posterity and memory: the portrait. Kane encodes her reluctance, evaluated in his narrative, as "superstitious" and thus bereft of Christianity, in consortium with the Devil, and a disobedience that embodies a flagrant act of counter conduct against the Victorian mores of sovereignty, civility, and memory. Remarkable in the young girl's stance against the protocols of Eurocentric behaviour is her acuity of the medium at play: as it turns out, in the realm of mid-century mass media and the representational transference of

power of her second self to "the possessor," she was spot on. Her refusal to sit and allow her *self* to be translated as a colonial specimen of British romanticism and "science" functions in a twofold manner: she asserts her determination to remain *unprocessed* and *un-possessed* by the imperial gaze and the power of its instruments and agents. The young girl's voiced refusal to be possessed, and her articulation to remain self-governed run parallel to Riel's sovereign objectives and are salient in this chapter's focus.

By conducting a sample analysis of circulating illustrations and their associated power networks that supported their deployment, I deepen the contextual understandings concerning the ways in which Riel was represented in the press during the Resistance and his trial; moreover, the analysis unveils the print culture's political axis through which "The Indian" was naturalized into a colonial zone of intelligibility to circumvent Métis and Aboriginal sovereignties. Hence, I examine how the production of national imaginaries were sustained through the motives of sovereignty that worked with the nineteenth-century ideology of civility and its automatic exclusions of formations such as, "the uncivilized," "the savage," "the vanished," "the noble savage," and "the doomed" to reinforce narratives of a unified superiority into the material and psychic discourses of nation.

Works of art covered in this chapter include the paintings of Canadian artist Paul Kane, specifically his travel narrative and its illustrations; John Wilson Bengough's Grip Printing and Publishing Company and his lithographic entries, as well as its *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Edition covering the "Riel Rebellion"; Henry Walker's commercial art illustrations; William George Richardson Hind's colonial dichotomy, "Civilization and Barbarism"; and the marketing phenomenon of tobacco

cards. In this material analysis of colonial visual narratives, I critically analyze samples from the Canadian print culture corpus and its supplementary texts in the formation of the subject as "enemy-other" and identify the artists' political and economic affiliations that shaped zones of misrepresentation and negation of Métis and Aboriginal peoples sovereignties through the mechanisms of representational "possession." In the next section of this chapter, I explain my methodology in the media analysis of the circulating visual culture, or what Owens describes as, in the above epigraph as "some madman's dream" (1994, p. 54)

Methodology

The publishers of print illustrations were marketing their newspapers' content while pandering to their political alliances and economic investments and investors. Norman Fairclough (2003) identifies the ideological work of illustration and advertisement discourse with a focus in three areas which I utilize in this chapter: 1) the relationship advertisements and illustrations construct between the producer/advertiser and the consumer, 2) the way these build an "image" for the product, and 3) the method in subject positioning for consumers (2003, p. 165).

As an interdisciplinary model, nineteenth-century media creates an interplay among multiple types of text, illustrative and photographic formations comprising, among other areas, news, art, literature, the frontispiece, poetry, travel narrative, cartography, and advertisements. Text and image are assembled by the artist to work in concert and/or collision with explicit and subtle tactics such as graphic titling, sensational headlines, and bite size narratives to the full-blown novel. The publishers of the *Canadian Illustrated News* in their 1869 opening publication, for instance, describe how

their aim is to promote “The Canadian Enterprise, Literature, and Art” or *the three branches* in order to shape British North America as “the foremost of British Colonial possessions” (Desbarats, p. 7). “The Canadian Enterprise” is a national doctrine, which strives to uphold civilization through education while engaging with the business of capital and industry. I examine the three branches described by the *Canadian Illustrated News*, as well as the print production technology including the materiality of “the stereotype,” discussed in Chapter 3, as the matrix used in the woodblock, photo-sensitized wood engravings, and lithographic prints. The national push from shore into the sea of mass media production was powered by steam technology, and lithography. Its inexpensive, flexible technology, and efficacy to be mass-produced was celebrated as the “the democratic art” (Marzio, 1979, 3, 127, 208). The Toronto Lithographic Company, as the largest production house in Canada, emancipated the printed word from the wood blocked dark ages and served as the printing company for the *Grip* and produced the Souvenir Edition of *The Riel Rebellion* in 1885. Military and garrison soldiers, writers, politicians, and journalists were among the artists who worked as illustrators for companies like *The Grip.* Whether or not the agents held like-minded political and economic beliefs, their work would be curtailed and directed by the owners and editors’ agendas to market specific ideologies. With this in mind, what, then, was the Dominion selling?

Himani Bannerji (2000) describes the representation of the colonial landscape as the “dreamworks of the imperialism” (2000, p. 19). Kane’s thematic portraits materialized the imperial fantasy of Métis people and First Nations’ Chiefs. His sketches of northwestern landscapes and his “acquisition” of cultural belongings, which were

converted into “artifacts” for museums, functioned ironically to expunge Métis and Aboriginal culture into a state of “unbelonging” in order to solidify and verify the Dominion as a *one nation-state* (Jiwani, 2010, p. 295). Kane’s art works were supplemented by his colonial travel narrative, which defaced indigenous peoples as it congealed his financial relationships among, the Hudson’s Bay Company, federal government agents, Upper Canada capitalists, and the British Empire. Stuart Hall (2007) defines representation as “the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning” (p. 61). Although expansive, Hall’s definition signals how language and meaning are a practice of interpretation based on the systems of discourse. As he explains, “[i]t is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produces knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, the regime of truth, of a particular period and culture” (2007, p. 55). Charmaine Nelson (2009) argues in her analysis of art and empire making that “the white male artists in question accessed their travel in two ways, as tourists or as soldiers” (2009, p. 25). Here, Kane’s role is blurred. As a tourist he documented and illustrated his travels in a far-reaching narrative that sustained a particular regime of truth in the popular culture; however, was Kane also a “solider” working under a national military imperative? Kane, in this sense, was indeed involved in an overarching military strategy, informed by systems of colonial discourse. The national objective was to target and possess the Métis and Aboriginal populations with the ultimate goal, as it is with the motives of war, to control the population and to own the territory. Kane, as a ligament of this operation, captured the territory and its inhabitants through ink and paper, and oil and

canvas and then disseminated an array of misrepresentations as a form of propaganda to suit national agendas, which was generated and owned by Upper Canada elite, politicians, and ultimately by "public" museums. At the conclusion of Kane's narrative, he offers a census of Métis peoples and Aboriginal tribes across Canada as an appendix to his book. The entry could signify a method to add credibility to his "ethnography," but the indexing also provided a valuable surveillance tool to locate geographically, and number, ironically, the so-called "vanishing" population. With this in mind, overseeing and funding Kane's "tourist-soldier" engagement were highly invested capitalists, including the HBC, who were endemic within the fledgling military network building a colony into a nation.

In the following section, I examine a selection of portraits by Paul Kane (1810-1871) archived at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada. In a critical discourse analysis of Kane's internationally acclaimed travel narrative "*Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver Island and Oregon Through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again*," I examine its popular and educational influence in advancing the colonial narrative of "The Imaginary Indian." I also interrogate how his intersecting alliances with government, Upper Canada cultural and social circles, and capitalists' ventures created zones of intelligibility in which the 1885 theatre of war, Riel's trial, and subsequent execution would unfold.

Paul Kane and the Pedagogy of "The Indian"

The Possessor and the Second Self

In his narrative, Paul Kane did not reveal whether or not he had managed to capture the young Ojibwa girl's *second self*. For me, the question remained until the summer of

2012, over one hundred and fifty years after the Chief's daughter's refusal to Kane. I was researching the Kane Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and I came across an oil portrait entitled "An Ojibwa Chief's Daughter From Lake St. Clair" inserted among the collection's shelves (Figure 17).

Figure 17.
Paul Kane, *The Midday Woman* (*An Ojibwa Chief's Daughter From Lake St. Clair)*, oil on canvas, 912.1.7, ROM2005_5135_1, (1848, 1849-1852). Collection of the Royal

Ontario Museum, Toronto, ON. Public domain.

The original sketch of the girl was not recovered by archivists and would have been helpful to complete a comparative analysis of Kane's aesthetic changes from his original drawing, produced on location, to the final product created in the studio space. However, even with this limitation, I did complete an analysis of the portrait and its relationship with other works, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The portrait was driven by Kane's late romantic aesthetic, as well as his *modus operandi* to capture and contain the colonial subject. Louis Owens describes the practice of misrepresentation and how it segregates Aboriginal peoples as

> having no history, no "place" within the landscape, the European American can only define it in abstract, broadly aesthetic terms that enable him to subsume it into his own romantic narrative. In such an instance, and throughout the acting out of the American metanarrative, the North American continent becomes a kind of deadly theme park in the Euramerican imagination, 'free land' as Frederick Jackson Turner would call it, for the manifest imagination in the process of creating its own hyperreality. (1998, p. 8)

The art of portraiture in its most basic sense is to capture a likeness; yet, it is made complex when examining "the notions of what constitutes a satisfying likeness are constantly redefined by the prevailing understandings of the nature of the object […] – the sitter – and the means for its portrayal" (Tscherny, 1987, p. 193-4). The framing of the subject is not dissimilar to other portraits from this period, in that the subject is situated at times with no landmarks or other background or adjacent signifiers; however, if the complex narrative of "the sitter" and Kane's "means" and objective to "capture the vanishing race," are considered, the formal aesthetic chosen by Kane situates the Ojibway girl in, as Owens explains, "no 'place' within the landscape" and negates her of place and

subsequently she is anachronistically exteriorized from time and space. Unnamed in the representation, she becomes an artifact that is abstracted from her belonging, into the space of “possessed” unbelonging.

The painting demonstrates Kane’s romantic rendering of the exotic, the remote, and the mysterious. The exclusion of her arms in the painting is a not uncommon portraiture feature – yet, if the sitter’s experience with Kane is considered – the framing inures the subject with an intense immobility and erasure of agency. The subject’s countenance is represented with strong facial features in the squared shaping of her face that is almost aligned with her neck. There is a colouring cast across her jaw and lower cheekbone that denotes a shadowing of hair that blends fluidly into her dark braid and then falls into the fur that drapes her shoulders. Kane’s aesthetic flow in his connective symbolic lines animalizes her body as he wraps her in the signifiers of the wild and the “savage.” The androgynous features, couched with “the savage” rendering, also performs a gendered reduction that is synonymous in her classification as “Indian.” As mentioned, Kane does highlight symbolic gestures such as the rabbit fur across her shoulders which indicates that she lives within a fur driven economy and signifies her triangulated union among wilderness, land, and trade; moreover, the rabbit encodes her with conventional animal symbolisms found in art comprising fertility, procreation, cunning, swiftness, vigilance, guile and magical power (Werness, 2006, p. 339). The necklace that lies across the young girl’s breast and neck is a mixture of Ojibway beading; the sudden appearance of pearls represents her direct contact within Europeans. The young Aboriginal girl, in Kane’s art of portraiture, is confined, framed, and imprisoned within his representation of “the Indian,” and she became “possessed” ultimately, as she predicted, by the power of the

possessor as an artifact in a government archive. *Or did she?*

Charmaine Nelson (2010) examines the portraiture of the black female subject in nineteenth-century art in Canada and although encompassing different social and political contexts, experiences, and interpretations, among other issues of complex representations, there are parallels in the formations of power. As Nelson contends, there were distinct differences in the white male artists' representational approach between the white female sitter and the black female sitter. The disparity was situated within the economic hierarchy of memory. For instance, European families would be agents of their own acts of memorializing their families in paintings (p. 28). Yet, for the black women and, I argue, for the Métis and Aboriginal women and girls, "racial and sexual hierarchies shaped the black woman's contact with white artists" and "the white artist's experiences of and with their black female sitters were from the start ideologically charged with imbalanced power relations (p. 28). Thus, the "reading" of the Ojibway girl's *second self* by her nineteenth-century and future audiences imbricates heavily with the psychic and material circulation of colonial imagery and dominant narratives. As Nelson points out when speaking of, for instance, Malépart de Beaucourt's *Portrait of a Negro Slave* (1786), the pattern or "the relative sameness of expression, body language and emotion are striking features that run through the portraits of black women" (p. 28). This colonial aesthetic matrix is also found in Kane's portraits of Aboriginal women and girls, as discussed later in this chapter. However, as Nelson argues, "The space between these emotions is difficult to measure and is often qualified by the context of the subject and the inference of purpose" (p. 28). It is within these measured spaces that "the representation of specific emotional types becomes integral to the viewer's reading of a

subject as merely withdrawn, depressed or submissive or one who is represented as thoughtful, cognizant, self-possessed and intelligent" (p. 28). Thus, it is also within these contained spaces and their contexts that the moments of resistance and individual and collective refusals are revealed. It is these moments of resistance and refusal (if Riel's trial is considered "a portrait" of Métis sovereignty), which I scrutinize in my analysis of the representations of Riel.

Emma LaRocque (2006) explains that, "it is important that we understand colonial subterfuge behind the fantastic hero-ification of the White man. It is imperative that our understanding is taken from the words of those who have suffered from the proselytizing, the Native peoples of Canada" (2006, p. 36). The conversion suffered by the young girl in her forced renouncement of her "superstitious" ways was against her intelligence, belief, and will. Yet, in Kane's narrative and upon my finding the painting hidden in the museum's archives, what I hear is the young girl's refusal and Kane's simultaneous dismissal of her request. What would the girl, whose name was as ostensibly unimportant to Kane as her repudiation, say to her possessor upon seeing her second self? What would she say to me as I use her image in the context of this writing, in my seeing her act of self-governance as a microcosm of Riel's demands for Métis sovereignty? LaRocque borrows from Sarain Stump's poetry in *There Is My People Sleeping* when explaining the significance of hearing the voices that break the continuity of misrepresentation. I use it here, as a proxy, in the absence of the young girl's voice:

> I was mixing the stars and sand
> In front of him
> But he couldn't understand
> I was keeping the lightening of
> The thunder in my purse
> Just in front of him

But he couldn't understand
And I have been killed a thousand times
Right at his feet
But he hadn't understood[121]

The Ojibway girl, in a parallel exclusion with Stump, was deliberately positioned outside the "civilized" zone of intelligibility. The nonconsensual transference of her being into a second self was an intimate violation that negated *her understandings* of sovereignty, civility, and memory. In Stump's poetry, for instance, "mixing the stars and sand" demonstrates the interconnectedness of the rituals of belonging to the land in Native cosmologies and is not separate from beings. Indigenous belief systems that, as Stump's poem explicates and as the young girl asserted, remain *un*intelligible to European invaders: "he couldn't understand." The allusion of "keeping the lightening of the thunder in my purse" signals a governorship over her body, her belief systems, her sexuality and its power all thoroughly linked to the self, *her self*. Stump is specific in her use of "purse," an Elizabethan allusion for vagina, to reveal the intimate proximity of colonial sexual violence against indigenous women and girls. The spatial designation in "right at his feet" postures the sovereign as the instigator in breaking codes of civility and promises of "protection" that are instead answered with brutality. Stump's figurative use of the word "purse," and its simultaneous inferences to sexual violence, economy, and land, fastens with a symbolic alignment to the body of an indigenous woman. Stump's allusions to sovereign violence is echoed in Riel's words published in the *Montreal Star* when he speaks of the government's conduct and the laws of nations: "it is a force at war with the inviolability of treaties, just as the arrangements that it made with the Métis in '70 seem to have been concluded with the sole view of surprising their good faith and

[121] Cree, Shoshone artist, Sarain Stump's poetry is found in *There is My People Sleeping: The Ethnic Poem-Drawings of Sarain Stump* (Sidney: Gray's Publishing, May, 1970; December 1970; 1974)

thus peaceably gain a footing in the country; and then demand their purses or their lives" (Riel, 1885). The zone of intelligibility, Stump's "understanding," is made accountable by Riel during his speeches and in his writing, specifically when he asserts maternal power as he denounces the Dominion's violence against Métis and Aboriginal women and girls: "but justice demands that we honor our mothers as well as our fathers."

"Culture forms our beliefs" as Gloria Anzaldua (2012) argues, and "we perceive the version of reality that it communicates. Dominant paradigms, predefined concepts that exist as unquestionable, unchallengeable, are transmitted to us through the culture" (p. 38). Kane's publication maintains and strengthens a cultural tyranny and the never-resting discourse of the master narrative that rebrands the figure of the "Indian" as the colony's "enemy-other,' while it gainfully asserts itself as nation in an aura of travel narrative and art.

Louis Owens' (1998) writing on literature, film, family and place in *Mixedblood Message* views this zone of contact as a "frontier" as "it carries with it such a heavy burden of colonial discourse, it can only be conceived of as a space of extreme contestation" (p. 26). Owens borrows and re-imagines Frederick Jackson Turner's (1861-1932) *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Owens extracts Turner's "Frontier Thesis" and calls "attention to the frontier as a fertile field for investigation, and to suggest some of the problems which arise in connection with it" (Turner, 1921, p. 1). Owens positions this discursive ground as "highly unstable, multidirectional, and hybridized, characterized by heteroglossia, and indeterminate and dangerously undermines the colonial desire of a fixed stable unity" (1998, p. 27). The frontier is the "zone of the trickster, a shimmering, always changing zone of multifaceted contact within

which every utterance is challenged and interrogated, all referents put into question" (p. 27). The Ojibway girl's desire to remain un-possessed and thereby not relinquish control over *her* power to represent *her* own self is congruent, in her individual tenacity, with Riel's movement toward Métis sovereignty; both individuals contest the colonial master narrative fortified in the apparatus of national sovereignty, formulas of civility, and the colonizer's desire to freeze-dry a particular memory of "The Indian."

Paul Kane had, and continues to have, a profound influence in the discursive continuity and circulation of "The Imaginary Indian" in what would become the nation of Canada. While Kane's journey into "the wilderness" occurred forty-five years prior to Riel's treason conviction in the Regina courtroom, Kane's relationship to the Hudson's Bay Company and its agents, the federal government, Upper Canada elite, and his British romantic aesthetic advanced the multiple colonial mythologies of the "Indian" in the growing population's material and psychic resources, all of which Riel would confront.

Kane certainly was not the first artist or writer to wander Canada's North West and document their journey, as well as represent the landscapes and images of Métis and First Nations peoples in their paintings. William Berczy (1744-1813) and Cornelius Kreighoff (1815-1859) rendered northern landscapes with oil on canvas, and Kane's predecessor, Swiss-born artist, Peter Rinddisbacher's (1806-1834) paintings focused on the North West specifically. Artists inspired by Kane's work include Frederick Verner (1836-1928) and William George Richardson Hind (1833-1899) whose painting will be discussed later in this chapter. Nonetheless, Kane was the first artist in Canada with access to substantial financial backing, assistance in exhibiting his art, and support in publishing his illustrations and travel narrative with its subsequent mass distribution. His artistry was

advanced with a discursive free-pass to "possess" Canada's North West landscape and its peoples; in this way, his narrative was authenticated by his "being there" and as an artist and ethnographer, Kane acts as a Dominion territorial surrogate to visually claim ownership. The combination of art, science, and military, for Kane and his Upper Canada supporters, fortified a zone of veracity when delivering the colonizer's image of "The Indian" to the public's imagination.

George Caitlin's (1796-1872) exhibition in England, which Kane attended, and its canvassed narratives of "The Vanishing Indian" provided a motivation for Kane, as well as his funders, to launch the project (Reid, 1988, p. 51) It was a period in which literature, art, social and scientific discourse, and rhetoric of nation were embracing the import of the "savage-other" to lock in their dominant narrative. Kane's work was key in a period of capitalist expansion in order to summon incoming settlers and industry and to assuage the anxiety of fractious collectives and indigenous "uprisings." Kane was the artist-soldier in a discursive colonial war that relied heavily on images to supplement its arsenal. Kane's work was, as discussed earlier, predicated on artists who had prepared the canvas upon which the building of nation, through military visual discourses, would be imagined.

Kane's journey yielded the most prolific body of artwork produced by a Canadian artist representing Aboriginal peoples in the nineteenth-century's North West.[122] Over 600 sketches in watercolour, oil, and graphite were produced during his journey from which over one hundred large-scale oil paintings were subsequently refashioned in his

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[122] During 1845, Kane travelled to Lake Huron and Lake Michigan region including the Saugeen Reserve and to Sault Ste Marie. He ventured to Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island and met with the people from the Chippewas, Ojiway, Ottawas, and Menominees. In 1846, he continued to the Northwest and met with the Saulteux, Metis, Cree, and Sioux. In 1847, during his journey to the Pacific coast and Fort Vancouver and Grand Coulee Lake and Walla Walla, he sketched the Cayuse and Nez Perces (Kane, 1854).

studio. Commissions, funding, and publishing and exhibition support from the government, the Hudson's Bay Company,[123] and George William Allen[124] sustained Kane's endeavor and guaranteed circulation of his work.

George Allen was active in the political, educational, and cultural spectrum in Upper Canada. It is perhaps easier to ask what Allen was not involved in as a Conservative Member of Parliament. He was elected to the Royal Geographic Society, and a member of the Royal Canadian Institute (which will be discussed later in this chapter), the Ontario Society of Artists, the Toronto Conservatory of Music, and the Ontario Historical Society. Allen was also the vice-president of the periodical *The Canadian Indian* "Published under the Auspices of the Canadian Indian Researchal Society" with its first edition released on April 18, 1890, five years after Riel's execution.[125] Investing $20,000[126] in Kane, Allen's support would garner him many of the artist's works, sketches, and artifacts. Kane returned his gratitude in his book's dedication where he acknowledges that as a "Native Canadian he [Allen] is ever ready to foster Canadian talent and enterprise" (1854, p. 2).

In an era culturally swelling in the hyperbole of the "Vanishing Indian," Kane's *Canadian Enterprise*, inclusive of art and literature, was motivated, as mentioned earlier, by the travels and paintings of George Catlin (1796-1872) who, in a similar mad dash, documented the so-called soon to be extinct "Indian": "the face of the red man," as Kane

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[123] See also HBC Heritage "Our History – People – Governors." Retrieved from http://www2.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/people/governors/

[124] Allen's son, George William (1860-1940), took over much of his father's initiatives, as well as taking the chair of the committee for the Hudson's Bay Company, director of the Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas Company, and vice president of the Canada Land and Loan Company; he was involved in mortgage companies, bridges, lumbering ventures, and vice president of the Canada Land and Loan Company.

[125] Periodical is examined in Chapter 3.

[126] Approximate monetary value in 2012 would be two million dollars.

relates in his book's Preface, "is now no longer seen" (Kane, 1854, p. xvi). As the National Gallery of Canada curator explains, Kane's "artistic aim was to paint the Ojibwa[127] as accurately as possible in a European tradition"(National Gallery of Canada, 2012, para. 4). Yet, Kane's colonial craving still had to be supplemented not only with funding but with "authorization" to travel across the wide swath of territory that was regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company's governor, Sir George Simpson. Kane was successful in gaining access and crushing his competitor's dossier by surpassing Catlin's eight-year body of work that comprised 48 tribes in the American Great Plains and in Canada's North West. The question that looms is why was there so much interest in Paul Kane? Moreover, what do Kane's art practice and his travel narrative have to do with Riel? Upon a closer look at Kane's relationship with each of the colonial network's agents and their alliances to commercial and political concerns, what materializes is an intricate web linking each to each other. Though, as Owens relates, the frontier "carries the burden of colonial discourse, it can only be conceived of as a space of extreme contestation" (1998, p. 26).

Five years before Kane's 1854 journey, Hudson's Bay Company governor, George Simpson's everyday managing of the intense contestations that saddle a monopoly came to a head. Among the disputing parties were the fur trade competition from the North West Company (NWC) and the Métis and the First Nations trade communities who flagrantly mocked Simpson and his "restrictions" as they continued to assert their rights to their land.[128] One of Simpson's strongest opponents and who led the successful battle in the dissolution of the Company's fur trade monopoly was Louis Riel's father, Louis

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[127] Other spellings of Ojibway include Ojibaw, and Ojibwe Nations.

[128] The history of the association among the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, and Métis and Aboriginal fur traders is outlined in the Prologue.

Riel, senior. As discussed in the Prologue, the May 1849 outcome of fur trader, Pierre-Guillaume Sayer's trial for illicit trading would change the course of how the Hudson's Bay Company conducted their business. Riel, Métis leader in the region, sympathized with the free trading economy and its struggles with the monopoly. The HBC was challenged and lost against the political and labour organization of the NWC, Riel, and Métis and First Nations traders. Kane would have been fully aware of this case as well as the economic victory for the Métis and First Nations; yet, he dismisses the Métis actions against the HBC in his narrative as "the half-breeds are much inclined to grumbling" (p. 96) and does not provide details concerning the Métis peoples' attempt to work within the governing commercial, political, and British protocols, or operate within the established law while governing their own economic, social and cultural well-being.

Upon meeting Kane as a young artist, Simpson perhaps thought of another strategy to address his economic trade issues. Advantageous to Simpson was to sustain and advance the already proliferating "vanishing Indian" narrative in the hopes that it would eventually subsume the Métis peoples, their land claims, and arguments against the monopolized fur trade into oblivion. Consequently, after his initial reluctance, Simpson provided Kane with lodgings and transportation across what Simpson and Britain considered *their land* (or one quarter of North America). Simpson also commissioned ten paintings.

Then in 1850, two years after returning from his journey, Kane began writing his narrative taken from his notes.[129] In 1855, chapters were provided to The Royal Canadian

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[129] Ian MacLaren argues in *The American Art Journal*, (1989), V xxi, 2 that Kane's book was ghostwritten. This raises the question as to who, then, wrote the narrative and why?

Institute, a scientific society founded a few years earlier in 1849.[130] The Institute, as it turns out, was a constellation of individuals with private interests in not only the commercial and military development in the North West, but with direct motives toward the dissolution of the Métis solidarity. George William Allan was on the Institute's board, along with Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) who was the Chief Engineer of the Northern Railway in 1857 and the Inter Colonial Railway. In 1871, one year after the Manitoba Act was passed in parliament, Fleming was appointed engineer-in-chief to supervise the surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway, as referenced in Chapter 3. As an ardent imperialist, Fleming held, among other titles, the vice-president of the United Empire League, and his investments in the Hudson's Bay Company would turn his role into its first resident director in 1881. Three years after proposing to the Canadian Institute the concept of dividing the twenty-four hour day into time zones, in 1882, Fleming wrote the pamphlet, "Observations by Mr. Sandford Fleming on the general land policy of the Hudson's Bay Company." In it, Fleming discusses the benefits in pushing for land sales, public and private, under the supervision of the Land Commissioner; he suggests that the sales be conducted only after public competition to the highest bidder. In between the public sales, at the discretion of the Land Commissioner, land could be sold to settlers (Cole, 2009, p. 7, 305). Consider Fleming's observations:

> All or nearly all the good land directly along the railway appears to be to the east of Regina. This land has been sold largely to speculators who expect to make enormous profits out of it. It is the more important, therefore, that the large area of

[130] The Institute's Sociological Committee, dedicated to the collection and dissemination of information about Canada's Native people, urged the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to publish Canada's Indian Treaties (1891). The Sociological committee evolved into the *Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society* (1890). The Society's goals were to bring "the cause of Indians more prominently before the public" and to promote the ideal that Indians "manage their own affairs." Refer to discussion and the periodical, *The Canadian Indian.* See also http://www.psych.utoronto.ca/users/vislab/RCI/RCIHistory.html

> good, bad, and indifferent land, *which we still hold*, should be carefully administered. That the six or six-and-a-half million of acres in our hands, should be sold on a system, which cannot fail to bring its full value. A few shillings an acre, one way or the other, would make an aggregate difference of a million or two to the Shareholders." (Fleming, 1882, p.2, italics mine)

Of interest to Fleming, the government, and Britain were "the Shareholders," not the Métis or the Aboriginal Nations who, by 1882, had been petitioning the government for twelve years concerning their land issues related to enforcing their territorial rights, *which they held,* among other issues including a rising level of policing and starvation across the North West.

Fleming's vision coincided with the growing rail network and its indivisible installation of the telegraph system along with the implementation of an underwater cable connecting Australia to Canada, a Pacific Ocean crossing from the new colony to Asia that had been Britain's long-desired commercial venture. Fleming's objective was backed by the 1st Baron Strathcona and Mont Royal, Donald Alexander Smith,[131] a Hudson's Bay Company employee and then its 26th Governor (1889 to 1914). As another invested member in the intricate assemblage of Upper Canada elite with interests pointing North West, Smith was appointed by John A. Macdonald in 1869 to help nullify the power that was growing in the Métis Resistance led by Riel and First Nations at Red River and the surrounding area against the government (Reford, 1998, para. 17-24). Smith had used his political and military influence, and bribes, to see to the release of John Christian Schultz (1840-1896) who was taken prisoner by Riel's forces. Schultz, as detailed in the Prologue and Chapter 3, was the owner of *The Nor'Wester* newspaper and the founder of The Canadian Party. Smith's support of Schultz, and his role directed by the Prime Minister,

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[131] Donald Alexander Smith also had a significant interest in newspapers, and in 1882 he unsuccessfully attempted to acquire the Toronto *Globe* in order to stem its criticism of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). See also http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7710

is noteworthy in an effort to define clearly the agents' political alliances and their objectives. The Canadian Party, an offshoot from The Canada First Party, was driven by an Anglo Saxon white supremacist ideology under the banner of nationalism and unification. Riel's forces captured Schultz during the Resistance because his ideologies were manifesting in arms and violence against the Métis and Aboriginal Nations. Upon returning to Ontario, a Protestant stronghold, Schulz amplified his call to rid the North West of Métis peoples, and used the execution of Thomas Scott as his platform (Clark, 2013, para. 1-3).[132] Schultz would later become the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in 1888 to 1895.[133]

Kane's theme of "the Vanishing Indian" fit into the colonial compact and would be of interest to the elite players in Upper Canada who were bent on undermining Métis and First Nations sovereignty in the region. In the following section, I examine Kane's narrative "Wanderings of an Artist" and it impact on the public's imagination.

Wanderings of An Artist: A Colonial Travel Narrative

In 1848, Paul Kane opened his exhibition at Toronto's City Hall in one of the first one-man exhibitions to be held in Canada (Reid, 1988, p. 54). Kane received extended praise in the papers and he drew a large audience as describe in the *Globe*, on Wednesday, November 15, 1848:

> Mr. Paul Kane's exhibition of sketches, made by him in his recent travels in the Northwest Territory, and of curiosities collected by him, is now open at the City Hall. The portraits of the Indians are very interesting, and the sketches in oil and water colours of scenes in the North West, are exceedingly well executed, and, we have no doubt, perfectly accurate. Among the most prominent objects in the collection of curiosities is the head of a very large male buffalo, shot by Mr. Kane

[132] Thomas Scott and his execution are discussed in the Prologue.
[133] For additional biographical information see http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7710

> in the course of his adventures. The exhibition will well repay a visit. (Brown, p. 2)

The writer's observation that the "scenes" in the North West are "perfectly accurate" resonates with, as the Ojibway girl describes, the *power of the possessor*. Kane attains an authority to represent "The Indian" as his public and funders imagined them to be.

In 1859, Kane's travel diary was finally published in London, England and won international acclaim (Reid, 1988, p. 55). Kane's narrative followed the genre as an ethnological study, or as he explains as a "few specimens of the different classes of subjects […] the whole of which are now in my possession" (Kane, 1854, p. 3). He further remarks "I have already been honoured by a commission to execute a series of paintings for the Legislature of the Province of Canada, which now have a place in the Library of the Provincial Parliament" (1854, p. 3). Kane's cultural appropriation of a "few specimens" complies with Stuart Hall's "politics of exhibiting" in that "museums make certain cultures visible, in other words they allow them to be subjected to the scrutiny of power. This derives from a historically unequal relationship between western powers and other peoples" (1997, pp. 198-9). Kane's work situates itself in the blurring between the "scientific" and the "popular" particularly in an era where education was the prime facilitator of civilization. Indeed, his writings had a major influence on Sir Daniel Wilson, a professor of History and English at the University College, Toronto (later University of Toronto); for instance, Kane's writing contributed to the first major anthropological work in Canada concerning Aboriginal people, *Prehistoric Man: Searching into the origin of civilization in the old and the New World* (1876). Wilson interdisciplinary pedagogy will be discussed in chapter 6, specifically his work in Shakespeare Studies and his publication, *Caliban: The Missing Link* in which he

examines the Métis peoples living in Canada. Stuart Hall argues that the equivocal terminology of anthropological discourses "served in more or less subtle ways to legitimize and substantiate a discourse of European imperial superiority" (p. 196), as well as reinforcing discourses of sovereignty. In the Dominion's hands, the tearing away or the extraction of collections from the original culture were "often painfully from the body of other, less powerful cultures" (Hall, 1997, p.198). In the name of education, and ironically the preservation of the "vanishing culture," the pedagogical hierarchy of establishing one nation authorized the act (p. 198). Kane's "tearing away" during his tour manifested in an abundant array of objects, one of which I found archived on a shelf in the basement of the Royal Ontario Museum: a dress.

Cun-ne-wa-bum's Dress

Kane's 455-page publication was illustrated with eight coloured chromo-lithographs and thirteen wood engravings. The narrative was translated from English into French, German, and Danish (Reid, 1988, p. 58). "Wanderings" was advertised with Kane's entry into the 1855 Universal exhibition in Paris where he received the following review from the Department of Fine Arts, Canada:

> Mr. Kane will very shortly be able to publish an account of his travels, accompanied by plates representing his rich collection. This work will be the more valuable from the fact, that the Indian tribes are fast disappearing, or at least are losing every day the peculiar and picturesque manners and customs which characterize them. (Canada, 1856, p. 202)

The colonial episteme of the "fast disappearing" Aboriginal Nations is fixed with the state's institutional desire to acquire "a most complete museum"; the collocations of tribes with their everyday objects were stolen from their communities and with them were reduced as artifacts contained behind glass, and on canvas and paper. In this

context, Kane opens his narrative with a colour lithograph frontispiece entitled, "Portrait of a Half Breed Cree Girl" (Figure 18).

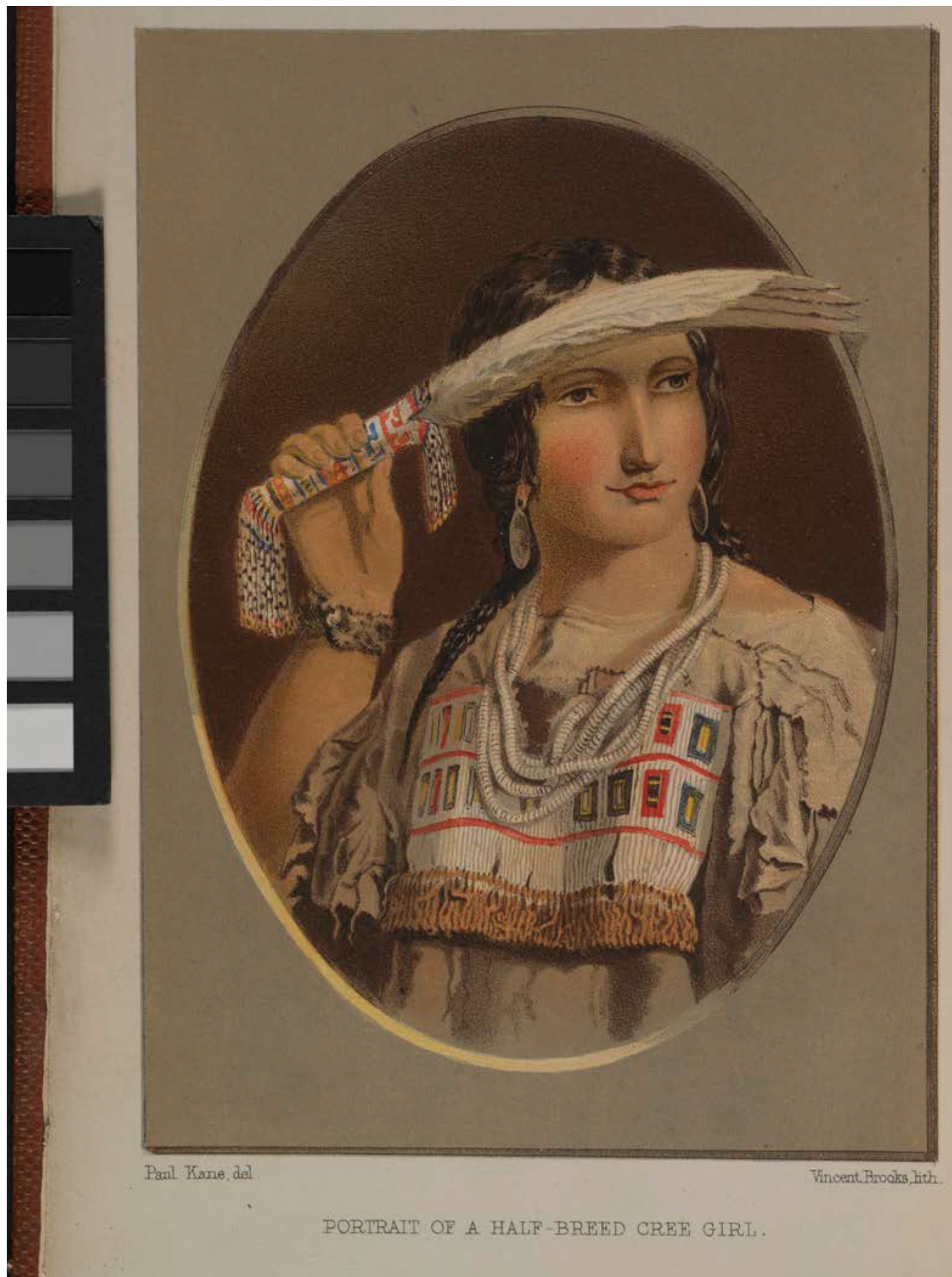

Figure 18.
Paul Kane, *Portrait of a Half Breed Cree Girl*, (*Frontispiece "Cunnawa-bum"*), colour lithograph frontispiece, from *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America* (1858, London: Longman), RB FC 3205.1 K35 1859, ROM2012_12816_3, (1858). Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, ON. Public domain.

The girl, who Kane later identifies in his narratives as Cun-ne-wa-bum, holds a swan's feather across her forehead. The tip of the feather is outside of the portrait's drawn frame; the technique locates her within a middle ground, a liminal space that traps her symbolically. Cun-ne-w-bum is contained and imprisoned in a space that is outside of "the civilized" and inside the possessor's power. Kane, in his narrative, describes a festival to mark Christmas in which Cun-ne-wa-bum is referenced:

> I believe, however, that we elicited a great deal of applause from Indian squaws and children, who sat squatting round the room on the floor. Another lady with whom I sported the light fantastic toe, whose poetic name was Cun-ne-wa-bum or "One that looks at the Stars," was a half-breed Cree girl; and I was so much struck by her beauty, that I prevailed upon her to promise to sit for her likeness, which she afterwards did with great patience, holding her fan, which was made of the tip end of swan's wing with an ornamental handle of porcupine quills, in a most coquettish manner. (Kane, p. 377-78)

Kane further depicts the event as the evening concluded:

> After enjoying ourselves with such boisterous vigour for several hours, we all gladly retired to rest about twelve o'clock, the guests separating in great good humour, not only with themselves but with their entertainers. (Kane, p. 377-78)

The discursive formations in Kane's text describing Cun-ne-wa-bum as "poetic," "her beauty," "great patience," are all hinged upon the swan feather marked as an erotic symbol that she held "in a most coquettish manner." Kane informs his reader that they were "enjoying ourselves with boisterous vigour," as he further reduces the Métis women and girls as "squaws" who become the "entertainers" with whom the guests retired with. Euphemisms disguise reality. Yet, here, they do not veil the sexual innuendos made by Kane. The intellectual shift, here, is crucial to recognize in that the readers in the public sphere, who enter a zone of intelligibility, are in a process of "justification" (Hall, 1997, p. 194), but also at an institutional level whereby sexual violence against Native women

and girls is made permissible and entertaining. The frontispiece placement upon which the scientific and popular master narrative of land unfolds resonates with McClintock's argument, as outlined in Chapter 3: "the male penetration and exposure of a veiled, female interior; and the aggressive conversion of its 'secrets' into a visible male science of the surface" (1995, p. 23). What resurfaces in the museum archive manifests as Kane's aggressive act of possession in the methods of conquest in the form of "acquiring" Cun-ne-wa-bum's dress.

Nelson analysis of the black female slave dress in Canada is relevant when interrogating a subject's clothing which is captured in a frame, as the examination "can allow for the reading of the material culture represented within the painting itself (as opposed to merely reading the painting *as* material culture" (2010, p. 89, italics Nelson's). With this in mind, what then does "the dress" represent when it is removed from Cun-ne-wa-bum's material culture and from her possession and into the hands of Kane, the artist and subsequently into a government archive? In his narrative, Kane does not state that Cun-ne-wa-bum gave the dress to him. Here, the intimate frontier of Cun-ne-wa-bum's sovereignty over "her self," as with the Ojibway girl, is at stake and in Kane's material "possession"; both are silenced in Kane's narrative, an elimination of agency revealed in the frontispiece of Kane's narrative.

The frontispiece lithograph of Cun-ne-wa-bum did seem familiar to me and while studying Kane's portraits in the museum's archive I came upon the oil painting that I originally viewed while conducting my preliminary research. The work was painted in 1846 and is an original painting of Cun-ne-wa-bum made from Kane's three hurried sketches (Figure 19).

Figure 19.
Paul Kane, *Cunnewabum - Métis Girl, Fort Edmonton Painter,* (*Cunnawa-bum*), oil on canvas, 912.1.41, ROM2009_11209_25, (1846, 1849-1856). Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, ON. Public domain.

I was struck by the distinct differences between the frontispiece and the predated oil painting. In the frontispiece, the colouring of her skin is lightened, and the shape of her face is rounded. Her facial features including her eyes are adjusted with the most pronounced change made to her mouth. The total increase of light exposed in the image is inherent in the lithographic technology and could account, to some degree, for the "whitening" of her skin. The symbolic relevancy of the shape of her mouth and Kane altering it from his original composition to a form that would appeal to a Victorian audience also speaks to the silencing of Native peoples whether it be the Ojibway girl's refusal, the words spoken by Cun-ne-wa-bum to Kane when he "acquired" her dress, Métis and First Nations petitions against government neglect and territorial theft, and Riel at his trial speaking on Métis sovereignty.

I returned to the oil painting of the Ojibway girl and compared it with Cun-ne-wa-bum's portrait and the images are remarkably similar except for differences in the clothing. The Curator of the Kane Collection, Ken Lister, suggests they were quite possibly the same image and each portrait was painted from Kane's templated reduction and imagined indigenous female subject.[134] The change of the portraits' images, as well as the simultaneous reduction to a particular prototype, by an artist who claimed that his mission was to depict the "Indians" with the upmost accuracy reveals the slippage that would, as a frontispiece does, set the groundwork for the reader's experience throughout the book. Owens, in *Other Destinies, Other Plots: Understanding the American Indian Novel,* suggests that "privileging supports the contention that language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium

[134] My research took place at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto, Ontario with the institution's curatorial staff.

though which conception of ‘truth,’ ‘order,’ and ‘reality’ become established” (1994, p. 8). The truth concerning Aboriginal women and girls (Métis and First Nations) and their inherent sovereignty that Riel strived to declare and was subsequently silenced (in the court and history) can be found in his 1885 article in the *Montreal Star* published after his execution:[135]

> The paternal ancestors of the Métis were the former employees of the Hudson Bay and North West Fur Companies and their maternal ancestors were Indian women of various tribes.

Riel continues to explain that

> To take it [land] from the people it has brought forth is as abominable as to drag a mother from her little children at the time they always need her services […] Now this Government of Ottawa is guilty of all this toward the Métis. (Riel, 1885)

As evident in the above quote, Riel was acutely aware of the gender and race-based violence and abuse occurring in the North West. Kane’s colonial fetish of collecting images and artifacts animates yet simultaneously freezes his encounters and, as with his intimate experience with Cun-ne-wa-bum whom he abandons within two days, functions to veil the violence of his declared possession. Cun-ne-wa-bum’s placement as the journal’s frontispiece is not random. The location sets the tone for the narrative to unfold. Kim Anderson (2000), Métis writer and scholar, explains that “Native women [have] historically been equated with the land. The Euro-constructed image of Native women therefore mirrors western attitudes towards the earth. Sadly, this relationship has typically developed within the context of control, conquest, possession, and exploitation” (2000, p. 100). Kane’s mission embodied the *will to empire* as he participated in modes of conquest with George Simpson’s approval to travel across the territory. Anderson explains that the colonial fantasy of the Native woman was “invented and then reinforced

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[135] The article is discussed in detail in the Prologue.

because she proved useful to the colonizer. The 'uncivilized' squaw justified taking over Indian land" (2000, p. 100). Andrea Smith agrees that the colonial and patriarchal mind "seeks to control the sexuality of women and Indigenous peoples [and] also seeks to control nature […] unfortunately for the colonizers, nature is not so easy to subdue and control […] yet colonizers attempt to deny this reality by forcing those people who already have been rendered dirty, impure, and hence expendable" (2005, p. 55-57). The discourse of desecrated, dirty and disposable was in retrograde to the ideological satellites (progress, pure, civilization) circulating national sovereignty and continued in Kane's narrative.

The "He-Devil": a palimpsest of treason

Kane's sketch "Number 1" is accompanied by text that describes a Lake Huron Indian encampment. It does not stray from conventional colonial etchings of a First Nations' encampment during the period nor does the text that supplants the image deviate from the colonial rhetoric in Kane's description of Ojibway people's lives: "filth, stench, and vermin" that "make them almost intolerable to a white man but Indians are invariably dirty […] and as for removing the filth, that is never done"(Kane, 1854, p. 14). Colonization, as LaRocque claims "has required rationalization, which, in turn, has produced an overwhelming body of dehumanizing literature about Native peoples […] White North American writers have supported their 'eminent merits' by constructing 'evidence' of Native demerits" (2010, p. 36). Kane's repeated anecdotal variations fortify the Anglo Saxon hierarchy which portray white men saving a disgraced Chief in filthy living conditions (1854, p. 12). Kane's description of the Chief with "small piercing eyes, high cheek bones, large mouth, protruding and hanging lips […] strangely indicative of

the race" (p. 12) are echoed in an editorial description of Riel in the *Regina Leader* on August 6, 1885, during the trial: "In the acts of Riel, in his face as we watch the changing light in his dark Indian eye […] we see the civilized man struggling with the Indian. We have the cunning, the greed, the close verbal reasoning, the superstition, the cruelty" (Davin, "Riel's Sentence," p. 2). The (re) presentation reflects a racialized quotidian supporting a Euro-white hierarchy that was determined to sabotage Métis sovereignty by replacing it with codes of deviance, criminality, and the "savage" held within their physiognomy.

Kane's narrative as an "authentic" document representing indigenous people is wrapped round and round with romanticized scenarios of scalping, war expeditions, intoxicated jealous rages, murder, and sensationalized "love stories" that depict, for example, a Native woman stalked until she is eaten alive by wolves. Redemption, for Kane, is the method of survival for "the savage," and in his narrative Kane depicts a Native man on the cliff of civilization (a ubiquitous concluding image in nineteenth-century narratives), yet always held outside of it (1854, p.15). Kane includes tales describing First Nations' Chiefs such as Mani-tow-wah-bay or "He Devil" who asks why he (Kane) was sketching his portrait. Kane responds, "I told him that they [the paintings] were going home to his great mother, the Queen. He [Mani-tow-wah-bay] said that he had often heard of her, and was very desirous of seeing her […] it pleased him very much that his second self would have the opportunity of seeing her" (p. 28). Kane's response highlights the imperial imperative to obliterate Aboriginal maternal power by separating Mani-tow-wah-bay from his lineage and *ex post facto* his actual mother's history by asserting, even metaphorically, that Queen Victoria is his mother; moreover, by

“witnessing” the Chief’s apparent agreement negates his sovereignty and his connection to the land.

While in the North West, Simpson’s claimed territory, Kane describes the Métis, who were in continual battle with Simpson, in the following way: “The half-breeds are a very hardy race of men, capable of enduring the cruelest hardships: but their Indian propensities predominate […] they [the Métis] are poor farmers with neglected land for the pleasure of the chase.” Kane further writes, “large quantities of pimme ton (sic) are procured from the half breeds, a race who, keeping themselves distinct from both Indians and white, form a tribe of themselves, and, although they have adopted some of the customs and means of the French voyageurs, are much more attached to the wild and savage manners of the Red man” (70-74). Reminiscent of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s (1804-1864) nineteenth-century writings in “Young Goodman Brown” (1835), “Alice Doane’s Appeal”(1835), and “The Haunted Quack” (1831), among others, Kane’s writings embody the wild “savage” motif when he describes his night by a campfire: “surrounded by my six painted warriors sleeping in the front of the tent their hideous faces glowing in the firelight” (p. 70-72). The production to visualize the nation and its enemies, whether through text or image, discursively infiltrated all aspects of social systems: “nationalism often depends upon mythological narrative of a unified nation moving progressively through time […] These mythical stories require that specific versions of history are highlighted, versions that reaffirm the particular characteristics ascribed to the nation” (McClintock, 1995, p. 23). Kane’s “possession” of the “six painted warriors” is cast in the stereotype matrix and with his possessive use of the pronoun “my” in his description, Kane illustrates a microcosm of imperial white supremacy and its ideological

"possession," and thus control of not only history, but the members of Métis and First Nations' communities and their land.

In the following section, I look more specifically at the owners and operators of the illustrative press who worked to reconfigure the state of Riel; specifically, how he was objectified as a product in the process of *commodity racism* (McClintock, 1995, p. 209) and the selling of national ideologies through illustrated war souvenirs and cigars.

Riel and Illustrating the Sovereign

<u>Commodity Racism: The Selling of Riel and Cigars</u>

The manufactured colonial object in the network of *commodity racism* (McClintock, 1995; Emberley, 2007) was naturalized in everyday experiences from reading the morning newspaper to washing hands: "Victorian advertising took explicit shape around the reinvention of racial difference. Commodity kitsch made possible, as never before, the mass marketing of empire as an organized system of images and attitudes" (McClintock, 1995, p. 209). In October 2012, I was at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police archive at their Heritage Centre in Regina, Saskatchewan. I was ushered into a glass-walled room and presented with a long boardroom table that held multiple stacks, each at various heights, of photographs, illustrations, diaries, letters, artwork, ledgers and promotional material to sift through. Among the photographs was a 6" x 3" card with Riel's image (Figure 20).

Figure 20.
Louis Riel Compliments of Davis & Sons, Montreal – Largest Cigar Manufacturer in the Dominion, photograph on tobacco card (c. 1885). Collection of the RCMP Historical Collections Unit at RCMP Heritage Centre, Regina, SK., Groupe des collections historiques de la GRC au Centre du patrimoine de la GRC, Regina, SK. Public domain.

I was drawn to the image initially because I noticed it was cut in half at a diagonal angle.

As I held the two pieces in my hands, all I could wonder was how the damage was done and why? Anger? Bravado? An accident? Upon a closer look at the verso, faint double puncture marks ran along the wounded board, as if someone had tried to suture it, but alas it would seem they were either unsuccessful or undone. Traces of an adhesive stain, from tape perhaps, shadowed the breach – a second attempt to mend? Whatever the reason, my attention then turned to the label: "Louis Riel Compliments of Davis & Sons, Montreal – Largest Cigar Manufacturer in the Dominion." *This was something I could work with*.

Davis and Sons was indeed the largest cigar manufacturer operating in Montreal from 1883 to 1908, and from 1909 to 1919. Tobacco cards were in circulation in the late nineteenth-century and contributed to the cultural phenomena, cartophily. An entire chapter could be devoted to the period's trade card industry, the commodity racism discharged in the quotidian ephemera, and its seemingly benevolent deployment and consumption. However, for this chapter's section, I remain focused on the single broken card.

By 1879, tobacco cards were placed inside of cigarette and cigar packages as stiffeners to protect the product from breakage. Quite quickly, company executives realized that the card held lucrative marketing potential to advertise, brand their products, and subsequently develop another consumer desire to buy their product: the collecting fetish. Companies would circulate different cards (at times up to 50) in order for the consumer to complete an entire set, thus motivating the customers' return. With this in mind, was the Riel card part of a set distributed during the 1869 or 1885 conflict? Did these cards, as sets, circulate in Canada? And where are they now? Were more cards

produced or was this a limited edition? My search proved fruitless. However, I then found a clue in Charles Boulton's[136] 1886 "Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions. Commanding Boulton's Scouts":[137]

> On the morning of the 9th of May, the camp was astir before daybreak, making preparations for the important day's work before us. We were ready to march punctually at six o'clock, and as we were assembling for parade, a box of cigars, which had, come by that morning's mail, was handed to me as a present from Messrs. Davis & Sons, of Montreal, who for the comfort of the troops generously sent up ten thousand cigars to our column. By this thoughtful act I was enabled to serve out a cigar to each man, and we marched off amidst great good humour and lots of chaff. (Boulton, 1886, p. 258-9)

Ten thousand cigars. The question remains whether or not the founder and owner, Samuel Davis (1834-1895) paid for this "present"? It is difficult to gauge the cost of the cigars provided to the Bolton's troops – the type of tobacco would need to be known. High quality cigars were fifty cents to a dollar each.[138] The gesture, notwithstanding, does signal the company's symbolic allegiance to the Crown in its material support of the troops. Was the card sent to Boulton during the Resistance? If so, was it part of the "chaff," that Boulton speaks about, the cutting of the Riel card? The label on the card could indicate a single edition, perhaps for Boulton himself, reminding him of the so-called enemy's face.

The McCord Museum in Montreal retains the image of Riel that appears on the card in their collection. The image is dated 1880 when Riel was living in the United States. The timeline therefore places the card after the first Resistance and it could have

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[136] Charles Arkoll Boulton (1841-1899) was a surveyor, soldier, and politician involved in both the 1869 and 1885 military launches against the Métis and First Nations' Resistances. After writing his "Reminiscences" he was given the position of Senator in Manitoba. See also Gordon Goldsborough (2012). "Memorable Manitobans: Charles Arkoll Boulton (1841-1899)." *The Manitoba Historical Society*. Online at http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/boulton_ca.shtml

[137] J.W. Bengough's Grip Printing and Publishing Company published Boulton's book; both the editor and his company will be discussed later in this chapter.

[138] Tony Hyman. (2010, May 19). "Cigar Prices in 1883." National Cigar History Museum. Retrieved from http://cigarhistory.info/Cigar_History/Cigar_Prices_1883.html

been made available to Boulton during the second, in 1885.[139] The McCord Museum identifies the photographer as "anonymous"; however, the photo is stamped with a Hall and Lowe insignia. James D. Hall and Skene Lowe were photographers. They were known for their "Cabinet Photos" and advertised, for instance, "Indian photos (taken from life), Xmas cards, views of Winnipeg" (Goldsborough, 2012, "Photographers," para. 1-6). The company also had photographers working the Canadian Pacific Rail line for a series of scenic views. The research, however, did not illuminate the details concerning the tobacco card.

The story of the tobacco card that emerged from among one of the mountainous stacks at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) archive may never be known, or the history that scars it. Though, what is evident is that Riel's image was in circulation as a commodity for profit to bolster the Dominion troops morale, identify fidelity between capital and nation, and mark its enemy. Stoler would explain this as "the apparent opposition set up between knowledge and ignorance by Enlightenment discourse that masked the real battle 'over which forms of knowledge could lay claims to truth values and the contemporary social order'" (Emberley 2007, p. 128, quoting Stoler 1989: 77). The commercial fabrication of Native identities entering a colonial social ordering arrived in many discursive formations. John Henry Walker, as a visual technician, was part of the stream of producers whose work was found in the everyday of nineteenth-century Canadian life.

John Henry Walker – Illustrating Empire

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[139] Collection of McCord Museum, "Louis Riel, about 1880." Photographer: Anonymous, no. MP-1977.211.

John Henry Walker, publisher, engraver and caricaturist, was born in Ireland in 1831 and emigrated to Montreal in 1842. On New Year's day in 1849, Walker published the first issue of *Punch* in Canada: "an advertising page, guaranteed advertisers a circulation of 2,000 subscribers, and the journal was published bi-monthly, illustrated with one large cut and numerous smaller ones. The price was four pence a single copy, 7s. [and] 6d. for a yearly subscription" (Rousseau, 2009, p. 2). It was the Dominion's first comic journal and would be recuperated by J.W. Bengough in his publication, *Grip*.

Walker was a prolific illustrator for government, commercial, industry, religion, humour, culture, education, and national agendas. He illustrated advertisements for the Canadian Pacific Railway, military companies, land developers, as well as clothing and uniforms, tools, canned goods, and soap, among others. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company's advertisement, for instance, is branded with the logos, "Land Grant," "Twenty Five Million Acres," and "Manitoba North West" (Figure 21). The artist intersects the two industries of rail and agricultural, while he also implies with "The Future Wheatfield of the Continent" that the land is empty and for sale.

Figure 21.
John Henry Walker, *Canadian Pacific Railway Co., Land Grant in Manitoba and North West Territory*, print, M930.50.2.233 (c.1850-1885). Collection of the McCord Museum, Montreal, QC. Public domain.

Book and periodical publishers utilized Walker's etching skills. Among his countless illustrations depicting indigenous peoples in Canada, is his ink on paper titled, "Native Battle" (1850-1885). Although, the illustration's publication provenance is not

identified by the McCord Museum collection, its visual narrative detail depicting a military conflict suggests that Walker would have created the image to support a historical profile in a publication.[140] The size of the woodblock, 15.8 x 22.3 cm., suggests that it was published in a periodical. While the publication remains unidentified, it is still salient to undertake an analysis of one of Walker's works because of his high production of images representing Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In the image, Walker's usage of light and dark tints separates the frame diagonally to capture the white warriors advancing and cornering the indigenous men in darkness (Plate 6).

Figure 22.
John Henry Walker, *Native Battle*, ink on paper on supporting paper, wood engraving, 15.8 x 22.3 cm, M930.50.2.11 (c.1850-1885). Collection of the McCord Museum. Montreal, QC. Public domain.

[140] At the time of writing, I have not located the publication in which the image was published. It is often a challenge for nineteenth-century print culture researchers to identify illustrations and their provenance. During the period, it was common practice for illustrations to be removed from periodicals by readers and collectors for the purposes of personal scrapbooks and for framing.

On the horizon line are oncoming ships. Michael Hatt's (2002) argument in differentiating the civilized male from the savage male is reflected in Walker's illustration of the nude indigenous warrior: "The nude is not simply a representation of the body, but a measure of corporeal decorum. This decorum also applies to other bodies; the nude become the yardstick not only in art, but within a broader representational field" (2002, p. 201). Within the cultural context of this print, the decorum of warfare is in discipline and in uniform, both of which serves as benchmarks of masculinity. Walker's print renders the indigenous warriors as appetitive and driven by uncontrollable desires represented in the foreground with an act of sodomized rape. Walker's depictions do not hold back in his explicit projection of "savagery" in his representation of Aboriginal warriors, a portrayal that racializes male sexuality within the context of battle and couches it with prevailing issues of sovereignty and civility. Moreover, if circulated in a periodical, the image was entered into a national circulation that continued to naturalize and reinforce the stereotype of the indigenous "savage" warrior.

Mike Brogden argues that in the period following the execution of Riel, "criminality was a social artifact used to marginalize and segregate the Métis who "hindered the thrust of eastern Canadian and European capitalism" (1991, pp. 31-51) and were criminalized whenever they attempted to seek cultural, political, and economic sovereignty. In addition, what is not discussed is how the 1885 media coverage of the resistance and Riel's trial became an object of the ideological belief in "the justice system," and how the events, detailed in the press perform recurring established signifiers that would assure the colonial agenda of acquisition (1991, p. 31-51). Nineteenth-century

industrialization and burgeoning modes of communication technologies offered a visual banquet to a mass readership with differing levels of literacy. The Crimean War (1853-1856) was the catalyst for this development in western Europe and North America. The Victorian public's desire to know about events was only surpassed by their desire to see them—particularly images of war. It is in this context that the *Canadian War Illustrated News Souvenir Edition* of the "1885 Riel Rebellion" appeared. The edition was produced during the conflict and was distributed to the public prior to Riel's trial. I now turn the analysis to this particular publication.

Riel and Bengough

John Wilson Bengough (1851-1923) was the founder, editor, and chief cartoonist of Grip Printing and Publishing Company. Bengough made a lasting contribution to Canadian publishing in not only the genre of political satirical cartoons, but also in propagating and serializing the racialized image of "indigenous as criminal." Editorial cartoons demonstrate how images could convey serious agendas while simultaneously producing ironic and satirical ends. Bengough's *Grip* was founded in 1873 and was an entry point into the socio-cultural and political life of late Victorian English Canada, for example "the firm acted as agents for various American publications such as Scribners' Monthly, St. Nicholas, and the Detroit Free Press" and "by 1883, the magazine's readership had grown, reaching between 7,000 and 10,000 subscribers and, according to its own calculations, as many as 50,000 readers (Ernst, 2009, para. 2-9). Christopher Ernst (2009) explains that the printing company had a vast reach and "produced everything from small printing jobs, such as souvenir booklets for the Ontario town of Owen Sound, to more substantial works, such as Bengough's own two-volume, *A Caricature History of*

Canadian Politics (1886) and Principal Grant's Inaugural Address Delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, on University Day, 1885" (Ernst, 2009, para. 7). The firm capitalized on the North West Rebellion of 1885 and collaborated with the Toronto Lithographic Company with the 18-issue publication called the *Illustrated War News* (later titled *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*.). Active politically as a supporter of the Liberal government, Bengough extolled a republican style of government. As Ernst explains, Bengough had close connections to other Anglo-Saxon nations: "his politics and his publishing were closely connected [and] both were inseparable from his religious worldview" (Ernst, 2009, para. 14).

Bengough's "theatre of operation" and its politics of space is key when bearing in mind his "view" when he created the map of the 1885 North West territory and how it differed from the space in 1869. The first Resistance, for example, took place during the winter of 1869. Macdonald's dream to "unify the nation" with the Canadian Pacific Railway had not yet been realized through to the North West. The attempt by the Dominion's forces to mobilize troops to control and undermine Métis resistance was impossible; nonetheless, by 1885, the railway became a national artery. The rail line carried 8,000 soldiers, weapons, artillery, novels for book libraries, and newspapers. In the early spring of 1885, the Dominion attacked the Métis and Aboriginal Nations' communities, as discussed in the Prologue. The map represents General Middleton's army and its advance into "the centre of operations of the hostile savages." It was published in the May 9, 1885 edition of *The Illustrated War News* and released prior to Riel's trial (Figure 23). The map is augmented with text written by Bengough:

> There is after all nothing like a war or a rebellion to create a live interest in geography; and we venture to predict that not only the troops who have traversed

> the North-West Territories on the present arduous service, but their friends who have remained at home, have by this time attained an altogether enlarged conception of “the land we live in.”(1885, p. 8)

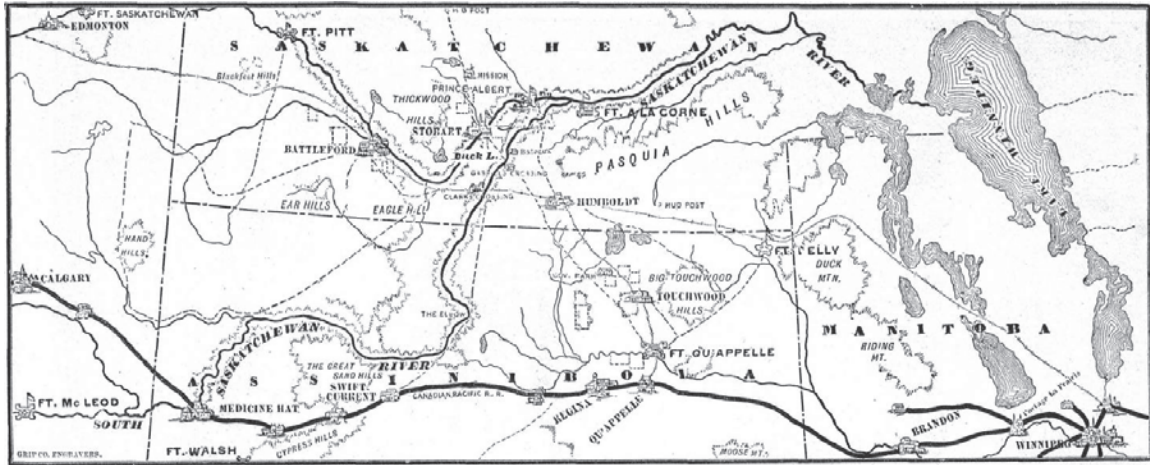

Figure 23.
Grip Co., Engravers, *Map of the North-West Territories*, illustration on paper, from *The Illustrated War News,* p. 8 (May 9, 1885). Collection of Peel’s Prairie Provinces. University of Alberta. Public domain.

As the above quote illuminates, the visual territory and text operate in a coordinated effort to animate the landscape as a geographic tableau in which the military actors are resuscitated. Cartography is a discourse of invasion. The military map teaches the conception of “the land we live in” by strategically polarizing the enemy and the patriot with the pronoun “we,” and thus identifies *who is with us* and *who is not*. The hierarchy of space encoded in the map materializes “the nation” for the reader. In this space, the reader is omniscient, surveying from above while engaging (sometimes tracing with their fingertips) with the territory by imagining the community of “we” within a popularized military discourse. The construction of the “enemy” is not an artless or spur-of-the-moment knowing. For the sovereign, the opponent is the most necessary art, and one that must be “possessed” in order to control the zone of intelligibility. Moreover, the enemy is not always rendered in, for example, Walker’s exaggerated and “savage” presence; it is

also identifiable in a naturalized absence. As discussed in previous sections and chapters, the profile of "the adversary" is a slow and steady infiltration, a highly mediated process activated by multiple agents, over time, and in many guises.

The Vacant Chair and the Docile Body

> By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed […] in short, one has 'got rid of the peasant' and given him 'the air of a soldier' […] The celebrated automata […] not only a way of illustrating an organism, they were also political puppets, small-scale models of power. (Foucault, 1977, p. 135)

Foucault's essay "Docile Bodies" is apt when considering the etymology of docility within the colonial apparatus: docile, Latin from *docēre to teach*, is akin to Latin *decēre to be fitting* relates to the practice of mobilizing bodies and objectifying them within images *to teach* and to *be fitted* within a colonial nomenclature (OED, "docile"). The illustration, "The Vacant Chair: A Riel Band of Union" (1885) provides an example of the mobilizing of bodies and the *small-scale models of power* published in *The Grip Printing and Publishing* portfolio as a satirical cartoon (Figure 24). J. W. Bengough was the artist. The image depicts Prime Minister John A. Macdonald (left) and his Member of Parliament nemesis, Alexander Mackenzie (right). Both men are holding swords. Between the two political figures is a parliamentary chair and above it floats the caption: "Louis Riel is a murderer and an outlaw and ought to be hanged." The declarative bubble joins both the Conservative leader and the Opposition Liberal Member of Parliament. The crow, Bengough's known avatar and voice, is situated in the middle and rejoins: "Bravo! Gentlemen, unanimous at last." A "Law" book is situated at the foot of the chair and inscribed with "Louis Riel" in its upper margin. The chair's seat and its backrest are

covered with spikes. Bengough's interpretation of the medieval torture chair in his illustration is compelling and will be discussed later in this section.

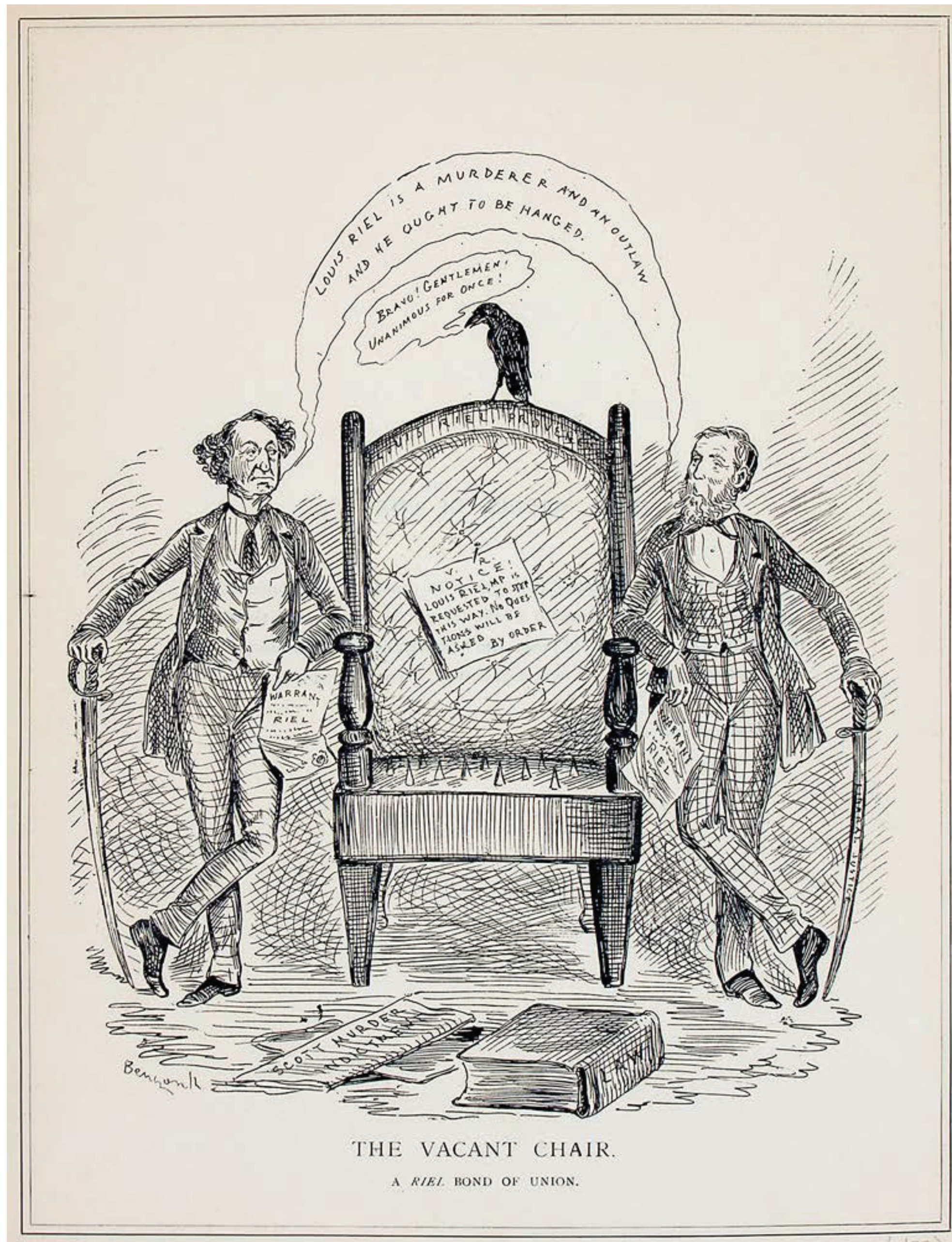

Figure 24.
John Wilson Bengough*, The Vacant Chair. A Riel Band of Union*, ink on newsprint, photoengraving, 31.5 x 25.3 cm, M994X.5.273.100 (1885, 1886). Collection of McCord Museum. Montreal, QC. Public domain.

Bengough's political sentiment operates in the illustration on multiple levels: the lithograph characterizes Riel as an "outlaw" and thereby places him outside of the political arena as he is juxtaposed (even in his absence) with "the Law" and the sovereign authority who censures Riel in the final verdict of his guilt as a "murderer," a process that fortifies the dichotomy in Canadian politics of who is civilized and who is not. A paper near the Law Book verifies the assessment as it read: "Scott Murder Indictment, Mackenzie: Warrant … Riel, Macdonald: Warrant … Riel." As discussed in the Prologue and in Chapter 1 and 2, the state execution of Thomas Scott was instead declared by Upper Canada as murder.

Riel is "vacant" from parliament as decided by the presiding and present sovereign powers. Such vacancy reflects Riel's ban, and its encoded power, from his seat in Parliament even though his constituents elected him. In this context, the Red River electorate is also elided, as if vacant from the political forum. The colonial discursive binary, in which Riel is caught, is accomplished through history itself, as a historical discourse: "There is a memorializing function that establishes specific narratives and then circulates them: The point of recounting history, the history of kings, the mighty sovereigns and their victories (and, if need be, their temporary defeats) was to use the continuity of law to establish a juridical link between those men and power […]; history is an operator of power, and intensifier of power" (Foucault, 2003, p. 66). In 1991, The Manitoba Métis Federation in *The Struggle for Recognition: Canadian Justice and the Métis Nation*, explains how this continuity in Canadian law is enacted against the Métis:

> understanding the legal experience of Aboriginal peoples in the formation of modern Canada involves acknowledging the way the colonial society, through institutions from medicine to criminal justice, sought to *re-mould* these cultures in its own image. Legal structures imposed by a colonial power – as in the case of

> the NWMP – are part of a seamless web of institutions by which a colonial state seeks to constructs its own legitimacy while denying authority to existing Aboriginal practices. (Brogden, 1991, p. 3, italics mine)

Colonial vanishing strategies silence refusals, denude civil conduct, decapitate military leaders, usurp battle leadership, clear occupied land, ignore declarations of sovereignty, ban politicians, suppress stories and ceremonies, change the shape of mouths, and repress memory. Acts of violence disappear into the seamless structural strategies of silencing (Mathiesen, 2004, p. 10). Thomas Mathiesen (2004) speaks of the technique of "isolation" which is a silencing through pulverization (p. 37). The method, among the many, normalizes an event or rather "transform[s] the event into something usual rather than something unique, something repetitive rather than incomparable, something general and relatively typical rather than something special and atypical, something ordinary rather than out of the ordinary" (p. 39). Mathiesen insists that the event "must be pulled out of its regular context and made normal and usual within another context, so as to isolate it from its original context" (p. 39). In his Address, Riel explains his representation as the outlaw, as mentioned in Chapter 1 and 2: "I was expelled from the House twice, I was, they say, outlawed, but as I was busy as a member in the East and that the West I could not be in two places and they say that I was outlawed" (1886, p. 159). Riel further elucidates how the Métis communities were polarized / *pulverized* as bandits: "and when they began by treating the leaders of that small community as bandits, as outlaws, leaving them without protection, they disorganized that community" (Riel, 1886, p. 160).

The indigenous-bandit-fantasy was, by 1885, a national nomenclature. Susanna Moodie[141] pays particular attention to the Métis when she recounts her experience in her acclaimed Canadian travel-settler narrative, *Roughin' it in the Bush*:

> The mixture of European blood adds greatly to the physical beauty of the half-race, but produces a sad falling-off from the original integrity of the Indian character. The half-caste is generally a lying, vicious rogue, possessing the worst qualities of both parents in an eminent degree. We have many of these half-Indians in the penitentiary, for crimes of the blackest dye. (Moodie,1854, p.325-6)

Similar to Kane, the stereotype that Moodie pens is authenticated in her travel diary's presumed credibility with the writer's "proof" of "being there." The aim, as Foucault explains, when examining the trend with the disciplining of docile bodies

> was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using. Discipline organizes an analytical space. (1977, p. 143)

Each writer and artist creates a hierarchy of space from which they judge and discipline the space with what is included and excluded. The power of space is then transferred to the reader. The object was to absent Riel from the public space of politics and subsequently deem him as unbelonging, unworthy to be present, and to make him "vanish," but not before making him present to perform the art of public discipline and punishment through the modes of ridicule.

The placement of the spikes on his chair, for instance, as referenced earlier in the cartoon published by Bengough, is a tactic of satire and is a détournement of the

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[141] Susanna Moodie (1803-1885) and her sister Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) are considered to be important nineteenth-century Canadian writers. The two women emigrated to Canada in 1832 with their husbands and wrote about their early settler experiences. The most popular for Moodie is *Roughin' it in the Bush* published in 1852. The narrative represents her family's struggles as early settlers (Library and Archives Canada, "Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill," 2001, para. 1). See additional information online at http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/moodie-traill/index-e.html

venerable seat in the House of Commons, and Riel's place in it. The torture chair was used throughout medieval Europe by agents of the sovereign state to garner confessions, to revenge hated opponents, or to mete out punishment to a selected victim— all of which would culminate in a slow and painful death. What then is its association with Riel? Bengough's contempt for Riel was public and his illustration depicting a device that would lead to Riel's torture and death, as a satire, is unsurprising; still, it is also crucial to note that the medieval device was used commonly to *demonstrate* the torture to another victim who would be forced to witness the death in order to gain a confession, but also as a social deterrent. If Riel's seat in government and Métis sovereignty is considered, the chair then reflects Bengough's warning that a Métis political representative in government is a doomed political action activated by the presiding executioners who are the sovereign's agents. More directly, Bengough's illustrated bated "invitation" to Riel to enter his doom, reflects not only a premeditate torture that Riel would endure if he were bold enough to take his seat in Parliament, but that he would indeed be charged and executed. The posted bulletin on the chair reads: "Notice! Louis Riel, M.P. is requested to step this way. No Questions will be asked, By Order."

The satirical embellishment of Riel's elected parliamentary station turns his position into one of humiliation and mockery. By presenting the tactic in a national paper, Bengough creates a communal solidarity, a zone of intelligibility, of "we" versus "them," and of "Law" versus the "Outlaw." Riel's (un) represented body (as a docile unit) is also governed by a military subtext and is manipulated to undermine and effectively eliminate Riel's political agency in leading a sovereign Métis nation. Riel is alienated and isolated in the mechanics of pulverization. In the following section of my paper, I compare two

images: the first illustration represents Major General Middleton who led the forces against Riel, and the second, an image of Louis Riel and his army; both were published in *The Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, The Souvenir Edition, during the 1885 conflict and function, in part, to illustrate LaRoque's *civ/sav* dichotomy as naturalized in Mathieson's theory of "pulverization," in this case, of Métis sovereignty.

Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News: 1885 Rebellion

Bengough used his publications as a vehicle to deliver his worldview of his political messaging and his editorial content. The medium of lithography, as a technology, made his cartooning feasible for his Saturday publication and thereby his contribution to early mass communications had a significant impact. In the June 1, 1885, Bengough announced the Souvenir Number of the journal while taking his audience in account: "appreciating the demand that would arise on the suppression of the rebellion for a comprehensive history of the rising of the campaign of the triumphant militia forces" (Bengough, 1885, "Our Souvenir Number," p. 2). Bengough informs his readers that Mr. T. Arnold Haultain, M.A. provides an "unbiased mind" in his comprehensive account of Canadian history (p. 2). The two-volume set comprises 24 pages with 12 pages of illustrations and 10 pages of text. In the text, Bengough announces that the illustrations have been compiled at great expense from the most authentic sources including sketches from "special artists" accompanying the expeditions.[142] The published commodity of war and race, sold at the retail price of 50 cents for individual editions, and one dollar for the complete history. The two volumes were bound in book form to "make a very attractive volume" and a colored supplement, suitable for framing" (p. 2). In the April 4, 1885

[142] The artists include W. E. Blachley, J.W. Bengough, J.D. Kelly, J. Humme, W.W. Wessbroom, A. Lampert, and Wm. Bengough.

edition, Bengough explained to his readers that, "the 'War News' is the best effort ever made in Canada to supply the Canadian public with an illustrated newspaper" (p .6).

W.D Blatchly produced the colour lithograph, "Major-General Middleton C.B. Adjutant- General Walker Powell and various Commanding Officers of the Northwest Field Force," for The Canadian Illustrated War News, Souvenir Supplement (Figure 25). The image, however, is not the original illustration. The initial entry of the image appeared on the May 2, 1885 front cover of the publication. In the early version Middleton is on a black horse and is flanked by only one officer, Captain Wise A.D.C. At that time, the lithograph was titled "Major-General Middleton"[143] and in parenthesis denotes that the image was taken "from a photograph."

[143] Frederick Middleton was the commander of the North-West Field Force, which was sent to suppress the Northwest Resistance of 1885. Middleton was born in Belfast and educated at the Royal Military College. Middleton served in many parts of the British Empire, including Australia, New Zealand, India, Burma, Gibraltar, and Malta (Coneghan, 2002, para. 2). The British General, with a CV chock-full of military engagements of colonization, led the volunteers and the militia for the newly forming nation of Canada against the Métis and Aboriginal Nations' 1885 Resistance.

Figure 25.
W.B. Blatchy, "Major-General Middleton C.B., Adjunct-General Walker Powell, and various Commanding Officers of the Northwest Field Force," colour lithograph on paper, accession no. 485, from the *Grip Printing and Publishing Company* (1885). Collection of McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections. Public domain.

The image was modified in the subsequent version to add military trappings, in this case, an actual army that was suitable for framing. The uniformity of the colour image is incongruent with the actual state of a Dominion's army, which was a rag tag grouping of volunteers at best, and nonexistent at worst. During the period, the federal government was still building its military, which comprised of volunteers and armed civilians, the Canadian militia comprising largely paid appointments, and the fledgling North West Mounted Police force. It was critical, then, for Bengough to materialize, through his artistry, some semblance of a Canadian sovereign power to sell the product of "Nation"

through marketing optics. The illustration, as a consequence, is a media agent's power of invention and resembles a traditional late-nineteenth-century military portrait, which glorified the images of the soldiers and their leaders. Still, this sort of alchemy does take time; Bengough alerts his readers that the "full" military portrait would be forthcoming.

Bengough kept his promise to his readers and when the portrait was finally published, the illustration presents the government's army configured in a chevron formation to denote unity and power. The visual geometry compels the gaze across to the angle's point: the leader, Middleton. Two soldiers flank Middleton and are not on horses indicating that infantry units were utilized, as well as cavalry in the battle. The varying head gear worn by the soldiers, including the Blue Home Service Helmet, The Shako, Pillbox, and Bicorne, is a complex layering of codes including geographical space, affiliations, rank, and military dynamics and will not be discussed in full here; however, it is important to point out that the helmet, as a military symbol, denotes wisdom, security in defense, strength and protection. Rather than wear his head gear, Middleton holds his helmet to indicate that he is secure in his troops to protect him and hence the nation; the security of the nation is in his hands.

The plumes donning the helmets denote superior officers and traditionally mark Middleton's obedience to the Crown. The military attire signifies the transatlantic infiltration in the very fabric worn by the personnel and what it represents: the red coats adopt the fabric of the British Empire as a symbol fidelity to the Queen, of strength, and thus deploy into the portrait an assurance that the Canadian military is fighting for the sovereign. Middleton looks off into the distance with both hands holding the reins of the horse. He maintains a non-subjective gaze, in that it is not directed at the viewer. The

visual posturing indicates that he is addressing not one individual but everyone. Middleton is mounted on a white horse instead of the original black horse. The switch to the white horse resonates biblically in the Book of Revelations in which the figure of Christ rides a white horse out of heaven to judge and make war upon the earth.

Bengough lists the names of all of the military personnel within a sub frame at the bottom of the print. The recognition denotes a particular editorial code of civility honoring the participants, while imbuing them with the worthiness of being named and identified for, in Bengough's words, "friends who have remained at home" (1885, May 9, "Map," 8). The delay in illustrating the second edition, as Bengough explains, was partly due to awaiting images from friends and family so the individuals could be documented accordingly and accurately for history and familial memory.

In contrast to the Middleton print, which depicts not only the formation of military civility and its codes of sovereignty as "a souvenir" for the readers, is Bengough's illustration of "The Group of Rebel Leaders: Taking a Prominent Part in the Armed Rising of 1885 in the North-West Territories of Canada" (Figure 26). The image appears on page five of the May 2, 1885 edition. The title of the print sets a satiric tone for the 1885 reader, for example "taking a prominent part in the armed rising" degrades the Métis and First Nations' leadership and denounces any civilized military authority in the word "rebel." In the bottom frame the names "Beardy,"[144] "Big Bear,"[145] "Louis Riel," "White Cap,"[146] and "Gabriel Dumont"[147] appear.

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[144] Beardy, also known as Kamiscowesit, was Chief of the Willow Cree of the Plains Cree. He was instrumental in standing against the government and its neglect in keeping Treaty 6 promises. Kamiscowesit had remained neutral during the 1885 Resistance, however, on March 26, Assiyiwin approached the oncoming government troops to shake hands; he was shot by Joe MacKay. The incident set off the Resistance, and is described in the Prologue. Stan Cutband (1990). "Beardy (Kamiscowesit)." *Saskatchewan Indian*. January Edition, 17.

Figure 26.
J. W. Bengough / W.B. Blatchy. *Group of Rebel Leaders: Taking a Prominent Part in the Armed Rising in 1885, in the North-West Territories of Canada*, black and white lithograph, from Grip Printing and Publishing Company, *The Illustrated War News*, p. 5 (May 2, 1885) Collection of Peel's Prairie Provinces. University of Alberta. Public domain.

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[145] Plains Cree Chief Mistahimaskwa Big Bear born near Fort Carlton (c1825) refused to sign Treaty 6 in 1876 because he saw it as "bait meant to trap the Indians." Big Bear felt that resistance against the government was futile; however, he co-operated with another Cree leader, Poundmaker to negotiate with the Canadian government. For his leadership role during the 1885 Resistance, and his presumed association with the Frog Lake incident, Big Bear was charged with treason-felony and spent two years in prison. He died one year after his release.

[146] The entry of White Cap in this military portrait is highly strategic on Bengough's part because it carries the sub text and association with the Dakota Wars, which occurred in Minnesota in 1862 after which 38 Sioux men and boys were hanged in a mass execution. The outcome of the battle entailed over 800 government military personnel killed in the conflict and 80 from the Sioux Nations. This event will be discussed in Chapter 6. Chief White Cap led a group of the American Dakota Santee Sioux who had fled to Canada after the 1862 North American Indian War. One of the battles included the Dakota Sioux against the government. The Sioux Nation was resisting government violence, the encroachment of their land, and the failures of the government in keeping Treaty promises. The inclusion also reasserts the federal government's invasion anxiety around Riel's affinity to the United States and its potential annexation plans of Dominion provinces.

[147] Cree Métis military leader and Riel's Adjunct General, Gabriel Dumont is an iconic figure in Métis and Canadian history. Dumont knew six languages, was a renowned bison hunter, and was an integral leader during the 1885 Resistance. Refer to Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. Online https://gdins.org/metis-culture/
See also the publication *Gabriel Dumont: Li Chef Michif in Image and in Words* by Darren R. Préfontaine.

In stark contrast to the lengthy and detailed list of Canadian army personnel named, only five individuals from the Métis and Aboriginal Resistance army are identified, and even so, their full names are absent, as well as the Nations they represent, and their military distinctions. Unlike Bengough's public effort to retrieve accurate information from family and friends "at home" to identify the Dominion's personnel, the omission denotes that the participants in the Resistance do not have "family," or "friends," and "no home," a serious implication when the Resistance was being waged over territory. The "Rebels" are instead represented as "unbelonging," and "unworthy." The illustration recovers Owens' "no place" (1998, p. 8) as the colonial space designated for Métis and Aboriginal peoples, also found in Kane's representational dislocation of the Ojibway girl who is depicted without a name.

The Riel image presents an army in the midst of riot-like chaos. Seemingly unruly soldiers without uniformity (or uniform) are represented as indifferent to any particular codes of conduct except those established in the racist lexicon of "savage warfare," as recalled from the *Grip's* poem analyzed in Chapter 3 and Walker's illustration examined earlier. Within the print there is the habitual visual queue of "tomahawks" and other weapons raised without direction or purpose. This reference to "the wild" is fortified with the two hybrid dogs/wolves situated below Riel's horse. Kane in his journal, for example, recalls witnessing hybrid dog/wolves throughout his narrative:

> These dogs are very like wolves, both in appearance and disposition, and, no doubt, a cross breed between the wolf and dog. A great many of them acknowledge no particular master, and are sometimes dangerous in times of scarcity. I have myself known them to attack the horses and eat them. (Kane, 1854, p. 79-81)

Kane's "science" of "cross breeding" is a figurative and rhetorically move to realign the Métis Nations with naturalized invasion anxieties and the "dangers of miscegenation." The colonial paranoia that manifests in invasion literature is discussed in Chapter 3 and appears, for instance, in the *Family Circle* article about Riel and reprinted in *The Indian* in which the author describes a "savage burdened" Riel as "he watched his friend with dog-like devotion" (1885).

The communal well from which the trope of "the outlaw" is drawn is also steeped with the imagery of "the wolf" and is found in Plato's *Republic* with his "wolf tyrant,"[44] as well as in the work of Plautus, and Rousseau among others. In his Address, Riel reveals the apparatus of the Crown's sovereign and benevolent façade by publicly unveiling the Crown's inner workings, not dissimilar from Hobbes' Leviathan beast, which resides under the alleged reason of the commonwealth: "When the glorious [G]eneral Middleton fired on us during three days and on our families and when shells went and the bullets went as thick as mosquitoes in the hot day of summer, when I saw my children, my wife, myself and Gabriel Dumont were escaping" (Riel, 1885, p. 149). Riel identifies a new technology in the Dominion's military apparatus. The Gatling Gun was a colonial weapon with a rapid fire reload mechanism, as Riel describes in his address to the jury: the bullets were as thick as mosquitoes and fired upon families. Within the network of power, Riel, during this court address, disrupts the continuity of the Dominion's benevolence and legitimate use of force and instead represents the sovereign as the beast" (Derrida, 2009, p. 61).

When compared to the Middleton print, Riel, as one of leaders, is represented as oblivious to the state of his troop's disorganization. Positioned on a black horse in

contrast to Middleton's white horse, Riel is symbolically in the charge of an uncontrollable "evil" force versus the white coded purity. As opposed to Middleton's portrait in which the General holds the reigns to demonstrate control, Riel's right hand is at his side, hidden from view denoting that he is concealing something or has ulterior motivations. Unlike Middleton, Riel is not carrying a sword and he is thus emasculated and his leadership disempowered. Even in the "The Vacant Chair" illustration, Macdonald and Mackenzie, the vanguards of Dominion sovereign forces, carry swords. Kay Dian Kriz (2008) brings forward both "Franz Fanon and Homi Bhabha [who] have each theorized the complex operations of colonial and racial mimicry, whereby colonizers demand of the colonized acts of imitation destined never to succeed. This impossible demand is to be 'almost the same, but not quite' or, more pointed, 'almost the same but not white'" (2008, 120). Kris extends this argument to include that "mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as its visualized power" (2008, 122). Consider the accompanying text adjacent to the "The Rebel Leaders" illustration:

> The two-page picture that forms the Supplement to the present issue of the Illustrated War News presents in characteristic attire the leaders in the present outbreak in the Northwest. The central figure is an excellent portrait of Louis Riel, the head and front of this mischievous rising. (1885, p. 8)

Bengough's *double articulation* in the semiotics of "characteristic attire" uses the discourse of civility to identify out the "rebel" from the "soldier" in the customs and costumes of war. "This is not simply a scientific 'ethnography,'" Kriz argues, "but rather a publication that mobilizes a certain form of humour for specific ends" (2008, 140). Bengough's satiric work was practiced and disseminated as literary/visual device in the *Grip* publication and fluidly informs the visual semiotics in the portrait genre. Satire, as

Kriz explains “designate[s] social hierarchies while it debases the overall context of the living forms” (2008, 141). The device however is not singular in demarcating space and can also be found in William George Richardson Hind’s (1833-1889) painting titled, “Civilization and Barbarism,”[148] which presents a prairie landscape that is cut through with an intersecting road (Figure 27).

Illustrating Hierarchies: The Defining Matrix

In the painting, a settler travels along a road in a horse and carriage. On the other side of the road is a field in which an Aboriginal man and woman appear. They are static in the landscape and the seated figure seems to be disappearing into the terrain. The standing subject is solitary and gazes toward the oblivious settler traveling along at a full gait. Their small fire is extinguished and from it a thin line of futile smoke rises.

Figure 27.
William George Richardson Hind, *Civilization and Barbarism*, 1870, oil on commercial board, 101 x 308 mm. (Winnipeg, MB). Collection of the Toronto Public Library. Public domain. Image notation: “referring to key in JRR catalogue "Landmarks of Canada" (which identifies the driver at right as John H. MacTavish (sic)). Public domain.

[148] The driver of the carriage is identified as John Henry McTavish who was a Conservative member representing Ste. Anne in Manitoba. He was the land commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway and was rumoured to be a Métis sympathizer. Gordon Goldsborough (2012). *Manitoba Historical Society*. “Memorable Manitobans: John Henry McTavish (1837-1888).” (para. 2-3).

An ideologically conventional analysis of the painting shows how progress, denoted in the forward movement of the carriage, is passing the Aboriginal peoples by, leaving them to remain in the past and to *vanish* into their ascribed "barbarity"[149] and landscape. In a deeper contextual analysis, it is notable that Hind travelled with his brother Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908),[150] a chemistry and geology professor at Trinity College in Toronto, and Sandford Fleming during their overland expedition to survey and map the passage of the intercontinental railway as discussed in the previous section. During the trip, like Kane, Hind sketched over one hundred illustrations depicting the northern landscape and Aboriginal peoples from various Nations. From the travels William's brother, Henry, published "A Sketch of An Overland Route to British Columbia" in 1862. Hind's narrative opens with an epigraph to Royal Geographical Society and his sights set on "civilization."[151]

> It is not unreasonable to look forward to the establishment of a regular system of transit, commencing from Nova Scotia and the shores of New Brunswick, passing through Canada, touching upon the Red River Settlement crossing the Prairies to the Vermillion Pass, where we know that the inclination is so moderate that nature has placed no insurmountable obstacles to the construction of a railway, till it reaches the god-bearing Colony of British Columbia, creating fresh centres of civilization, and consolidating British interest and feelings. (Hind, 1862, p. 2)

Similar to his brother Henry's dream of cutting across the nation with a railway that carried with it the ideological constructs of progress and civilization, William Hind's painting cuts a path to denote the civilized/savage binary. However, absent from both depictions is the reality that the North West in 1870 was populated with the Métis

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[149] John Henry McTavish (1837-1888), after arriving in Fort Garry in 1856, was an employed with the Hudson's Bay Company.

[150] Hind also authored, *Narrative of the Canadian Exploring Expedition, 1857, and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*.

[151] Full text is available at University of Alberta Libraries, Peel's Prairie Provinces.
Hind, Henry Youle. *A Sketch of an Overland Route to British Columbia*. Toronto: W.C. Chewett & Co, 1862.

peoples being the largest demographic. Also omitted from the image is that the Métis had formed the Provisional Government and legislated the Manitoba Act to assert their sovereignty. Regardless of these facts, Hind plows ahead paving a line through his artwork to assert LaRoque's *civ/sav* dichotomy and depicts (on the civilized side) an amalgamation of white houses standing in opposition from seemingly empty, or "no place," landscape upon which the figures representing Native peoples stand. The delineation of "no place" returns to the young Ojibway girl's (dis) placement and (dis) possession from her self, or Riel's "vacancy" in Parliament silencing and exclusion outside of the law. Hind, as an artist, is disciplining the space: "Discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in network of relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 146).

In the left middle ground of Hind's paintings are two additional Aboriginal figures on the side of "civilization." The subjects represent those who have assimilated, yet their isolation, if Mathieson's theory is considered, marks that the subjects remain still exteriorized and isolated from the space of progress. The figures gaze across the road "of progress" to another figure depicted as Native who has still not crossed over and is therefore not "redeemed." Yet as the paradox of memory reveals in its forgetting is that the painting, dated 1870, was produced during the Métis' Nations first Resistance in the North West. Hind's painting, conventional of many during the period, identifies the racialized paradigm built within the *one nation-state* cornerstone that made a claim to a white superiority over the land by exteriorizing the "enemy-other"—a process of

belonging and unbelonging that fifteen years later would appear as a national spectacle in the trial of Louis Riel.

Conclusion

When scrutinized, the Hudson's Bay Company as a colonial outlet of the British Empire, the federal government, the Upper Canada elite, industrialists, Canada First Party members and supporters, and media owners and editors expose an intense incestuous power network that was motivated by its objectives of conquest and capitalism to market and sell the conceptual formation of one-nation, a commonwealth, an ideology called "Canada." But not everyone was buying— especially, Louis Riel.

In this chapter, I selected a cross sectioning of images and tracked their associative lines. The selection of work and its comparative analysis could have been undertaken in an infinite number of ways; however, I chose artists, and their images, who had a significant impact on Canadian print culture and were connected either directly or indirectly to Riel's 1885 trial. In this sense, the analysis illuminates the ways in which the Métis and the Aboriginal Nations living in Canada were represented in the media to reinforce colonial ideologies upon which Riel's trial was predicated. As this chapter reflects, the image production bolstered dominant political contexts and paradigms and include Kane's sponsored illustrated and narrative "wanderings," tobacco cards defacing "the enemy," advertisements for a national railway demonstrating a formation of "civilization" as it cuts across so-called emptied wheat fields, and parodies of indigenous leadership that all weave together and suspend the conceptual formations of "The Indian" into the zone of intelligibility which would be invoked at the trial of Louis Riel.

Owens explains that Euramerica's "unceasing ideological struggle to confine Native Americans within an essentialized territory was defined by the authoritative utterance 'Indian.' Native Americans, however, continue to resist this ideology of containment and to insist upon the freedom to re-imagine themselves within a fluid, always shifting frontier space" (1998, p. 27). Riel was proposing and undertaking a new context, a paradigm shift, to transform the psychic and material prisons built by colonization that represented the Métis as incapable of governing themselves. Riel, it seems, was also selling sovereignty, civility and memory but for the Métis Nation with a specific advocacy on behalf Métis women and girls: "I was working in Manitoba first and I did all I could to get free institutions for Manitoba. They have those institutions today in Manitoba and they try to improve them."(Riel, 1885, p. 148). From the point of European contact with indigenous peoples, "the goal of the colonizer has been to inhibit and erase an ever-moving frontier while shifting 'Indian' to static and containable 'territory' –both within the trope of the noble and vanishing red man and within the more effective strategy that equates good Indians with dead ones" (Owens, 1998, p. 27). The colonial strategy that operated directly with the nineteenth-century media also functioned in a subtler manner than the illustrated media to support its objectives of colonization. In the following chapter, I examine a transatlantic discourse that entered the new colony so quietly that its hegemonic force, through its adaptation in the media, continues to impact the quotidian in the present day.

CHAPTER 5[152]

Shakespeare & Sovereignty: Canada's Nineteenth-Century Media

> Mine ear is open, and my heart prepared:
> The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold:
> Say, is my kingdom lost? (*The Life and Death of King Richard II*, 3.2)

Introduction

The cumulative renderings of "The Indian" circulating in nineteenth-century media, as my earlier chapters describe, "naturalize highly contentious propositions which are presupposed" and by 1885, Canada was a colony ripe with discordant forces (Fairclough, 2001, p. 128). The importance, then, in developing and implementing educational policies and content, which supported colonial objectives, was paramount for the nascent nation's leaders and its court of capitalists. Mass media, while still fumbling with technologies and resources, were utilized to distribute colonial-leaning ideologies that ultimately, along with other motivations, dislocated Métis and Aboriginal peoples' power. Curiously, within the media and its discursive streams, one iconic British agent and his writing is so naturalized that it is surprising that an examination of his impact in Canadian nineteenth-century media and its ties to indigenous peoples remains relatively overlooked in scholarship, and the use of his writings and its associations to Louis Riel are neglected entirely. This lack of scholarly attention to the ostensibly incongruent pairing is not surprising: what does William Shakespeare, a sixteenth-century playwright and poet have to do with Louis Riel, a nineteenth-century Métis leader? It is this question that constructs the central analysis in this chapter. I examine how Shakespearean

[152] I dedicate this chapter to Dr. Meredith Evans for her guidance and brilliance, and for believing in me when I recognized a connection between Shakespeare and Riel.

discourse entered the cultural framework in Canada, how it was mobilized and adapted in the media, and by unraveling its ideological wrapping, I also identify how his works played a role in cultivating a colonial zone of intelligibility that would directly influence, and be influenced by, the trial of Louis Riel. Moreover, these adapted sites are literal red flags that mark the locations under which other histories, stories, and voices continue to be buried.

The initial analytic challenge when approaching this question is to gauge whether or not Shakespearean works were indeed present in Canada during the nineteenth-century, and if they were, how were they mobilized and disseminated, and through which forms of media? It is also critical to ground the nineteenth-century Canadian readers' ability to construe the text. Comprehension of the writing can vary, depending upon whether readers have an advanced knowledge of Shakespearean folios, or whether they quote from plays, or merely have a vague understanding, or lack any familiarity to a reference entirely. Does the reader, for example, recognize the quote used in this chapter's epigraph? What then are the origins and limits of this knowledge? Alternatively, the absence of this specific resource for a reader is in itself revelatory to identify a social hierarchy based on a western literacy paradigm deployed by the Dominion.

A celebrated author who toiled within the literary margins and utilized the bard to reach his audience's imagination was James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851). In *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* (1826), Cooper opens with a quote taken from Shakespeare's *Richard II,* as reflected in this chapter's epigraph. The King, in the play, stands on the coast of Wales with a castle in view. The scene embodies the dramatic

irony of Richard's lost sovereignty against his usurper, Henry Bolingbroke. Cooper's Romantic novel is considered to be one of the most widely read books of the nineteenth-century, and in his introduction he alerts his readers that "it is believed that the scene of this tale, and most of the information necessary to understand its allusions, are rendered sufficiently obvious to the reader in the text itself, or in the accompanying notes" (Cooper, 1826, p. 1). Fenimore Cooper's intimation that his audience *will get it* sets up a zone of intelligibility (or he fills it in for them) as his novel unfolds to ignite cues, as well as antecedent texts that are presupposed. Shakespeare's deposed king, made present in the novel's epigraph, figuratively stands in for Aboriginal peoples' deposition and their subsequent fate to "vanish" by the imperial government's acquisition of territory. As Cooper's character, Tamenund states in the novel's final chapter, "I have lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mohicans" (Cooper, 1826, p. 300). Cooper's fictional account with its confused tribal designations is filled with other narrative flaws; moreover, his imagined dooming of the Nation, as it turns out, was wrong entirely. The Mahican Indians,[153] a Native American confederacy of five Nations, of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band suffered the violence and dehumanization of colonization, yet they have remained vital and very present as a cultural, political, and federally recognized union in the state of Wisconsin. Unlike King Richard, they remain self-governing and their legal actions against the government are not mythical but ongoing.

Cooper's Shakespearean presupposition was already formulated for the nineteenth-century audience through transatlantic discourses, social orders, situational content, and interactional histories: "discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of

[153] The English settlers changed their name to "Mohican."

deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 127). Cooper, along with other writers of the period, took part in encoding the ideology of the "vanishing Indian" and his efforts materialized as reality and as socially operative in the Newark, New Jersey's *Daily Advertiser* when the Chief of the Mohegans, John Uncas, died in 1853. One of Cooper's characters in his novel is based on John Uncas. The paper's editor declared the "Last of the Mohegans Gone" [and] "The passing away of the whole tribe of men […] the free, dauntless lords of the soil, is certainly well-calculated to awaken sensibility." The editor adds that it "is the natural, inevitable result of the progress of society" (Oberg, 2003, p. 7). As Oberg argues, Uncas, in Cooper's novel, "represented the tragic decline and ultimate disappearance of Indians from the American landscape, the epitome of the doomed and noble savage" (2003, p. 2). The press editor's "lords of the soil" metaphor was inherited from Cooper's allusion of ill-fated sovereignty and eventual un-kinging of Richard II and its figurative alignment to the tribal Nation that stood in for the "vanishing race."

There are, however, three problems with the *Daily Advertiser*'s figurative allusion: 1) the repeated confusion instilled by Cooper's conflation in *The Last of the Mohicans* of two different Native American tribes, the Mahican and Mohegan Nations; 2) the press's reproduction of the error, which reveals the reductive disregard for the independent Nations through not only a fictional and popular account, but also how the fiction is disseminated as fact in the press; and 3) the Mohegan people are located in Upper Thames River Valley of south-central Connecticut and are a federally recognized tribe who are, in fact, not "gone." These confusions are not the only flaws, fictions, and

elisions that appear in Cooper's novel, yet they bind together, under the auspices of a Shakespearean quote, a zone of intelligibility that marks and underscores "the vanishing Indian." Cooper knew his ideal reader, as he relates in his opening address, and was more or less assured (I need only to cite the novel's title) to continue the ideological work a foot. As my previous chapters reflect, Cooper was only one of the hundreds of writers who not only utilized the image of "the Indian" in his work but also utilized and adapted Shakespeare's writings to construct the imagined figure. Within this context, I offer a review and analysis of selected publications, which circulated in nineteenth-century Canada.

Literary Review

Shakespearean studies were advocated and circulated as a national pedagogy by using, as one example, *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (1854) compiled by Adolphous Egerton Ryerson, John George Hodgins, and Adam Crooks, "Sanctioned by the Council of Public Instruction, under the authority of the Common School Act of 1854." The journal's index houses a section devoted to Shakespearean texts. Also distributed in the new colony was Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine* publication the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Originating in Britain (1832), the journal printed established literary icons geared primarily for moral improvement and education as it serviced the social imperative to promote literacy and to extol the social values attributed to civilized literature (King and Plunkett, 2005, 126). Knight's international publication included the *Penny Cyclopedia*, *Pictorial Shakespeare*, and *Pictorial Bible*. Another periodical circulating in the new colony was *The Educational Monthly* published by The Grip Printing and Publishing Company (Toronto) and included

a selection of excerpts from the Shakespearean corpus. These periodicals, among others published during the mid to late-nineteenth-century, are included in my quantitative analysis, which is followed by a qualitative assessment concentrating on the contextual framework, the use of Shakespearean works, and its association with sovereignty, civility and memory.

Looking at Shakespeare Studies as an institutionalized discipline, I highlight the works of Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), a Scottish-born Canadian who was among the first teachers of Shakespeare Studies in Canada as a professor of History and English at the University College, Toronto (later, University of Toronto). Wilson was invested academically and socially in the ethnological and anthropological writings concerning indigenous peoples in North America, an interest that is strongly reflected in his publication, *Caliban: The Missing Link* (1873). Wilson was also associated with poet, journalist and government agent, Charles Mair (1838-1927) whose work influenced Canada's Confederation poets Charles G.D. Roberts (1861-1943), Bliss Carman (1861-1929), Archibald Lampman (1861-1899), and Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947). Mair was considered Canada's "warrior bard," producing his dramatic "masterpiece," *Techumseh*. Written primarily in blank verse, and loosely based on the structure of Shakespearean tragedy, the historical poem recounts the War of 1812. It was published one year after Riel's execution. Mair was involved in both the 1869 and 1885 Métis and First Nations' Resistances. His partisan relationship with The Canada First Party landed him jail along with Charles Schultz by the Métis forces, as discussed in the Prologue. Mair also worked as a contributor for the *Montreal Gazette* and as a special correspondent for *The Globe* in 1869 covering the conflict. The relationship between Riel

and Mair is an area of analysis that is overlooked in media-related scholarship and for this reason an intersecting point of their association, held through the press, will be addressed.

As part of the analysis, newspapers are examined with special attention to the press on site during the trial, specifically, the *Regina Leader* and how the paper's managing editor and owner, Nicholas Flood Davin adapted Shakespearean quotes for his content. Although I provide a detailed analysis of the *Leader* in Chapter 2, here I examine the editor's use of Shakespearean references during the period from the paper's launch date in 1883 to 1885. Whether Shakespearean allusions were distributed consciously and interpreted unconsciously or vice versa, the semantic technology cohered a social consciousness to economic structures – a symbolic language that manifests as the bridge between "the savage" and "the civilized" or "the sovereign" and "the enemy." In other words, a national schematic with specific hierarchies is built through specific pedagogical models (like Shakespeare) that reformulate racial dichotomies to allow one group to assert its sovereignty by expropriating the other with the designation of "the enemy." In the next three sections, I will elaborate my methodology as well as present the results of my quantitative analysis of 200 periodicals circulating in Canada that reference and use Shakespearean works and discourse. This is followed by a qualitative analysis of specific media coverage.

Methodology

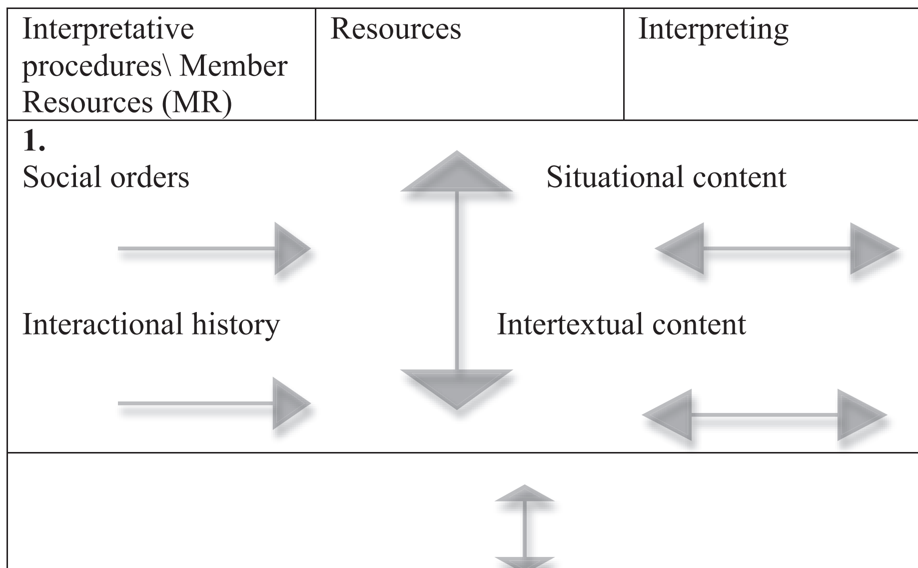
In my analysis, I identify how discourses operate in the social practices of media and its contexts, and how these discourses appear in relation to each other in order "to gauge the structural effects in terms of knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social

identities” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 117). It remains impossible, as Norman Fairclough (2001) concedes, “to directly extrapolate from the formal features of a text the structural effects upon the constitution of a society” (p. 117). Yet, I argue that the naturalized recurrence of the “Imaginary Indian,” as discussed in my earlier chapters, interlocks with Shakespearean works and the ideologies of the British canon making evident the power networks in the field of media and the conceptual formations of indigenous identities. Con*text* and *text* are not separate entities but are intersectional; with this in mind, my analysis of the discourses ascertains who produced the texts, why the intertextual use of Shakespeare’s works is undertaken, and how the conditions of production and distribution developed in order to measure the targeted demographic and material outcomes. My objective with this specific analysis, not yet undertaken in existing scholarship, is to examine the infrastructural methods practiced in the nineteenth-century media to illuminate a deeper understanding of the a/effect of particular ideologies and resources circulating around Riel’s trial. I also evaluate how Shakespeare was rendered during events leading up to the Métis 1885 Resistance, Riel’s trial, and subsequent execution.

The social contexts of discourses operate in accord with particular power relations and common-sense assumptions: “the discourses in which these values are embedded […] only become real, [and] socially operative, as parts of institutional and society processes of struggle” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 118). The Shakespearean intertextualities in variant cultural formations are instances of interpretive procedures that are created by the interplay of cues, as well as the participants’ member resources, and their background knowledge.

"Interpretive Procedures," "Member Resources," and the "Act of Interpreting" are salient methodological lines to follow, particularly when approaching the naturalized formations of Shakespearean intertextuality and adaptations[154] in mass media. My critical analysis provides a formalized table from which to follow the process of interpretation and explanation and can therefore be seen as two levels of successively applied procedures of unveiling or demystification (Fairclough, 2001, p. 119).

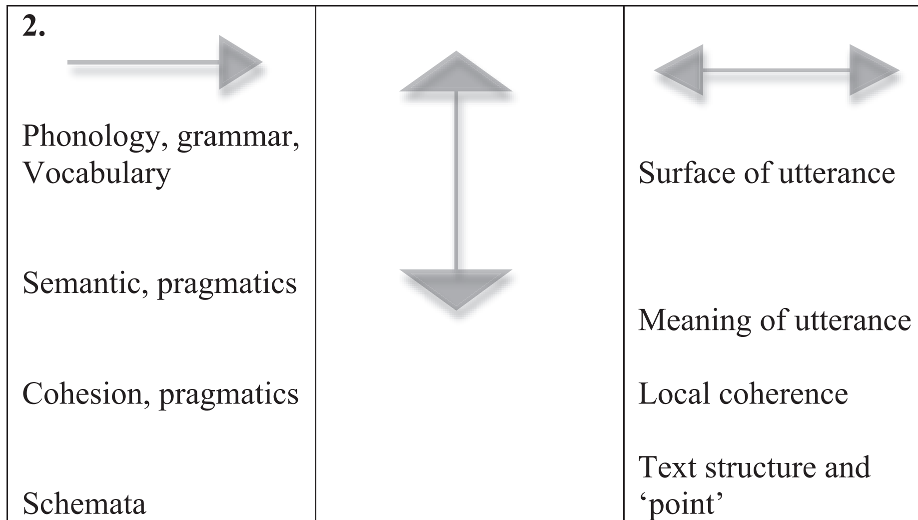
Method Table 1: Interpretative Procedures [155]



Interpretative procedures\ Member Resources (MR)	Resources	Interpreting
1. Social orders		Situational content
Interactional history		Intertextual content

[154] Intertextuality is the insertion of one text into another, for example, the direct placement of a quote from Shakespeare into a newspaper article. As with intertexuality, the method of adaptation is determined by the author's intention yet with adaptation, the process is extended with the integration of the quote to shift the meaning of the text and context or vice versa. The adaptation of Shakespearean quotes, for instance, can be subtle and less obvious. With that said, the definitions of intertextuality and adaptation are not fixed but are fluid in their applications.

[155] The graph is borrowed and slightly modified from Norman Fairclough's, *Language and Power*. It is designed to outline how interpretations "are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is 'in' the interpreter, in the sense of member resources (MR) which the latter brings to interpretation" (2001, p. 119).



2.		
Phonology, grammar, Vocabulary		Surface of utterance
Semantic, pragmatics		Meaning of utterance
Cohesion, pragmatics		Local coherence
Schemata		Text structure and ‘point’

The method incorporates six major domains of interpretation. The procedures in the upper box [1] deal with content and are external cues comprising the situational context related to social orders and interactional history that become the “knowledge” base or resources of participants as readers who, for example, attended the trial. The table comprises fields to demonstrate the circulation of cues and how the participants interpret the cues (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121). The intertextual use of Shakespeare in the epigraph of Cooper’s novel, for instance, or in this chapter, both depend on the participants or readers’ interpretative procedures about sovereignty and Métis and Aboriginal Nations. The participant’s interpretative procedures are a continual process. When Cooper’s book was read by a citizen in Upper Canada, for instance, the interpretative process of Shakespeare’s *Richard II* would rely on the discourses that were present in the social ordering in Canada through the wave of emigrants carrying their interactional history from Britain. Did these participants establish educational agendas with Shakespearean works in the national curriculum? Why did they adapt Shakespeare’s plays in their newspapers? Education reformers and newspaper editors who injected the resources into

the colony's cultural and discursive streams would rely on the participants' process of interpreting the situational and intertextual context. It is at this juncture, among others, that I apply my critical discourse analysis to the text.

Cooper's medieval scene, "on the coast with the castle in view" that opens his popular novel, however, was already integrated visually into the situational context in the new colony. The indigenous population standing on a coast with a castle in view was an established dichotomized orientation and appeared on tins of tobacco (Figure 28). The illustrated tobacco tin with "the castle in view" visually and materially exteriorizes the Native communities with the walls of civilization and displaces them across a gulf and from their land. The Fort Garry smoking tobacco tin manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company is one example of the everyday minutiae branded with colonial ideologies of cultural exclusions and inclusions.

Figure 28.

Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Garry Smoking Tobacco, 1670, image of object, tin, (c. late 19th century, Winnipeg, MB). Collection of the Hudson's Bay Company. Public domain.

The material's pervasiveness and it discursive formations circulated in a public that may well have been unconscious of the educating forces that were activated when, for instance, a quote from *Richard II* appears. The tobacco tin and Shakespeare become interdependent in the circuitry of interpretative procedures and reflects an instance of how each domain of interpretation is influenced by and/or influences other domains. Mass media was part of the colonial apparatus through which certain 'knowledges' or background 'common sense' ideas were naturalized (or disrupted) and often without participants' being aware of the fact. Moreover, the interpretative procedure is not a closed network, with new resources continually added into the discursive circuitry and thus interpretations can be changed with these injections (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121).

In the lower section of the graph, "text" comprises rules of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary that create the first utterance whether in the form of marks on pages or sounds or semantics, cohesion of meanings, all of which set a particular schemata from which the participants interpret the text structure and the 'point' (2001, p. 119). Shakespearean vernacular, here, unites participants through cultural capital that originates from a familiar and stable mother: England. Similar to the upper section, the arrows reflect the circulation of interpretations and how resources can be reinterpreted with new 'knowledge.' In other words, the process is not finite and continues to adjust and readjust with new discourses and new entries of power. The table thus functions in my analysis to illustrate "a tool" with which I decode the cultural deployment of Shakespeare and its

effects on Riel's trial and how objects circulate among mass subjects and how their effects accumulate and change.

Within this analytic framework, it is crucial to identify the social order to align the situational context and discourse types with the proposed questions: 1) what is the agenda behind the media action? 2) who are the participants? 3) what is the relation? and 4) what is the role of language? To determine aspects of the discourse types, the contents, subjects, relations, and connections must be identified (Fairclough, 2001, p. 122). As an example, a newspaper editor who uses a Shakespearean allusion when reporting on Louis Riel is relevant in my analysis when deciphering who is involved in constituting the subject's position (Riel): what are the multidimensional qualities and associations of the writer, and what is the "purpose" of the intertextual use of "fiction" (Shakespeare) into what is discerned as "fact" (news)? (2001, p. 123). What is the dynamic between the writer and *his/her* readers and what is their political stance concerning Aboriginal peoples claim to territory and their investment in, for instance, the Canadian rail system? What is the role of language if language "is being used in an instrumental way as part of a wider institutional and bureaucratic objective"? (Fairclough, 2001, p. 124). How does "fiction" change to "fact" or "fact" to "fiction," and what power is imbued into the text with the inserted weight of a cultural authority?

When considering these question and in terms of interpretation, Hayden White (1978) explains the overlapping blurring of lines when reading history and fictions as "the fictions of the factual representation" (p. 121); in other words, what is read is then "viewed simply as verbal artifacts, histories and novels [that] are indistinguishable from one another" (p. 122). White further explains that, "both [novel and history] wish to

provide a verbal image of 'reality'" (p. 122). It is the concern of this chapter, then, to examine the blurring barriers between fact and fiction specifically when Shakespearean text, as fiction, intercedes where historical "fact" is authorized.

Quantitative Analysis: "Shakespeare" in Early Canadian Media

Method

My quantitative methodology involved a two-step procedure: 1) A quantitative analysis of periodicals from the *Early Canadiana Online* database, limited to specific timeframes and with particular keywords; and 2) a qualitative analysis of specific texts in both periodicals and newspapers. My challenge with conducting the quantitative research is particular to nineteenth-century Canadian media in that the primary documents are not fully available in archives or on microfiche, many have been lost, and many are not connected to compilation data software to search keywords or determined statistics. Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson (2011) articulate this challenge as specific to Canada concerning nineteenth-century media in Canada in their research on Aboriginal representation in nineteenth-century media.

With this in mind, I used the keyword "Shakespeare" to undertake a broad search beginning with the date of Canada's first press publication in 1752 to the end of the nineteenth-century including 1900. The search revealed 4,827 results. The number of returned results verifies my hypothesis that "Shakespeare" was indeed within the colony's discursive lexicon. I then narrowed my search using 200 periodicals between the dates 1860 to 1886 to capture the periods in which the 1869 Red River Resistance and the 1885 Resistance took place. From this search, I retrieved 1,953 entries in the periodicals that referenced "Shakespeare." This search was further sharpened to focus on the date

1885 in which I retrieved 762 results with the actual count reflecting a greater number at 973, including multiple entries in the periodicals. The periodicals were then sub grouped to compare and contrast the recovered data. The groupings comprise "Education," "Religion," "Nation/Political," "Commerce/Business," "Law," "Popular," "Science," and "Agriculture." The spectrum was selected to encompass an intersectional perspective of the social, cultural, and economic related media in circulation. The fields clearly are not exhaustive nor are they independent of each other. For instance "Popular" articles could well be categorized as both "Religious," and or "Political." The decision to separate the periodicals into specific areas enabled me to gauge the locations of media and the zones of intelligible using the word "Shakespeare." The results, I argue, are greater than I have identified because of the intertextual usage and adaptation of passages or allusions to Shakespeare that are not always attributed. In addition, the analytic outcome would result in a higher number if newspaper weeklies or dailies were included in the search. Hence, I narrowed my analysis to the *Regina Leader* newspaper and its editor's use of Shakespearean works.

Outcomes [156]

The periodicals categorized as "Education" garnered the highest result with 281 notations of "Shakespeare." This was followed closely by "Popular" at 279 references and "Religion" oriented periodicals at 211 references. "Political" periodical showed 113 results. "Science" related journals resulted in 47 returns. "Business" periodical had 22 results, followed by "Law" journals with an outcome of 13, and "Agriculture" showing at 6 results.

[156] Two hundred periodicals examined as outlined in my methodology.

Analysis of Data

Mid-nineteenth-century periodicals were published throughout Upper and Lower Canada with the main publishing hubs in such cities as Toronto and Montreal, as well as in the provinces of British Columbia, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. These areas therefore captured the highest percentages of returns. The first paper in Canada's North West, *The Nor'Wester,* as discussed in Chapter 3, would not appear in Red River until 1860. This media gap in the North West was filled with publications available at the Hudson's Bay Company outposts, subscribers to the Upper and Lower Canada presses, as well as American and British publications. In my examination of the political formations concerning territory and the desires of the political elite gunning for resource acquisition, expansion, and borders under the auspices of civilization and progress, it is crucial to trace the transnational discursive lines of communication. One of the earliest recordings of "Shakespeare" in the periodical search was in *The Nova Scotia Magazine,* published in November 1789 by its editor, John Howe. Howe published a "Shakespeare" event reprinted from a "European Magazine," Howe explains:[157]

> This Exhibition, which may be truly ftyled[158] the triumph of the English School of Painting, is fo honourable to the undertakers of the […] defign of which it forms a part; fo connected with polite letters; fo fraught with national advantage, whether confidered with refpect to Commerce, to the Arts, to Literature, to the amufement of the day, or the more permanent entertainment of fucceeding generations; that we confider it as an object particularly deferving the notice of a Literary Journal. (p. 3)

Howe's decision to carry the article in the press, his remark that the exhibition is "fraught with national advantage," and his noting the significance of the interdisciplinary activity

[157] Nineteenth-century printing compositors used the early modern cipher switch of "f" for "s," and "v" for "s" if both "s" and "f" were in a word.
[158] The text in the quote is unchanged from the compositor's original letterpress, which used the letter "v" for "u," and "f" for "s."

associated with Shakespeare and Shakespeare as “an object,” which will be admired by “succeeding generations,” speaks to the cultural leverage that the literary works embodied. In positioning his “ideal reader,” Howe gestures to Shakespeare’s viability, even in the new colony, as well as its accessibility in all fields of knowledge.

The Shakespeare appeal did not go under utilized by nineteenth-century advertisers to mobilize its a/effect in a wide range of consumer products (Figure 29). Testimonials, as public declarations of achievement or high regard, were used to align the product with Shakespeare and thereby transfer his prestige to the consumer. Kinney, the editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, views the nineteenth-century as a period when

> quotations from Shakespeare, a feature of many display advertisements of the period of have the quality of testimonials. Advertisers carefully choose their Shakespearean lines so that the text – and thus Shakespeare himself – seems to endorse the product, sometimes lightly reworking the lines so that his endorsement is even more direct. Shakespeare thereby functions as a generic voice of popular authority.” (Kinney, 2012, p. 503)

For example, Sir Henry Irving (1838-1905), a celebrated English stage actor, popular in the Victorian period (Figure 29), appears in the 1889 ad for *Beecham Pills* playing Hamlet under the tag line “To Beecham or not To Beecham” (Kinney, 2012, p. 504). The spin on “To be or not to be” (Hamlet 3.1) places Irving as avatar speaking on behalf of the bard to sell laxatives. The move deflates Shakespeare’s well-constructed “prestige” to stand among the groundlings and make Shakespeare comfortably relevant to their daily lives.

Figure 29.
Beecham Pills, *To Beecham or not To Beecham*, 1889, print, advertisement.
Collection of GlaxoSmithKine. Public domain.

Everyday items such as Falstaff beer, Othello dresses, Antony and Cleopatra cigars, Cordelia sofas, and Hamlet stoves flooded the consumer market. Kinney in his examination of the proliferation of Shakespeare-ing the nineteenth-century explains that "advertisers needed to address two questions: how to encourage customers to integrate mass produced commodities into their lives, and how to convince a skeptical public of those goods' quality?" (2012, p. 501). In response, Kinney argues that, "Shakespearean names gave goods an air of familiarity, even if the relationship between name and product was arbitrary" (p. 501). Two points in Kinney's observation are pertinent with the intertextual use of Shakespeare into a growing consumer culture in Canada – integration and convincing. This begs the question as to what authors, editors, writers, artists or other cultural practitioners were selling the public by using Shakespeare in their allusions to Aboriginal peoples?

In the next section of my chapter, I examine the deployment of the ideology and writings of Shakespeare, how it entered Canada, and how it was served and made accessible. As Daniel Fischlin and Ric Knowles explain, "The (un)easy adaptation of Shakespearean theatrical contexts to such an ideology very precisely denotes how an iconic cultural referent like Shakespeare cannot be detached from the ideological content with which it is associated" (p. 4).

Colonizing Canada: Enter Shakespeare with Flourish (Figure 30)[159]

<u>From Britain - The Early Dispatches</u>

[159] In 1864, three years before Confederation, to commemorate Shakespeare's birthday a stamp was issued that was circulated throughout the colonies.

How did the nineteenth-century public in the early days of the Dominion come to know Shakespeare? How does a recontextualized line from Hamlet, for instance, “The play’s the thing wherein I’ll catch the conscious of the king” (2.2), ground the ability of author and reader to connect and displace its textual locus and transform its original significance into new and multiple meanings?

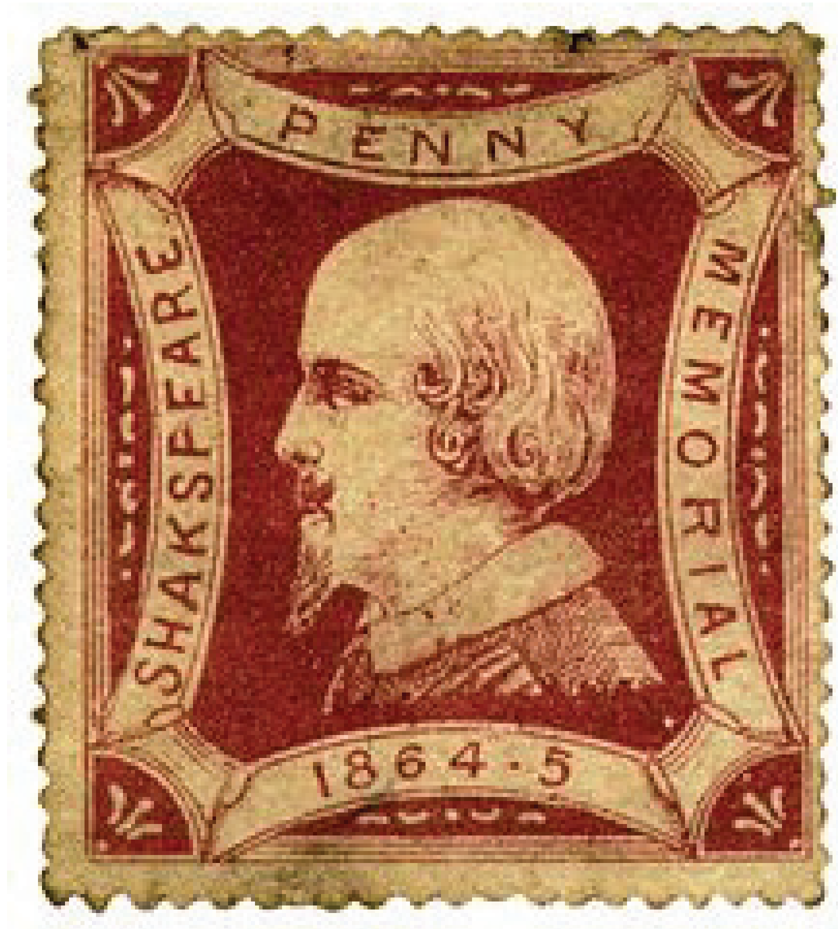


Figure 30.
Shakespeare Penny Memorial Stamp, issued by the British government (1864-5, London, UK). Public domain.

As my earlier chapters delineate, the “theatre” of the Métis 1885 resistance, Riel’s subsequent trial, and his execution were staged on a palimpsest of imperial rhetoric, an ongoing sovereign force through which the narratives of “The Imaginary Indian,” in its

varying formations, reconstituted Riel as an abstracted and intelligible object: "the enemy." Riel's representation was predicated on a long line of image production, media history, and a transatlantic discourse, which included the works and ideology of Shakespeare.

The Riel trial, as Canada's "most interesting event" (Davin, 1885, p. 2) facilitated newspaper editors who, with their own literary resources, relied upon the reader to pick up on intertextual cues to advance the sensational and theatrical as a lucrative allure to sell newspapers and ideologies. By the mid-nineteenth-century, adventurers, speculators, and settlers were emigrating to the new colony from Britain, Europe, and America among other countries. For those educated in Scotland, Ireland, and England, the Shakespearean text was a pedagogical prerequisite and thus was among the many cultural resources distributed in the massive colonial outpost. For the many emigrates who were illiterate, the British bard would incite nostalgia when his words were read orally in coffee shops, community outposts, and in homes.

Within this framework, though, because of contentious relations with particularly the Scottish and the Irish settlers who endured the violence and displacement at the hands of the Empire, satire that exploited the British icon by the presses would be multilayered. Politicians, editors, writers and artists—often not autonomous roles—employ their Early Modern allusions to activate an intertextual mnemonic effect on the growing publics' material and psychic sensibilities (Ryerson, 1854, p. 39). Fischlin, when discussing the Shakespearean effect in Canada explains that

> Not to forget that Shakespeare's cultural influence is pervasive. He is the most inventive shaper and user of the English language ever—a language that has taken on global pertinence like no other language—the language of global commerce, science, and technology, and a kind of global lingua franca […] But Shakespeare

is also present at the birth of corporate culture, as we perhaps don't know it. (2007, p. 7)

Shakespeare's transatlantic invasion, as the above quote explicates, however, had its stops and starts. In 1642, on the eve of Civil War in England, the doors of all the theatres were closed by an order of Parliament to prevent civil unrest. They would remain shut for the next 18 years until the Restoration brought the accession of Charles II in 1660. The new king was born 44 years after Shakespeare's death (1616), yet with the opening of the theatres, Charles established a patent for the King's Company to rewrite Shakespeare's work, to make the plays "noble." It is here, at this unlikely juncture that Shakespeare and the future of the Métis peoples, geographically and ideologically, met.

One of the transatlantic journeys from Europe to what would become Canada, began with two adventurers, Pierre-Esprit Radisson (1636-1710) and Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers (1618-1710) who set out on the popular and dangerous commercial venture to "discover" the elusive Northwest Passage as the thoroughfare to Asia. Instead, they came upon a mass of land in which there was an abundance of natural resources such as fur. They also found that the territory was home to Aboriginal Nations who were economically, politically, and socially active (HBC, 2013, para. 3-7).[160] After several failed attempts to secure funding in what Radisson and Groseilliers saw as a highly profitable market, Colonel George Cartwright introduced the pair to Charles II who in turn signed the territory's governance to the charge of his cousin, Prince Rupert (1619-1682). In 1670, ten years after Charles II reopened the theatres and allowed the production of Shakespearean dramas, he also signed an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland that authorized the transfer of the

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[160] Playwright Poul Anderson wrote an alternative history/fantasy adaptation of *A Midsummer Tempest* in 1975. The play is based on the history between Charles II and Prince Rupert.

Northwest Americas in "The Royal Charter for incorporating The Hudson's Bay Company." The Hudson's Bay Charter granted the company all trading rights in the territory that had rivers flowing into the Hudson Bay. As discussed in the Prologue, the Company continued into the nineteenth-century with governors such as Sir George Simpson, who was knighted in 1841 by Queen Victoria. Riel, in his statement to the court, views "this arrival" of "adventurers" another way and instead argues how the Métis and Aboriginal peoples were usurped of their land and their voice:

> Canada, no, I ought not to say Canada, because it was a certain number of individuals, perhaps seven or eight hundred that can have passed for Canada, but they came to Red River, and they wanted to take possession of the country without consulting the people. (Riel, 1886, p. 156)

Peter C. Newman, in his lament concerning the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company by the private American investment firm, NRDC Equity Partners led by Richard A. Baker in 2009, wrote that

> We British are fanatically romantic about our history. The magnificent Prince Rupert (who restored Charles II to the British throne, and received the HBC Charter in return) was the company's first governor; our great Duke Marlborough the third […] Nine generations after the original Marlborough, the family begat Winston Churchill who, when he retired from politics, accepted only one commercial directorship: as seigneur of the HBC."

Newman, seemingly drunk in the glow of British nostalgia, fails to recount that within the "magnificent history" of Prince Rupert of the Rhine and "our" great Duke Marlborough was their monopoly, management, and profiting from the African slave trade.[161] Newman's flag waving continues in his glib and strange generosity toward Simpson's

[161] There is a Canadian connection between the Hudson's Bay Company, Montreal, and the slave trade in Africa. The early governors of the HBC, including King James II, were executive managers of the slave trade while acting as governors of the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition, HBC Governor, Andrew Colvile (1852-1856) facilitated George Simpson's journey from England to Lower Canada to be his protégé. The family was involved with the sugar broker business in England and owned plantations in the Jamaica. George Simpson was the governor of Hudson's Bay Company for 40 years and was stationed at the port in Lachine, Lower Canada (Montreal).

violence against Aboriginal women and girls by describing their exploitation with such euphemisms as "casual" and "co-opted." Consider Newman's take on colonial violence: "(George) Simpson also pioneered the notion of having a mistress in every fort. Native women were often co-opted into casual sexual relationships, though many liaisons resulted in 'country marriages' that lasted a lifetime." Newman's argument that "many 'country marriages,' lasted a lifetime whitewashes the reality of women and girls who were abandoned when men, like Simpson, often discarded their Aboriginal wives to a life of poverty and alienation when marrying British women. Newman's use of the phrase "mistress in every fort" is reckless as it buries the sexual violence and exploitation against Aboriginal women and girls by colonial soldiers, the police, Hudson's Bay Company employees who, as only one example, would withhold food from starving women in order to sexually abuse them. Newman is well aware of this history, and his accolades to these agents of violence and his silencing of history make him complicit in the acts. Newman's twisted take on history extends further as he incorporates a line from Shakespeare's *Henry V* (4.8) following the battle of Agincourt, when the King requests a list of the English dead: "Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Richard Ketly, and Davy Gain, Esquire […] None else of name, reports the King's herald." Newman's national melancholy over those deemed worthy "of name," as well as the lost names in history includes only the those of British descent, an amnesia that Riel insisted upon rupturing.[162]

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[162] The British interest in Riel and the Métis peoples Resistances presents itself in the British House of Common's Parliamentary Papers and also reveals Riel's actions as a counter sovereign force that reaches beyond the borders of Canada. See also December 25, 1869 correspondence submitted to the British House of Commons (p. 201-231).

Newman's colonial declarative call "We British" fits with Queen Victoria's imperial objective to rule as much of the world as possible, which was ensured by her monarchal control, as well as through her Prime Ministers William Ewart Gladstone,[163] and in Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald. The result was a period of colonization that held Victoria's name as it manifested and indoctrinated its destiny through the wide spread implementation of the English language, the Imperial system of measuring, and a market economy structured on English common law, along with western European industrialism, education and religion, and the foundations of social evolutionary theories.[164] In the nascent formations of Victorian-era Canada, however, the lack of publishing technologies, libraries, and literacy, as well as the slow implementation of telegraph and rail systems, culminated in a limited access to the British canon including Shakespearean texts. Nevertheless, for the gentry, educated settlers, and Upper Canada elite, Shakespeare was being read, studied, rewritten, debated as well as used intertextually and adapted in a range of media. Although the editors of the Foyer Library Theater Annex at the University of Victoria argue that this breach of knowledge left William Shakespeare's writings unavailable to the general public, I argue that Shakespeare was still vigorously drummed up in the hands of editors, publishers, advertisers, artists, and politicians who owned and wrote for newspapers. Distributed in mass media, their writings, ideas, and ideologies infiltrated the culture and bridged the Shakespearean-divide to influence, as the adaptors saw fit, the general public. (Foyer, 2013)

Alan Finlayson and Elizabeth Frazer argue in "Fictions of Sovereignty:

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[163] William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898).
[164] The language sspoken in the Red River settlement by the mid-nineteenth-century was Ojibwa, Michif, English, French as well as Gaelic.

Shakespeare, Theatre and the Representation of Rule" that Shakespeare's dramatic art as a whole, which explores sovereign performances with skill and power […] remains instructive for contemporary reflections on politics" (2010, p. 3). The authors further contend that, "for radical critics of commercialized art of modern societies no true knowledge is possible until the system of false representation has been blown apart by acts that call into question its aesthetic conventions" (p. 3). Shakespeareans and Shakespearean fetishists were proliferating in Canada practicing their study from Elizabethan locutions and hoarding boxes of "Shakespeareana." Ton Hoenselaars explains that in the last two centuries (nineteenth and twentieth) there has been "a decisive move away from the purely textual and author-oriented approach to Shakespeare and his work towards a recognition of the translator's more recognizable role as a mediator at historically specific moments, and a vital agent in the complex exchange process (2006, p. 52). As my quantitative analysis presents, the mediated exchange occurs in a cross-section of outlets and reveals "how the various operators of domination support one another, how they converge and reinforce one another in some cases, and negate or strive to annul one another in other cases" (Foucault, 2007, p. 45). So ubiquitous are the works of Shakespeare in the operations of cultural convergence and reinforcing that they often remain invisible. These spaces will be traced in the next section of this chapter.

Edmund Kean Reciting Before the Hurons

Shakespeare's works have undergone an array of transformations, renewals and revitalizations that include simple citations, global translations, adaptations,

memorization, appropriations, homage, pastiche, and tradaptions.[165] The remaking of Shakespeare's plays, sonnets, and verse have an extensive historical reach from seventeenth-century peer rewrites to twenty-first century television series and film adaptations, to theatrical recreations in contemporary dress to subversive, resistant, reclamations in postcolonial rewritings such as Aimé Césaire's, *La Tempete* (1969); Daniel David Moses', *Brébeuf's Ghost* (1996); Djanet Sears', *Harlem Duet* (1998); and Native Earth Performing Arts, adaptation of *Julius Caesar*, in *The Death of Chief* (2007), among the many. What remains consistent with the cultural practitioners who dip into the Renaissance spring is that, however subtle or explicit, "they are claiming a place with Shakespeare, justifying their own work by positioning themselves […] beside the acknowledged master" (Fishlin and Knowles, 2002, p. 3) and in doing so renew and remake a claim within a literary hierarchy that performs a cultural effect.

Canada's earliest performances of Shakespearean works occurred in Halifax in 1768. In 1789, in a Saint John, New Brunswick tavern the amateur productions of, for example, *The Taming of the Shrew*, adapted as *Catherine and Petruchio*; *The Merchant of Venice*; and *The Tempest* were staged (Smith, p. 1). The notorious Shakespearean actor Edmund Kean (c.1789-1833) arrived in Lower Canada, Quebec on September 4, 1826 to give his performance of *Richard III*. Known for his villainy both on and off the stage, Kean played such roles as Iago, Shylock, Macbeth, Richard III and Othello, as well as the role of Hamlet (Playfair, 2013, para. 3-5). During his sojourn in Lower Canada, on

[165] "Tradaptation" is an applied and extended method of literary adaptation that integrates translation into the creative formation to elucidate issues concerning language. See Jennifer Drouin's (2004) article on Michel Garneau's tradaptation of Macbeth (1978) is an example of a tradaptation produced during the 1970s debate in Quebec and the existence of Québécois language. See also the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project (CASP), "Macbeth (1978), Michel Garneau" online at http://www.canadianshakespeares.ca/a_garneau.cfm

October 5, 1826, Kean met with four Huron chiefs. Kean presented a recital, as well as a goldsmith medal to the Chiefs. In honour of Kean, the Hurons reciprocated by receiving him and apparently gave him the name of Adanieouidet (or Alanienouidet). It is recorded that he was also given a Huron dress and arms (Fischlin, 2004, para. 1-3). It remains a mystery what Kean recited before his Huron audience; it is likely, however, because he was secular and renowned for his Shakespearean works, that it would not be scripture, but rather perhaps a soliloquy. Significant, nonetheless, is what transcends from Joseph Legare's landscape which illustrates Kean as an orator before the Huron community (Figure 31). Kean, dressed in black, stands out from the painted homogenous mass of Hurons. That he is elevated on a riser gives him an advantage in a spatial hierarchy. At his side, also wearing black, could be a representative from the local church missionary who was active in the community; his association with a representative of God bolsters his structural and moral power as an orator.

Figure 31.
Joseph Légaré, *Edmund Kean Reciting Before the Hurons*, c. 1826, oil on canvas, 53.3 x

92.4 cm. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, QC. Public domain.

The nineteenth-century viewer of the painting would integrate their awareness of Kean's reputation as a Shakespearean. This "resource" would then supersede their absence of knowing what Kean was actually reading, and the viewer would decode from the image that Kean was reciting a Shakespearean passage.

Another early entry of Shakespeare in Canada is found in *Barker's Canadian Magazine*. Edward John Barker, the monthly periodical's editor, wrote the piece in 1846 in Kingston, Ontario. Barker's epigraphs are taken from Act 4, Scene 1 in Shakespeare's *Macbeth,* when the warrior lord meets the witches and hears the prognostication of his accession to king, a knowledge that leads to his murderous treason and brutal downfall (Plate 5). Barker asserts in the opening of his fiction that Shakespeare is the "unimpeachable authority in all that relates to elfin land."

BARKER'S

CANADIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

VOL. I. KINGSTON, DECEMBER, 1846. No. 8.

RED SPIRITS!

"Call them, and let me see them"—*Macbeth.*

THE glades of the old English woodland—the German hill and forest land, are rife with legendary interest; every ruined castle, and every fairy lake in Ireland has its goblin tenantry,—and why should not the wild woods and the mighty waters of Canada have their "legendary lore."

Shakespere—unimpeachable authority in all that relates to elfin land—has—

"Black spirits and white,
RED spirits and grey."—

And if there are "red spirits," (and who can doubt it now,) what land is there more fitting for their dwelling place than this? Here have been the hunting and fishing grounds of the *red men* for unknown centuries. Here, in ancient tumuli, in grass-grown and neglected mounds, lie entombed the bodies of mighty chieftains—where, by their sides, their bows, and quivers full of arrows, and their faithful dogs have crumbled into dust. Here the rusty tomahawk, buried in the cloven skull, is found in field or garden. Here the calumet lies side by side with the ponderous war-club—and many a field of waving corn and garden flowers, that glitter in the sun, spring from the ashes of the mighty dead that centuries ago were called by the voice of Manitou, to the hunting grounds of another world.

A Spirit land is round us, and above in the air we breathe—beneath us in the soil we tread. Shall we not believe it?

If the O'Donoghue—beneath the shade of Mangerton, that falls far out upon the placid lake—still holds his fairy court beneath the limpid waters, now and again within the reach of human ken: If demons of shadowy form and gigantic stature, haunt the Hartz mountains—and if from every drooping lily, and from the graceful blue-bells, wicked, joyous, laughing faces, peer upon the passer by, and shake their tiny fists at him who treads not lightly on the flowers, their dwelling place—if in the dismal swamps the Will-o-the-wisp leads astray the benighted traveller, and the devil "clapperclaws" with Tom Walker's

Figure 32.
Edward John Barker, *Red Spirits,* 1864, image from *Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 8 (Kingston, ON). Public domain.

In his narrative, Barker adapts Macbeth's "call to see the witches" to instead locate the "Red Spirits," who are individuals from Aboriginal Nations disposed to the spirit world – in other words, vanished. Barker's prose interlocks with Cooper's, as discussed earlier, by assigning associations as a matter of inclusion and exclusion. Consider Cooper's representation with Barker's vanquishing of the ancient "Red Man":

> The Mohicans were the possessors of the country first occupied by the Europeans in this portion of the continent. They were, consequently, the first dispossessed; and the seemingly inevitable fate of all these people, who disappear before the advances, or it might be termed the inroads, of civilization, as the verdure of their native forests falls before the nipping frosts, is represented as having already befallen them. There is sufficient historical truth in the picture to justify the use that has been made of it. (Cooper, 1826, p. 1)

Cooper and Barker's writing absolves the government of responsibility of violence against indigenous peoples and instead positions their grievances as the "inevitable fate" of those dispossessed. The authors' narratives further reduce Aboriginal Nations to abstracted objects that are metaphorically aligned with the fallen wilderness through which the roads of progress ideologically pave. Although Baker and Cooper reference different plays, they both kindle the audiences' situational contexts among the intertextual codes. Cooper uses the allusion of King Richard's fall from sovereignty, or he who once possessed, against Henry's rise:

> What must the king do now? must he submit? /
> The king shall do it: must he be deposed? /
> The king shall be contented: must he lose /
> The name of king? (*Richard II*, 3.3)

Notably, Riel challenges the imagined relationship between the Métis and the government in his address to the jury when he uses the common idiom also utilized in Shakespeare's writing: "fair-play": "When I see British people sitting in the court to try

me, remembering that the English people are proud of that word 'Fair-play'" (1886, p. 140). Riel's use of the expression (discussed in Chapter 2) marks out issues related to sovereignty, civility and memory as well as identifying their paradoxes: 1) he polarizes two sovereign forces; 2) the term as a British matter-of-business comprises injustice and the exclusionary device inherent in civility; and 3) he relies on the member resources of "the British people" and inserts himself into the colonial zone of intelligibility delivered under the authority of Shakespeare. "Fair-play" is used in the play *King John* in Act 5, Scene 1, as well as in Scene 2 (118.9). Philip Faulconbridge, the King's bastard son, uses it with the force of its double articulation, which discursively extends a customary courtesy to show a presence of chivalry to one who is detested ("fair-play," 2013). Riel's use of "fair play" reveals the law's inherent hypocrisy particularly in the supposed impartial space of a British Canadian court. It is impossible to know whether or not Riel knew the Shakespearean origin, but his reappropriation of the idiom resonates uncannily with its original Shakespearean context:

> Shall we, upon the footing of our land,
> Send fair play orders and make compromise (*King John*, 5.1)

Moving my analysis to the middle of the century, I turn my attention to *Grinchuckle*, a weekly Montreal publication that ran for one year (1869-1870) during the same period as the Métis Red River Resistance.

Grinchuckle**: "in your private ear … I sometimes fear my sovereignty"**

Edited by A.G. Gilbert, the satire-based publication used such illustrators as John Henry Walker, an artist discussed in Chapter 4. Walker illustrated the 1869 edition using the wood block method and on November 25, 1869 the following adaption of *Henry IV, Part*

II, “A Comedy in One Act” appeared.[166] Although not explicitly referring to Riel by name the treatment uses cues to gesture to the 1869 Resistance raised by the Métis against the Hudson’s Bay Company’s agenda to sell the territory of Rupert’s Land to the Dominion. The scene takes place in “an extensive prairie” and the date is November 1869. Provencher, a pending federal electoral district in Manitoba, is personified as a character in the play whose role is subservient and at the behest of the “King.” Riel would be elected as the district’s Member of Parliament in 1873 through to 1875, and he would not, contrary to the character’s depiction in the satire, bow to the demands of the “King.” [167]

While an extensive close reading of this play could entail a large part of this chapter, and necessarily so, here I focus on specific areas. For instance, the play’s designation as a “Comedy in One Act” immediately disparages the Métis Resistance in the Red River area of Rupert’s Land (present day Winnipeg) by presenting it as a “comedy” and as a “one act” blip in history. As explained in the Prologue, The Hudson Bay Company’s (Britain) deal to sell Rupert's Land to the Canadian government for 300,000 pounds went through without consultation with the territory’s population which comprised over 80% Métis. It is at this intersection of events that the *Grimchuckle* adaptation takes place. On October 11, 1869 a government issued land survey team, included Charles Schultz and Charles Mair (the former discussed in the Prologue, and the latter in this chapter), arrived in the Red River territory. In an effort to protect the rights and interest of the Métis people, Louis Riel, became one of the leaders in the movement

[166] The play is provided in the appendices (3).
[167] The reference is also represented in the illustration of the “Vacant Chair,” discussed in Chapter 4, with the name “Provencher” written on Riel’s seat in the House of Commons.

to resist the acquisition of land. William McDougall who was appointed by the government in Ottawa to manage the territory and so-called champion of North West expansion plays the role of King McDougall. The scene takes place near the American Canadian border at Pembina—the railways and roads were not yet constructed through the North West. Riel dispatched a letter to McDougall informing him that he is not welcome in the territory. On November 2, 1869 with a small army of a few hundred Métis, Riel takes Fort Garry. On December 10, 1869, Riel forms the Provisional Government, and announces his leadership (Linder, 2004, para. 1-7). The event leading up to the coup is recounted in the play as follows:

> King. Would I could find my kingdom! Two long weeks
> Have I been jolting on this bony hack; Each muscle of my royal person craves
> If but one moment's respite.
> Prov . May it please—
> King. It does not; never has royalty been brought
> So near the verge of utter degradation.
> I have a realm,—at least they told me so,--- But where on earth it is I know not.
> You have my crown all right, Provencher.
> Prov. May't please your Majesty, 'tis in the bandbox.

Here, McDougall's authority of the territory is questionable. He neither can locate his kingdom nor his crown; the latter is satirized as a fashion accessory or vanity item ('tis in a bandbox),[168] rather than worn or applied as a responsible use of sovereign power. The passage also makes explicit how control of land determines sovereignty: "but where on earth it is I know not." During the actual confrontation, McDougall was powerless as articulated in the play's closure with the Chief (Riel) commanding: "Begone!

As the play unfolds, the King and his government servant are met by, as depicted, "Indians in full equipment of feather and paint" and the Chief (Riel) states:

[168] A lightweight box used to hold small items usually fashion related.

Chief: I have sworn, by every shrunken scalp
That dangles at my girdle, no pale face
Shall leave this trail in these my hunting grounds.
I'm the great Scallawag, and here am chief.
Now, who are you?
King. The King— (p. 66)[169]

The above scene could be interpreted as Gilbert positioning Riel as Chief or as a station of sovereignty which stands against McDougall's role representing the Dominion, as King or the "chief of the Ottawas."[170] As an adaptation of Shakespeare's play, *Henry IV, Part II,* Gilbert thus positions Riel as the character of Falstaff, a petty criminal with questionable morals, and McDougall, in one possible interpretation, as Prince Hal whose succession to King is pending. Gilbert's adaptation undermines Métis sovereignty as it relegates Riel as a political and moral subordinate within a stereotype that omits the pronoun "I" in "here am chief" to negate his body, intelligence, and voice within the racialized aural structuring of the sentence. The playwright colours his verse with the palette of colonial stereotypes by representing Riel as leading "ragamuffins," and as carrying "shrunken scalps." The term "scallawag," with which the "Chief" refers to himself as, is a rascal or rebel, and aligns Riel not only with the circulating stereotypes of "rebels" and "bandits" which embodied the representation of the Métis movement, but also more fully with the Falstaff character. Moreover, the term during the period was applied also to white Southerners who supported reconstruction governments after the American Civil war for private gain ("scallywag") and thereby locates Riel politically in

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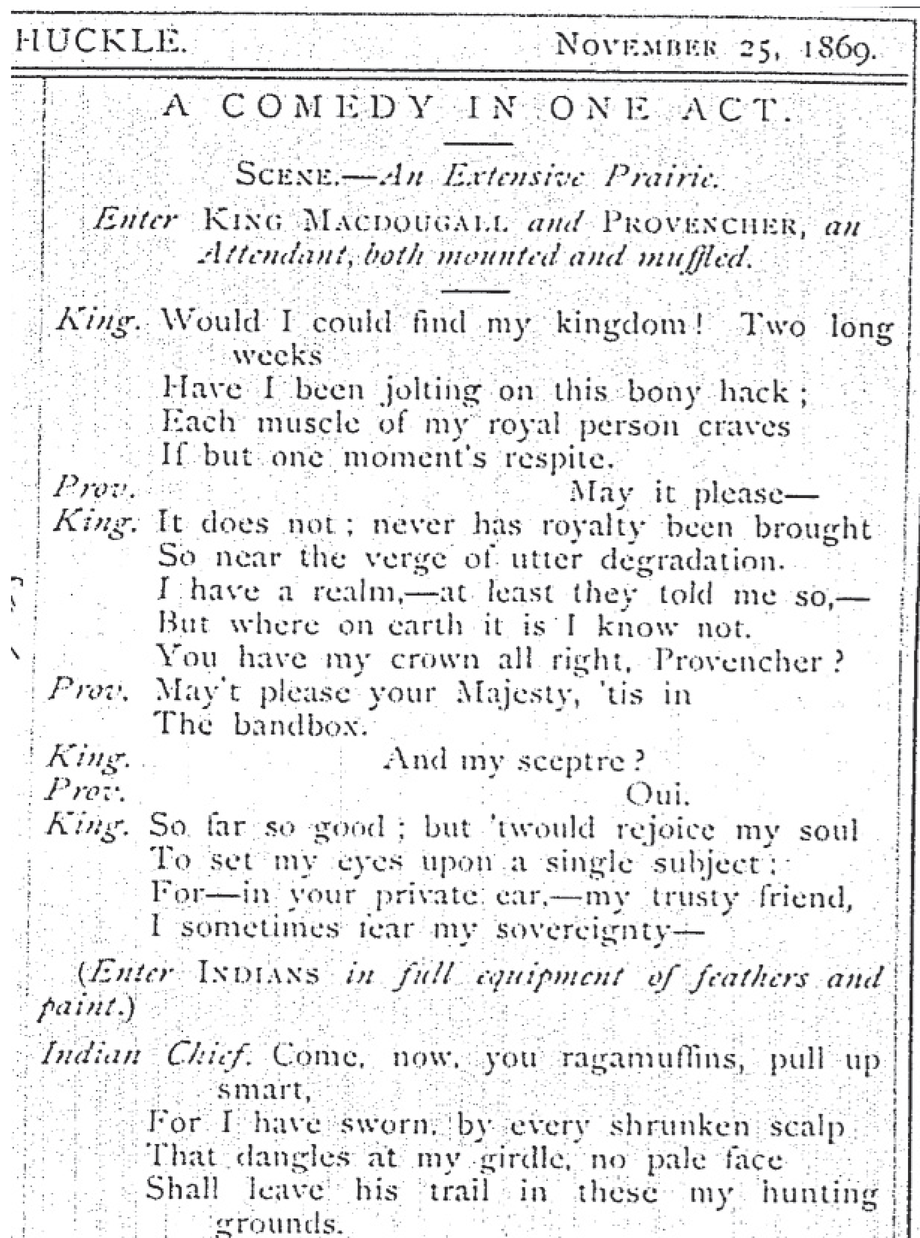
[169] This section, as perhaps the entire adaptation, echoes closely with Shakespeare's *Richard II* (3.2.82-3) when the King's sense of identity and sovereignty begins to be questioned and is ultimately broken. While in Ireland Richard learns that he has lost his army and informed of Bolingbroke's military success:
AUMERLE. Comfort, my liege. Remember who you are.
KING RICHARD. I had forgot myself. Am I not king?

[170] The cultural appropriation of the Ottawa Indians (pronounced O-dah-wah) in the author's satire not only misplaces the people geographically, but also erases their complex origins, histories, and culture within Canada and the United States as Anishinabe representing a major totem of the Anishinabe people. See also http://www.anishinabe-history.com/algonquians/ottawa.shtml

sympathy with American plans of annexing the North West and consequently an enemy of the Dominion (Figure 33).


HUCKLE. November 25, 1869.

A COMEDY IN ONE ACT.

Scene.—*An Extensive Prairie.*

Enter King Macdougall *and* Provencher, *an Attendant, both mounted and muffled.*

King. Would I could find my kingdom! Two long weeks
Have I been jolting on this bony hack;
Each muscle of my royal person craves
If but one moment's respite.
Prov. May it please—
King. It does not; never has royalty been brought
So near the verge of utter degradation.
I have a realm,—at least they told me so,—
But where on earth it is I know not.
You have my crown all right, Provencher?
Prov. May't please your Majesty, 'tis in
The bandbox.
King. And my sceptre?
Prov. Oui.
King. So far so good; but 'twould rejoice my soul
To set my eyes upon a single subject:
For—in your private ear,—my trusty friend,
I sometimes fear my sovereignty—

(*Enter* Indians *in full equipment of feathers and paint.*)

Indian Chief. Come, now, you ragamuffins, pull up smart,
For I have sworn, by every shrunken scalp
That dangles at my girdle, no pale face
Shall leave his trail in these my hunting grounds.

Figure 33.
"A Comedy in One Act," image from *Grinchuckle,* (25 November 1869, p. 66). Public domain.

Satire, however, takes no prisoners. With this in mind, the adaptation also explicates the imperial anxiety concerning Riel as sovereign by deflating the Dominion's

authority in revealing its fear of invasion and loss of control. As the character King McDougall admits: “ For—in your private ear—my trusty friend, I sometimes fear my sovereignty—.” The pronoun “my” reveals a schism and unstable sovereign base from which McDougall is operating and further pronounced through the Shakespearean adaptation. McDougall, as with Prince Hal in the play, “acquires” the Crown prematurely when he believes his father, the King, is dead.

In the context of the Dominion, McDougall was also member of The Canadian Party, with Charles Mair among others, as discussed in the Prologue. The Anglo Saxon, Protestant movement was a well-armed and funded nationalistic force supported by Upper Canada elite. Party members were accrued to lead the land survey program with a primary objective to eliminate Métis peoples from the territory. McDougall’s management and move ahead with the road project, against the Métis demands, was also outside of Ontario’s jurisdiction and therefore McDougall had no authority – a fact that Macdonald was aware of and did not authorize. With these details in mind, the playwright’s characterization of McDougall as the protagonist, Prince Hal, are marked criticisms against McDougall “taking the crown.” McDougall’s association with the nationalist movement and the government surface the allusion of Prince Hal’s earlier connections, in *King Henry IV, Part I,* with members of London’s (the Dominion’s) underworld, or the “paradise of thieves.” The injected anxiety could be an authorial criticism that questions who is sovereign and what forms of power are being dispensed in the North West. Here, the satire exposes the intimate association between opposing sovereign forces – one cannot exist without the other.

The publication as a satirical journal considers a mass readership while still appealing to its elite market. To this end, the journal's satiric base positions itself as superior to those who are the target of its mocking wit. The journal is deriding both forces, recalling Owen's description of the frontier as an unstable space fraught with contestation (1998, p. 26). Nonetheless, the writer's satire, as a literary and visual genre, apply and fortify the damaging stereotypes against the Métis and First Nations peoples which continue to shape their identities, while the privileged white elite emerge perhaps a bit ruffled but otherwise absolved. Satire was also a device in *The Grip*, a publication that I explore next.

"Spakesqueer": Intertextualizing Shakespeare in *The Grip*

The Grip Printing and Publishing Company's journal, *The Educational Weekly*, ran a column entitled "Drama": "Shakespeare – whose dramas were never more popular in English-speaking countries than to-day – has been the salvation of the drama in recent years" on January 8, 1885 (p. 26). *The Education Weekly*, also published by J.W. Bengough (discussed in Chapter 4), is a journal in which Shakespearean adaptations, allusions, and quotes are wielded generously. Shakespearean adaptations have a long history: vulgarized, ignored, rewritten, shutdown and glorified, even worshiped as a hallmark of civilization. Shakespeare himself, in Robert Greene's, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, *bought with a million of Repentance* (1592), was first identified as an adapter, reviser, and outright plagiarizer within his own works and is represented as an "vpstart[171] Crow, beautified with our feathers" (Berek, 1984, p. 205-207). Here, Greene's allusion to an animal is referencing Aesop's Fables in which animals are presented to "teach by

[171] The "v" is the period's typeset for "u."

example."

Bengough was also the editor and chief cartoonist for *The Grip* from 1873 to 1893.[172] With Bengough at the helm, the journal's format enjoyed the acerbic yet cleverly disguised playful satire that had a significant social and political impact in Canada. As a social arbiter, Bengough made use of Shakespeare as a rhetorical and visual device to unapologetically chastise the round table of Canadian politician and their scandals. While his satire deflated the elevated state of Shakespeare, he maintained an elite readership and, as Shakespeare did, doled out his venomous charm to the nation's groundlings. It is perhaps not a coincidence then that, like Shakespeare, Bengough's animated avatar that appeared in his illustrations was an *vpstart Crow*.

On March 14, 1874, Bengough offered the first of a series of "Spakesqueer." Slanting Shakespeare's name, Bengough combined "spake" with its etymology in "spoke," and "queer" with its sixteenth-century roots defined as a "twist" or "off-centre." Riel is introduced in the "Spakesqueer" series on April 4, 1874. In the third installment, Riel's ban from Parliament is the topic and the character, Grip asks his compatriots: "what is the question of the hour?" The figure of Tonguegrass replies, "Riel and his Vacant Chair." Spakequeer then asks, "Amnestied or not amnestied, that is the question? There will be much expenditure of red-tapeism in arriving at this simple fact, and the House will persist in not being 'seized' of what is patent to everybody. Riel will take care that he is not seized either." The play continues:

> Slowcum – What a farce his whole proceedings are! Why does he not either surrender […] or else keep out of the way altogether?

[172] Bengough left the publication in 1892.

> Smallwit – How he can ever expect to get off scot free I really can't understand. The Ottawa policeman has a warrant out against him, so has Attorney Clarke, and to judge from the Red River, there will be many to bar him from Provencher.
> Grip – Drop him the scoundrel. (Bengough, p. 5)

The play's commentary on the issue of whether or not to give Riel amnesty for the events that took place during the 1869 Métis Resistance are discussed in the Prologue. By inserting "scot free," Bengough recalls the vigilante action, for instance a $5,000 bounty on Riel's head, and popularized outrage, particularly from Upper Canada, of Thomas Scott's execution on the Métis Council's orders (also detailed in the Prologue). Bengough's bias towards Riel's guilt is made explicit with his reference to hanging: "drop him the scoundrel." The satire follows the illustration of "The Vacant Chair: A Riel Bond of Union," as presented in Chapter 4. Bengough's judgment of Riel's guilt is underpinned by codes of sovereignty and civility and through the lens of Shakespearean discourse is embedded into the memory of his readers well before Riel's 1885 trial.

Bengough continues to position Riel as an outlaw in his March 28, 1874 edition (Figure 34). Here, *The Grip's* vehicle for its satire is the House of Commons' hansard.[173] Bengough adapts the parliamentary record-keeping method in "Shakespearian Texts for Prominent Personages" and "the opening of the Play House in Ottawa for the opening season 1874." The titles reference both the opening of the Grand Opera House's[174] season and the concurrent opening of the House of Commons. Bengough signals that Parliament is a theatre in which the play will unfold. The satiric passage uses two different scenes that point to Riel's guilt in the murder of Thomas Scott. Bengough qualifies each scene, in parenthesis, to denote his position of disdain of Riel.

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[173] Transcript of parliamentary debates.

[174] See also *Ottawa Citizen*. (1953). "Old Russell Theatre was the center of City's Cultural Life." April 28, p. 69.

GRIP to Mr. Louis Riel, M.P. — (With every assurance of his unmitigated loathing and abhorrence.)
"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash the blood "Of Scott clean from thy hand?" Macbeth (slightly altered.) Act II. Sc 2.
"I would not have such a heart in my bosom for the
Dignity of my whole body." Macbeth, Act IV. Sc 1. (28 March 1874, p. 2)

In the play, the line is spoken by the Doctor to Lady Macbeth who is on the verge of madness from her guilt associated with her crimes. Consider Lady Macbeth's line from the play that precedes Bengough's inclusion: "Here's the smell of blood still: all the / perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little / hand" (*Macbeth*, 5.1).

Hon. A. Mackenzie—
" Policy I hate ! I'd as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician."
" Twelfth Night." Act III. Sc 2.

(Note—The original *Brownists* were a sect of Puritans that arose in England during the reign of Elizabeth. Another sect of Puritans (or *Purists*), also called *Brownists*, arose in Canada in the reign of Victoria. Strange how history repeats itself !)

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Mr. Alonzo Wright M.P.—
" Now, in the names of all the Gods at once,
" Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed
" That he is grown so great ?"
Julius Cæsar. Act I. Sc 2.

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Grip to Mr. Louis Riel, M.P.—(With every assurance of his unmitigated loathing and abhorrence.)
" Will all great Neptune's ocean wash the blood
" Of Scott clean from thy hand ?"
Macbeth (slightly altered.) Act II. Sc 2.
" I would not have such a heart in my bosom for the
" Dignity of my whole body."
Macbeth, Act IV. Sc 1.

Figure 34.
J. W. Bengough, editor, "Shakespearian Texts for Prominent Personages,"

image from *The Grip* (28 March 1874, p. 2). Public domain.

Bengough takes advantage, as both the interlocutor and the writer, to conflate the madness of Lady Macbeth with Riel and in doing so labels him as guilty and insane, while he emasculates Riel. With the play's association, Bengough positions Riel metaphorically as the corrupted heart in the whole body of nation. If Bengough's publication, among others, is considered, how did he ascertain his ideal reader? How did he know that a zone of intelligibility would in fact be present? In the next section of this chapter, I examine the ways in which Shakespearean Studies were fostered in the Canadian educational systems.

Shakespeare Studies in Early Canada

Sir Daniel Wilson, artist, author, ethnologist and professor, taught History and English, which included Shakespeare Studies, at the University College, Toronto from 1853 and in 1887 until 1897 he also served as the University's President. Wilson reveals his predilection for Shakespeare's work when he declares that "Shakespeare's writings are indeed a mine of wealth, from which the more they are studied the less it will surprise us to draw forth treasures new and old" (1873, p. 9/344). The trend to study more of Shakespeare's works and add them into curriculum began in 1860 when "he [Shakespeare] was admired for his uplifting ideas and his moral values" (Foyer, 2013 para. 1-9). Among Wilson's many publications concerning Aboriginal peoples in North American is *Caliban: the missing link*. Published in 1873, Wilson argues that Shakespeare's Caliban was the "imaginary intermediate being between the true brute and man" (1873, p. 5/344) which "as 'a beast, no more,' […] is endowed with speech and

reason up to the highest ideal of the capacity of its lower nature." The sudden allusion to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* with the phrase "a beast, no more" (4.4.34), juxtaposed within the context of the figure Caliban, reflects Wilson's racialized colonial prejudice against the Métis people and their indigenous lineage. Wilson's neatly woven adaptation shifts the character of Caliban into the figure Hamlet in what Wilson determines as "progress" toward (yet never reaching) a "civilized" being as Hamlet ponders and distinguishes humans from animals because he believes they are without reason and thus unable to remember the past or think about the future.[175] Consider the passage from *Hamlet*:

How all occasions do inform against me
And spur my dull revenge. What is a man
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast – no more.
Sure he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused. (4.4.31-8)

Wilson integrates the Darwinian logic into the colonial paradigm and locates the character of Caliban to generate an academic link between science and literature, as Wilson quotes:

> Then was this island—
> Save for the son that she did litter here,
> A freckled whelp, hag-born, —not honour'd with
> A human shape. (1873, p. 23)

Problematic with Wilson's entry is the omission of original parenthesis found in the folio version of the play and replaced with the em dash. The passage remains a major topic of debate in Shakespearean scholarship concerning the character of Caliban and his origins. Jonathon Goldberg (2004) in his book, *Tempest in the Caribbean* takes up the debate at

[175] I am grateful to Dr. Meredith Evans for pointing out Wilson's implicit reference to *Hamlet*.

length. The shift in punctuation, however, discloses Wilson's colonial perspective and his emphasis of Caliban's "half human-ness" and how he wishes to position the Métis people in his treatment: "It is by reason of this imperfect, brutish, half-human nature, that Caliban anew invites our study, in relation to disclosures of science undreamt of in that age which witnessed his marvelous birth" (2004, p. 24). Wilson's association with indigenous peoples in Canada will be examined later in the chapter with special attention to Wilson quoting Franz Horn's[176] assertion that, "In spite of his imperfect, brutish, half-human nature, Caliban is something marvelously exciting, and as pretender to the sovereignty of the island ridiculously sublime" (1873, p. 24/344).[177]

The rhetoric disparaging of Métis hybridity became more prevalent as the Métis population grew in the North West while presenting a political and cultural solidarity in, for example, the Manitoba Act. Though Wilson is noted to have suggested that the Métis peoples demonstrated "a remarkable aptitude for self-government" and a "capacity for all the higher duties of a settled, industrious community" (Brown, 2009, para. 1-5), Wilson's evaluation, determined by *his* authority, sticks to the paternal rhetoric that even though he thinks that Métis peoples, because of their hybridity are capable of self-governance, it still places the Métis peoples on the parameter of the ever unreachable state of (fully white) civilization. The colonial rhetoric enmeshed with Shakespearean discourse was intersectional and crossed over many cultural thresholds, as did their agents. In the section to follow, I examine another bard, located in early Canada, who held the rather esteemed position of "Canada's Shakespeare": Charles Mair.

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[176] Franz Horn was a nineteenth-century German Romanticist critic.
[177] Countering this discourse is Louis Riel's great-grand-niece and Aboriginal and Métis rights lawyer, Jean Teillet, who explains that the Métis peoples maintained a well established status as an economic and social viable force during the early part of the nineteenth-century in the North West. "Riel's Revenge." CBC Radio broadcast, 2013.

Charles Mair: Canada's Shakespeare

One year after Confederation, Charles Mair, with freshly published copies of his slim volume of nature poetry, *Dreamland* in hand, was hired by William McDougall, the Minister of Public Works (discussed in the previous section), to be the Government's paymaster for the Canada First Party's road building venture: "At once we saw," George T. Denison validated, "the opportunity of doing some good work towards helping on the acquisition of the territory" (Shive, 1965, p. 8). Editor and owner of Toronto's *Globe,* George Brown saw his opportunity to hire the "warrior bard," known for quoting Shakespeare, as a special correspondent to document his journey (Shrive, 1965, pp. 58-9). The road, as it turned out, would pave the way to the 1869 Métis Resistance.

Mair is commemorated in Canadian literature as influencing, and debatably being among, the legion of Confederation poets and his work is revered as a Shakespearean model (Shrive, 1965, pp. 58-9). Mair did receive many positive literary reviews for *Tecumseh* including a glowing critique from Mohawk poet, Emily Pauline Johnson which appeared in Toronto's *World* newspaper: "Mair avoids the usual commonplaces used in describing Indians by those who have never met or mixed with them." To add to his glorified status, *The Globe* praised Mair by reporting: "As the play of *Henry V* was a song of triumph to the English of Shakespeare's time, so is this a song of triumph for the Canadians of today" (Latham, 2000, para. 5-19).

W.L Morton (1908-1988), a noted Canadian historian who specialized in writing on Canada's North West, draws a parallel between Mair and Riel in *"Two Young Men, 1869: Charles Mair and Louis Riel.* In his discussion about the 1869-1870 Resistance, he writes: "as a historical play of Shakespeare in its spirit, the year of Red River in 1869-70

enacted, not the putting together of the Canadian contrived at Charlottetown, Quebec and Westminster, but the origin of the Canada we know and live in"(1974, para. 1).[178] Morton describes Mair as follows: "In Red River, the agent of Canada First, beside discharging his duties as paymaster of the road party, fell into a series of adventures. Cheery, confident, cocky, Charlie Mair, a blond, stocky Anglo-Saxon, was a self commissioned apostle of the higher civilization of old Canada" (1974, para. 11). The ease in which "The Canada First Party" (later The Canadian Party) slips into the description reveals the naturalized state of the white supremacist nationalistic agenda and the authorized violent deliverables. Yet, Mair's literary crown would be tarnished if not toppled when caught in a public scandal. Mair wrote an account entitled, "From Red River" in which he recounts his soiree with the North West elite; apparently he did not want the writing published; however it was, "inadvertently," published on January 4, 1869 in *The Globe***.** The following is an extract from Mair's letter:[179]

> I went over and stayed at Dr. Schultz's [John Christian Schultz], after a few days. The change was comfortable, I assure you, from the racket of a motley crowd of half-breeds, playing billiards and drinking to the quiet and solid comfort of a home I was invited to a dinner-party […] where I found the Governor's brother-in-law, a wealthy merchant here, Isabister [sic], and other Nor' Westers. Altogether, I received hospitalities to my heart's content, and I left the place thoroughly pleased with most that I had met. There are jealousies and heart burnings, however. Many wealthy people are married to half-breed women, who, having no coat of arms but a "totem" to look back to, make up for the deficiency by biting the backs of their "white" sisters. The white sisters fall back upon their whiteness, whilst the husbands meet each other with desperate courtesies and hospitalities, with a view to filthy lucre in the background.

Morton describes the account as a "somewhat satirical letter" which absolves how white supremacy asserted itself through the representation of white women, as recalled in John

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[178] W.L Morton. "Two Young Men, 1869: Charles Mair and Louis Riel." *Manitoba Historical Society.* para. 3.

[179] Mair, Charles. "From Red River." *The Globe*. 4 January 1869. 1. The full letter could encompass an entire critical analysis, and chapter, on its own.

Gast's painting, *American Progress* (1872) discussed in Chapter 4. Aboriginal women become pawns in the process of exploitation by both white women and men and is reflected in Mair's statement that "many wealthy people are married to half-breed women, who, having no coat of arms but a 'totem' to look back to, make up for the deficiency by biting the backs of their 'white' sisters." Mair's accusation against Métis women elucidates the naturalized layers of oppression and violence imposed by an Anglo Saxon hierarchy by denigrating Aboriginal women's cultural authority and identity. Here, it is apt to recall Peter C. Newman's dismissal of the violence (discussed earlier), which was endured by Aboriginal women who married European men. As Kim Anderson, argues, "Our cultures promoted womanhood as a sacred identity, an identity that existed within a complex system of relations of societies that were based on balance" (p. 57). She further explains that, "[t]he authority of the women over the land was even enshrined in the Great Law of the Iroquois of the fifteenth century" (p. 62). Mair, as both a cultural and government agent, works to negate Aboriginal women's power while encoding and ensuring colonial stereotypes.

In his review, Morton attempts to shore up Mair's reputation when explaining that, "Mair both had too much to drink and [Mair] had been caught by Mrs. Bannatyne kissing the maid in the kitchen." Morton describes the transgression as "Shakespeare-like." The historian goes further to describe the incident as "harmless enough, no doubt, but did a half-breed girl know how to deal with such a circumstance?"(1974, p. 3).[180] The event, letter, and Morton's response is an example of how violence is forgiven by applying a Shakespearean ideological salve: 1) Morton, as a noted historian, in

[180] Morton. (1974). "Two Young Men, 1869: Charles Mair and Louis Riel." *Manitoba Historical Society*. p. 3.

classifying that sexual violence against a Métis girl by an intoxicated predator is "harmless enough" resets the racialized paradigm that justifies, because of Mair's position as an authority, the violence against Aboriginal girls; 2) Morton naturalizes the alienation and isolation of the "half breed girl" who is with no protection (she is left to take care of herself), in the position of servitude (as a maid), and then mocks the attack by situating it as "satire"; and 3) Mair, as Canadian elite, is given a free pass to commit a sexually motivated attack, which he would not commit upon "a girl" if she was white. The fact that it was well known that Mrs. Ballatyne publicly horsewhipped Mair upon reading the article is recalled when Morton asks "did a half-breed girl know how to deal with such a circumstance?" Morton's rhetorical question polarizes as it reasserts the hierarchy of space in the privileged hands of Mrs. Ballatyne, as a white women, who has the power to publicly punish her aggressor while "the half breed," whose name the historian does not know, is without apparent recourse. Moreover, Morton fails to elucidate that the "half breed girl" is employed as "the maid" because the Industrial Residential School system for "Indians" and "Half-breeds" taught Aboriginal girls "domestic skills" and not Shakespearean soliloquies. Morton however is correct in stating that the event was "Shakespeare-like" in that "the half-breed girl's" history of colonial violence was protracted and distracted by the intertextual deployment, by historians, writers, and artists, of Shakespearean allusions which undermine and erase not only the history of sexual violence but also Métis people's sovereignty, individual rights, and ultimately the young girl's name.

Mair's published Red River account received a response from an interested party. On February 25, 1869 a letter was delivered to *Montreal Nouveau Monde* arriving from

Red River. It was from someone who wished to respond to Mair's letter, as well as the event: the writer was Louis Riel. I have included it in full to give the writer what he requested from the press: "a little space":

> Mr. Editor:
> Please be so good as to give me a little space in the columns of your journal, in order that I too may write of Red River.
> I cannot resist that desire since I have read the enormities, which a journal of Upper Canada, *the Globe*, has just uttered, in publishing a letter of a certain Mr. Mair, who arrived in Red River last fall. This gentleman, an English Canadian, is, it is said, gifted in making verses; if such is the fact I should advise him strongly to cultivate his talent, for in that way his writing would make up in rhyme what they lack in reason.
> Scarcely a month after his arrival in this country, Mr. Mair desired to describe it and its inhabitants. He succeeded rather like the navigator who, passing by a league from the coast, wrote in his log: "The people of this country seemed to us to be well disposed …."
> I know some men who have more than two weeks' experience and who say the opposite to this gentleman. He says finally: the city of Portage la Prairie is destined to become one of the most important in the country: however, I shall not speak to you of it until I have seen it.
> And why not? You speak of a great many other things that you have not had time to see or know; that would be worth as much as the remainder of your letter; as much as the scarcely courteous terms. I will even say barely civilized, which you use in speaking of the ladies of the country, who certainly by all reports are equal to the ladies in your country. Be it said in passing, Mr. Mair, if we had only you as a specimen of civilized men, we should not have a very high idea of them. If I wished to amuse myself by wielding the pen as you do for the sole pleasure of uttering follies to the world, I should have some amusing things to say on your account […]

The letter was signed with the initials "L. R." and the editor when asked to identify the source replied that "it had been written 'by a half-breed […] rightly indignant of the stupidities which a certain Mr. Mair' had published (Morton, 1974, p. 19).

Another example of a press owner who utilized his publishing authority and his predilection to intertextualize Shakespearean writings was Nicholas Flood Davin. Although the *Regina Leader* is examined in Chapter 2, here I evaluate specifically how its owner adapted the bard's work and how, even in most subtle of commentary, it

emerges.

The *Regina Leader:* The Theatre of Trial

In the opening editorial covering the 1885 trial of Louis Riel, Nicholas Flood Davin, managing editor for the *Regina Leader* newspaper penned the following:

> For a trial of such importance you have to go back in England to 1798 and Riel stands in the same category as other state prisoners – Charles I, Stafford, the Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, Lord Lovatt, Lord George Gordon, Hardy, Horne Took, Thelwall, William Orr, Arthur O'Connor, Sir Edward Crosbie, Beauchamp Bagenal Hardy, the Shears, Thebold Woulffe Tone, Robert Emmett. Most of those paid their treason with their lives. (1885, p. 2)

The date of 1798[181] explicitly embeds a British transatlantic discourse by situating Riel with other conspirators whose actions were in counter conduct to the British crown[182] and all of whom were convicted, most executed, each one familiar to the readers who

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[181] By using the date 1798, Davin is also drawing upon a critical allusion that would be known by his nineteenth-century Canadian readership: The Irish rebellion inspired and supported by Napoleon's French army.

[182] Davin's catalogue comprises: Lords Kilmarnock, The Earl of Kilmarnock (1704-1746), who rose against George II and was captured at the Battle of Culloden; Arthur Elphinstore, 6th Lord Balmerino, a Scottish nobleman and officer of the Jacobite army, who was captured at the Battle of Culledon; Simon Lord Lovatt (1747), last to be executed on Tower Hill, was beheaded for treason; Thomas Hardy (1752-1832), political reformer with a mission to change the existing government and writer and founder of the London Corresponding Society, who was charged with high treason, acquitted and never returned to politics; John Horne Took (1736-1812) who was arrested during the conservative reaction to the French Revolution and charged for high treason during the Treason Trials of 1794 founded the Society of Constitutional Information, 1790, and he was tried for high treason and acquitted not returning to public political reform (William Godwin wrote after the trial, *Cursory Strictures on the Charge Delivered by Lord Chief Justice Eyre to the Grand Jury October 2, 1794)*; Norman Thelwell (1764-1834), radical orator, was arrested for high treason during the Treason Trials of 1794; William Orr (1789-1799), a member of the United Irishmen, was charged with high treason for administering the United Irishman oath against the British Parliamentary Act, 36 George III; Arthur O'Conner (1763-1852), incendiary orator, pamphleteer and radical intellectual who supported the French Revolution, survived the 1798 treason trail and he rose to General in the Napoleonic army; Sir Edward Crosbie (1797) was executed as a rebel in Ireland; Thomas de Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick (1339-1407) was an opponent to Richard II and convicted of treason in Parliament and sentenced to death, his land in England, Wales, and Calais were seized by the King (he survived the conviction and later allied with Henry IV, refer to historical plays by William Shakespeare); Henry Bagenal (1798), The Shears, and Theobold Woulffe Tone were members of the United Irishmen and participated in the 1798 Irish Rebellion, support was received by the French but when Napoleon declined the Irish campaign to enter Egypt, members of the Irish Rebellion were captured and executed. Robert Emmett (1778-1803), Irish nationalist member of the United Irishmen, led the rebellion against British rule, in 1803 was captured, tried, and executed for high treason.

emigrated from Ireland, Scotland and England to the 1885 colony. Here, the historical content, which would seem disparate, is presented in a particular manner and would likely create connections to, for example, Riel's treason and his expected punishment. Particular in Davin's narrative is that it "provides the social agents of actual events with 'distinct' traits' which transforms them into 'characters,' and 'focalizing' the story in terms of a particular 'point of view'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 83). Davin's catalogue of "characters" all of whom are associated with Riel were all found guilty of treason. The figures include the Duke of Buckingham, who was charged with attempting to usurp succession in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*; as Buckingham relates: "I have this day receiv'd a traitor's judgement / and by that name must die" (2.1.58). Among Davin's list of traitors is Thomas de Beauchamp, 12th Earl of Warwick (1339-1407). Beauchamp was an opponent to Richard II and convicted of treason in Parliament and sentenced to death. The King seized his land in England, Wales, and Calais (he survived the conviction and later allied with Henry IV, as well as Henry V). Although the reference evokes a medieval period, it is supplanted with the date of 1789, which alerts the nineteenth-century audience not only to the French Revolution, but also to the Irish Rebellion, a battle (although earlier) that Richard II was also undertaking while being usurped by Bolingbroke.

***Henry V* and Raison d'Etat in Canada's North West**

On June 23, 1885, the *Leader* published the article "Dominion Day," one month after Riel was brought to Regina by train for his trial:

> The cradle of heroes, the school of sages, the temple of law, the altar of faith, the asylum of innocence and indeed we may apply the words which are of Shakespeare's character addressing to England to our own Dominion.
>
> O Canada!
> What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do.
> We're all thy children kind and natural.[183] (1885, June 23, p. 2)

Davin's rhetorical play on Shakespeare's *Henry V* during Riel's trial operates to segregate the "we" from the treasonous criminal. The editor's apostrophizing "O Canada" through an adaptation of Shakespeare's verse to "our own Dominion" creates a hierarchal space and fastens the historical events and moreover, restores them as dramas. However, "the history of some is not the history of others" (Foucault, 2003, p. 69). As Foucault asserts

> so there is the appearance of a political theatre along with, as the other side of this, the function of theatre in the literary sense as the privileged site of political representation, and of representation of the coup d'Etat in particular. For after all, a part of Shakespeare's historical drama really is the drama of the coup d'Etat. (2007, p. 265)

Davin's use of *Henry V* incorporates the well-known St. Crispin's Day Speech, which elicits such idioms as "band of brothers," and would have been a known patriotic address throughout the new colonies with the implementation of Shakespearean Studies.

Of interest is Foucault's interlocking of "theatre" in his use of *Raison d'Etat* as "a certain political consideration that is necessary in all public matters […] and must strive solely for the preservation, expansion, and felicity of the state, and for which we must employ the most ready and swift means" (2007, p 257). The reason of the state enforces laws by which citizens must abide; however, when this is impossible and it must free itself from them, the sovereign decides upon the exception and the state of emergency could occur at any time. The *coup d'Etat* is the theatre of war. In 1885, the North West

[183] Passage from William Shakespeare's *Henry V*, 2. Prologue

was in a state of exception. Theatre is an instrument of war, in metaphoric terms, a stage upon which the state maintains and shows, through discipline and punishment, its sovereign power together through performative actions to incite fear and to thereby keep its subjects in order.

The *Leader's* adaptation does not reference Riel explicitly; however, the morale-boosting association with the British war hero, Henry V and his October 25, 1415 victory over his French rivals at Agincourt, must not be understated. In a country ripe with hostilities between the English and the French, with its caustic interweaving of Protestant and Catholic, tensions were symbolically transferred to Riel, as Métis, who embodied both the French and Catholic. The possessive posturing, moreover, in Davin's use of "our own" is territorial and situated in the etymology of "Dominion." "Dominion" stands for both ownership and lordship while simultaneously addressing *domain* as space, and *domination* as power ("dominion," 2013). Space (territory) and power (sovereignty) are central themes in both Henry V's Britain and Macdonald's Canada. Perhaps Davin anticipated that the *Leader's* nineteenth-century readership could be relied on to knit together the preceding and proceeding lines in the play's prologue: "seek to divert English purposes," "with treacherous crowns," and "confirm'd conspiracy" (2, Prologue).

By 1885, the ideologies of civilization and capitalism were operating in tandem, particularly in agriculture, railways, and slave labour. The word "civilized," in Davin's writings, also invoked the hierarchies of space. To be civilized was to be superior to those who were cast as "uncivilized," a rhetoric that found a footing in such distinctions as manners, cleanliness, morals, progress, and education. Yet, power moves through a complex network of discursive processes and Davin's systems maintained a fidelity to

Shakespeare, Providence, and Britain. Moreover, Canada's association to Britain was, and remains economic, as well as acutely nostalgic and pedagogical. In the September 3, 1885 article, "The Bible and Shakespeare;"[184] for example, Davin relates that "a saluted woman, now in Heaven, often said to the writer, 'there is a beautiful Gospel in Shakespeare,' and the number of parallels in the Great National Dramatists with Bible truths is striking" (1885, p. 2). The article compares *King Richard III* (3.4.320) and *All's Well That End's Well* (4.3) to the Books of Isaiah (61:3) and John (16:20). A distillation of Davin's imperial rhetoric of the gospel and Shakespeare is neatly fastened in the article and delivered by "a saluted woman" to establish the national "truths" of God, Britain, and allegiance to the Dominion. When delineating the "reason of the State," Foucault argues that

> to win support so that the suspension of laws with which it is necessarily linked do not count against it, the coup d'Etat must break out in broad daylight, and in so doing reveal on the very stage where it takes place the raison d'Etat that brings it about I think we could set in this modern kind of theatre in which royalty wanted to be shown and embodied, with one of its most important manifestation being the practice of the coup d'Etat carried out by the sovereign himself. (2007, p. 265)

In 1885 Canada, the coup d'Etat was arranged around Riel's "theatre of trial." In *Society Must Be Defended*, Foucault aligns Shakespearean tragedies with "'right,' as a form of 'ceremony,' a sort of rememorialization of the problems of public right" (2003, p. 174-6). Furthermore, Foucault explains that "historical tragedies are tragedies about right and the king, and they are essentially centered on the problem of the usurper and dethronement, of the murder of kings and the birth of the new being who is constituted by the coronation of a king" (2003, p. 174). Foucault takes this analysis further: "at a time when the theory and history of right are trying to weave the unbroken continuity of public might,

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[184] "The Bible and Shakespeare." *Regina Leader*. 3 September 1885. 3.27:2. Davin compares biblical quotes with Shakespearean citations.

Shakespearean tragedy, in contrast, dwells on the wound, on the repeated injury that is inflicted on the body of the kingdom when kings die violent deaths and when illegitimate sovereigns come to the throne" (p. 174). What is this wound? Is Riel, then, Canada's wound? More to Foucault's point, does Shakespeare break the continuity that reopens the wound and brings it into the light to reveal its discontinuity? Do the sites in which Shakespeare's writings appear also mark the breaks in the seam where truth can be pursued? Historian Sarah Carter argues that Riel has been cast in a number of different lights; however, she further explains "that everything was done during Riel's lifetime (and since) to affix blame upon Riel alone, in order to divert public attention from Métis grievances, and so that Macdonald could absolve himself and his government for the years of neglect" (2007, p. 156). Did media agents use Shakespearean works in their writings to shroud and thus distract from the realities that concerned Riel and the Métis peoples? An extended production of this distraction is examined in the following section as writers' use Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest,* to recontextualize Métis and Aboriginal people's political and social issues, and reconstitute Riel and his leadership.

The Tempest **and Riel: Canada's Leviathan**

The Canadian Indian periodical, referred to in Chapter 3, was "Published under the Auspices of the Canadian Indian Researchal Society." Gilbert Malcolm Sproat was a magistrate, capitalist and author, and also a member of the periodical's council. He, along with other members, had an economic stake in the completion of the Canadian National Railway and lobbied vigorously for its completion to British Columbia particularly when the rail system floundered between 1871 and 1881. Conveniently, Sproat also held roles as a Reserve Commissioner (1878-1880) reporting on Indian fishing locations, as well as

arable and grazing lands. While residing in Britain he wrote a historical account centering on Aboriginal peoples from the Aht Nation living in the Alberni Inlet. He called his narrative, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (1868). The ethnographical study, framed within a sentimental discourse, is within the purview of the Victorian age by reiterating that the "savage," unless educated, was doomed to vanish. The book is dedicated to Sir Edmund Verney,[185] a British navel officer, author, and Liberal politician, who served as a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons (1885-1891). The book's first chapter is entitled "Occupation of District" and presents an epigraph from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Scene Two: "I pr'ythee now, lead the way without any more talking."(2.2.165). The quote recounts the shipwrecked Stephano and Trinculo who have come upon Caliban, the island's indigenous inhabitant. The lines are Stephano's who is instructing Caliban to speak no more and show him the land. The literary insert allegorically sets up the assumed hierarchal relationship between Sproat and the indigenous peoples of the inlet, as reflected in the lines from the play, which Sproat omits: "We will inherit here" (2.2.167).

In his book, Sproat devotes a chapter to describe the Aht Nations' "Moral Dispositions" using the following sub-headings: "Coldbloodedness" (1868, p. 154), "Human Sacrifice," (p. 155), "Moral Deficiencies" (p. 162), "Absence of Faith" (p. 163), "Suspicious Natures" (p. 161), and "Ingratitude" (p. 164). Within this character evaluation is "Affection for Children" (p. 160). This chapter is followed by "Sorcerers" (p. 167) and describes the Nation's "devil priests" (p. 167) who "stand alone in the forest, [and] they pray to the moon for abundance of food"(p. 167). Sproat's description of the female sorceress parallels Prospero's description of Sycorax: "coarse skin, blear eyes,

[185] See also *Vancouver Island Letters of Edmund Hope Verney, 1862-65*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 1996.

and shambling gait” (p. 172). For his imperial fantasy, the author adapts the figure of Caliban who, for the trade of liquor, will be a guide for the lost characters. Consider Caliban’s lines in Act 2, Scene 2 from *The Tempest:*

> I’ll kiss thy foot; I’ll swear myself thy subject:
> I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
> And I with my long nails will dig thee pignuts;
> Show thee a jay's nest and instruct thee how
> To snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee
> To clustering filberts and sometimes I'll get thee
> Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with me?

Stephano and Trinculo make their observations clear:

> By this good light, this is a very shallow monster!
> I afeard of him! A very weak monster! The man i'
> the moon! A most poor credulous monster! Well
> drawn, monster, in good sooth!

Sproat projects the images of Caliban upon the members of the Aht Nation. In *The Tempest*, the word “monster” is repeated 34 times. Its chronic recurrence is greater than its use in any other Shakespearean play. Whether the etymology of “monster” is from the twelfth-century Latin root of *monere* (to warn), or the fourteenth-century malformed human/animal, or the Elizabethan-era monster with its sublime wickedness transformed into a winged barbed tailed dragon, the figure embodies Caliban. As Jonathan Goldberg (2004) points out “monster difference may begin with the intelligibility of bodily shape, but it quickly attaches itself to racial and sexual difference and to violations of gendered norms and licit forms of coupling” (p. 41). Yet, this presupposed configuration with Caliban is complicated in the subtle yet declarative assertion by Alfonso against Prospero’s punishing tactics: “it is monstrous, monstrous” (2008, 3.3.95). Who then is the monster? Asked another way, who, then, is sovereign? Still, Caliban is not to be underestimated. His intelligence is apparent throughout the text and in the above stanza,

which opens with the submissive gesturing of "I'll swear myself thy subject" and closes with the volta and passive aggressive command: "Wilt thou go with me?" Yet, Caliban is featured in colonial writings as a monster of the island and as an aberrant occurrence in nature. In Sproat's second chapter, he admits recognition of Aboriginal rights to territory in "Right of Savages to the Soil." The author adapts this theory in his epigraph from *The Tempest* and Caliban's declaration: "I say, by sorcery he got his isle, / From me he got it." Sproat omits the subsequent lines in which Caliban's act of retaking of the island unfolds – an absence that haunts both Sproat's and the imperial psyche. Sproat acknowledges that the paths of civilization were instrumental to the corruption and destruction of indigenous peoples' culture and social systems; however, his ostensible confession belies his own self-interest in controlling the territory for capitalist ventures.

In his final chapter, "Intercourse of Races," Sproat explains *his* theory of colonization:

> there is, in my mind, little doubt that colonization on a large scale, by English colonists, practically means the displacing and extinction of the savage native population. By the expression "save native population," I distinguish between the rudest untutored races and aboriginals of finer native races more capable of civilization; with these latter, or with an improved remnant of them, it is not yet shown that English colonists or their descendants, will not intermix." (1868, p. 273)

Sproat's reductive racial taxonomy, made evident in the above excerpt, divides Aboriginal Nations into the "finer native races" and the "untutored races" and reflects the institutionalized rhetoric of civilization, the imperial codes of "science," social Darwinism, and cultural superiority. Likewise, it illuminates his intense anxiety in the potential miscegenation (or invasion) among "the improved remnant" of the indigenous populations – an impending fear not unlike Prospero's, Macdonald's, and the Anglo

Saxon white supremacist members of The Canadian Party.

The monster fiction of Caliban took root in his name's quasi-anagram, "cannibal" and offered, for colonial writers, an accessible image to align Riel with the cannibal's so-called "monstrous" instincts, as for instance, in Riel's consumption of blood (see Chapters 1 and 2), a point I take up in the final section of this chapter, tracing its adaptation in the media.

Riel as Caliban / Caliban as Riel

On November 29, 1885, the *Leader* published the article "Visionary Riel" in which Riel's "prophetic hopes" for the Métis are recorded. In his statement, he extends his hope for Métis women in particular. The *Regina Leader* reported that the gaoler "approached his [Riel's] cell and […] told the rebel chief that his glory and renown had 'melted into thin air,' and that his ideas [were] but [...] the baseless fabric of a dream" (1885, p. 4). The *Leader's* direct reference to *The Tempest*, openly positions the gaoler as the Shakespearean character Prospero whose soliloquy is adapted, and Riel as the figure of Caliban is transposed to a Regina prison, which becomes the rock upon which Caliban is chained recalling an earlier scene in the play in which Prospero speaks of "that foul conspiracy" by "Caliban and his confederates" (4.1.139-152). Davin's newspaper coverage then shifts the Shakespearean allusion into *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in which Aboriginal women are implicated:

> The latter would be surprised as Titania, when she found she had been kissing an ass. In fact, for the half-breeds, things would go on like sixty – three times better than ever. The fair offspring of Union Jack with Indian women would be the first to experience the change. (1885, p. 4)

Andrea Smith argues that, "Native peoples' individual experiences of sexual violation echo 500 years of sexual colonization in which Native peoples' bodies have been deemed

inherently impure" (13). Davin's adaptation takes advantage of the continued exploitation of Native women and girls and authorizes intellectual and physical abuse; moreover, sexual abuse, delivered through a reference to Shakespeare, is sanctioned with sovereignty personified as the Union Jack (symbolic flag of Britain) and is congruent with the imperial seizure of land. A parallel theme emerges in Prospero's confiscation of female territory and his psychic anxieties over Caliban's *Calibans* (*Tempest,* 2008, 1.2). Davin's misogyny and racism, in its adapted formation, signals the inherent violence of assimilation. In response to integrated policies of assimilation, Andrea Smith argues that "the colonized group can never be completely assimilated – otherwise, they would be equal to the colonists, and there would be no reason to colonize them." Smith adds that "if we use Bhabha's and Said's analysis, we can see that white Cherokee women were promised that assimilation would provide them with the benefits of the dominate society, in fact assimilation efforts made them more easily subjugated by colonial rule" (2005, p. 26).

Riel's depicted relevancy with Caliban as a counter sovereign force would have been visually available for the nineteenth-century public. Illustrative renderings of *The Tempest* were in circulation during the nineteenth-century with engravings etched by such artists as British printmaker Charles William Sharpe (1818-1899). Sharpe was a prolific engraver for such British book publishing companies as Cassell and Company and Virtue and Company, which also published Charles Knight's two-volume Imperial Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare (London: Virtue and Company, 1873-76), as discussed earlier. Sharpe completed the illustration, *Caliban, Miranda. Prospero. The*

Tempest, and as indentified on the print, it was produced for *The Columbian Magazine*[186] (Figure 35).[187]

Plate 8
C.W. Sharpe, *Caliban. Miranda. Prospero*, 1875, metal engraving on paper, from *Columbian Magazine* (New York, NY). Public domain.

The original work was painted by Henry Inman, and Inman's son, John was hired as its editor by magazine's New York publisher, Israel Post[188] who embellished the publication's name to *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine, Embracing*

[186] The nineteenth-century magazine, in which the print appeared, originated as *The Columbian Magazine; or Monthly Miscellany Containing a View of the History, Manners, Literature, Characters of the Year 1787* and was based on a popular British, *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Sumner and Rhoades, 2006, p. 131). It was launched in 1786 and ran until 1796 out of Philadelphia and founded by Mathew Carey (1760-1839).
[187] University of Rochester. (2013). "The Columbian Magazine." River Campus Libraries. Department of Rare Books, Special Collections and Preservations. Retrieved from http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=3390
[188] Israel Post was the publisher from 1844-46.

Literature in Every Department: Embellished with the Finest Steel and Mezzotint Engravings, Music and Colored Fashions. The Columbian Magazine was the magazine's half title and it ran from 1844 to 1849 (Mott, 1930, p. 86). In New York, Ormsby and Hackett took over as publishers from 1847-49.[189] Ormsby's logo is faintly visible on the print, which dates the published engraving's circulation during that period.[190]

The print shows Caliban against the shadows of the rock, while Miranda and Prospero are framed by the halo of the lighter sky. That Caliban is spatially lower is consistent with traditions of visual hierarchies representing morality, which dates back to the medieval period. Both the figures of Caliban and Prospero's clothing carry a coat of arms indicative that each represents a sovereign force. The symbols are simplified in that they are not appropriated on shields. Sharpe charges[191] both Caliban and Prospero with animal figures. The positions or attitudes of the animals reflect those of the sovereign. For instance, initially I saw Prospero's bird figure as an eagle, which is conventionally presented with its wings outspread. Still, upon a closer reading, the aviary configuration seemed more reptilian. James MacDonald explains that, "reptiles […] occurring in heraldry include serpents but most frequently occurring of these various forms are dragons. The dragon […] is a large monstrous reptile with, often, a forked or barbed tongue, and membraned wings like a bat's" (2012, para. 2, 40-60). The reptile that Prospero dons is a wyvern. The beast is listed in the *Bestirum vocabulum* or The Beastiary, a compendium of animalia that originates with the ancients and was popularized in medieval illustrations, manuscript culture, and marginalia. The legendary

[189] The illustration is dated as 1875, which is not possible because the magazine was no longer in circulation, unless the dating is of a reprint.
[190] The dates of publication reflect 1875; however, I place the publication date between 1847-49 when it was printed for the *Columbian Magazine* under the publisher, Ormsby, whose logo appears on the print.
[191] A figure created on a heraldic field.

wyvern is a dragon-headed winged creature that has a barbed tail, breathes fire and has a venomous bite.[192] As for the figure of Caliban, he seems charged with a symbol of a snake, yet, upon closer examination, Sharpe bestows upon him another dragon, the lindworm. (MacDonald, 2012, para. 40)[193] In contrast to Prospero's creature of air, the wingless lindworm finds its origin in water, as a sea serpent. It only has front claws, as the figure of Caliban is appointed with. Here, Riel, through the allusion of Caliban, becomes affiliated symbolically with Hobbes' Leviathan, as represented illustratively in, for example, Gustave Doré's 1865 engraving *Destruction of Leviathan*. For Hobbes, as discussed in the Introduction, the *Leviathan* is the personification of sovereignty bound:

> For by art is created that great Leviathan called a Commonwealth, or State (in Latin, Civitas), which is but an artificial man, though of great stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended, and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body: the magistrates and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment (by which fastened to the seat of the sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform his duty) are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members are the strength; salus populi (the people's safety) its business; counselors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory. (1651, p. 7)

Interesting, Sharpe brands both figures as monsters in their coded sovereign insignias. Prospero and Caliban are both at once sovereign and beast. Davin's allusion to Riel as Caliban and the potential of both asserting their sovereignty and building a commonwealth was counter to the imperial forces and signals the colonial anxiety upon which Hobbes's model of sovereignty was built, and also the power that Riel was projecting: Métis peoples' solidarity. Riel's power and his political authority necessitated his elimination by the Dominion.

[192] See also Debra Hassig (1995). *Medieval Bestiaries: Test, Image, Ideology*. Cambridge University Press.
[193] MacDonald, James. (2012).“International Heraldry & Heralds”. *International Heraldry*. Castles & Manor Houses Inc. Heraldry resources found at http://www.internationalheraldry.com/

Shakespeare associates Caliban with the figure of “the Indian” in Act 2 of the play text. Consider the following passage spoken by Trinculo:

> [Seeing CALIBAN] What have we here? A man or a fish? Dead or Alive? A Fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell […] A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was […] there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man […] they will lazy out ten to see a dead Indian. Legged like a man and his fins like arms […] this is no fish, but an islander. (2.2.24-33)

The similes of “ancient” and “strange fish” that describe Caliban allude to the Leviathan directly. Caliban, then, is the epitome of a rogue force. Yet, alternatively, his desire to “peopled else” the island with “Calibans” is congruent to the Hobbesian model of a Commonwealth (1.2.153). Caliban wanted to form a Commonwealth: A good life. Caliban’s sovereign self continually challenges Prospero’s power in overt and slight, yet impactful transactions as withholding resources from Prospero: “He shall drink nought but brine; for I’ll not show him / Where the quick freshes are” (3.2.). As Goldberg attests, “it is what Caliban continues to house in himself despite all the deprivations and accusations, a spirit of “freedom […] an innate ‘seed of revolt’ […] that is the sign of an ‘original rootedness’ […] that Prospero cannot ever finally deny him. The island is his, but his in a form of belonging that is not the possessiveness and proprietariness of Prospero” (2004, p. 23). Prospero’s fear, then, was not for his daughter Miranda whom Caliban is accused of violating – an accusation that remains debated in Shakespearean scholarship and will not be addressed here (see Jonathon Goldberg, 2004; George Lamming 1991; Peter Hulme, 1986). If Caliban was successful in securing Miranda as his Edenic Eve, a partner in populating the island (1.2.350), their relationship would have committed the miscegenation that for Prospero was dreaded. For nineteenth-century

Canada, the invasion anxiety was well underway and articulated by Sproat in his concluding chapter.

The preceding Shakespearean passage from *The Tempest* also replicates the acceptable levels of violence which were issued against the figure of "The Indian": "Were I in England now, as once I was […] there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man […] they will lazy out ten to see a dead Indian." The blunt depiction of a street in early seventeenth-century England, recalls Louis Owens, in chapter 4, identifying colonization as an " effective strategy that equates good Indians with dead ones" (1998, p. 27). Such acts of terror against the Aboriginal population are found in twenty-first century streets in Canada. In November 1990, Neil Stonechild was found frozen to death in a Saskatoon field. Stonechild was a victim of what has been named, because of its frequency, "the starlight tours." The Cree teen had been drinking that evening and was picked up by the local police. They drove him to the outskirts of town, forced him out of the vehicle into sub-zero temperatures, and drove away. According to a CBC News report "several men were found frozen to death in remote parts of the city" (CBC, 2005). The CBC coverage provides a colour image of Stonechild's body; his frozen remains are lying exposed; his face buried in snow. Two unidentified men stand over his remains. The CBC inserted the image to shock, sensationalize, and drive home the violent outcome to its audience; however, the image and rhetoric is built on the transhistorical colonial violence that continues to be naturalized in the Canadian vernacular.

In the May 26, 1885 article, “Riel in Regina,” Davin’s paper reported on Riel’s arrival in Regina to be tried while also implying that the Métis leader’s execution was inevitable:

> On Saturday Riel was brought into Regina […] and there was little flutter. ‘Riel is here.’ ‘Riel is here.’ We may well invert Hamlet’s surprise and grow astonished at the stir a very small creature can make.” (p. 2-3)

Davin's *Hamlet* reference gestures to a specific *mise en scène*. Davin alludes to the *dumb show* and Hamlet’s contriving a play within a play for the King to confess his own guilt:

> Fie upon’t! foh! About, my brain! – I have heard
> That guilty creatures, sitting at a play
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul that presently
> They have proclaim’d their malefactions;
> For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak. (2.2.597)

Davin’s “inversion of Hamlet’s surprise” refers to his publicized “knowing” that Riel was guilty and that it was already assumed by his audience— a strange admission when considering that Riel’s trial was not yet underway. Regardless, Davin minimizes the Métis Resistance, as a diminutive force or as *the stir a very small creature can make*, while the editor introduces the notion of “fairness” in the same article and resets the paper as a model of “integrity” by promising to “say nothing which could prejudice their defense,” simultaneously declaring Riel’s guilt, and wrapping it in Shakespearean allusions, before a court date is confirmed: “Riel and all guilty of the same offence will be tried here before Judge Richardson and […] the trial will be conducted with scrupulous fairness.”

Conclusion

> Horatio: let me speak to the yet unknowing world / how these thing came about. (*Hamlet* 5.2)

Throughout the nineteenth-century, ships named *Shakespeare* (1895), *Titania* (1888-1890), and *Ganymede* (1832) sailed into Hudson's Bay Company ports (HBC Archives). As they ferried supplies over and took beaver skins and furs away, they carried a desire for territory and, in Charles Mair's words, *a view to filthy lucre*. The adventurers, Company employees, British agents, merchants, artist, writers, and settlers also brought their ideological associations that led to the slaughter, starvation, and the economic, social and cultural devastation of the Métis and Aboriginal peoples in the North West. The struggle for land and the power to control it inherent in the language of sovereignty and its ideological and linguist compatriot, civility was at the core of the relational valuing of Métis and Aboriginal peoples within the domain. The circulation of the imagined "vanished Indian" through media and government policy undermined the Métis and Aboriginal Nations' ability to assert their sovereignty; for the Ottawa government to do otherwise would recognize an alternative sovereign state and thus demonstrate Métis and Aboriginal peoples' heterogeneity, identities, and sovereignties.

Media technicians worked within the state apparatus mediating new fictions in the present while harnessing the past to determine the future. "Racialized distinctions," Sunera Thobani (2006) argues, "instituted by the state produced homogeneity out of heterogeneous populations: Colonialism […] was about managing heterogeneity, dealing with difference through imposition and restriction, regulation and repression" (2006, p. 24). The managing forces in Canada needed to assert imperial sovereignty to control competing power structures that were leveraged in other rivals including the United States, Quebec, the Catholic religion, white settlers, and Treatied and (Un) Treatied Nations inside and outside of Canada, among others. The 1867 purchase of Alaska by the

United States from the Russian Empire sent a chill across the nation's spine that annexation was possible especially with British Columbia remaining coy to the Dominion's advances. Shakespeare and his allusions ran fluidly across colonial discursive streams through which the zones of intelligibly could be adapted and fortified in the nation's management process.

National branding strategies were incorporated in late nineteenth-century advertisers' marketing tactics and within its multiple layering the iconic force of Shakespeare sold products and ideologies; moreover, sundry items such as tins were collector items designed to evoke luxury, travel, patriotism, nostalgia, and good taste (Kinney, 2012, p. 504-5). Savvy advertisers banked on their wit when selecting the lines from Shakespeare to generate the generic voice of popular authority, "akin to the male voice over in generic television ads" (Kinney 2012, p. 503). Canada's patriarchal voiceover endorsed its sovereignty and its codes of civility and Shakespeare as it silenced Métis and Aboriginal Nations who were resisting the violence against their cultures, lands, and self-determination – voices of resistance that Riel, among others, led.

Over 140 years after Riel's trial, on Februrary 18, 2012, Niigaan James Sinclair wrote an article that appeared the *Winnipeg Free Press*. He called it "Myths about Riel hide the man." Sinclair describes his visit to a high school: "students were arguing that Riel is a tragic hero, as in Greek tragedies and Shakespeare, I liked the topic, but the comparison between a real-life human being and one-dimensional characters made me wonder" (para. 6). Across Canada, the violence against Métis and Aboriginal peoples is reflected in statistics revealing that Aboriginal women and girls are at most risk. Amnesty International reports that "these acts of violence may be motivated by racism, or may be

carried out in the expectation that society's indifference to the welfare and safety of Indigenous women will allow the perpetrators to escape justice."[194] How then is societal indifference created? As Kinney explains the message must encourage customers to integrate mass produced commodities into their lives, as well as convince a skeptical public (2012, p. 501). The nineteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare's writings worked, to a significant degree, to support the violence against Riel, Métis, and First Nations' peoples and gave the actions a familiarity, "even if the relationship between name and product was arbitrary" (p. 501). Through the processes of adaptation, Riel was abstracted from his role as an active political and sovereign leader, and situated instead as stereotyped character within an array of colonial plays and allusions, which operated to undermine his leadership, political objectives, and ultimately Métis sovereignty —actions that would be authorized with the weight of Shakespeare's cultural capital.

Riel is not a tragedy. Riel is not "our" Hamlet, nor is Riel a wound. Louis Riel, Neil Stonechild, Helen Betty Osborne, Maisy Odjick and her friend Shannon Alexander, the young Métis girl in Mrs. Ballatyne's kitchen, the thousands of missing and murdered Aboriginal women, girls, men and boys are not metaphors. They were individuals all from different Nations, who met with the monstrous acts of Canadian sovereign violence.

[194] See also Canada. "Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada." *Amnesty International* (p. 2). Retrieved from http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/amr200032004enstolensisters.pdf

CHAPTER 6

Riel and the State of Execution: Last Words & Parting Messages

> I am glad that the Crown have proved that I am the leader of the half-breeds in the North West. I will perhaps be one day acknowledged as more than a leader of the half-breeds, and if I am I will have an opportunity of being acknowledged as a leader of good in this great country. (Riel, 1886, p. 152)

> Riel met his fate on Monday in a manner not unworthy of a man who had aspired to play a great part in the world. He was calm, resigned, grave, passionless, forgiving, and as the great Dramatist said of a greater man, the way he left the world became him better than anything he did in it. The definite knowledge that he must die. (Davin, "Execution," 1885, p. 2)

> These dead are supremely uninterested in the living; in those who took their lives; in witness – and in us. Why should they seek our gaze? What would they have to say to us? "We" – this "we" is everyone who has never experienced anything like what they went through – don't understand. (Sontag, 2003, p. 125)

Introduction

On November 16, 1885 Louis Riel was "hanged by the neck till dead"(1886, p. 166)[195] from a scaffold erected a few hundred meters away from his jail cell on the North West Mounted Police barracks in Regina, Saskatchewan. In this final chapter, I examine the media reports that covered the execution and the state violence it was predicated on and subsequently elided. I am interested in what Riel's public and mediated punishment was intended to impart. As Susan Sontag (2003) explains, "strictly speaking, there is no such thing as collective memory – part of the same family of spurious notions as collective guilt. But there is collective instruction" (p. 85). Although Riel's execution was a *flash moment*, its circulating narrative and the palimpsest upon which it was performed represented the power of the state with a long history that continues to impress upon the present. "The public execution," as Foucault (1977) contends "is to be understood not

[195] Quoting Judge Richardson and as transcribed in the trial transcript (1886, p. 166).

only as a judicial but also as a political ritual. It belongs, even in minor cases, to the ceremonies by which power is manifested (p. 47). The Riel *flash moment*, then, as a political ritual was staged explicitly, as John A. Macdonald asserted, “to show the Red Man that the White Man governs,”(1885, p. 587); yet, how did it also constitute a particular ideology of sovereignty? How does the act of capital punishment in the name of treason instill notions of civility? What are the mediated resources at work to accrete and sustain a specific historic memory? Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1991) state that, “once the ‘real’ is established as such, it becomes a vehicle for the communication of messages which embody, not our real social relationships, but rather cultural mythologies about those relationships” (Ericson et al., p. 10). Law is constructed socially and through various media occurs for the publics as a psychic component of the imagination; in other words, what is believed becomes what is true. In the nineteenth-century, the “enemy-other” was a necessary element for the nation’s sovereign and civilized equation in the Canadian social narrative. Spurr (1993) explains that “modern colonial discourse has produced a respatialization of the savage, or that it at least maintains, on the level of ideology, a projection of anxiety onto the racial and cultural Other that has always been part of the human imagination” (p. 77). The fecundity of Riel’s execution in the mass media as a collective instruction facilitated the opportunities to project colonial discourses of respatialization

On September 6, 1885, Hayter Reed reported to Governor Dewdney that “things are going well under Instructor Mann at Fort Pitt; plans for building of Indian schools; receiving of scrip; request murderers at Regina be sent back for trial and for public executions so as to influence Indians” (Reed, 1885, p. 1240). Reed’s report houses the

nation's pedagogical tools when engaging with the indigenous population living in Canada and resonates with Thomas Hobbes's (1651) *Leviathan*, "Of Punishments and Reward": "a punishment is an evil inflicted by public authority on his that hath done or omitted that which is judged by the same authority to be a transgression of the law, to the end that the will of men may thereby the better be disposed to obedience" (p. 190). The execution of Riel, as a symbol to extinguish Métis sovereignty, was not only a punitive *show and tell* directed internally toward Métis peoples, Aboriginal Nations, and the Dominion's population, but also toward an international spectatorship to demonstrate the controlled machinery of the Crown's governing policies and its act as a sovereign force. The execution of the "enemy-other" was a performance to express Canada as a singular commonwealth. But how does an execution teach? With this question in mind, in the following sections I examine the intimate lessons taught in the act of capital punishment as represented in the media.

Mediating Execution: 'Regarding the Pain of Others'

Three days following Riel's execution, in the November 19, 1885 edition of the *Regina Leader* the following headline appeared: "Riel Executed. He Dies Without a Speech: A Sane and Beautiful Death" (p. 4). The reporter writes: "as fair a morning as ever dawned shone on the closing act – the last event – in the not uneventful life of Louis Riel. The sun glittered out in pitiless beauty and the prairie slightly silvered with hoar frost shone like a vast plain sown with diamonds" (p. 4). The paper's editor, Nicholas Flood Davin, makes use of the theatrical discourse "closing act" as a metaphor that asserts, as it authorizes, that the indigenous people's resistance against the Dominion's sovereignty would be the "last event." Said another way, the editor articulates to the nations' "citizens," as well as

its "outlaws," that there would be no further Métis or Aboriginal peoples resistance against the Crown. Thus, the editor assures his settler-public and national investors security along with access to and control of the commodified *silvered and diamond laden territory*.

What is compelling within the national and international response and its colonial discursive procedures is what remains absent. Within the public domain there is neither a photograph nor an illustration to document Riel's hanging or one that was disseminated in the press. The mass execution of six Cree and two Assiniboine men, which followed on November 27, 1885, also remains undocumented with an image. In contrast, an image of the mass execution on December 26, 1862 in Mantoka, Minnesota of men and boys from the Sioux Nation, to be discussed later in this chapter, was published on January 17, 1863 in an issue of *Harpers Weekly* (Herman, 1863, p. 37).[196] Alternatively, the mass execution in Canadian history is not marked by etchings such by Jacque Callot's *Les Miseres et le Malheurs de al Guerre* (1633); the eleventh in the series of eighteen is "La Pendaison" (The Hanging). Images to mark the sovereign's punishment against the Métis Resistance such as Goya's prolific series, *Disasters of War,* are not catalogued in Canada's archives. It is relevant to recall in these cases, however, that the etchings were produced to evoke anti-war sentiment and to polarize the violence of the sovereign forces against civilians. The absence is curious particularly with the 1885 Victorian public crazed with the desire to "see" conflict, and with media agents more than eager to feed their appetitive visual cravings to sell their papers for advertising revenue. Yet, as Sontag suggests "violence, can exalt someone subjected to it into a martyr or a hero" (2003, 0.

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[196] United States President, Abraham Lincoln's execution order was announced just prior to the Emancipation Proclamation delivered on January 1, 1863.

47), neither of which the Dominion was prepared to have Riel embody. Thus, the prurient curiosity of the public would not be satiated; they would not be haunted by Riel as a victim of state violence; rather, they would be influenced, instructed, and educated to abide and to be obedient with other discourses. What then does the evacuation of an image reveal? Moreover, how then does the proliferation of narratives flourishing in the media function as a visual surrogate to recount the minutia of Riel's death in corporeal and poetic detail? "Harrowing photographs," as Sontag argues, "do not inevitably lose their power to shock. But they are not much help if the task is to understand. Narrative can make us understand. Photographs do something else: they haunt us" (2003, p. 89).

The impact of a narrative's force manifests in the opening of *Discipline and Punish*. Michel Foucault (1977) describes in excruciating detail the eighteenth-century torture and execution of Robert Francis Damiens:

> […] where, on a scaffold that will be erected there, the flesh will be torn from his breasts, arms, thighs and calves with red-hot pincers, his right hand, holding the knife with which he committed the said parricide, burnt with sulpher, and, on those places where the flesh will be torn way, poured molten lead […]. (1977, p. 3)

Foucault, as John Durham Peters (2005) explains in his book *Courting the Abyss*, "rigorously refuses to contain the spectacle of the broken body" (p. 88), and instead "Foucault stages a theatre of cruelty, leaving the reader with the unpalatable option of assuming that he is taking a sadistic glee in the torture and inviting the reader to enjoy the show" (p. 88). But why, as Peters asserts, would Foucault refuse to contain the spectacle? Foucault and the above mentioned artists are undertaking something else: lifting the veil of spectacle to make present the infrastructure of how the body is used to "perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (25). Conceivably, in contrast to Callot and Goya's

unapologetic renderings of state violence as anti-war propaganda, the Dominion's controlled, didactic, and optical reticence illuminates its designed outcome – the "vanished Indian." The declarative 'signs' of discipline and punishment have always already been impressed on the individual subjects through multiple social pedagogies and when disseminated through mediated formations harness collective publics, celebrate a meeting of minds even with the inclusion of dissent, and create "zones of intelligibility."

Robert Hariman and John Lucaites (2007) explain the zones of intelligibility "wherein specific forms of discourse, interaction, and responsibility are recognized and capable of becoming authoritative" (p. 26). Various forms of media "have strong economies of transcription; that is, such image coordinate 'beautifully' a number of different patterns of identification, each of which would suffice to direct audience response, and which together provide a public audience with sufficient means for contending with potentially unmanageable events" (pp. 34-35). Media functions through and through this manifestation of power by creating emotional scenarios that not only secure the reader's everyday habits, but also to activate "vital repertories of social behaviour" such as "sharing, archiving, and responding" (2007, p. 34). The media facilitates the intimate distance for its readership, a space wherein the practice of punitive action occurs "between the 'serene' search for truth and the violence …[that] cannot be entirely effaced from punishment" (Foucault, 1977, p. 56). The governing authority was, and continues to be, bolstered by a naturalized public assumption of civility to support the utopic "search for truth" while it leads the reader to the scaffolding of punitive action, hand-in-hand to witness, vicariously, the spectacle of execution. The readers are present

while they maintain a comfortable and congregational distance to witness how dissent is punished.

Foucault explains that by the nineteenth-century, as a product of Enlightenment, a distance became necessary between the criminal and justice and "as a result of this new restraint, a whole army of technicians took over from the executioner, the immediate anatomist of pain: warden, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalist; by their very presence near the prisoner, they sing the praises that the law needs" (1977, p. 11). Here, I add "the media" and its agents to Foucault's catalogue. "Pathos, in the form of narrative, does not wear out" (Sontag, 2003, p. 83) and in a nation that ferried the blurred lines of sentimentality for the "vanishing Indian" and the ethos of morality that stationed (the uncivilized) in exteriorized spaces, it is worth considering that Macdonald didn't want to chance the power of Riel's martyrdom. The image of Riel hanging from the scaffold on the government military base would become iconic not only for the inflamed hearts of the Métis and Aboriginal Nations, American sympathizers, abandoned white settlers, but also a much needed electoral demographic in Quebec.[197]

"Photographs," as Sontag asserts, "lay down routes of reference, and serve as totems of causes: sentiment is more likely to crystallize around a photograph than around a verbal slogan" (2003, p. 85). Baudelaire wrote in his journals: "Every newspaper, from the first line to the last, is nothing but a tissue of horrors […] And it is with this loathsome appetizer that civilized man daily washes down his morning repast" (Sontag, p. 107 quoting Baudelaire). In *The Varsity*, a weekly journal of Literature, University

[197] Although Quebec was allied with Riel on many fronts including his French lineage, his Catholicism, his demand to sovereignty, and his resistance against the federal government, the sympathy and support he garnered was complex and varied with each Resistance and during the period between 1869 to 1885. When Riel was convicted and executed, the largest outcry in the Dominion against the government's actions came from Quebec. The media coverage of this event is discussed in later in the chapter.

Thought and Events, presents the quotidian of Riel's execution in its November 21, 1885 issue: "We are informed by a gentleman present of the case of a man who, when the most beautiful movement of Mozart's quartette was being preformed, noisily pulled out a copy of *The Globe* and commenced to read about the execution of Louis Riel! (Editors, 1885, p. 51).

Although Riel was the first to be hanged in a post-Confederation Canada for high treason, the method of execution had its early colony precedents; however, Riel's sensationalized proportion in the media was particular to the period. In the following section, I examine a sample of press coverage of Riel's execution that reflects not only support for the sovereign decision, but also the unstable, anxious, and contentious national body in which the Dominion's sovereignty resides.

Headlines and The Execution

One of the first known executions in the colony occurred in 1608; Jean Duval conspired to assassinate Samuel de Champlain and for the offense he was hanged and beheaded. Executions continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth century and in 1885 Riel's execution for high treason, as those preceding him, delivered a specific sovereign message. The Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF, 1991) in their examination of the criminalization of Métis peoples in the nineteenth-century explain that "the execution of Riel and the Indians was a ritual delegitimation of their cause, of their defense of the customary laws governing their townships and landholdings. The Métis resistance had been construed as a challenge to the legitimacy of the emerging Canadian state" (MMF, 1991, p. 50). The act was not simply a flash moment in history but comprised, as my chapters reflect, a long production in the "degradation of Riel as the representative and

symbol of the Métis nation [and] was pursued through the humiliation of Riel as the defendant" (MMF, p. 50). The media was the colonial convener in these matters. The *New York Times* on November 17, 1885 prints a seemingly yielding account while keeping in mind its own country's staged acts of national violence against Aboriginal resistance, specifically in 1862:

> As we have often said, there is nothing to be said against the execution of Riel from a legal point of view. He undoubtedly committed the crime with which he was charged, and of which he was convicted after a trial that was entirely fair […] His real defense was that his rebellion was justifiable, and this was a defense that could not be pleaded. No Government could allow a prisoner to set up his oppression by it, before one of its own tribunals, as justification for taking up arms against it. (Editors, 1885, p. 4)

Particular in this coverage is a stray thread appearing in the remark that "his [Riel] real defense was that his rebellion was justifiable;" yet, in the contextual framework of sovereign jurisdictions, particularly in the court of law, this "real defense" was an impossible fight. Still, the assertion reflects, perhaps more powerfully in its rejection, that Riel and the Métis peoples had just cause to resist.

In the Toronto journal *The Week: a Canadian journal of Politics, Society, and Literature* simultaneously presents a solidarity with the Crown which is ruptured by an "if Riel's execution were a judicial murder" query:

> If Riel's execution were a judicial murder, there would be reason to fear the avenging spirit that would rise from his grave; but if ever a sentence were just and execution warranted they were in Riel's case. If his life had been spared, the arm of justice would have been paralyzed: not one of the Indian murderers, who were his victims and his dupes, could have been hanged; the murdered men and women and the volunteers who were shot while putting down the insurrection would alone have suffered. (Robinson, 1885, p. 801)

The specter of Riel and the colonial fear of his power are articulated in Thomas Flanagan's (1983) suggestion that when it comes to Riel, "we should leave history as it

is" (Flanagan, 1983, p. 152). Flanagan's "suggestion" also elucidates that the anxiety is justified. The "avenging spirit," who points its finger to judicial murder, arises against Flanagan's appeal "to forget "and appears in Thomas Berger's 2013 reminder that "the history of Riel is erupting in our own time" (CBC, "Ideas," 2013). How then does the specter of Riel appear? Where does it surface and why?

War monitoring as Sontag explains was not in full image production until the early to mid-twentieth-century with the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) (2003, p. 20-1). The public relied on mediated narratives with their limited, yet impactful illustrations, which were utilized to impress and make concrete specific agendas. The text-based production of Riel's execution was covered in a wide spectrum of social media including, for instance, the *Monetary Times Trade Review and Insurance Chronicle.* The periodical was incorporated with *The Toronto Journal of Commerce*, as well as the *Journal of Commerce of Montreal* in 1870 and was represented in Glasgow, Scotland and managed by Edward Trout. On November 20, 1885, from its Toronto office, the execution coverage appeared with the headline "The Situation," under which it explains that, "the execution of Riel is a vindication of the law to which we have always looked forward with confidence." The article follows with news about potential reprisals from French Canada as well as the Métis peoples, while it locates and reduces both bodies to "criminals." The negative accusations were not uncommon from presses aligned with the Upper Canada bastions of capitalism, which also had profit margins and economic ventures in the North West:

> and if an English-speaking man had put himself in the place of Riel no human being would have asked his reprieve on the ground of his nationality. No sensible person in Ontario desires to humiliate the French race; but everyone refuses to allow that the fact of being a French Canadian should shield any one

> from the consequences of this acts, especially when they are of a highly criminal character. (p. 571)

Still, the sentiment of Crown fidelity was not shared by all monetary journals. *The Canadian Journal of Commerce* under the title of "Riel"[198] for instance, remarked that, "we have so far refrained from any comment on this case. While it was before the cabinet in their quasi-judicial capacity […] we regarded any discussion of it as improper and ill-timed" (Foley, 1885, pp. 1040-1). The author of the article further remarks on the influential power of the press and the sovereign judgment: "we have no alternative but to accept it loyally" (pp. 1040-1). The editor's acquiescence sides with safety, and as Sontag remarks: "Wherever people feel safe […] they will be indifferent." (2003, p. 100). Consider the following passage:

> we cannot but feel that the journals which made, it a question of party influence and party polities, on the one hand, only injured the cause they were contending for, and on the other, held us up before our neighbors and brethren as a community unfit to deal becomingly with a question of such gravity […]. Whatever the merits or demerits of their judgment may be we have no alternative but to accept it loyally. Any other course is a deliberate blow at the law and order that we have accepted or created for the protection of the commonwealth, the administration of which are bound by the consideration to maintain and support." (Foley, 1885, p. 1040-1)

In Montreal's *La Presse* on November 17, 1885 under printed the banner: "Riel hanged for the crime of claiming rights for his countrymen," the following text appears:

> Riel's hanging severs all ties that might have been forged in the past. From now on, there are no conservatives, no liberals, no castors. There are only patriots and traitors: the national party and the hangman party." (p. 1)

The publication's polarization of "patriots" from "hangman" concurs with the report in the *Canadian Journal of Commerce*: "there is no alternative but to comply." The

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[198] *Canadian journal of commerce, finance and insurance review*. Montreal: M.S. Foley. "Weekly." November 20, 1885, V.21, no.,21. Retrieved from Early Canadiana Online (ECO).

"hangman" as a metaphor for punishment metonymically fastens Riel's act of resisting the governing body to an unconditional and deliverable death; however, in doing so, the article also represents the Dominion's sovereignty as tyrannical. The planning mechanism toward this end is revealed in Macdonald's February 23, 1885 correspondence to Governor Dewdney prior to the Resistance. The following letter makes evident the order to control through punishment, but also suggests a calculating strategy to control the judicial system to ensure the desired outcome:

> I agree that arrests should be made with care and promptly of those Indians who incite others to disorder. We must have a sufficient number of police. Would it not be wise for me to write Stipendiary Magistrates as to long terms of punishment at certain seasons. (Macdonald, 1885, p. 546)

The outrage over the execution seeped into the media by way of such journals as *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* on November 25, 1885. Under the headline "Mass Meeting," the editor reported the demonstration of fifty thousand citizens who congregated on the Champ de Mars in Montreal. The paper reported that it "will long be remembered as one of the most memorable events of the kind that has ever occurred in the Dominion." Members of the specific public movement produced a list of considerations and resolutions (see footnote): "The object for which the meeting was called to denounce the execution of Louis Riel at Regina by the Government of Canada for high treason and presented a list of considerations and resolution."[199] Is this event

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[199] Whereas, the half-breeds, both French and English, for a long time past had grievances which were the occasion of the political offence for which their chief, Louis Riel, has been executed Whereas, civilized nations have practically abandoned capital punishment for political offences; Considering, especially the fact that Riel had been recommended to the clemency of the court, by the six jurymen belonging to a race and creed, different from his, and to whom the State had entrusted his trial it became the duty of the government to use clemency towards him.
Considering, that three respites having been granted and the execution postponed three time, this duty became all the more imperative; Considering, also the fact that Riel had surrendered at the request of Gen. Middleton;

remembered? Who, then, remembers the event in the Dominion? The article's sub-text illuminates how particular zones can be overwritten by other communal forces of memory-making with *their* power to disseminate resources into the nation's media; still, the article, as a material object, also reflects how traces of initial public, collective, and individual tactics remain present even when erasure ensues.

Riel had his share of supporters south of the Canadian border, in such papers as the *New York Times*. Francois-Xavier Lemieux (1851-1933) is quoted in the August 7, 1885 article, "Trying to Save Riel: The Steps which his Counsel are about to Take," when remarking that that he did not think the trial was fair: "I think it was a preconceived idea that Riel was to be found guilty […] the jury as well as the Judge were prejudiced against the prisoner […] as we are about to show that a stipendiary magistrate is not a proper person to try such a difficult case" (p. 3). Lemieux's charge against the Dominion's sustained prejudice is not far fetched, as discussed in detail in my previous chapters, and made evident in the April 23, 1885 report in the *Saskatchewan Herald*, asserting that "petted Indians are the bad ones." The article explains that the Aboriginal Nations and its leaders are "privileged" and "kept in comfort"; said another way, the article reflects the paternalistic discourse and the national colonial narrative that the government "protects" indigenous peoples and if they are "petted" rather than disciplined

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Considering, that it is evident that the Government has made of this execution a subjection of election calculations, that it has coolly computed how many seats would be won by hanging Riel, and how many would be lost by a policy of clemency and justice; that, final, in view of giving effect to its calculations, it has sacrificed him to the hatred of fanatics, thus allowing them to stir up against one another their different races, who in this country, live together under the protection of the British flag;
Resolved – 1st. That in thus executing Louis Riel on the 16th November 1885, the Government of Sir. John A. Macdonald has committed an act of inhumanity and of cruelty unworthy of a civilized nation, and deserves the condemnation of all the friends of right and justice, without distinction of race and religion […]

and punished they will rise up against the government. Consider the paper's editorial and the preferred and not unpopular outcome concerning the Métis and Aboriginal Nations, which is also found in Shakespeare's *The Tempest,* as discussed in Chapter 5:

> Little Poplar, a non-treaty Indian has been liberally supplied with provisions and other necessaries and thus enabled to spend all his time in travelling up and down the land plotting mischief and preparing for this season's carnival of ruin. The petted Indians have proved the bad ones, and this gives weight to the old adage that the only good Indians are the dead ones. (1885, p. 3)

The newspaper secures the axiom "the only good Indians are dead ones" while it creates "truth" and order under a literary absolution of "old adage." The editorial naturalizes as it sanctions the extreme public malevolence against Aboriginality and fuels the violence and unmitigated abuses against Métis and Aboriginal peoples in nineteenth-century Canada. Here, the media sanctions the colonial maxim and its undeterred violence which continues in the present day globally, across Canada, and where the newspaper originates, Saskatchewan, with police actions of execution that are veiled in the euphemism, "the starlight tours," as described in the previous chapter.

The media spillage of "the rebel's execution" was not contained in the North American presses; it was well circulated and of much interest in Britain as found in the *London Times* published in November 1885 under the title "The Execution of Riel." The article explains that, "all the force of race-feeling and of anarchic regard for outlaws was set in motion." Condensed in the article is the British disdain against the French and its imaginings of inhabitants of the so-called New World when explaining that, "French Canadians professed to regard Riel – who was half-Indian in blood and wholly Indian in character and sympathies – as one of themselves, and his conviction is a blow leveled at their institutions by the ruling Power." The article concludes by stating:

> We sincerely trust that this view will rapidly commend itself to the common-sense of the French Canadians, and that, when the fever of the moment has subsided, they will soon come to regard the execution of Riel, not as a brutal assertion of superior force, but as a vindication of law and justice, as much in the interest as in that of the English colonists. (1885, n.p)

The media however did not just report the event; rather it set the groundwork of how the Métis peoples would be recognized. The Manitoba Métis Federation sees this common colonial ground as a process of degradation in which criminalization through legislation (benchmarked by Riel) plays a major role:

> Law became a straitjacket of social degradation through which many western Métis and plains Indians were consigned to the oblivion of a marginal class under the "parental tutelage" of a "superior" white civilization. As a major agency of state administration on the plains, the North West Mounted Police used two weapons to marginalize the Métis peoples. Permissive laws allowed a form of inquisitorial justice […] [and] famine and poverty. (1991, p. 51)

In the next section of this chapter, I examine more directly one paper's representation of Riel's execution and how it fostered the ideology of a "superior" white race in its coverage of Riel's execution.

The *Regina Leader*: the press and the "act of common spectatorship"

The *Regina Leader*'s November 19, 1885 coverage of the execution appeared in a four page, five-column spread under the lead headline, "The Leader Reports of the Execution." It sold for 5 cents. On the first page, among other items, is a letter to the editor from G.B. Wallis: "Sir: Are we ever to hear the last of Riel?" (Davin, p. 1). In publishing the letter, Davin takes care of three tasks: 1) he empowers individual participation in a public space; 2) he creates a collective zone (paper subscribers) who ostensibly reflect the social regional tone concerning Riel's execution; and 3) he shows the effect of Riel's execution in the same media environment. The public is shown to be

self-organized and demonstrates that "it exists by virtue of being addressed" (Warner, 2002, p. 67). Davin gives his readership, largely a Conservative, non Aboriginal, and North West settler population, exactly what they wanted. Michael Warner explains how these publics are formed: "without faith, justified or not, in self-organized publics, organically link to our activity in their very existence, capable of being addressed, and capable of action, we would be nothing but the peasants of capital – which, of course, we might be, and some of us more than others" (2002, p. 69). Settlers to the new colony were desperately seeking reassurance of social, economic, and political agency in a collective formation. Here, Davin's paper is a conduit of this agency by printing the letter and situating it directly next to the description of the execution as a reflection of sovereign power; however, beneath the spectacle of arm-length social participation in capital punishment, the letter writer, G.B. Wallis and a public he represents, is presented to be also complicit in the government-led capitalist venture of "acquiring" and selling indigenous land. The letter is framed on the front page with three articles relating to Riel along with advertisements for settlement property and articles related to colonization.

Davin's paper, as an example of the dominant media, emphasizes its ability and authority to search for truth, as it authenticates its reporting coverage, which supports punitive and pulverizing action:

> Our reporter was the only one which gave an account of what was done […] The other reporters did not understand French and could only describe what they saw. The real actions, the dialogue between the doomed man and his clergy, they could not give […] We had three reporters at the barracks that morning ("Leader Reports," p. 1)

As made evident in the above quote, the newspaper reporters were on deck to authenticate the action with their apparent secretive alliance with the "doomed man."

Thus, Riel is (mis)represented "to play the role of voluntary partner in the procedure […] of producing the truth by a mechanism consisting of two elements – that of the investigation carried out in secret by the judicial authority and that of the act ritually performed by the accused" (Foucault, 1977, p. 39). As Hariman and Lucaites explain, "the task of reporting the news, defines the public through an act of common spectatorship. When the event shown is itself part of national life, the public seems to see itself, and to see itself in terms of a particular conception of civic identity" (2007, p. 42). Absent, however, in the media configuration of "common spectatorship," when witnessing "the production of truth" in the execution of Riel and the making of civic identity, are representatives from the Métis community – who were indeed present.

The newspaper's evacuation of Métis and Aboriginal people's presence (unless criminalized) fortified for early settlers "a public" and a zone of intelligibility in which they could *build into* a unified identity, while the Dominion bolstered its economic power to ensure the optics of progress toward a commonwealth. Publics, as Hariman and Lucaites explain, "by their nature, require joint articulation of impersonal forms of identity (or they are not public) and must embody forms of sociality (or they will not be effective)" (2007, p. 45). Riel, then, stood in for the 80% Métis demographic whose identities and political solidarity were broken and reduced to the iconic status of unlawful— his execution thereby attempted to extinguish Métis sovereignty altogether. In Hariman and Lucaites words, Riel, as a political ritual, "acquires iconic status, and influences collective action and memory because [he] can mediate the social, political, and cultural contradictions in which a particular people find themselves to a degree that allows them to address common problems" (p. 47). The newspapers' and the publics'

coverage about the execution fortified the much-desired national discursive ballast that ultimately empowered the sovereign rule, whether for or against the government's decision.

The *Leader's* published description of the moments before Riel's execution, as he mounts the scaffold, follows Foucault's theory that "the rite of execution was so arranged that the condemned man would himself proclaim his guilt by the *amende honorable* that he spoke, by the placard that he displayed as also by the statements that he was no doubt forced to make" (1977, p. 65): Consider the following newspaper excerpt reporting on the moments before Riel's execution:

Father André:	You do not wish to speak in public? […]
Riel:	*Oui, mon Pére*. I make to my God as a sacrifice the speaking to the public in this my last hour.
Father André:	God has been good to you my son to give you an opportunity of repenting; are you thankful for this?
	[…]
	Riel then in an affecting and childlike way prayed to God to bless his mother
	[…]
Riel:	Shall I say something?
Père (sic) André:	No. ("Riel Executed," p. 4)

The report infantilizes Riel's representation and is reproduced as a textual image, which simultaneously authorizes his silencing (as if to reprimand him) as it depicts his constructed and constrained acquiescence, a mediated process of removal. Riel, at the moment of his death, is disempowered not only by a religious representative and the government, but also by the media. What did Riel want to say when he was silenced?

Riel, as a skilled and influential orator, was censored and instead the discursive tactic shifts to constitute his redemption, a performance that topples his Métis leadership and sovereign status to capitulate him at the feet of assimilation and vanishing. The

strategy for Davin, and Macdonald, among others, was the hope that the Métis peoples would follow their leader. Père André, Riel's confessor, who silenced Riel, further explains that although he did not agree with the execution, it "was too risky to free the Métis leader, since he was bound to expose 'la paix publique à de grands dangers'" (Braz, 2003, p. 158). The quelling of Riel's political resistance is made evident in the description of his hanging: "he showed the highest reason on the eve of going into eternity to crush down his natural love of display" ("Riel Executed," p. 4).

Indeed, the editor's repeated representation of Riel's "cries" are performative and maintain the historical record in which Riel is destabilized politically because he was portrayed as "insane." The article on page four of the *Leader* entitled "Interview" reports that Riel confesses his own insanity:

> "Ah!" he cried, apostrophizing them. "You were right to plead insanity, for assuredly all those days in which I have badly observed the Commandments of God were passed in insanity […] Every day in which I have neglected to prepare myself to die, was a day of mental alienation." (p. 4)

Davin's reporting style does not deviate from Foucault's template of execution as public spectacle: "To a certain extent, it transcended all other evidence; elements in the calculation of the truth, it was also the act by which the accused accepted the charge and recognized its truth […] Through the confession, the accused himself took part in the ritual of producing penal truth" (Foucault, 1977, p. 38). In the article, "Interview," Riel is reported as having accepting his death penalty: "'My God," he cried, "will he [death] arrive before I am ready to present myself before you?" Sherry Farrell Racette, Métis scholar and artist, explains that

> The Métis, who wore their mixed-race identity as a symbol of pride, challenge the expectations of shame, denial, and cultural disorientation expected of children born of two races. Their creation and growth were politically problematic from a

> colonial viewpoint, and the very logic of their existence triggered deeply-rooted, European aversions toward miscegenation [and] were aspects of Euro Canadian response to the Métis. (2001, p. 47)

The *Regina Leader* was creating and responding to the growing animosity against the Métis. The paper, with its Conservative agendas, was attempting to mobilize a public by asserting that it was Riel who, as a traitor and Métis, was the instigator of *all* the nation's woes. The combination of treason and mixed-race identity was a twinned affront against Euro Canadian, Anglo Saxon, and "white superior" sensibilities. The colonial pairing was sewn together to solidify Riel's and thereby the Métis people's corruption of Victorian purity. The Regina prison, which held Riel, was a means of reformation and a place to keep society "safe"; for instance, Riel's priest, Father André, published a newspaper statement three days before Riel's execution explaining that "his long captivity evidently was most beneficial to him, and was the means of inspiring him with a penitential feeling" (André, "Riel's Last Moments," n.p.).[200] Davin writes in the final trial coverage titled "Execution":

> No language could be too strong to paint the enormity of Riel's offence against society. But the Government had not only to consider his sentence in a punitive light, they had to pay some regard to the populations amongst which he had not only followers but dupes; they had to take some thought for the future […] The truest mercy to both is to show them unmistakenly and if necessary, sternly, that no man can attempt to destroy the authority of the government of this county in any part of it, unless at the peril of his life. (p. 2)

Interestingly, Davin, in his editorial note, reveals that in Canada "we know that our population is still heterogeneous." The collective and ironically exclusive "we" speaks to a public committed to a unified and homogenous nation that is "ours" and views the mixed inhabitants as needing to be controlled, if not eliminated. With this in mind, his

[200] "When Riel surrendered, he was transported to Regina where he was imprisoned in the North West Mounted Police barracks. His cell was 6 1/2´ by 4 1/2´ and he was shackled with ball and chain" (Canada. "Louis Riel," para. 60).

use of “still” when considering the dynamic of the population is a prognostication that identifies a finite timeline for the Métis population and the colonial anticipation for the “vanished Indian.”

Jennifer Reid’s (2008) evaluation of the media argues that Canada “undoubtedly buttressed already existing nationalism of the late-nineteenth-century, but printers in the British North American colonies came into existence in the first instance not to promote nationalist agendas but by and large as reflections and expressions of the country’s foundational dichotomies” (p. 227). Said another way, the motivation of printers as operators in the media outlets were the conveyors of what was already in place and active in the colony. Métis peoples, for instance, were not recognized as citizens because of government policy, not because of the printers. However, the owners and editors of the printers controlled the reflections and expressions published in their presses and exaggerated their control by keeping their reporters anonymous. Reid further points out that “Native Canadians were essentially powerless with respect to Canada’s political and judicial structures until the middle of the twentieth-century. They were not permitted, for instance, to vote in federal elections until 1960; and between 1927 and 1951, they were not permitted to enter into legal contests over treaty rights with the government” (2008, p. 227). Here, I depart from Reid’s analysis. The Métis, although not recognized as citizens by the federal government, were not powerless as my earlier chapters delineate: they consolidated an economic force in trade; broke the Hudson’s Bay Company monopoly; solidified their culture and identity; petitioned the Dominion and British empire for their rights; resisted the 1869 transfer of Rupert’s land; legislated the Manitoba Act which took parliamentary shape in the Constitution; led superior military troops into battle and won a

few; and although the second resistance was lost, Riel in his surrender and address before the jury and court articulated and asserted Métis sovereignty as he denounced the Crown's acts of violence. To be situated outside of, or rather outlawed from a particular sovereignty does not equate to powerlessness, rather it constitutes quite the opposite. Riel and the Métis peoples were in a position of power that *was and still is intelligible* within sovereign discourses: they hold the title of 1.4 million acres of North West land. The representation of Riel's execution provided an opportunity for the Dominion to eliminate that territorial right and to showcase the Dominion's power. In the following section, I provide an analysis of how the reporting of Riel's death was handled in the press as "a closing act."

"The Closing Act"

As discussed earlier, Davin uses the theatrical figurative language of "closing act"[201] and with it the rhetorical power to end what he conceives of as "a show." Davin is speaking to a specific public, among them, the settlers who have been represented as unsettled by the Métis Resistance. By asserting "a closure," Davin, as editor and owner of the paper, assumes a position of power to have access to the intimacies of Riel's death:

> "O my God" he cried still speaking in French as he went down the stairs […] The cord is put on his neck […] the hangman who now put on Riel's head the white cap […] The hangman pulled the crank and Riel fell a drop of nine feet […] The body quivered and swayed slightly to and fro. Dr. Dodd felt his pulse.
>
> *Leader* Reporter – "How is his pulse."
> Dr. Dodd – "It beats yet – slightly."
> *Leader* Reporter – … "I hope he is without pain."
> Dr. Cotton – "O quite. All sensation is gone." ("Riel Executed" 4)

[201] "Riel Executed. He Dies Without a Speech: A Sane and Beautiful Death," appears on the fourth page of the November 19, 1885 edition of the *Regina Leader*.

Davin, through his theatrical restaging of the execution, brings his reader to the nearest proximity of Riel's death while they remain distanced from it. Davin is careful to absolve the state violence with the rhetorical cushion: "I hope he is without pain." Dr. Cotton's assertion that "all sensation is gone," is a reiteration that with Riel's death, so too is the power that he held. Davin then allows the public into the private forum:

> Outside the prison were many of the public […] There were many who were disappointed at not being allowed into the execution. Jokes were made […] At last a thud was heard and one of the police said – "The G _d d __n s_n of a b___h (sic) is gone at last."
> "Yes," said another as if saying 'amen' […] And then followed some civilized laughter. ("Riel Executed," p. 4)

As the preceding quote elucidates, Riel's death consolidated a zone of intelligibility in which publics where created through colonial violence and humiliation and was supported not only by bystanders, but also by the police. Yasmin Jiwani (2006) in her examination of violence and race in the news explains how the media operates to "shape public opinion," "influence policy makers," and how it performs as "a powerful instrument of socialization" to offer "a fare that audiences are likely to consume, a fare that rests on audience familiarity and resonance" (2006, p. 37). In these ways, Davin uses Riel's execution as a means to "clearly privilege and communicate the dominant discourses of morality and mobility" (Jiwani, 2006, p. 37). Jiwani further argues that in the representation of the "undeserving Others" or "those who don't fit the ideal normative standards, and those who do not belong to nation," "the association between representation and violence lies in the way in which groups are objectified, dehumanized, and inferiorized in the media" (p. 37). Another instance of Davin's publishing fare for his audience's consumption appears in his answers to questions from a member of the public:

"How did he die?" [Davin answers]:

> "He died like a Christian […]. A more rational, self controlled, sequent mind could not be conceived than he displayed."
> Another question: "Did he die game? Was he pale?"
> "He was pale. A man would naturally be pale."

The representation of Riel's pallor as "pale" emits of Euro Canadian cue of purity, or of "solid British stock," as described in Chapter 2. Riel is no longer "the savage"; he is, accomplished through his death, "civilized." Davin's editorial continues:

> Some ten minutes after the drop had fallen, the door […] opened revealing a ghastly spectacle the lifeless remains of Louis Riel with the hangman's rope around his neck […] Within three quarters of an hour the body was cut down and placed on a rough table […] in the walled enclosure that surrounds the gallows; here the rough clothes […] were taken off, and then, in full view; surrounded by the doctor, jurymen, civilians and soldiers lay the body." ("Riel Executed," p. 4)

Davin identifies personages from selected publics: medicine, law, the settler, and government; similar, to Foucault's "immediate anatomist of pain: warden, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalist; by their very presence near the prisoner" (1977, p. 11). Absent from the organized congregation is a member from the Métis community. Riel's body, naked and in "full view," becomes a target for public humiliation. He is stripped of his dignity, power, and sovereignty. Davin explains that, "we turned away from this aweful (sic) and never to be forgotten scene." With the pronoun "we," Davin again elicits a collective understanding and encourages the memory of Riel's death, and symbolically the Métis Nation that he led. In his discussion about Riel's execution, Thomas Flanagan (1983) remarks that, "the government's strategy was clearly to make Riel the symbol of the Rebellion and punish him accordingly" (p. 9). The newspapers' mad dash to publish Riel's "last words" was part of the generative process to impress a particular memory of Riel.

Riel's "Last Message"

The *Regina Leader* published the "Interview with Riel: His Parting Message to Mankind" and declared itself to be the only newspaper to interview Riel before his death. The "Parting Message" article is laden with biblical references including Riel accurately quoting from the books of Matthew and John. Throughout the apparent interview, Riel is recorded to repeat the phrase "preparing to die" as if a mantra. The phrase, "prepare yourself for death" is repeated five times. The "interview's" patterned syntactical structure raises the question of Riel's actual voice and the "interview's" overall authenticity.

The article writer[202] also foregrounds Riel "forgiving enemies" and resonates with both the parables from Matthew (5.53) particularly his message to Macdonald: "In the midst of your great and noble occupations take every day a few moment at least, for devotion and prayer and prepare yourself for death" (p. 2). The *Leader's* "Interview" with its Christian bias hijacks Riel's spiritualism and in his death assimilates as it converts him to Protestantism. Lawrence Barkwell, Leah Dorian, and Darren Préfontaine (1999) argue that, "most of the literature on Métis spiritualism […] relates to the Métis people's embrace of various forms of Christianity rather than to their Aboriginal spiritual practices" (p. 43). Davin's press production around Riel is compounded with Macdonald's appellation of "superstition" to Aboriginal culture in Canada. Many Métis people, for instance, "fused traditional Aboriginal spiritualism with Roman Catholicism. A present-day example of this religious reductionism is exemplified by Flanagan, who in

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[202] Mary McLean worked as a reporter for the *Regina Leader* and according to her great grandson, Ed Hird, Mary disguised herself as a priest confessor to gain entrance from the North West Mounted Police into Riel's cell in order to gain the final interview. Additional research concerning McLean's work as a reporter at the newspaper, and her work as a mid-nineteenth century writer is ongoing. (Fischlin, *Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project,* 2004, para. 2). For further information see Daniel Fischlin's article, "The Fair Grit; or The Advantage of Coalition. A Farce" (1876). Online http://www.canadianshakespeares.ca/a_grit.cfm

his anti-Riel rhetoric, avoided discussion of the hybrid spiritualism practiced by some Métis people in this controversial monograph of Riel's spiritual system" (Barkwell, et al., 1999, p. 43). The authors' question, for example, whether or not "Riel's spiritual vision was much different than the thirst dance of various Plains First Nations, or was it strictly in line with the late nineteenth-century millenarianism of such groups as the Mormons or the Orthodox Hasidic Jews?" (1999, p. 43-5). The *Leader's* "Interview," representing Riel's "last words" is, among other literary strategies, a religious and imperial repossession and declaration that Christianity successfully transformed Riel and finds its successful assimilated closure by quoting from John 3:8, which is the teaching of Jesus to be "born again" (p. 4).

The *Leader's* claim to have reported the final interview, however, was challenged by a contender who was also gunning for the "last words'" headline. On November 16, 1885, *The Globe* in its full second page article under the headline "RIEL DOOMED" reported, as did the *Regina Leader*, to be the only interview with Riel: "Interview with the Prisoner in his Cell." The follow up report, on November 17, 1885, headlined "RIEL'S DEATH" and in a Special Dispatch to *The Globe*, it reported that

> Louis David Riel is at rest at last. His long eventful career ended his morning, and all his offences against mankind were expired when he died at the hands of the common hangman […] Unavailing efforts were made yesterday afternoon and evening by all the reporters staying here to have an interview with him, but he refused to talk with anyone after he had been informed that his execution would take place today. My interview remains the only one with him since his arrest. (p. 2)

The media urgency to acquire the "last interview with Riel" is curious because neither of these papers were interested in Riel when he was alive and politically active. Neither editor of the *Globe* or the *Leader*, or any other newspaper for that matter, cared to

interview Riel concerning his or the Métis Council's governing policies, the petitioning efforts against the Crown, The Manitoba Act, Métis sovereignty issues, or the social situation of the Métis peoples in the North West. Members of the Métis community in Red River or those who were present in Regina were not sought after to impart their concerns about the execution. Riel's "interview" only became a valued commodity when his words could be possessed and not be contested after he was dead. Barkwell, Dorian and Préfontaine point out that Métis history and its association with social, economic and political issues, or more specifically the every day concerns of ordinary Métis people were rarely considered (1999, p. 21). The Manitoba Métis Federation argues that, "the most graphic demonstration of political criminalization of the Métis and Indian leadership was contrived through, and culminated in, ritual punishment" (1999, p. 50). The colonial rituals were indeed part of the Métis people's every day concerns. Revoking the rights of citizen is but one example; the ritual of state violence against Métis and Aboriginal peoples has a long history and was executed twenty-three years before Riel stood upon the scaffold (Figure 36).

Figure 36.
Herman, *Execution of Thirty-Eight Indian Murderers at Mankato, Minnesota*, colour lithograph from original ink on paper sketch, pp. 37–39, from
Harper's Weekly (January 17, 1863). Public domain.

Pedagogy and Mass Execution: December 26, 1862

United States President Abraham Lincoln ordered the mass execution of the 38 men and boys from the Sioux Nation on December 26, 1862 after the Dakota War.[203] Mr. Herman is identified as the artist of the "rough sketch" which he illustrated while he witnessed the execution in Minnesota. The image was published in the January 17, 1863 issue of *Harpers Weekly*, as mentioned in an earlier section. A chromolithograph was produced in 1883 by Hayes Printing Company and the embellished image was procured by the American company, Standard Brewery to sell beer and beverage trays (Figure 37 and Figure 38).

[203]For details concerning the Sioux resistance against the encroachment of their territory by the American government and white settlers see Minnesota Public Radio, "Dakota Wars," http://minnesota.publicradio.org/display/web/2012/12/11/dakota-war-part12/

Figure 37
Standard Brewery Company, a, *The Execution of 38 Sioux Indians at Mankato. Dec. 26th 1862,* 1883, colour lithograph on metal by Meek & Beach Co., 12" diameter, commemorative brewery tray (Mankato, Minnesota). Collection of Paul Brenner Iowa. Public domain.

Figure 38.
Standard Brewery Company, b, *The Execution of 38 Sioux Indians at Mankato. Dec. 26th 1862,* 1883, image of colour lithograph on metal, commemorative brewery tray (c.1883, Mankato, Minnesota).

McClintock's views the mass production geared directly to the consumer as a shift from scientific racism to commodity racism, or "by which evolutionary racism and imperial power were marketed on a hitherto unimaginable scale. In the process, the Victorian middle-class home became a space for the display of imperial spectacle and the reinvention of race" (34). The Victorian cult of domesticity also resides within intersectional space of leisure in which not only gender and race are reconstituted, but also class. The beverage tray upon which the decision of sovereignty is painted renders also an audience in the foreground viewing the mass execution as if it were a

contemporary reality show.[204] The hanged men are depicted in the middle distance and are continually judged, punished, and consumed with pleasure. The collective punishment and execution of the Sioux peoples, fashioned as entertainment, reflects the enmity of the white colonial population against the indigenous population and resonates, once again, with Peters' (2005) evaluation of Foucault's treatment of Damien's execution and state violence as a theatre of cruelty, "leaving the reader with the unpalatable option of assuming that he is taking a sadistic glee in the torture and inviting the reader to enjoy the show" (p. 88). The image production of violence occludes the Sioux Nations' acts of resistance against the government for its disregard for treaties, massive territorial encroachment and theft of their land, and the government-organized strategy of mass starvation. As a follow-up to the original Herman illustration, in the May 1863 edition of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* an item appeared in the section, "Editor's Drawer." The writer's reflections about the execution include details that were veiled by the sanctioned vigilantism and the execution's commodification:

> Last November the officer to whom this letter is addressed had charge of the removal from Camp Sibley, on the Upper Minnesota River, to Fort Snelling, the Sioux Indian prisoners (other than the condemned murderers), consisting of about fifteen hundred, mostly women and children. On the march from Fort Ridgely to Eagle Lake [...]. (p. 854)

The distance from Fort Ridgely to Eagle Lake is 1,188 miles. As the above quote makes evident, buried within the nineteenth-century newspapers reside accounts of the every day details of indigenous communities and the proliferation of the naturalized colonial violence that was waged against them. "Ideologies," Sontag argues, "create substantiating archives of images, representative images, which encapsulate common ideas of significance and trigger predictable thoughts, feelings" (2003, p. 86). The ideology of the

[204] It is estimated that 4,000 people were in attendance to witness the event.

“vanished Indian” presented in its most horrific formation was publicly consumed in the banality of every day and triggered in both the Americans and Canadians the “feelings” of “nation.” The media mediates the disciplining of conduct through punishment as it procedurally condemns the “Indian murderers” and simultaneously legitimizes the action of vigilante violence by the so-called “infuriated white settlers.”

The 38 men, the other 260 condemned, and 1,500 women and children remain unnamed and the reasons for the original acts of the Sioux people’s resistance are silenced. Sontag argues that, “it is significant that the powerless are not named in the captions. A portrait that declines to name its subject becomes complicit, it inadvertently, in the cult of celebrity that has fueled an insatiable appetite for the opposite sort of photograph: to grant only the famous their names demotes the rest to representative instances of their occupation, their ethnicities, their plights (2003, p. 79). When General Middleton’s military portrait juxtaposed with “Riel’s Rebels,” as discussed in Chapter 4, is recalled, the selection of “the famous” stand in for the absent but present sovereign force and its power to “name” and “unnamed,” as it also designates who is “worthy” and “unworthy,” and who “belongs” and who does not. The Mankato, Minnesota mass hanging also set a precedent that was to be exercised north of the border in 1885, an act of colonial violence that continues to be obscured by the spectacle of Riel’s execution.

“… and other were hanged”

Foucault explains the public execution as a process that “belongs to the whole serious of great rituals in which power is eclipsed and restored (coronation, entry of the king into a conquered city, the submission of rebellious subjects; over and above the crime that has placed the sovereign in contempt, it deploys before all eyes an invincible force” (1995,

48). Riel's trial and execution was a historical ritual of discipline and punishment; however, it also acted to eclipse the mass execution of six Cree men and two Assiniboine men – but not before the laws of the Dominion deployed its force before a selected public – Métis and First Nations' children living in nearby residential schools. On November 27, 1885 Bad Arrow (Manchoose), Iron Body (Nahpase), Little Bear (A-pis-chas-koos), Miserable Man (Kit-ahwah-ke-ni), Round the Sky (Pahpah-me-kee-sick), Wandering Spirit, (Kah-paypamhchukwao), Crooked Leg (Itka), and Man without Blood (Waywahnitch) were hanged for their roles in what has been named the Frog Lake Massacre.[205] The *Calgary Weekly Herald* printed an editorial on November 18, 1885 concerning the pending punishment against those involved in the North West Resistance:

> He, who in such a State, undertakes to coerce the Government by force, is an enemy to the whole commonwealth and should be treated as such […]. We even think that, if possible, the Indian murderers should be hung in public, since nothing but actual vision seems to convince the native mind of the reality of any occurrence. The sight of Wandering Spirit and his confreres suspended in a row might convey the reflection to the Indian intellect that the luxury of a spring outbreak was one which might have to be dearly paid for […]. We have to convince the savage of our power, and determination to use it. This is a thing which must be done, and the sooner it is done the better for the country. (p. 4)

The Hobbesian model of sovereignty is clear in the *Herald*'s opening lines. Moreover, the editor breaks the semantic brackets that divide the discourses among sovereignty, civility, and memory and instead rearticulates how they run fluidly to reflect their tri-dependency or how each are intertwined and impossible without the other: "we have to convince the savage of our power." Sovereignty demonstrates its power against the so-called "uncivilized" through a process of convincing that depends on memory. Robert Harding (2006) in his research on historical representations of Aboriginal peoples in the

[205] The event is discussed in the Prologue.

Canadian news media notes that "[t]oday, these power relations are strongly supported not only by the mass media, but by other institutions such as education and the criminal justice system, and are reflected in laws and policies, such as the Indian Act, that ascribe [A]boriginal people differential and lesser status under the law ('wards' of the state)" (2006, p. 205-6). The institutional apparatus appears in the trial transcripts of the Queen vs. Kah-Pah-Yak-As-To-Cum (One Arrow). One Arrow was tried on August 13, 1885 and charged with felony treason. The prisoners' defense attorney F.B. Robertson cautioned John W. Astley (a key witness for the Crown who testified against Riel) concerning his testimony. Astley, a government surveyor, civic engineer, and explorer, was reminded not to use his "opinion" but rather his "knowledge" when giving testimony. Judge Hugh Richardson and the Crown attorney, Osler cautioned Astley: "the witness should be careful to state only facts within his own knowledge, and he should not state in answer to a general question matters which are only matters of opinion. He seems a little prone to do that" (Canada, 1886, p. 14, 27). Whether classified as his "opinion" or "knowledge," Astley's prejudice against Aboriginal and Métis peoples unfold throughout his testimony:

> Q. Now, what did you ever hear against him [the prisoner].
> A. Well, that he was more fond of loafing around than working; of course that may be a characteristic of the Indian.
> Q. Was that the worst you ever heard of him?
> A. Well, I never bothered much; I never heard anything except that. I heard in plain English that he was a worthless Indian.

While Robertson identifies Astley's "opinion" concerning "Indians," which also proved to be the most conclusive against Riel during his trial (Riel, 1886, pp. 26-8), Robertson also unveils his own discrimination concerning his stance on "the civilized" and its

paradoxical exclusion, in his closing statement:

> It is a crime, however, involving altogether in its enormity the ideas peculiar to white people, the people accustomed to live under civilized forms of government, and to people who understand they owe duties to society at large, of which an Indian has not the first idea. An Indian has no notion of the nature of civilized society; *he has no notion of the importance of maintaining law and order.* (Canada, p. 27, italics mine)

Robertson's unequivocal understanding of the public's prejudice, and speaking specifically as a sovereign agent on its behalf to its subjects, delineates the racist paradigm within the context of sovereignty and civility. Robertson's statement discounts the long-standing argument entered by historians absolving present day allegation of racism against nineteenth-century colonialists and their policies against Aboriginals peoples by suggesting that, "they didn't know what they were doing." As Charmaine Nelson (2004) argues, "a 'mythology of racelessness' and 'stupefying innocence' […] would appear to be the twin pillars of Canadian history of race" (p. 2). The twin pillars are visible, and as Robertson states, they did know, and did so "harshly," as reflected in his closing speech:

> and let us try to judge this unfortunate man at least as fairly as if he were a white man. Let us not disgrace our race by any hasty condemnation of another because he is of a different race. Let us show that we are really superior to the unhappy race to which he belongs. (Canada, 1886, p. 27)

This rhetoric reflects the assumption of superiority within the hierarchy of space and the effort to compel the jury, constituted as social "peers," to "judge this unfortunate man at least as fairly as if he were a white man" attunes to the rampant, fluid, and naturalized prejudice that flowed through the discursive social and judicial stream. Perhaps, the historic amnesia into which the content of the 1885 transcripts from the *Trials in Connection with the North-west Rebellion* has been swallowed is because its subject

matter makes evident Canada's discriminatory and racist paradigms and pillars as described by Robertson in his closing statement: "how our minds are naturally disposed, by antipathy of the race" (Canada, p. 27). The transcripts could certainly tarnish the professed benevolence upon which Canadian sovereignty and civility rests.

The intense colonial manipulation through a wide scope of media continues to efface the memories, cultures, and voices of First Peoples' histories. Barkwell, Dorion and Préfontaine explain that, stories "came from oral traditions […] [and] were not given much valence by the colonizers. As a result, the historical record regarding the Métis people remains invariably negative" (1999, p. 3). The historical record is also built on racist policies that legislated the negative images, as well as sanctioned its continued violence. Bonita Lawrence (2004) explains that the implementation of the Indian Act was a massive and powerful discursive body of legislation that was upheld "by the threat of direct military violence" (p. 30). Duncan Campbell Scott, the late-nineteenth-century poet and deputy minister of Indian Affairs remarked on the Act saying that "our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department" (Lawrence, 2004, p. 32). Scott's "Indian question" and its vanishing solutions would be repeated throughout the next centuries as final colonial solutions.

Conclusion

Perhaps, as Sontag suggests, "too much value is assigned to memory, not enough to thinking. Remembering is an ethical act, has ethical value in and of itself. Memory is, achingly, the only relation we can have with the dead" (2003, p. 115). When Métis poet, Marilyn Dumont thinks about the leader of the Resistance, she explains that, "Riel is

dead/but he just keeps coming back" (Reid, 2008, p. 241). Sherry Farrell Racette (2001) remembers her living room filled with family members all taking part in a heated debate around the history of Riel. She recalls being interrupted by her grandmother who had been busy making biscuits in the kitchen: "I can still see her hands covered in flour as she jumped into the discussion, shaking her fists as she pointed out the error in our logic. The old woman really knew her history" (2001, p. 44). Memory viewed through the lens of thinking. How is Riel's execution remembered and what is forgotten, if its memory is recalled without thinking?

In this chapter, I examined the media coverage of Riel's execution as part of a ritual of punishment, and its association to the colonial violence that occurred 23 years prior to Riel contesting the Dominion's objective that included the first known mass hanging in Canada. As the Manitoba Métis Federation explain, "the hanging of eight Chiefs, before a lamenting audience of their kin in the dim Regina dawn surrounded by a large contingent of Mounted Police, was an act of theatre designed to serve the political purpose of cowing both Indians and Métis as non-Natives celebrated the demise of inferior races" (1991, p. 42). The Dominion sanctioned pedagogies of violence in the rhetorical and material guise of "theatre," among others, as deployed in the media to facilitate its political and capital agendas.

CODA

Final Reflections

> We must cherish our inheritance. We must preserve our nationality for the youth of our future. The story should be written down to pass on. (Riel, Métis Culture. c.1885)
>
> In the end, though, neither the Indian as the savage nor the Indian as the hero changed the dynamics of racism. (King, 2012, p.130)
>
> The events of the 1870 have erupted into our own time. (Berger, CBC, 2013, *Riel's Revenge*)

As I reflect upon my chapters, the Idle No More[206] movement with its vision that "calls on all people to join in a peaceful revolution to honour Indigenous sovereignty and to protect the land and water" continues to evolve from a grassroots campaign to a global scale initiative. Nina Wilsonfield, Sheelah McLean, Sylvia McAdams, and Jessica Gordon took their email discussions, rooted in a deep concern about the consequences of Bill C-45,[207] to a worldwide response to the legacy and contemporary manifestations of colonial violence. The bill, now known as the Jobs Growth Act, passed and received royal assent on December 14, 2012. Of primary concern to the movement's advocates is the parliamentary bills that erode indigenous sovereignty and environmental protection; moreover, the changes were made without consulting Aboriginal Nations – a willful omission that has countless historical precedents as discussed throughout my chapters.

On November 10, 2012, Wilsonfield, McLean, McAdams, and Gordon organized an event to raise awareness in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; a week later similar events

[206] IdleNoMore. Online www.idlenomore.ca

[207] Bill C-45 (the second omnibus budget bill) the 400 page act changes the legislation in 64 regulations including the Indian Act, Navigation Protection Act (former Navigable Waters Protection Act) and the Environmental Assessment Act.

erupted in Regina, Prince Albert, North Battleford, and Winnipeg. The collective's geographical parallel to the history of Métis people's resistance is notable. Idle No More "seeks to assert Indigenous inherent rights to sovereignty and reinstitute traditional laws and Nation to Nation Treaties by protecting the lands and waters from corporate destruction."[208] The movement continues in 2013 with teach-ins, rallies, protests, social media networks such as Facebook with 45,000 members,[209] and a growing number of solidarity groups and allies. Idle No More, comparable to the 1869 and 1885 Métis Resistances, ruptures the continuity of an assumed unified and civilized Canada. Prime Minister Stephen Harper pronounced the imagined civil code of sovereign conduct at the G20 Summit on September 25, 2009 in his remark that Canada has "no history of colonialism." How then does the leadership and the activism of Chief Theresa Spence, during the Idle No Movement, disrupt the national zone of intelligibility that endeavours to silence Aboriginal peoples and their sovereignty? The government's silencing, or Mathiesen's "pulverizing," of Spence, as with other Aboriginal leaders, including Riel, continues to wage colonial violence and abuses against indigenous communities that manifests in the real and statistical atrocities marked with ignored disappearances and murders. What violence then, it must be asked, did the Prime Minister's refusal to speak to Chief Theresa Spence[210] about land, governance, social and economic policies continue to advocate and authorize?

In the context of nineteenth-century media that circulated a colonial and

[208] For further information see Idle No More. "The Story." Online. Retrieved from www.idlenomore.ca/story
[209] For further information see CBCNews. (2013). "9 questions about Idle No More." Online. Retrieved from www.cbc/news/canada
[210] Chief Theresa Spence is the Chief of the Attawapiskat First Nation. Spence went on a hunger strike to protest the housing and infrastructure crisis in her community and the government's neglect and mismanagement of funds. Her intention was to remain on the hunger strike until Prime Minister, Stephen Harper would agree to meet with her.

prejudiced light on Métis and First Nations' resistances, it was not surprising to read the article which set out malign Chief Spence's leadership. The article, "Review of troubled Northern Ontario reserve's finances says federal funds spent without records," provides an analysis of the Attawapiskat First Nation's audit statement and reported by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), a Canadian Crown corporation funded by the federal state ("Attawapiskat," CBC). If the audit report, that the CBC coverage presents *inaccurately*, is read, it is clear that the audit conclusions criticize, in fact, the federal government's department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada's (AANDC) management, or rather mismanagement, of the Attawapiskat funding. The media and its "timely" slandering of Chief Spence's leadership is a stark reminder (if indeed one needs to be reminded) of the colonial tactical use of stereotypes that continue to be deployed by the government through the media when they are confronted with acts of sovereign resistance. The Prime Minister's disrespect is explicit in his refusal to meet with a leader, within the nation of Canada, who represents a community which is not only being mismanaged by federal agents (as identified in the audit report), but is also in a state of crisis because of the AANDC's delinquent and negligent methods. The Prime Minister's inaction reflects how he is continuing in the colonial footsteps of his nineteenth-century conservative predecessor, John A. Macdonald.

Zones of Intelligibility

During the course of my research project, I traced these colonial footsteps. Using a critical discourse analysis, I followed them to enter Canadian history at the 1885 setting of Riel's treason trial. It was at this point that I took an alternative path and began to ask different questions. Using an interdisciplinary approach, I concentrated on three distinct

areas: Canadian media history, illustrative print culture, and the intertextual use of Shakespearean works in a selection of media. The 1886 transcript produced from the 1885 trial was at the core of my focus, and within it I examined the triangulated discourses of sovereignty, civility, and memory, each with inherent paradoxes, varying points of intersection, and aligned and unstable constellations. Here, I was also interested in how the transcript and its content was mobilized in the media by its multiple agents to cultivate specific national narratives that reshaped zones of intelligibility. Using a post colonial, intersectional, and critical race approach, I examined various Canadian media upon which the Resistances, Riel's trial, and execution were predicated. These sites, however, are deep and layered with historical context that profoundly influenced the nineteenth-century participant's cognitive resources and interpretive processes, which were (re) circulated through the social conditions of production, specifically, during the trial and its aftermath.

In Chapter 1, I step into to the *mise en scène* of the trial to ask the key question upon which this project rests: what if Riel's trial was considered, at its core, about Métis people's sovereignty? Riel's intent as described in his address to the court and jury, was to transform colonial contexts and shift the paradigms. Using a quantitative and qualitative method of analysis, I undertake a closer reading of the trial transcript. Thomas King (2012) describes the legal proceedings involving members from Aboriginal Nations as a prejudiced crucible "created by legislation and the courts [that] better served the powerful and the privileged than it did Native people" (p. 247). Riel ran the legal gauntlet many times. Riel's oratory contests and toys with the colonial rhetoric and within the court's hierarchies of space, he denounces the Dominion's irresponsibility and its

criminal and terrorist acts of aggression against the Métis peoples. Riel destabilizes the racialized context and paradigm of the court by asserting and performing Métis sovereignty.

As an edifying phenomenon, the trial was a potent and palpable educational component in the history making of Canada. In Chapter 2, my analysis of a dominant nineteenth-century media source focuses on the *Regina Leader* newspaper as a case study, which examined the paper's reporting styles, as well as the editor's political and economic alliances. The paper's reporting tactics include marketing and authenticating itself with a reporter "being in the courtroom." Davin's weekly paper and daily supplement were mechanisms in the colonial apparatus that used the "trial of the century" to materialize sovereignty by framing Riel outside the civilized parameters of patriotic conduct and into the zone of treason and punishment (Davin, "Trial of Riel," 1885, p. 2). My comparative analysis between the transcript and the newspaper reports of the trial illuminates the slippages between the two discursive formations and also raises serious questions regarding the stability of the transcript as reliable "historic" record of the proceedings as a whole. As a fixed pedagogical site favoured, for instance, in Canadian history classrooms, a continued critical study of the transcript should seek to break through the tried and true continuity of questioning Riel's guilt or innocence and rather address the myriad of contextual discontinuities that reside within the text itself.

Riel's trial's context was informed by circulating newspapers and periodicals. In Chapter 3, I provide a cross-sectioned analysis of publications to gauge the material and psychic production in nineteenth-century media, its readership, and the power networks that sustained what Hariman and Lucaites' aptly conceptualize as "zones of

intelligibility." The myriad of colonial discourses that composed the imagined "Indian" in Canadian print culture comprise such fields as education, history, popular culture, religion, politics, First Nations and Métis published newspapers, and travel guides, among others. Within this spectrum resides Canada's first newspaper, *The Halifax Gazette* (1752-1766), as well as a radical newspaper that advocates Métis political objectives, which was owned and operated by Riel, *The New Nation* (1870). I examine periodicals that supported the Dominion's colonial objectives to educate the public with inherent subtexts, which worked to uphold public obedience. Two periodicals under the education banner include the *Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle* (1879-1894) and *The Educational Weekly* published by Toronto's Grip Printing and Publishing Company (1885–1887). Arising from the analysis is the political and social affiliations that instituted latent and explicit national pedagogies to naturalize and control a consensus of "belonging" and "unbelonging," and more frankly who was "civilized" and who was the "enemy-other"—an educational ideological force that weighed heavily on Riel's trial.

Illustrating the new colony's public taxonomy is taken up in Chapter 4, where my analysis comprises a sampling of circulating images and illustrations and their associated power networks, which facilitated their deployment. In what Louis Owens (1998) calls the "deadly theme park in the Euramerican imagination" (p. 8), artists and writers, with sketch books in hand, were in a mad dash to capture, possess, and ensure the "vanishing Indian" narrative for capital, social, and political gain. The production of images, funded largely through political alliances and economic connections, conjunctively operated with concepts like sovereignty and civility to reinforce the colonial representations of

indigenous peoples, which were subsequently housed in national museums and the publics' imaginations. The art of Paul Kane, John Henry Walker, John Wilson Bengough, and William George Richardson Hind, along with a damaged tobacco card with Riel's image are studied through a series of close readings. A critical examination of Kane's travel narrative "Wanderings of Artist" and its monetary connections to the Hudson's Bay Company and Upper Canada elite sheds new light on the driving forces behind the narrative making of "The Imaginary Indian" and offers a glimpse into Daniel Francis' (1992) question: "How did I begin to know the Imaginary Indian?" Beyond the incestuous web of Upper Canada political alliances that arise in this chapter, in particular the white supremacist nationalist group, The Canada First Party, is Riel's fidelity to advocating on behalf of Métis and Aboriginal women and girls for their rights and status within the Dominion's social, political, and economic infrastructure. Moreover, Riel condemns the Dominion's gendered and racial violence; in this way, Riel's is a singular voice in a nineteenth-century Canadian political and social milieu that would otherwise publicly condone and consent to the humiliation and abuses against indigenous women and girls. Here, however, Riel would also be politically silenced and ruined not only through the national mass production of illustrations, but also through the inflow of transatlantic discourses travelling between continents.

In Chapter 5, I examine the discourses flowing into the new colony from the metropole; specifically, I conduct an in depth analysis of when and how William Shakespeare's works made its continental entrance and its ensuing implications. Nineteenth-century national branding strategies and advertisers' marketing tactics adapted the iconic force of Shakespeare to sell products and ideologies. Shakespearean

discourse is so ubiquitous in Canadian culture and thus its relationship to Riel and issues related to indigenous sovereignties have remained overlooked in critical scholarship. The British bard's influence by way of nineteenth-century media and its fastening to the representation of indigenous peoples is so entwined into our national discursive fabric that throughout this chapter, I pull out the strands to reveal Shakespeare's association with, for instance, Rupert's Land; Canada's parliament; national pedagogies; Canada's "warrior bard," Charles Mair; and Riel; among others demonstrating how Shakespeare is used as a salve to absolve, distract from and then sell colonial violence.

The media reports covering Riel's execution is the focus of my final chapter. How does, for instance, the sensationalized and hyperbolic content of Riel in the media elide Canada's only known mass execution that took place days later? Emerging from this chapter are the mechanics and technicians in capital punishment and the myriad of formations used to educate codes of sovereignty and civility through the processes of memory. What does Riel's trial and execution continue to occlude? The transcript for "Trials in Connection to the 1885 Rebellion" and the subsequent executions, were swallowed by a constructed historic amnesia, and when surfaced make evident Canada's discriminatory pillars and racist paradigms and *how our minds are naturally disposed, by antipathy of the race* (Canada, "Trials in Connection to the 1885 Rebellion," 1886, p. 27).

"History tells us," Luana Ross asserts, "that native 'criminals' were not lawless 'savages' but rather were living in the turbulent wake of a cataclysmic clash wherein native legal systems, along with everything else, collided with a most different world" (1998, p. 33). Ross speaks specifically to the incarceration statistics for Native women in American prisons in the wake of the devastating effects of loss of land through years of

colonization: “The land represents a profound symbol, as well as a reality, to Native people. The importance of a land base is interwoven with the feelings Natives have regarding tribal sovereignty: to be sovereign is to have authority, responsibility for the land” (1998, p. 51). For the Métis, as Riel explains, sovereignty, land, community, identity and self are sown together – the governments in North America stripped these away from indigenous Nations. The media representation of Riel’s trial and execution solidified the national continuity that when Métis and Aboriginal rights and sovereignty were asserted the act would be punished. “The shape that this nation has assumed,” as Sunera Thobani (2006) explains, “was the outcome of the intense race battle waged – and the race compromises forged – by the states and nation(als) against those whom they sought to eliminate and exclude” (p. 22). The elimination of Métis sovereignty in Canadian policies, social structures, and citizenship was a priority in nineteenth-century colonial agenda and is rooted in fifteenth-century doctrines.

Canadian agents in the media, law, and government continue to ignore the violence endured by Aboriginal communities by neglecting non-colonial historical contexts, not recognizing sovereignties and identities, and by participating in racist paradigms which a/effect all Métis peoples and First Nations’ communities, as exemplified by Prime Ministers, John A. Macdonald and Stephen Harper. Stoler would consider this to be “the intimate frontiers of empire, a social and cultural space where racial classifications were defined and defied, where relations between colonizer and colonized could powerfully confound or confirm the strictures of governance and the categories of rule” (2006, p. 24). The outcome of Riel’s trial and execution not only contributed to the negation of Métis rights and sovereignty to land, but it also ignored

Riel's public advocacy in supporting and empowering Métis women and girls' rights and identity. As Bonita Lawrence (2004) explains: "The damage caused, demographically and culturally, by the loss of status of so many native women […] whose grandchildren and great grand children are now no longer recognized – and many cases no longer identify – as Indian, remain incalculable" (2004, p. 56). As the Idle No More movement continues to demonstrate and as King emphasizes, "it shows us that there is little shelter and little gain for Native people in doing nothing. So long as we possess one element of sovereignty, so long as we possess one parcel of land, North America will come for us, and the question we have to face is how badly we wish to continue to pursue the concepts of sovereignty and self-determination (King, 2012, p. 265). It would seem, then, that Riel was onto something.

2013

In January 10, 2013, one hundred and twenty-eight years after Riel stood in the Regina courtroom declaring the rights of his people while accusing the Dominion's acts as criminal, the federal court declared that Métis and Non-Status Indians were to be held within the Constitution Act of 1867, as "Indians." The ruling allows for tuition support, reserve social programs, income tax assistance, as well as health benefits. It was a similar ruling that the Inuit peoples received in 1939, and thus would be within the same federal government's legal authority. As of 2009, there were 840,300 Status Indians. According to a 2006 census there are 404,000 Métis and it remains unclear how many Non-Status Indians there are living in Canada; nevertheless, the federal court ruling estimates there are at least 200,000 of Métis and Non-Status population, another number suggests it is as high as one million (Curry and Ha, 2013, para. 5-8). Statistics, though, concerning

Aboriginal peoples population in Canada remain at best an estimate and more often than not are politically motivated. King adds that when the census was taken in 2006, 22 Indian reserves were not counted, and "Statistics Canada admitted that it might have missed even more. Add to that the fact that many First Nations people refuse to participate in a census, seeing it as an affront to sovereignty" (2012, p. 68).

Yvette Nolan, Métis (Anishinaabe and Irish), director and playwright, reflects on the ruling and explains that "I knew where I came from, who my people were, and a government telling me that I was an Indian would not make me any more so." Nolan views the ruling with the hope of it doing something more: "I want it to recognize its role in the ongoing struggle of Aboriginal people, to articulate that we are all treaty people and to work with us to find a new way forward"(Nolan, 2013, para. 4-14). In matters of sovereignty, King asserts that, "the issue has always been land. It will always be land, until there isn't a square foot of land left in North America that is controlled by Native people" (2012, p. 217):

> Land has always been a defining element of Aboriginal culture. Land contains the languages, the stories, and the histories of a people. It provides water, air, shelter, and food. Land participates in the ceremonies and the song. And land is home. Not in an abstract way. The Blackfoot in Alberta live in the shadow of Ninastiko or Chief Mountain. The mountain is a special place for the Blackfoot, and friends on the reserve at Standoff have told me more than once that, as long as they can see the mountain, they know they are home. (King, p. 218)

The circle of land, sovereignty, and identity are bound as revealed in King's quote and resonates in Riel's 1885 address as he stood before the court:

> and of course you cannot exist without having a spot of land. This is the principle. God cannot create a tribe without locating it, we are not birds, we have to walk on the ground, and that ground is enriched with many things which beside its own value increases its value in another manner, and when we cultivate it, we still increase that value. (1886, p. 159)

Riel's trial was not about his guilt or innocence, nor was it about his madness or sanity, Riel's trial was about sovereignty: "We are Métis" (Riel, *Montreal Star*, 1885). Riel was proposing a paradigm shift – Métis sovereignty – that endeavored to break free from the western European material and psychic prisons that held the Métis and Aboriginal peoples as the "enemy-other." For Rudy Wiebe, Louis Riel was not mad: "There's no white country can hold a man with a vision like Riel, with people like us who would understand it and believe it, and follow" (2004, p. 428-9). The solidarity of Métis identity, strengthened by a powerful and growing political, economic and social force in its self-determined authority to claim land and identity, struck a blow to the long-standing conceptual formation of European sovereignty. Upper Canada elite, primarily but not exclusively, who held Anglo Saxon white supremacist ideologies and high capital stakes in territorial "acquisition" under the guise of nationalism, were determined to purge the North West of Métis and Aboriginal peoples by not only delegitimizing The Manitoba Act and ignoring Treaties, but by implementing such policies as the Indian Act and funding artists, media outlets, writers, scientists, and movements such as The Canada First Party and The Canadian Party to crush them, materially and psychically. Upper Canada, as David Garneau (2013) argues, "only had one objective that is to conquer the NWT by shear numbers and acquire the best lands from the Métis and Indians. This was a deliberate and planned cultural genocide activity" ("1885," para. 132).[211]

The third Monday every year in February is recognized as *Louis Riel Day*. During the 2013 event, Jean Teillet, a lawyer who specializes in Aboriginal rights, land claims, and self-government, spoke about the successes the Métis have seen in the last decade.

[211] To read the full article, see Métis Culture 1875-1885. "Known Land Claim Petitions." Retrieved from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/dgarneau/metis50.htm

Gesturing toward the Ontario Parliament, she said, “We are not fighting that house anymore […]. Things have changed dramatically from the days when people took up arms; from the days full of disgrace.” In closing, Teillet remarked in saying: “The fact that we are here [at this ceremony] over a 100 years later, is a testament to the power that his [Riel’s] image has created for us” (Métis News Ontario, 2013, para. 11).[212] Teillet’s remarks echo the words of her great grand uncle, Louis Riel when he spoke on sovereignty:

> If I have any influence in the new world it is to help in that way and even if it takes 200 years to become practical, then after my death that will bring out practical results, and then my children's children will shake hands with the Protestants of the new world in a friendly manner. I do not wish these evils which exist in Europe to be continued, as much as I can influence it, among the half-breeds. I do not wish that to be repeated in America. That work is not the work of some days or some years, it is the work of hundreds of years. (Riel, 1886, p. 151)

Rudy Wiebe’s book that follows the 1885 Resistance and Riel’s relationship with Gabriel Dumont, *The Scorched-Wood People*, is a memory with thinking. I conclude with an excerpt from the book when Dumont meets with North West Mounted Police officer, Lief Crozier, in a Staten Island, New York bar on July 8, 1886:

> “Sure. All his life he tried to show how the government was destroying us in the West. He got away from them once, to the States, so he could fight them again, but he wouldn’t run this time. You know why, you know why?” Gabriel’s big hand was clenched in Crozier’s collar; their faces bent slowly together until the darkness of the bar found no passage between them.
>
> “So his body on the end of that rope would prove forever how Canada destroyed us!”

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[212] See also Métis News of Ontario. (2013). ”Fulfilling Riel’s Dream.” Retrieved 2013 from http://www.metisnation.org/news--media/news/louis-riel-day

"But you really are finished now, what good – ?"

Gabriel opened his fist, sat back heavily. "You think like a white." He said after a moment. "You can't help it, that's okay, but you think Riel is finished? He said a hundred years is just a spoke in the wheel of eternity. We'll remember. A hundred years and whites still won't know what to do with him. The smart whites will say, like Laurier now the cheap bastard that never said a word for us when it mattered, they'll say it's judicial murder; Riel was mad. But it wasn't, and he wasn't mad. There's no white country can hold a man with a vision like Riel, with people like us who would understand it and believe it, and follow. Canada couldn't handle that, not Ontario, and not Quebec, they're just using him against the English. They all think he was cracked, mad."

"He wasn't … mad?"

Gabriel sat motionless; staring at the drained glasses before him.
[…]
And suddenly Gabriel Dumont began to laugh […] He saw that poor white who had never, would never find such a man to know stare at him in consternation, and he roared with laughter as only our Gabriel could when he was completely, overwhelmingly happy. The huge bar rang. (2004, p. 428-9)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - Métis List of Rights [213]

I. THAT the Territories heretofore known as
Rupert's Land and North-West, shall not enter into
The Confederation of the Dominion of Canada,
Except as a Province; to be styled and known as the
Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and
Privileges common to the different Provinces of the
Dominion.

II. THAT we have two Representatives in the
Senate, and four in the House of Commons of
Canada, until such time as an increase of population
entitle the Province to a greater Representation.

III. THAT the Province of Assiniboia shall not
Be held liable at any time for any portion of the
Public debt of the Dominion contracted before the
Date the said province shall have entered the Con-
Federation, unless the said Province shall have first
Received from the Dominion the full amount for
Which the said Province is to be held liable.

IV. THAT the sum of Eighty Thousand (80,000)
Dollars be paid annually by the Dominion
Government to the local legislature of the Province.

V. THAT all properties, rights and privileges
engaged by the people of this Province, up to the
date of our entering into the Confederation, be
Respected; and that the arrangement of confirmation
of all customs, usages and privileges be left ex-
exclusively to the local Legislature.

VI. THAT during the term of five years, the
Province of Assiniboia shall not be subjected to

[213] University of Saskatchewan Archives. (2013). "Métis List of Rights." *Our Legacy*. Retrieved from http://scaa.sk.ca/ourlegacy/about

any direct taxation, except such as may be imposed
by the local Legislature, for municipal or local
purposes.

VII. THAT a sum of money equal to eight cents
Per head of the population of this Province, be paid
Annually by the Canadian Government to the local
Legislature of the said Province, until such time as
The said population shall have reached six hundred
Thousand.

VIII. THAT the local Legislature shall have the
Right to determine the qualification of members to
Represent this Province in the Parliament of Canada
and in the local Legislature

APPENDIX 2 - Canadian Periodical Analysis Results

Keyword: "Louis Riel" – 1869 – 1901 – English periodicals (185)

The Ontario farmer
The home and foreign record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of
British North America
The journal of education for the province of Nova Scotia
Grinchuckle
The Canada farmer
The trade review and intercolonial journal of commerce
The Canadian illustrated news
The volunteer review and military and naval gazette
The Presbyterian
The Canada law journal
The craftsman and Canadian Masonic record
Stewart's quarterly
The Scotian journal of agriculture.
The home and foreign record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces
Of British North America.
The international railway and steam navigation guide
The Canadian poultry chronicle
The new Dominion monthly
The budget
The monthly record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia
The Canada bookseller
The Canadian naturalist and quarterly journal of science
The Masonic mirror and Pythian herald

The altar and the throne
The local courts' and municipal gazette
British American Presbyterian
The church herald
The hearthstone
Journal of education, province of Ontario
Bible society recorder
The monthly record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia
The Canadian monthly and national review
The Canada bookseller miscellany and advertiser
The favorite
The Ontario workman
Grip
The Canadian Patent Office record
Earnest Christianity
The church herald
The harp
The Ontario workman
The Ontario teacher
The Canadian gentleman's journal and sporting times
Missionary notices of the Methodist Church of Canada
The monetary times and trade review insurance chronicle
The journal of education
The monthly record of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia
The Canadian independent
Newfoundland monthly messenger
The journal of commerce, finance and insurance review
Le réveil
The Quebec star
Bible society recorder
The Canadian Methodist magazine
The printer's miscellany
The journal of education
Northern messenger
Rose-Belford's Canadian monthly and national review
The Canada medical record
Belford's monthly magazine
Acadia athenaeum
Missionary notices of the Methodist Church of Canada
The Canadian spectator
The Canadian horticulturist
Halifax and Dominion real estate register
The church guardian
The Canadian independent
The voice
The illustrated journal of agriculture

The Canadian farmer and grange record
The Canada lumberman and millers', manufacturer's and miners gazette
The educational record of the province of Quebec
The Catholic shield
The Canadian cricket field
The educational circular
The shareholder and insurance gazette
Vennor's weather bulletin
The commercial
The Maritime Presbyterian
The Canadian horticulturist
The Canadian wheelman
The trader
The resources of British Columbia
Buds and blossoms and friendly greetings
Truth for the people
The Christian
Truth
Algoma missionary news
The rural Canadian
Insurance society
[Proceedings of the Canadian Institute]
Canadian breeder and agricultural review
Canadian live-stock journal
The Canadian militia gazette
The illustrated war news
Toronto : Grip Print. and Pub. Co.
The northwest review
Queen's College journal
The home and school supplement
Man
Rouge et noir
Canada medical and surgical journal
Truth for the people
The Canadian practitioner
Books and notions
The Canada lumberman and millers', manufacturer's and miners gazette
The Canadian pictorial & illustrated war news
The trip hammer
The rural Canadian
The critic
Educational weekly
Home & school
V.P. journal
Canadian magazine of science and the industrial arts, Patent Office record
Insurance society

Knox College monthly
The Manitoba law journal and law reports
Canadian live-stock journal
The Canada educational monthly and school chronicle
The Canadian bee journal
Canadian mining review
The New Brunswick journal of education
Journal of education, Nova Scotia
The messenger of the civil courts
The Canadian athletic news
The railway and shipping world
Rod and gun in Canada
Real estate record
The Canadian dry goods review
The Canadian magazine
Montreal life
The Catholic register
Canadian journal of fabrics
Farm and home
The Canadian manufacturer and industrial world
Mining tit-bits
Canadian historical quarterly
The mining record
The delineator
Montreal homoeopathic record
The exchange news and commercial advertiser
Transactions of the Canadian Institute
The Canadian contract record
La lecture au foyer
The Aylesford union
The Canada lumberman
Farming
The Independent forester
Bookseller and stationer
Massey's magazine
The licensed victuallers' gazette
The Maritime medical news
The Canadian mute
The Quebec diocesan gazette
V.R.I. magazine
Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association
The educational journal
The Canada educational monthly and school chronicle
International art printer
The British Columbia commercial journal
Canadian electrical news and steam engineering journal

Church of the Redeemer parish magazine
The Canadian engineer
Ye hornet
Books and notions
The Canadian architect and builder
The Manitoban
Acta Victoriana
Northern messenger
La kermesse
The lake magazine
The Dominion illustrated monthly
The land we live in
Our society
The church messenger for the Diocese of Qu'Appelle
The ladies' journal
The prairie illustrated
The index of current events
Canadiana
The bystander
The Halifax philatelist
Astronomy and meteorology
The Canadian practitioner
The mercantile review
Arcturus
Pictorial times

APPENDIX 3 Henry IV, Part II: A Comedy in One Act

SCENE—An Extensive Prairie

Enter KING MACDOUGALL and PROVENCHER, an
Attendant, both mounted and muffled.

King. Would I could find my kingdom! Two long weeks
Have I been jolting on this bony hack; Each muscle of my royal person craves
If but one moment's respite.
Prov . May it please—
King. It does not; never has royalty been brought
So near the verge of utter degradation.
I have a realm,—at least they told me so,--- But where on earth it is I know not.
You have my crown all right, Provencher.
Prov. May't please your Majesty, 'tis in the bandbox.

King. And my scepter?
Prov. Oui.
King. So far so good ; but ‘twould rejoice my soul
To set my eyes upon a single subject;
For—in your private ear,—my trusty friend, I sometimes fear my sovereignty—
(Enter Indians in full equipment of feather and paint.)
Indian Chief. Come, now, you ragamuffins, pull up smart,
I have sworn, by every shrunken scalp
That dangles at my girdle, no pale face
Shall leave this trail in these my hunting grounds.
I'm the great Scallawag, and here am chief.
Now, who are you?
King. The King—
Prov. (Aside) Stop! That will never do.
He looks a rascal; please your Majesty,
The Knave, and not the King is the best
card to play.
King. I can dissemble. Mighty Scallawag!
Your Honour,—Highness,—Excellency,—or
Whate'er you are,— speaks to no pale-face ;
I am a chief like you —chief of the Ottawas.
Chief. The plague you are! Then take a pipe, my boy;
We'll puff the peace-cloud. Still I have my
doubts
About you! Come, give the Ottawa war-whoop.
King. Hear, hear! Question! Ecoutez! Divide!
Chief. I thought so; now,you shameless rascal,
Begone! For, if in half an hour, by my Geneva,
You are in sight—
(The King here sticks his heels into his steed, and scampers off the stage,
exclaiming:---
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown;
Far worse the fools that goes in search of one.) [214]

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[214] Anon., *Grinchuckle*, 25 November 1869, p. 66.