

# Frog Lake Settlement Scene

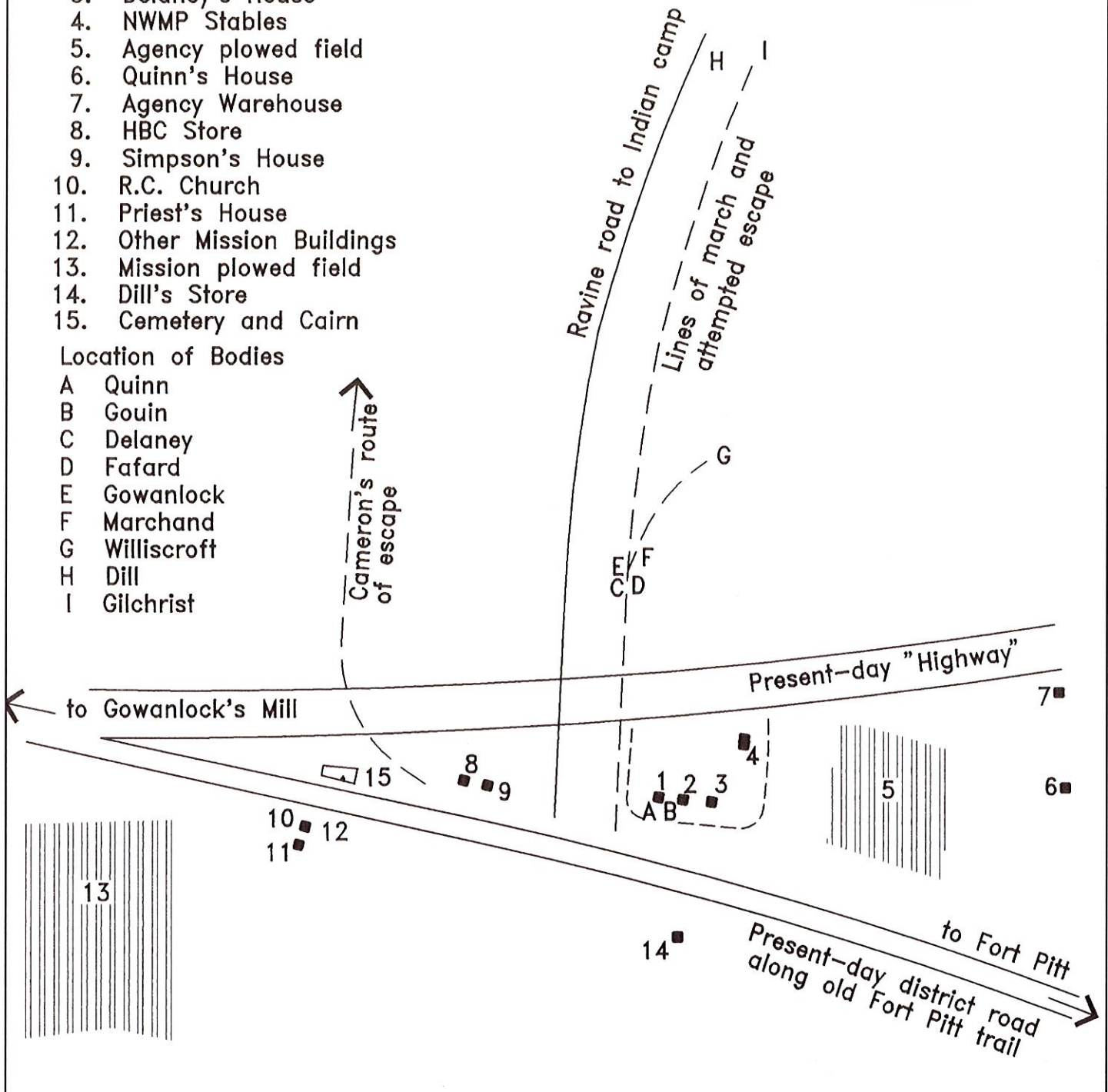
April 2, 1885



1. Pritchard's House
2. NWMP Barracks
3. Delaney's House
4. NWMP Stables
5. Agency plowed field
6. Quinn's House
7. Agency Warehouse
8. HBC Store
9. Simpson's House
10. R.C. Church
11. Priest's House
12. Other Mission Buildings
13. Mission plowed field
14. Dill's Store
15. Cemetery and Cairn

## Location of Bodies

- A Quinn
- B Gouin
- C Delaney
- D Fafard
- E Gowanlock
- F Marchand
- G Williscroft
- H Dill
- I Gilchrist



Courtesy of Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates.

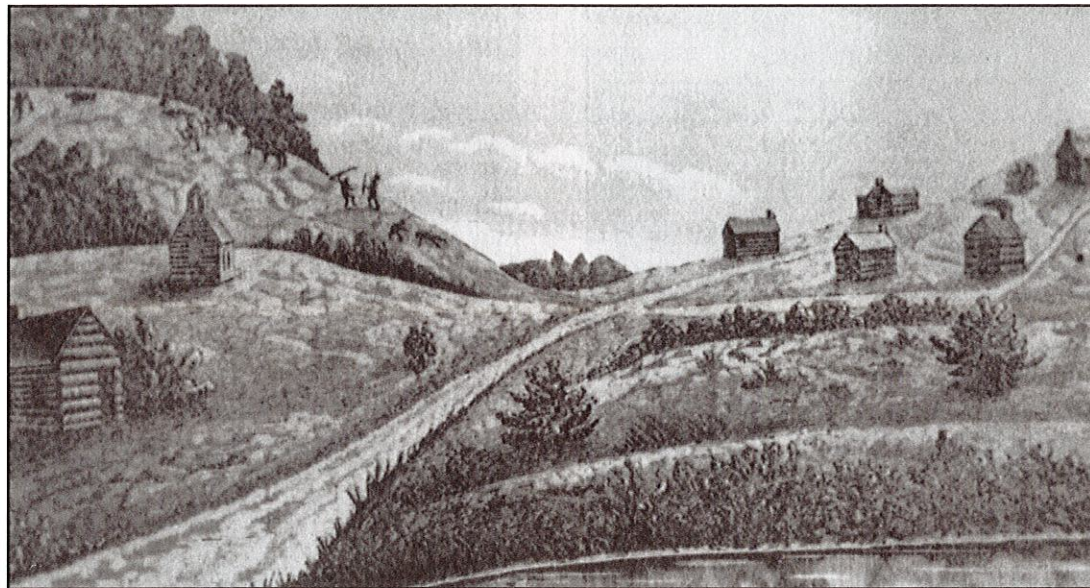
Based on a map drawn by W.B. Cameron in about 1949, this map by Allen Ronaghan shows the present-day roads which cut through the historic Frog Lake settlement site. It also shows the location of the cemetery and the cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1925.



# Who Was The “Fine Young Man”?

## The Frog Lake “Massacre” Revisited

by Allen Ronaghan



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 3429.

*Scene of the Frog Lake “massacre”.*

It may appear presumptuous to reopen the question of how many people died at Frog Lake on 2 April 1885. The event took place 110 years ago, and the figure nine is firmly established both in regional folklore and in western Canadian history. The number nine first appeared in the report given to Major General Thomas Bland Strange by William Bleasdel Cameron immediately after the latter's release from captivity in late May 1885.<sup>1</sup> Cameron wrote with the authority of one who had been involved in the events of that Holy Thursday morning and who had revisited the scene of the action later in April. Nevertheless, there is evidence which suggests that another person was killed at Frog Lake on that fateful day.

The first shots of the North-West Rebellion were fired on 26 March 1885 at Duck Lake, where Metis under Gabriel Dumont's command fought an engagement with North-West Mounted Police under Superintendent L.N.F. Crozier. After counting the casualties, the Metis consid-

ered that they had won a victory, and this news travelled quickly throughout the North-West. Mobilization of military forces began all across Canada.

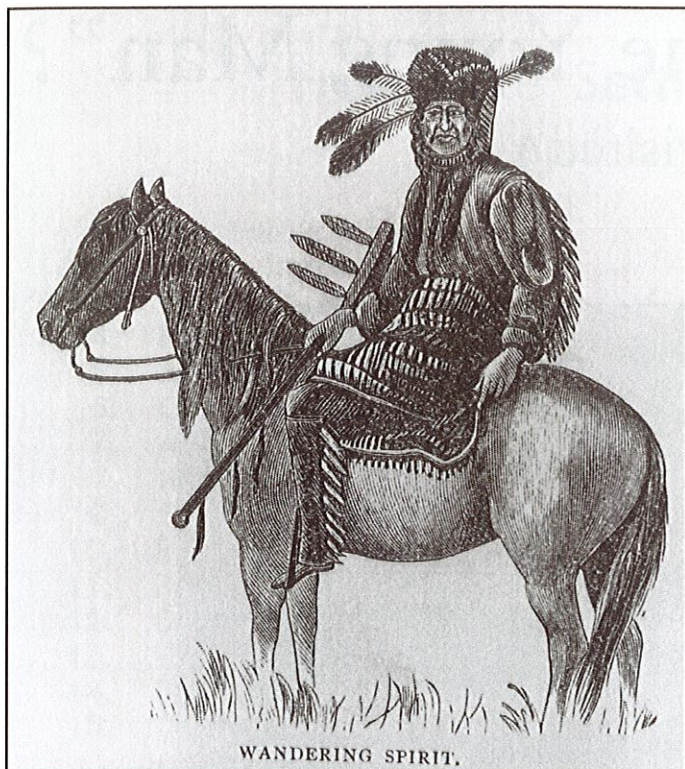
The killings at Frog Lake on 2 April by a group of Plains Cree warriors coincided with the Metis uprising. An isolated expression of pent-up anger directed at specific individuals, these killings were also celebrated by the Indians as if they had won a victory, if only for a few days. But the news of the killings—and of the taking of two white women as hostages—did much to crystallize the sense of purpose in the young and untried volunteers making their way West over the Canadian Pacific Railway and the prairie trails. Many of the young soldiers would soon be making their own count of the casualties at Frog Lake. Their writings make an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of what happened in that isolated little outpost.

In 1885 Frog Lake was a village still very much at its beginnings. It owed its location to the decision of the Wood Cree Chief Chaschakiskwis to choose a reserve at Frog Lake where his people had long maintained a fishery. An Indian Department subagency was established at a convenient place not far from the mouth of Frog Creek at the south end of the lake. A Hudson's Bay Company trading post, a Mounted Police detachment, and a Roman Catholic mission soon followed. During the winter of 1884-85 a grist mill was under construction at Frog Creek several kilometres to the west of the settlement.

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Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-Bb024.

*Wandering Spirit, the head warrior in Big Bear's band, led the attack on the white men of Frog Lake. Sketch copied from "The North-West Rebellion" by C.P. Mulvaney, 1886.*

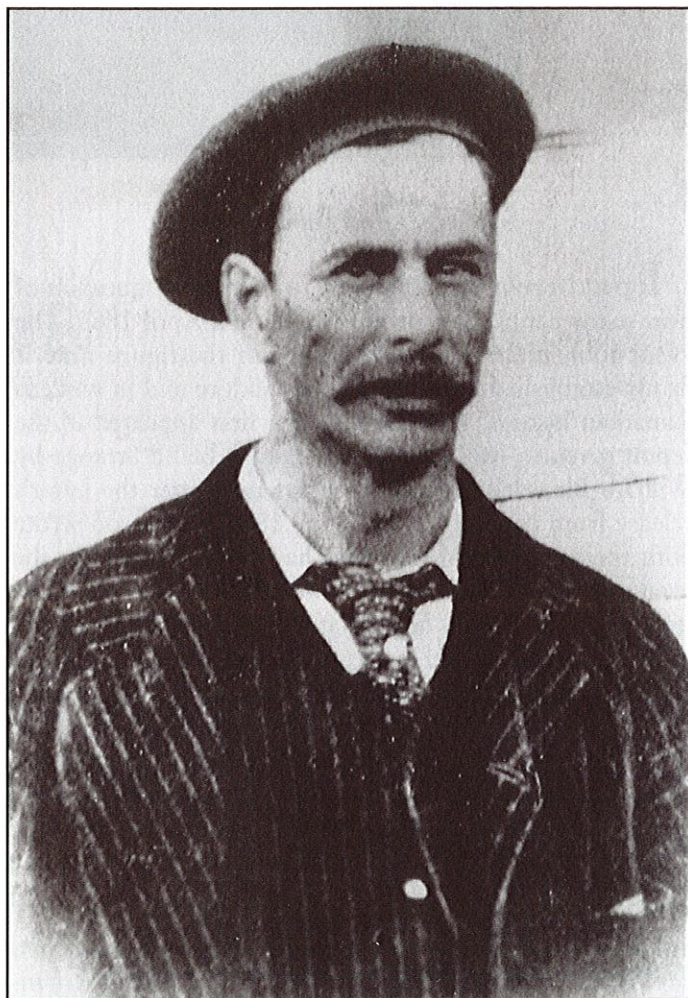
A large band of Plains Cree under the leadership of Chief Big Bear moved onto the Frog Lake reserve for the long and bitter winter of 1884-85. Their traditional food source, the buffalo, had disappeared from the prairies, and while at Frog Lake they received food rations from the Indian Department in exchange for labour. Big Bear had refused to select and settle on his own reserve as part of his strategy to negotiate better treaty provisions with the Canadian government. George Stanley (Mesunekuwepan) recalled the day his father, Chief Ohneepahao, gave his permission for Big Bear to camp on his reserve with the understanding that the following summer another reserve would be found for Big Bear's band.<sup>2</sup> Ohneepahao did not know the extent of the trouble brewing among Big Bear's people.

Resentment and unrest built up throughout the difficult winter. Some 600 cords of wood were cut by Big Bear's band in exchange for food, yet people continued to suffer from hunger. Fears of impending starvation and anger against whites, such as the arrogant and brutal Subagent Thomas Trueman Quinn, had the young men of the band spoiling for violence. They grew less and less inclined to listen to their old chief as he attempted to achieve diplomatic solutions to their problems. News of the fighting at Duck Lake excited them to act out their feelings of hatred toward certain white men at Frog Lake. Big Bear was no longer in control of his band, and he was unable to prevent the resulting "massacre".

The events of 2 April 1885 may be visualized best by considering Frog Lake village as consisting of four quad-

rants, with the trail from John Gowanlock's mill to Fort Pitt as the horizontal or east-west axis, and the ravine road from John Pritchard's house north to the Indian camp as the vertical or north-south axis. In the northeast quadrant were Pritchard's house, the North-West Mounted Police barracks, Delaney's house, the Mounted Police stables, a ploughed field, and, beyond that field to the east, Indian Subagent Quinn's house and agency warehouse. In the northwest quadrant were the Hudson's Bay Company store and Factor James K. Simpson's house and garden, not far from the ravine road. In the southwest quadrant, and several hundred metres from Pritchard's house, were the buildings of the Roman Catholic mission: a church, a school,<sup>3</sup> two houses, a shed, a stable, a cemetery, and a ploughed field. In the southeast quadrant the only building of importance was George Dill's store. There may have been other buildings in this and other quadrants, but of these we are certain. In addition, several kilometres to the west, near Frog Creek, were the buildings making up the establishment of Gowanlock's mill.<sup>4</sup>

On the morning in question a group of Plains Cree Indians under the leadership of young warriors,



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 5093.

*The Indian Subagent at Frog Lake, Thomas Trueman Quinn, was considered by many to be an arrogant and brutal man. Quinn was the first man shot on 2 April 1885.*



Wandering Spirit and Big Bear's son, Imasees, disarmed and collected together most of the white people of the village. In a series of moves which probably cannot now be explained, the Indians led the whites on a march extending from Pritchard's house at the main intersection north along a lane which eventually became a prairie trail veering in a slightly northeast direction.<sup>5</sup>

Quinn and Charles Gouin were shot in front of Pritchard's house.<sup>6</sup> Gowanlock, Delaney, and Fathers Leon-Adelard Fafard and Felix-Marie Marchand were killed in a sort of cluster several hundred metres north of this main intersection.<sup>7</sup>

John Williscraft, Father Fafard's lay assistant, ran north past this cluster and tried to make his escape to a clump of trees somewhat off to the side of the trail, but he was shot and killed before he got there.<sup>8</sup> Dill and William Gilchrist, Gowanlock's clerk, also ran; they were not overtaken and killed until they had reached a point more than a kilometre north of the main intersection at Pritchard's.<sup>9</sup>

All those who were present at the time of the killings and who have left us accounts of them—Cameron, Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Gowanlock, Louis Goulet, Isabelle Little Bear Johns—saw or heard only events which occurred along the line from Pritchard's house north. George Stanley, a member of the Frog Lake Indian Band who also wrote an account, heard shots and came from the north shortly after the killings. Stanley saw the bodies of those in the cluster; he also saw the bodies of Gouin and Quinn. He then went over to the mission and saw the young Indian men cavorting there. Joined by his father, Stanley also saw the activity around the Hudson's Bay Company buildings.<sup>10</sup> Our knowledge of what occurred at Frog Lake that April morning is limited to these six accounts.

Those who had done the killings were not content with killing. They had to move and mutilate the bodies as well. When Mrs. Gowanlock saw this she asked Louis Goulet whether it would be possible to have her husband's body moved and buried.<sup>11</sup> Goulet spoke to Big Bear and got his permission to do this. Goulet borrowed a team and wagon from Pritchard, and, with the help of Andre Nault, William Gladu, and a Native person, transported the bodies of the four men who had been killed in a cluster—Delaney, Fafard, Gowanlock, and Marchand—to the mission, laying them in the cellar of the church.<sup>12</sup>

Goulet wanted to do the same for the bodies of Quinn and Gouin. He was warned, however, by the young Indian men that he and his friends would be killed if they did this.<sup>13</sup> Shortly afterwards, several of the young Natives carried the two bodies and laid them in Pritchard's cellar. At least, this is what the survivors who later wrote about the event believed had happened, and it is corroborated by reports of where those bodies were later found.<sup>14</sup>

On that Easter weekend, buildings in the village, including the church and Pritchard's house, were set on fire by the Indians and destroyed.<sup>15</sup>

By the end of the Easter weekend, six of the bodies were in the ashes of two buildings. The others—those of

Dill, Gilchrist and Williscraft—lay where they had fallen a considerable distance to the north, subject to indignities from time to time. So it was that, when the Indians returned from Fort Pitt with their prisoners in late April, Elizabeth McLean thought she saw the body of one of the priests "propped up against a tree with a pipe stuck in his mouth."<sup>16</sup> She was wrong in her identification, of course. She was only one of the people who saw the bodies of one or other of the three men that day. Father Laurent Legoff recognized Gilchrist.<sup>17</sup> The bodies of Dill and Gilchrist were recognized as well by Cameron, Louis Patenaude and Stanley Simpson.<sup>18</sup> The next day, 20 April, Elizabeth's father, W.J. McLean, assisted by Stanley Simpson and others, buried these three bodies in shallow graves near where they had lain, placing markers on the graves.<sup>19</sup>

As of 20 April, then, six bodies lay in the cellars of burned buildings. Three bodies lay in shallow graves. According to the statements of soldiers who later saw these graves, earth had been removed from one or more of the bodies, possibly by marauding animals, leaving them partially exposed.<sup>20</sup> The soldiers may have dug deeper graves for these bodies or may have thrown more earth over them.

More than a month later, the Alberta Field Force under the command of Major Thomas B. Strange arrived at Frog Lake. These troops found the four bodies in the cellar of the church and laid them out on the grass beside the cellar. The stench from decomposition was overwhelming, and the men who handled the bodies wore masks of sponge saturated with army rum.<sup>21</sup> The surgeon with the force, John J. Pennefather, was ordered to examine the bodies and make what identification he could. He was able to say that two of the bodies were those of the priests. He guessed that a third was that of farming instructor, Delaney, but he could make no certain identification of the fourth, suggesting only that it might be that of a lay brother. Strange gave orders for the making of four wooden coffins for these four bodies. This was done using rough lumber scrounged from somewhere, possibly Gowanlock's mill. Graves were dug just at the southern edge of the mission cemetery. Before the troops left Frog Lake on Monday, 25 May, these four bodies were given a Christian burial. A correspondent of the *Manitoba Free Press* was with the troops, and an account of the burials later appeared in that newspaper.<sup>22</sup>

While the troops were thus occupied, William Parker of the Mounted Police did some scouting around in the immediate vicinity of the settlement and found a body which he supposed to be that of "young Gilchrist." Parker later wrote that the man was

lying on his face along a footpath from his shack. Evidently he had been running away in his underclothes from mounted Indians and had been shot at close range in the back: his undershirt was all black from the powder. As he fell on his face in his death agonies he had bitten a mouthful out of the prairie sod.<sup>23</sup>

Pennefather, who also later wrote of this discovery, used the words "fine young man" in his description.



Pennefather reported that the “remains were placed in a common grave and decently covered over.”<sup>24</sup>

Who was this “fine young man?” That is a question to which we must now turn. But before doing so it must be pointed out that, with the discovery of the body of the “fine young man,” we know of the disposition of eight bodies. Those of Gouin and Quinn make ten. Let us consider them now.

The men of the Alberta Field Force went on to see the smoking ruins of Fort Pitt and then to take part in the Battle of Frenchman’s Butte on 28 May. They went in pursuit of Big Bear and eventually were joined by troops serving under General Middleton. In early June, men of the 65th Mount Royal Rifles of Montreal and of the Midland Regiment from Ontario saw Frog Lake village for the first time, while men of the 92nd Winnipeg Light Infantry saw it for the second time. Three men of these units later wrote of their adventures.

The first account to appear was that of C.R. Daoust in *Cent-Vingt Jours de Service Actif au Nord-Ouest*, published in 1886. Daoust told of the discovery of bodies at Frog Lake and went on to say that

a detail from Company No. 3 was ordered to bury them. Certain indications make us believe that they are the bodies of Quinn and Gouin: like the other victims of that sad day of 3 [sic] April, they are half-burned and no longer have a human form.<sup>25</sup>

The next account to appear was Pennefather’s in 1892. He corroborated that “while at Frog Lake two more bodies were found and buried.”<sup>26</sup> The diary of Lieut. J.A.V. Preston did not appear in print until 1955. His entry for 8 June 1885 provided the detail that “in one of the cellars of the burnt houses we saw the remains of two of the victims...”<sup>27</sup>

So, by early June 1885, ten bodies lay buried at Frog Lake: four of them side by side at the cemetery; six of them in graves scattered over more than a kilometre and a half. A study of the sequence of events has shown us that the body referred to by Parker and Pennefather was not that of “young Gilchrist.”

There is evidence to suggest that an attempt to correct the record of the Frog Lake killings was made by Bishop Vital-Justin Grandin of St. Albert in June of 1885. News of the incident at Frog Lake had reached St. Albert on 7 April; that settlement had been shocked by the losses suffered by the missions at Frog Lake and Onion Lake. Various news reports continued to come, but no one knew what to believe.

In June, Bishop Grandin visited Calgary. He was embarking on a tour that would take him to the area where the main actions of the rebellion had been fought. After visiting Battleford, he hoped to stop at Frog Lake on his way home. While in Calgary, Grandin read the 8 June issue of the *Manitoba Free Press* which gave an account of the discovery of the four bodies by the men of the Alberta Field Force on 24 May and of the burial of those bodies the following day. Grandin’s eye fell upon references to Father Fafard, “Father Laflac,” and a “lay brother.”

Grandin was in a position to know who had been at the missions at Frog Lake and Onion Lake. He immediately wrote a letter to the editor of the *Free Press* with the purpose of setting the record straight. First of all, the bishop expressed his appreciation to those who had given the bodies Christian burials. He then went on to say a few words about Father Fafard, giving details of his birth, training and service in the North-West. The second priest’s name, Grandin pointed out, had been given incorrectly; it was really Marchand. He explained that Marchand’s place of service was Onion Lake, and that he was only at Frog Lake to assist Father Fafard during the busy Easter season. Finally, Grandin came to the subject of the “lay brother.” He wrote as follows:

There was no Lay-Brother killed in the massacre. Mr. Michaux, who was buried with the others as a Lay-Brother, was a school teacher and had formerly been a lawyer in France.<sup>28</sup>

Grandin must have surmised that Pennefather could only guess at the identity of the four burned bodies found in the cellar of the church. His assumption was that all three of his people in service in the Frog Lake-Onion Lake area were killed, and he wanted their true identities made known. In correcting the record, the bishop named Mr. Michaux, a person so recently arrived in the Frog Lake area that most white survivors who later told what had occurred either did not know he was at Frog Lake or simply forgot about him.

Grandin had not forgotten. He was intimately acquainted with the work of his missionaries in the region, and his correspondence shows that he maintained the closest possible supervision over that work. Father Joseph-Jean-Marie Lestanc<sup>29</sup> had visited the missions in early February. His report, along with earlier reports of missionary work, are part of the Oblate Collection in the Provincial Archives of Alberta. Through these reports and Grandin’s correspondence we can get a good picture of Roman Catholic outreach in that part of the Canadian West in the 1870s and 1880s.

Fathers Fafard and Lestanc had assisted in the founding of the St. Jean-Francois Regis Mission at Fort Pitt in 1877. That mission was used for a time as a headquarters while Father Fafard went out onto the plains past Sounding Lake to minister to the Cree Indians, and while Father Lestanc went into Battleford to serve the growing Roman Catholic community there.<sup>30</sup> It soon became clear, however, that, with the disappearance of the buffalo, Fort Pitt no longer enjoyed a central position in the movements of the Native peoples. In the early 1880s, St. Jean-Francois Regis was closed and a new mission—Notre Dame de Bon Conseil—was begun at Frog Lake, not far from where Father Thibault had had a mission many years before. Here Father Fafard worked with his customary zeal; by 1885 this mission was something of a showpiece in the Catholic outreach system. There was a church, two houses, a school with a good library, a stable, three horses, a plough, a buckboard, a farm wagon, and a





Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 3428.

*Father Leon-Adelard Fafard founded the new mission—Notre Dame de Bon Conseil—at Frog Lake in the early 1880s.*

cart.<sup>31</sup> A large field had been ploughed and there Fafard grew potatoes, turnips and other vegetables.

The mission work at Frog Lake prospered. The school was so successful that Father Marchand was sent to help Father Fafard. Marchand mastered Cree quickly and was so satisfactory as a teacher that he was given permission to start a mission of his own—St. Louis—at Onion Lake. This left Fafard alone again at Frog Lake, and Grandin did all he could to replace Marchand with someone who could teach.

In November of 1884 Grandin reported to his superior that he was going to send—on a provisional basis—a new man to Frog Lake. This man had volunteered to come to a frontier country where alcohol was not readily available. He had, it appeared, a drinking problem. Grandin did not give the man's name, but said he hoped he could make a teacher out of him.<sup>32</sup> Presumably, this man was Mr. Michaux, and he was sent to Frog Lake to begin his duties.

Grandin wanted the best use made of scarce resources. In what may have been his last letter to Fafard, written on 9 March 1885, the bishop asked Fafard to make a selection of Cree books that could be spared for use by Father Bonald at the Cumberland mission. Fafard was instructed to place these books in a sturdy box to be sent to Cumber-

land House by the first eastbound steamboat in the spring.<sup>33</sup> If Fafard acted with his usual energy, this box of books was ready and waiting and was destroyed by fire along with the rest of the mission in early April.

In the days after the killings at Frog Lake, Grandin waited impatiently at St. Albert for news of who had been killed. The news was vague, sometimes contradictory, and in a letter to his superior dated 24 April, Grandin speculated about what had happened. "All reports say," he wrote, "that Father Fafard has been massacred along with another father and two lay brothers. Since there are at present no lay brothers in the district we suppose that they are Fathers Fafard, Marchand and LeGoff with Mr. Michaux, Father Fafard's helper. Please God these reports are false or at least exaggerated..."<sup>34</sup>

As we have seen, the truth was not quite as Grandin feared; Father Legoff had not been at Frog Lake (he was at St. Raphael's Mission on the Beaver River) and was not killed. Nor was the truth quite as the newspapers reported. As a result, Grandin sent his letter to the *Free Press* mentioning Mr. Michaux, a person who had been very little noticed at Frog Lake.

It is curious that the presence of Mr. Michaux, the school teacher, is not mentioned in any of the accounts of Frog Lake at the time of the troubles. One can only speculate on the reasons for this, bearing in mind that the accuracy of reporting was hampered by such variables as the speed with which the killings occurred, the trauma experienced by the witnesses, their position at the time of the events, the natural limitations of the spectators, to name only the most obvious. As well, Michaux was a teacher—a common civilian. As such, he was more or less unnoticed by the populace. Bishop Grandin's letters are the only sources which name the man who was teaching at Notre Dame de Bon Conseil mission in April of 1885. Even the school itself receives very little mention in later accounts. We would not even know that classes were held on that Holy Thursday at Frog Lake if Isabelle Little Bear Johns had not told her story long after the event. Many years after the killings at Frog Lake, she told of her experiences as a twelve-year-old girl that fateful April day. She said she was late for school that morning and "the priest" was very angry with her. He wanted to give her a whipping, but she ran home. Later that morning she witnessed Wandering Spirit's killing of Quinn.<sup>35</sup> A study of the events makes it clear that "the priest" who was teaching that morning could not have been either Fafard or Marchand.<sup>36</sup>

Of the remaining narrators such as Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Gowanlock, Stanley, and Goulet, none witnessed all of the action. It was not until the survivors were prisoners in the Indian camp that they compared notes and determined the number killed in the line of march north from Pritchard's. There was no one to speak about what had happened at the mission. Cameron was asked by Major Strange to make a statement, and that statement—fixing the number of victims at nine—has remained gospel ever since.

A second tiny shred of evidence that Michaux was the





National Archives of Canada, C597.

Father Felix-Marie Marchand, Oblate Missionary at Onion Lake, had been sent to assist Father Leon-Adelard Fafard at the Frog Lake mission during the busy Easter season in 1885.

tenth victim at Frog Lake is in a "list of prisoners" now in the Mann Papers at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary. This list contains the names of a number of Indians awaiting trial before Judge Rolfe. Beside the number fifteen are the enigmatic words, "Koo pise Kanew Big Bears son Killing Brother [sic]."<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to explain this entry.

Someone, possibly a Native person, mentioned a "brother" or this entry would not have been made. However, none of the eyewitnesses to the killings—not Cameron, Goulet, Mrs. Delaney, or Mrs. Gowanlock—said anything about a "brother" being shot. This reference simply disappeared into oblivion.

It is also strange that, while the Roman Catholic Church was careful to honor the memory of the two slain priests, it apparently did nothing to acknowledge Michaux. Bishop Grandin visited the scene of the killings several times and did all he could to find out exactly what happened on that 2 April morning. He interviewed Native people and marked the spots they indicated as being the places where Fafard and Marchand had fallen. Grandin considered the two priests to be martyrs, and had crosses erected at these two spots. The crosses have since disappeared. Eventually, Grandin had the bodies of Fafard and Marchand exhumed and removed to the new mission at Onion Lake. Later, they were moved again to St. Albert.

Why was there no recognition for Michaux? The answer is probably that Grandin could not find the teacher's grave and be sure of his fate. It will be remembered that both Parker and Pennefather thought that the "fine young man" was Gilchrist. If they marked the grave they more than likely used the name "Gilchrist". Grandin could find no grave marked "Michaux". If he saw Gilchrist's grave near Dill's—more than a kilometre and a half to the north and east of the mission—he probably realized that he was confronted with a problem that he was in no position to solve. He may have begun to wonder if the man he had sent to teach at Frog Lake had, in fact, made his escape. The bishop may be excused if he decided to leave matters at that.

A close study of the disposition of the bodies of the victims at Frog Lake on 2 April 1885 shows, however, that there were not nine but ten people killed that day. Grandin's letter to the *Free Press* reveals the identity of the "fine young man" discovered and buried by members of the Alberta Field Force. The tenth victim was Mr. Michaux, the new schoolteacher who had "formerly been a lawyer in France."

## Endnotes

- 1 Major General T. B. Strange, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee* (London and Sydney: Remington & Co., 1893), 473-4.
- 2 George Stanley (Mesunekwepan), "An Account of the Frog Lake Massacre," in *The Frog Lake "Massacre": Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict*, Stuart Hughes, ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 160.
- 3 The exact location of the school is not known. There are three cellar depressions at the site of the Frog Lake mission, but there is no clear evidence as to which was the school's cellar.
- 4 See map. John J. Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tribner & Co. Ltd., 1892), 34-5.
- 5 Guillaume Charette, *Vanishing Species: Memoirs of Louis Goulet* (Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brûlés, 1976. Originally published as *L'Espace de Louis Goulet*), 124-6. W.B. Cameron in Stuart Hughes,

*The Frog Lake "Massacre": Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 43-6. Hughes' book contains several documents and publications that are either difficult to consult or are long out of print, notably Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear: The Life and Adventures of Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney* (1885), and W.B. Cameron, *The War Trail of Big Bear* (1926), later issued as *Blood Red the Sun* (1950). Hughes has been cited when referring to any of these sources.

- 6 Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 128. Cameron in Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 43; 54.
- 7 Stanley in Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 162.
- 8 Gowanlock in Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 180; Delaney in *ibid.*, 226.



- 9 Cameron in *ibid.*, 51; Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 126; National Archives of Canada, RG18, Royal North-West Mounted Police Records, Report of Sergeant Hall, 20-7-1909. In his description of the shooting of George Dill, Hall states that Dill "made a dash for it when the shooting commenced and succeeded in getting nearly a mile away, when he was overtaken and shot in the head." Gilchrist, Hall reports, "made a dash for it and caught up to George Dill, and both fell together..."
- 10 Stanley in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 162-3.
- 11 Gowanlock in *ibid.*, 184; Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 127.
- 12 Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 127.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 14 Cameron in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 51. See endnote 26.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 51; Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 130; Mrs. Gowanlock in Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 130; Mrs. Delaney in *ibid.*, 233.
- 16 Elizabeth M. McLean, "The Siege of Fort Pitt" (1946), in Hughes *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 281.
- 17 Anonymous in *ibid.*, 299.
- 18 Cameron in *ibid.*, 83.
- 19 W.J. McLean, "Tragic Events at Frog Lake and Fort Pitt During the North West Rebellion," in *ibid.*, 251.
- 20 "The Diary of Lieut. J.A.V. Preston, 1885," in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (Autumn 1955), 103.
- 21 Joseph Hicks, "With Hatton's Scouts in Pursuit of Big Bear" (1970), in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 341.
- 22 *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 8 June 1885; Strange, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee*, 472-3; John J. Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies*, 33; Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter referred to as PAA), Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 38, Item 1016. Grandin gave the detail about the lumber and about the location at the edge of the mission cemetery.
- 23 Hugh A. Dempsey, *William Parker, Mounted Policeman* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1973), 69.
- 24 Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies*, 33.
- 25 Charles R. Daoust, *Cent-Vingt Jours de Service Actif au Nord-Ouest* (Montreal: Senecal et Fils, 1886), 97. Translation mine. See also Howard Angus Kennedy, "Memoirs of 1885," in *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXX, No. 5 (May 1965), 154.
- 26 Pennefather, 45.
- 27 Preston, 102.
- 28 *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 June 1885. A copy of Grandin's original letter is in PAA, Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 33, Item 927, Grandin to the editor, 10 June 1885.
- 29 *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), gives Lestanc's Christian names as Jean-Marie-Joseph. The undated account in the Oblate Papers refers to him as Joseph-Jean-Marie, and this is the version used here.
- 30 PAA, Oblate Collection, Lestanc Papers, 71.220, Boite 170, Item 6874, Joseph-Jean-Marie Lestanc, "Notes Privees," n.d.
- 31 PAA, Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 42, Item 1028 (26), Report of Father Lestanc, February 1885.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Boite 38, Item 1016, Grandin to his superior, Father Soullier, 8 November 1884.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Boite 220, Item 1021, Grandin to Fafard, 9 March 1885.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Boite 38, Item 1016, Grandin to Father Soullier, 24 April 1885.
- 35 Isabelle Little Bear Johns, "My Own Story," in *Bonnyville Tribune*, 18 and 25 April, 2 May 1958. Reprinted in Elk Point District Historical Society, *Reflections - A History of Elk Point and District*, 197ff.
- 36 The priests breakfasted with Cameron, Henry Quinn and Yellow Bear at a time when school classes would have been well under way. Their movements from then until they were killed are known with fair accuracy. They went to the church and attempted to hold Mass. They then went with the others to Delaney's, and started with the others for the Indian camp.
- 37 Glenbow Archives, Mann Papers, A/M 281. Kapisikenew, or Thunder, was Big Bear's adopted son. Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1984), 110.

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