



ST. NORBERT



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Cover: St. Norbert from the east side of the Red River, c. 1940, showing the church and convent to the left of the ferry, and Turenne House (now at St. Norbert Provincial Heritage Park) on the right (Courtesy of Corinne Tellier).



ST. NORBERT

St. Norbert's location on the historic Pembina Trail, near the junction of the Red and La Salle rivers, offers a clue to the fact that the modern suburb of today has enjoyed a long and eventful history as one of Manitoba's earliest and most significant French-Canadian and Métis communities.

The emergence in the mid-19th century of this French-speaking, Roman Catholic, and predominantly Métis parish directly reflected the changing circumstances and priorities that defined fur-trade society. Descendants of French-Canadian fur traders and their Aboriginal wives, the Métis found it increasingly difficult to maintain their influence in Red River society as the fur-trade era drew to a close. In 1869-70 their concern for future political rights and economic opportunity brought St. Norbert and its parish priest, Father Noël-Joseph Ritchot, to the centre of the armed resistance which preceded the creation of the Province of Manitoba. Therein lies the parish's greatest claim to historical significance.



La Chapelle de Notre-Dame-du-Bon-Secours (avenue de l'Église and rue St-Pierre) was first erected in 1875 by St. Norbert residents grateful for the Métis victory in the Red River Resistance of 1869-70 (Courtesy of Historic Resources Branch).

Early Inhabitants

The region near the mouth of the eastwardly flowing La Salle River (called la rivière Sale until 1975) may have witnessed human occupation as early as 6000 B.C. An ancient Palaeo-Indian spearhead discovered there probably related to the seasonal movement of hunters from the forest to the grassland to hunt buffalo.

Bone associated with prehistoric pottery sherds found in the area was radiocarbon-dated to 780 A.D. During this time peoples inhabiting the Red River region participated in extensive trade networks with groups from as far away as the Gulf of Mexico. At certain times of the year widely dispersed groups of people would come together to trade, talk and celebrate. The La Salle-Red River junction was likely used for such activities.

Between 1600 and 1800 at least three Aboriginal groups: the Assiniboin, Cree and Ojibwa (Saulteaux), inhabited the countryside around what is now St. Norbert. They were allies against the incursions of powerful Dakota (Sioux) peoples who lived to the south. The Red River served as an important trading and raiding route, while the heavily wooded banks of the La Salle provided ideal ambush sites.



Ojibwa birch bark tents on banks of Red River, 1858
(Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

The Fur-trade Period, 1750-1821

As European fur traders began to penetrate the continent's interior, the mouth of the La Salle River became a popular stopping place for travellers bound for the Pembina River, or for Lake of the Woods via the Roseau River route. Trader Alexander Henry the Younger, with a large brigade headed for Pembina, camped near the La Salle in August 1800. In his journal, Henry noted the contrast between the lushly vegetated banks of the Red and Assiniboine at The Forks and the open plains south of the Red's junction with the La Salle. While these plains provided ready access to the bison herds, it was the abundance of wood and water at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers that attracted traders from both the North West and Hudson's Bay companies to establish trading posts there, rather than farther south, at the La Salle.

By the 19th century, pemmican and other byproducts of the buffalo hunt were vital to successful trade. These "plains provisions" represented tremendous savings for the fur companies because they reduced the amount of food carried inland from either Montreal or Hudson Bay. As early as 1805, "Canadiens" and Métis "freemen" (not working for either fur company) were establishing homes at Red River, and cultivating small plots. The decision to create a European agricultural settlement at Red River was due in part to the concern for reducing imported provisions. In 1812, the first of the Scottish settlers recruited by philanthropist Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, arrived to inhabit a grant of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) land along the Red River north of The Forks. During the ensuing years, the colonists themselves often depended upon "plains provisions" provided by the Métis as the settlement endured a succession of human and natural disasters (war, floods, locusts). Predominantly employed by the North West Company (NWC), the Métis were opposed initially to the establishment of the agricultural colony because they perceived it to be a challenge to their economic livelihood, which depended largely on the buffalo hunt.

In 1821 the HBC and the NWC merged, causing unemployment for the scores of Métis boatmen and freighters who previously had hauled furs and supplies between the western posts and Montreal for the NWC. Subsequently, many of these men and their families settled at Red River. Generally, the English-speaking former fur traders settled in the parishes north of

The Forks, while the French-speaking Métis established themselves on river lots near the recently founded mission of St. Boniface opposite the mouth of the Assiniboine River, and along the eastern bank of the Red River.

By this time the Métis had emerged as a distinct cultural group on the prairies, celebrating their identity through the songs of their bard, Pierre Falcon, and speaking French or Michif, a mixture of French and Algonquian dialects. From their Aboriginal mothers they inherited the traditions of sharing material goods and maintaining close family ties. Their strong sense of community led to the establishment of predominantly Métis settlements at St. Charles, St. François Xavier, St. Vital and St. Norbert.

Economically, the Métis were engaged as freighters and tripmen, or as buffalo hunters, for the HBC. The York boats that carried company supplies to and from Hudson Bay, and northwestward to the Athabasca District, were principally manned by Métis and men of Scottish-Aboriginal descent. During the 1850s, with the establishment of a rail link between the Atlantic ports and St. Paul, Minnesota, the HBC began to abandon the northern water route with its York boats, and to rely on Red River cart brigades. Either as HBC personnel or as independent contractors, the Métis operated their ox carts between Red River and St. Paul, along the Pembina and Crow Wing trails that ran southward on opposite sides of the Red River. Cart brigades also travelled westward to the Swan River and Saskatchewan districts.



Buffalo hunters' camp, showing the Red River carts the Métis used for carting supplies between Fort Garry and St. Paul, Minnesota, along the Pembina Trail (Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

It was the buffalo hunt that originally provided the Métis with their sense of community, their mode of political organization and their mastery of the plains. As the bison herds dwindled, Métis hunters had to range farther afield to harvest this resource, taking them into the lands of their enemy, the Dakota. After 1818, to counter Dakota opposition, large-scale hunting parties were organized. A typical expedition in 1840 consisted of 620 men, 650 women, 360 children, 586 oxen, 655 cart horses, and 403 fast horses or "buffalo runners". After 1845 there were two hunting groups: one from White Horse Plain (St. François Xavier) and the other from the southern parishes. The latter party congregated at St. Norbert before heading to the Pembina Hills.

Métis families who engaged in the hunt spent a good part of the year on the prairie, living off the land. Not all Métis were hunters, however. The majority were occupied with seasonal activities, which combined hunting, trading, and freighting with subsistence agriculture. By the mid-19th century many Métis were successful fur traders, farmers, and merchants.

From a Mission to a Parish, 1822-1862

The land around the La Salle's confluence with the Red likely was occupied by Métis families as early as 1822. The HBC census of 1835 listed 72 heads of families in the area. In 1836 the entire Red River Settlement was surveyed according to the river lot system, similar to the land-tenure tradition of seigneurial Quebec. This system provided each occupant with a wood lot for fuel and building materials, as well as access to the river which supplied water, fish, and transportation. The narrow strips, approximately three kilometres deep, also encompassed prairie which supplied hay for the settlers' stock.

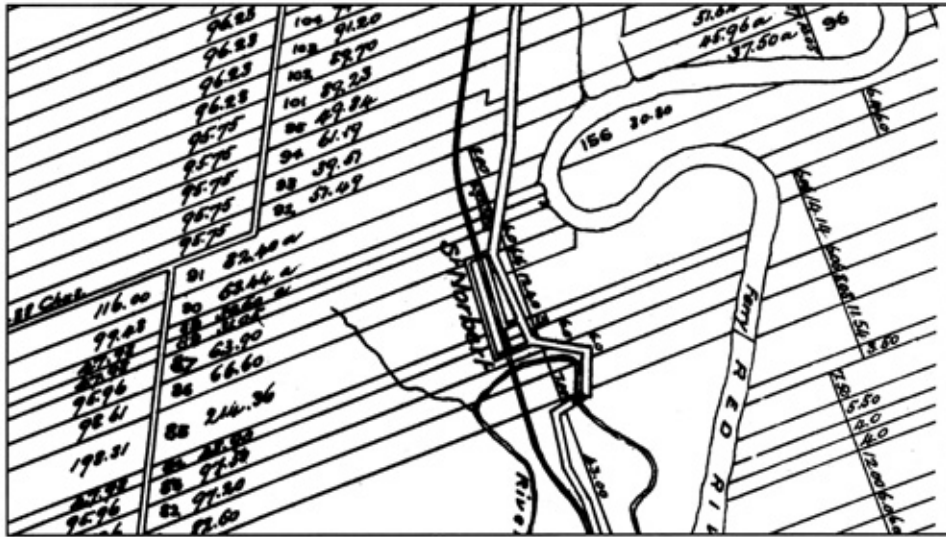
By the mid-1840s, the population along the La Salle had grown sufficiently to support regular missionary activity. In December 1844, Sister Eulalie Lagrave of the Grey Nuns began to travel to the settlement twice weekly to hold catechism classes. Her journey was made easier in 1853 when a road was built on the west side of the river from Fort Garry to Pointe Coupée (St. Adolphe). In 1854 Father Louis LaFlèche was assigned to the mission de la rivière Sale and began to assemble materials to build a church.

The elevation of the mission to the status of a parish took place in 1857. Bishop A.A. Taché named the parish "St. Norbert" in honour of the patron saint of Bishop Joseph-Norbert Provencher, the first bishop of St. Boniface, who had died in 1853. By this time, the Métis settlement at St. Norbert had greatly increased in size, extending southward along the Red River and the Pembina Trail. St. Norbert Church was built in 1856 on the west bank of the Red River, downstream from the mouth of the La Salle. The log church also served as the residence of Oblate Father Jean-Marie Lestanc, the first parish priest. He was joined by two other missionaries who were sent to open a boys' school. The priests ministered to a vast but sparsely populated area, ranging south to the American border and east to Rivière-aux-Rats (St. Pierre). Although the parish contained 101 families, totalling 700 people, actual settlement extended only a few kilometres past the mouth of the La Salle.

In December 1858, Bishop Taché brought two Grey Nuns, Sisters Hedwige Dandurand and Flavie Laurent, to St. Norbert to establish a convent and school. The first convent was a small, cold house, where 50 girls studied during the first year of operation.

Father Charles Mestre replaced Lestanc in 1860. Mestre helped the small parish establish its first cemetery and saw his parishioners through the 1861 flood, the first of several that forced St. Norbert residents from their homes. By then the vast domain of Rupert's Land, the territory granted to the HBC in its 1670 charter, was no longer isolated. In 1859 the steamboat *Anson Northup* travelled from Minnesota down the Red River to Fort Garry, inaugurating a new transportation era that prevailed until the arrival of the railway.

The success of American businessmen in attracting Red River trade led to fears in Canada that political annexation of the colony by the United States might follow. Residents of Canada West (Ontario) began to see the North West as an area for agricultural expansion. As early as 1857 the British government considered the possibility of consolidating Rupert's Land and the Canadian colonies. Only after the union of the eastern colonies in 1867, however, were negotiations opened with the Hudson's Bay Company for the acquisition of the West by Canada.



1894 surveyors' map showing the narrow river lots of St. Norbert Parish and the junction of the Red and La Salle rivers. Pembina Highway (Trail) runs between the railway line and the Red River (Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

Father Ritchot at St. Norbert, 1862-1869

Father Mestre's ministry was overshadowed by that of his successor, Father* Noël-Joseph Ritchot. Newly arrived from a rural parish in Canada East (Quebec), Ritchot was sent to St. Norbert in June 1862, to relieve a seriously ill Father Mestre. Ritchot spent much of his time visiting his parishioners, learning to understand their lifestyle, and even accompanying them on bison hunts. He was entrusted with the spiritual guidance of a people caught in the throes of change.

Because of their proximity to the Pembina Trail, St. Norbert's residents, forced to give up their old way of life as the bison disappeared, were able to benefit from revenues generated by the carting trade and the establishment of stopping houses, or inns, for travellers. Because of this diversification, St. Norbert fared better than many other parishes in Red River, many of whose residents were facing destitution by 1868. Statistics collected at that time revealed that the Métis residents of St. Norbert had already begun to make the transition to agriculture. Of the 192 families living there, only 68 did not farm. The average St. Norbert farmer possessed three horses, at least three oxen and six head of cattle.

*Ritchot was a member of the Diocesan clergy and as such should be addressed as "Reverend" or "Abbé", but because he was called "Father" by his parishioners, he is referred to as such in this publication.

St. Norbert and the Red River Resistance, 1869-70

By early 1869 it seemed likely that control of Rupert's Land would be transferred from the HBC to the Dominion of Canada. While negotiations were taking place at the political level, little effort was made to inform the inhabitants of Red River about the proposed terms of transfer. New arrivals from Canada were already changing the social fabric of the small colony. Many of these newcomers, led by Dr. John Christian Schultz, owner of Red River's first newspaper, *The Nor'Wester*, gave the impression that Canadian annexation would be most favourable to them. Many were busy speculating in real estate, in anticipation of an influx of Ontario settlers.

In July 1869, the presence of land speculators near St. Norbert angered the Métis. At a meeting held at St. Norbert Church, it was decided that a system of mounted patrols would quietly police the area, removing the survey stakes placed by the newcomers. In early September Canadian survey crews arrived to begin laying out the township system that was intended for land use beyond the river lots of the original settlement. The surveyors' association with Schultz and his supporters aroused the suspicions of the Métis. This led to a confrontation in St. Vital Parish, just north of St. Norbert, between a survey crew and a group of Métis led by Louis Riel. As a result, the work in the inhabited southern parishes was halted. Educated, well-spoken, and a member of a respected St. Vital family, Riel challenged Canada's legal right to divide up land to which it did not yet hold title.

In October 1869, "le Comité National des Métis de la Rivière Rouge", led by Métis representatives John Bruce and Louis Riel, was formed at St. Norbert with the support of Father Ritchot. Fearing that the newly appointed Canadian Lieutenant Governor of Rupert's Land, William McDougall, was bringing arms and men to support the Canadian faction, the committee decided to prevent his entrance to the territory. Four men were sent to stop McDougall at Pembina. At the same time, the Métis militia, consisting of men from St. Vital and St. Norbert, blocked the Pembina Trail crossing on the La Salle with a wooden barricade, or "La Barrière". There, a defensive group of 40 men gradually increased to 100, all of whom were billeted in St. Norbert homes.

Not all the Métis supported this action. At a gathering held at St. Norbert Church on October 24, 1869, Father Ritchot persuaded a more conservative faction, led by William Dease, to remain neutral. The majority voted to continue the resistance, and Ritchot declared his support for their cause. From their base in the southern parishes, Riel and his men proceeded to take possession of Upper Fort Garry and establish a provisional government to negotiate terms of union with Canada. A delegation, consisting of Judge John Black of St. Andrews, Alfred Henry Scott of Winnipeg, and Father Ritchot of St. Norbert, was nominated to meet with representatives of the Canadian government in Ottawa.



Louis Riel and some of the members of the Provisional Government of 1869-70 (Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

Throughout the negotiation period the provisional government faced opposition from the Canadian party. The Canadians, led by Dr. Schultz, tried to rally the inhabitants to overthrow Riel and his supporters. Their efforts led indirectly to the trial and execution of Thomas Scott, a Protestant Ontarian. Scott's death complicated the peaceful resolution of the Resistance, resulting in exile for the main participants of his trial, including Ambroise-Didyme Lépine and Louis Riel. Meanwhile, the Red River delegation to Ottawa successfully negotiated the terms of entry of the Red River Settlement as a new province in Confederation. This success was due largely to the efforts of

Father Ritchot. His hard negotiating made certain that the stand taken by the Métis in 1869 was not in vain. The establishment of Manitoba as a province, with guaranteed linguistic, educational and property rights for its citizens, reflects the dedication of St. Norbert's tenacious priest to his people.

The Transformation of St. Norbert, 1870-1905

Manitoba witnessed unprecedented social and economic changes between 1870 and 1905. As thousands of Anglo-Canadians and Europeans immigrated to the new province during this period, the region's distinctive Euro-Aboriginal community and its culture were displaced.

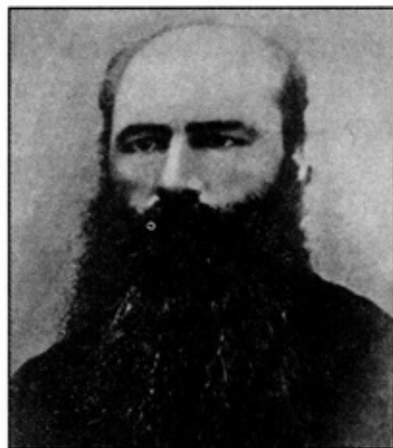
Immediately after the creation of Manitoba, the troops of the Wolseley Expedition arrived at Red River. Sent by Canada to assert Canadian authority over the province, the presence of these troops strengthened the hand of the Canadian party, which now extracted some retribution for the time in which the Métis had been masters of the situation. The violence that resulted made it difficult for the Métis to protect their leaders. At least once, Louis Riel avoided capture only by hiding in the woods along the La Salle in St. Norbert. Although the Métis repeatedly elected Riel to represent them in the Canadian Parliament, his fugitive status, resulting from the federal government's refusal to grant the amnesty promised to Father Ritchot during the negotiations for Manitoba's entry into Confederation, made it impossible for Riel to speak for his electors. In 1875 he was formally exiled for five years.

A provincial census undertaken in 1870 revealed that of the 12,000 people living in Manitoba, 1,055 resided in St. Norbert. In the first provincial election, the voters of the area elected Pierre Delorme, a former captain of the Métis soldiers, along with a French-Canadian, Joseph Lemay, to represent them.

For a variety of reasons, including the hostile atmosphere in the new province and the difficulties over confirming land rights, many Métis chose to leave Manitoba after 1870. As new Anglo-Ontarian settlers flooded in, the Métis component of Manitoba's population dropped from 50% to 7% between 1870 and 1885. This change had important implications for Roman Catholic parishes such as St. Norbert. The departure of parishioners, and the prospect of Anglo-Protestant newcomers taking their

vacated lands, jeopardized the future of the Roman Catholic educational and French linguistic rights that Ritchot had fought to have included in the Manitoba Act. It was essential for the clergy to support the Métis in establishing ownership of their pre-1870 lots, and to try to retain the 5,665,722 hectares, set aside in the Act for Métis children, for French-speaking settlers. Father Ritchot led the clergy's drive to recruit new French-speaking settlers to the province. Whenever possible, Ritchot and his colleagues arranged to purchase former Métis river lots before they could fall into the hands of English-speaking speculators. Manitoba clerics, including Ritchot, travelled to Quebec, New England, France and Belgium, seeking potential settlers. Frequent articles in French-language newspapers extolled the virtues of life in Manitoba, and St. Norbert in particular. An 1882 article in *Le Manitoba* stated: "St. Norbert is destined to become by its position and natural advantages one of the richest parishes established on the banks of the Red River." (translation).

By 1885 there were 85 French-Canadian families in St. Norbert. Throughout the pre-1914 period new arrivals helped promote the area's French-Canadian identity. As well, by 1896 a small group of Ukrainian settlers had taken up land south of St. Norbert village along the Red River. By 1900 their number had grown to 100, but they remained a separate community, organizing their own religious and educational institutions.



*Abbé (Father) Noël-Joseph Ritchot, parish priest of St. Norbert from 1862-1905
(Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba).*

Territorially, after 1870 St. Norbert Parish was reduced in size by Ritchot's efforts to establish new French-speaking settlements and Roman Catholic missions at Pointe à Grouette (Ste. Agathe) in 1872, Rivière-aux-Rats (St. Pierre) in 1876, and

Rivière-aux-Prunes (St. Jean Baptiste) in 1877. While earlier parishes were only ecclesiastical units, provincial legislation in 1874 allowed them to be incorporated as local government units. St. Norbert existed as such between 1876 and 1879. Thereafter the parish was divided between the municipalities of Cartier and St. Norbert. In 1891, the financially troubled municipality of St. Norbert reunited with Cartier, which was renamed Ritchot in honour of the region's most prominent leader.

The Economic Growth of St. Norbert

Throughout the transitional period, 1870-1905, the community of St. Norbert continued to grow. Its institutions and transportation facilities improved, while both its agricultural and mercantile-based economies expanded. Although seven rural school districts were created around St. Norbert, the convent remained the area's principal educational facility. As enrollment increased, so did pressure on the convent's limited space. A new building was added in 1874, which, with subsequent additions, created a familiar landmark until its demolition in 1987.

Substantial improvements also were made to the church. Construction of a new building began in the spring of 1883. In October 1889, St. Norbert was one of three churches in St. Boniface Roman Catholic Diocese which were consecrated, the others being St. Boniface Cathedral and St. Mary's Winnipeg. (Churches are consecrated only if they are completely finished, built of brick or stone, and debt-free.)

With two fine Roman Catholic institutions in his parish, Father Ritchot began a campaign to establish a monastery. He offered parish lands to a Cistercian order of monks, commonly known as the Trappists, from Bellefontaine, France. In 1892 four Trappist monks arrived to take possession of land along the wooded banks of the La Salle. Thus commenced the 85-year chronicle of Notre-Dame des Prairies at St. Norbert. The monastery provided the parish with a model farm, a dairy, and the services of a variety of tradesmen.

Ritchot continued to advise his parishioners, often lending money to those in distress. He sponsored the education of many parish children, locally and at St. Boniface College. His philanthropy led to the establishment of the St. Norbert Orphanage in 1903.



St. Norbert Convent c. 1938. The convent was located north of the church (Courtesy of Corinne Tellier).

Operated by the Sisters of Mercy, this institution was known as Asile Bethléem or Asile Ritchot. Today the imposing structure is occupied by the St. Norbert Foundation.

The Pembina Trail and the Red River continued to be the principal transport routes through the parish. In 1871 a bridge was constructed across the La Salle River, but travellers crossing the Red used a ferry that operated near the church after 1860. Ferry service was later initiated at St. Adolphe; it was continued until 1976.

The first rail line through the parish was the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, built in 1878. Its St. Norbert siding was on the east side of the Red River, six kilometres from the actual community. In 1887, the Red River Valley Railway, soon to become the Northern Pacific and later the Canadian Northern, bridged the La Salle near St. Norbert, providing an outlet for passengers and produce heading for the growing city of Winnipeg.

With its rich soils and its proximity to the city, St. Norbert enjoyed a strong agricultural economic base. In 1872, the Provencher Agricultural Society (in the federal constituency of Provencher), was organized, with annual expositions in St. Norbert. To serve the farm community, merchants and artisans established themselves in the village. A sawmill and a flour mill, powered by steam, were operated by Joseph Lemay from 1871 to 1882, when the enterprises were taken over by a group of local men.

Father Ritchot died on March 16, 1905 at the age of 79, having served St. Norbert's people for 43 years. His body was placed in the church crypt, with an inscribed epitaph reading, in part, that

he "will live on in his works". He had presided over, and fostered, St. Norbert's transformation from a new parish, consisting of hunters and carters, into a farm community with well-established institutions.

Toward a Suburban Future, 1905-1914

During the period 1905-1914, St. Norbert's future became increasingly intertwined with the fortunes of the burgeoning city of Winnipeg. While urban development of the agricultural buffer zone between the two communities did not take place until the 1960s, during the pre-World War I period the establishment of greater communication and transportation networks firmly connected the farmers of St. Norbert with the urban dwellers of Winnipeg.

Father Ritchot's successor, Reverend Gabriel Cloutier, helped draft a village subdivision plan in 1905. Instead of running parallel to the surveyed river lot lines, as in Winnipeg, St. Norbert's avenues were laid out due west from the Red River, paralleling an existing route leading from the Pembina Trail to the church and ferry. The avenue de l'Église was intended as a thoroughfare for commercial development but due to the lack of an adequate water supply and to the high prices of the lots, it attracted few new business establishments. Homes and businesses remained stretched along Pembina Highway.

Cloutier also oversaw the building of a new rectory, the creation of a new cemetery and an addition to la Chapelle de Notre-Dame-du-Bon-Secours. The chapel, built in 1875 by Ritchot and his parishioners, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whom the Métis credited with giving them victory during the 1869-70 Resistance. One of only a few open air religious structures remaining in this province, the chapel was moved to its present site in the 1960s. It was declared a heritage site in 1994.

In 1906 L'Union Nationale Métisse de Saint-Joseph paid homage to the exploits of the Métis by erecting a new memorial beside the La Salle River to commemorate "La Barrière". This monument now stands in front of Place Saint-Norbert, on the east side of Pembina Highway.

St. Norbert's merchants constantly complained about the unsatisfactory road conditions between the village and Winnipeg. Early in the 20th century, highways everywhere in Manitoba were little more than dirt trails. In 1912, the provincial

government began to offer financial assistance to municipalities for road improvements. There was, however, considerable opposition among taxpayers in Ritchot municipality to the paving of the road to Winnipeg. The 1912 creation of a new municipality, Fort Garry, placed St. Norbert in a district anxious to benefit from its proximity to the city. Work on improving Pembina Highway began the same year.

Cloutier lobbied strongly for the extension of streetcar service to St. Norbert. Ironically, that too was tied to developments to the north. In 1912 construction was under way on the new Manitoba Agricultural College, located on the west bank of the Red River, in adjoining St. Vital Parish. The campus, which became the home of the University of Manitoba, proved instrumental in the suburbanization and cultural changes that later engulfed St. Norbert. In 1914, however, the citizens of St. Norbert excitedly hailed the long-awaited arrival of the first streetcar on the line that connected them with the College and the city.

While the district's economic life remained centred on agricultural pursuits such as market gardening and dairying, residents also derived income as day labourers on the various public works projects of the pre-war period. St. Norbert remained the service centre for these economic activities. While there was little industrial development, the community was rich in land.

St. Norbert experienced its first real estate boom in 1910 when news spread that the provincial government intended to relocate the Agricultural College. While the land boom may have benefited many individual residents, its effects as a whole were detrimental. The boom left vast amounts of land in the hands of speculators, and therefore unavailable for Francophone ownership, essential to preserving the established character of St. Norbert. In addition, inflated land values resulted in heavy tax burdens, forcing some longtime residents off their land. By 1914, St. Norbert was well on its way to losing its linguistic and religious homogeneity. The next sixty years were merely a matter of gradually filling in much of the space between Winnipeg and the community. After 1960 the urbanization process accelerated, with the creation of hectare upon hectare of residential housing, linked by the Pembina Highway commercial "strip".

Despite this suburban multicultural expansion, St. Norbert today still has at its core a strong Francophone and Roman Catholic community, intent on interpreting and keeping alive the spirit of its past as it faces new challenges.

Additional Reading

Published works that deal specifically with the history of St. Norbert include: *Centenaire de la Paroisse de Saint-Norbert* (1957); *Souvenir Couvent St-Norbert 1858-1958* (n.d.); *Une Trappe dans un pays de missions, Notre-Dame des Prairies, Saint-Norbert, 1892-1942* (Saint-Norbert, 1943) and Lionel Dorge's *Essai historique de Saint-Norbert, village Manitobain* (n.d.). Two books on Manitoba's French communities, Lionel Dorge's *Le Manitoba, reflets d'un passé* (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé, 1976) and Luc Dauphinais' *Histoire de Saint-Boniface Tome 1: À l'ombre des cathédrales: Des origines de la colonie jusqu'en 1870* (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé, 1991), also are relevant to St. Norbert's development.

More general works dealing with the development of the Red River Settlement allow the reader to place St. Norbert within a larger context. These include A.S. Morton's *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2nd edition, 1973); W.L. Morton's *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Gerald Friesen's *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) and Georges Dugas' *Histoire de l'ouest canadien de 1822 à 1869, Époque des troubles* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1906).

The work of the Roman Catholic Church in St. Norbert and Western Canada is described in the following: A.G. Morice's *A History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada* (Toronto: Musson, 1910); *Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, premier évêque de Saint-Boniface* (Saint-Boniface: Bulletin de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface, n.d.); Georges Dugas' *Monseigneur Provencher et les missions de la Rivière Rouge* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1889); Alexandre A. Taché's *Vingt années de missions dans le nord ouest de l'Amérique* (Montréal: Rolland, 1866); Dom Paul Benoit's *Vie de Mgr Taché, Archevêque de St-Boniface* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904); L.A. Prud'homme's *Monseigneur Noël-Joseph Ritchot 1825-1905* (Winnipeg: Canadian Publishers Ltd., 1928); and Martha McCarthy's *To Evangelize the Nations: Roman Catholic Missions in Manitoba 1818-1870* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, 1990).

For further information on the Métis, consult Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown's *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Marcel Giraud's *Le Métis Canadien* (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé, 1984), translated by George Woodcock as *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986); and A.H. de Trémaudan's *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'Ouest Canadien* (Saint-Boniface: Éditions des Plaines, 1984) which is available in English as *Hold High Your Heads* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982).

Additional readings on Riel and the Red River Resistance include: Alexander Begg's *The Creation of Manitoba or a History of the Red River Troubles* (Toronto: Hunter Rose & Co., 1871); Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance, 1869-70* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1991); George F. Stanley's *Louis Riel* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963); D.N. Sprague's *Canada and The Métis, 1869-1885* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988); Gilles Martel, *Le messianisme de Louis Riel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984); Thomas Flanagan's *Louis David Riel, Prophet of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); and Maggie Siggins' *Riel: A Life of Revolution* (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., 1994).

Other Historic Resources Branch publications dealing with topics mentioned here are *Red River Settlement*, *St. Boniface*, *Notre-Dame des Prairies*, *Pierre Falcon*, and *Ambroise-Didyme Lépine*.