Report to
Justice Canada

Final Report
For

Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area’s Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community

The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Justice Canada.

Les opinions exprimées dans le présent rapport sont celles de l’auteur et ne représentent pas nécessairement celles du ministère de la Justice Canada.
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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Lake of the Woods area’s mixed European-Indian ancestry group evolved out of the relationships established between “Natives” and newcomers from the years 1679 to 1875, the terminal date of this historical profile. The following report is divided into a discrete chronological period which describes the development of this population segment in the study region: an area broadly defined to include the landmass between the modern cities of Thunder Bay, Ontario and Kenora, Ontario. Since there are few extant documents written by the mixed European-Indian ancestry people themselves, observations made by outsiders like fur traders, government officials, missionaries, and passing travelers provide the majority of primary source material for this report.

French explorers were the first to enter the study region and were quickly integrated by tribal communities into their society through intermarriage. This "middle-ground" dynamic provided a survival mechanism, assuring clan interests on the one part, and provided consequential Europeans with a local partner to facilitate their understanding of indigenous culture and lifestyle. This became the norm at all sites of French occupation where trade and diplomacy transpired. Three French garrisons were established in the Lake of the Woods area prior to Canada’s surrender to the British Crown in 1763. The most durable facility was built at the Kaministiquia River by Zacharie Robutel, Sieur de la Noue, in 1717. It later served as the springboard for Pierre La Vérendrye’s trans-continental expeditions in the 1730s. En route the explorer constructed Fort Saint-Pierre at Rainy Lake in 1732 and Fort Saint-Charles at the Lake of the Woods a year later. Although no records have yet come to light which state that mixed European-Indian ancestry people were born at any of these posts during the first half of the eighteenth century, the same environmental conditions existed in the study region as at other sites where such births occurred.

British fur traders filled the vacuum left by the defeated subjects of Louis XV after Canada’s conquest in 1760. They quickly resuscitated old commercial networks, social relationships, and communication routes abandoned by the ancien régime. Decades of rivalry between independents caused some disparate associates to unite in a loose partnership which matured into the North West Company in 1784. With Grand Portage as its inland headquarters and a satellite station at Rainy Lake, the Montreal-based concern rapidly expanded its operational base, sending men like Alexander Mackenzie across the continent. Both Grand Portage and Rainy Lake became homes to mixed European-Indian ancestry people because the North West Company encouraged its membership to marry à la façon du pays [according to the manner of the country]. Archival records written in the 1790s provide the earliest mention of such individuals in the study region, first at Rainy Lake and then document the birth of children at Grand Portage.
The fur-trade constituency at Grand Portage relocated to the North West Company’s new headquarters along the Kaministiquia River in 1803. Called Fort William, this mammoth entrepôt preserved the existing social structure which was divided into four primary status groups: company partners; clerks, guides, and interpreters; voyageurs and other contract servants; and “freemen.” Mixed European-Indian ancestry people occupied all these ranks and lived accordingly. As the inland company headquarters, where more than 1,500 men gathered every summer, it provided a support center for the mixed European-Indian ancestry group’s insurgency waged at Red River between 1814-1817. This struggle against the Earl of Selkirk and his colonists was a decisive moment in the history of the study region’s mixed European-Indian ancestry population because their intimate association with the North West Company implied membership in the “New Nation,” according to contemporary observers.

The 1821 union of the North West Company and its Hudson’s Bay rival precipitated a merger of two separate groups of mixed European-Indian ancestry people associated with their particular business concerns. The one rooted in the Montreal experience, however, was able to absorb its counterpart and infuse the expanded group with its own sense of identity. Thus, by the early 1820s, “Bois Brulés” became a term which was equally applied to any mixed European-Indian ancestry individual connected to the north-western fur trade in Canada. Their sense of ethnic solidarity strengthened over time and was assisted by strong local personalities who supported this process, prejudice which provided a common threat, and outside political forces which conferred a distinct identity on kinsmen living south of the border.

Negotiations for land surrenders began with government officials between 1850 and 1875. The mixed European-Indian ancestry groups at both Fort William and Fort Frances became beneficiaries of these treaty arrangements, being recognized as “Half-breeds” in their respective home locales. The process from biological inception of mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals in the study region to societal maturation as a distinct mixed European-Indian ancestry collective had been completed within the space of two hundred years.
2. **METHODODOLOGY**

A chronological approach was adopted for the study of requisite archival records during the preparation of this report. Research, however, has been hampered by a lack of suitable documents, emanating from the mixed European-Indian ancestry group in the Lake of the Woods since its members were largely illiterate and left little paper trail for posterity. Thus, by necessity, one must rely principally upon the written legacies of outsiders who sojourned in the area. Governmental records, fur trade correspondence, and the personal papers of those who lived or worked in the Boundary Waters corridor—a phrase used to describe the rivers and lakes that constitute the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods system, flowing along the international border between Canada and the United States—provide the bulk of source material, despite being uneven in quality and dispersed through a wide variety of archival collections. Special attention was paid to documents which described the ethnogenesis of the mixed European-Indian group, distinctives from parental forebears, and the gradual implementation of European control. The research and writing of this report was completed within the five months allotted by Justice Canada. Readers of this historical profile must bear such time constraints in mind.

Since French subjects were the earliest explorers to enter the study region at the end of the seventeenth century, official correspondence between Quebec and Paris were the first to be examined, albeit in a cursory fashion. The role played by forts constructed at Kaministiquia, Rainy Lake, and the Lake of the Woods in western exploration operations are well known. Other general details presented in the narrative about the period through 1760 were drawn from both published primary documents and standard scholarly works.

The era between 1760 and 1803 witnessed the appearance of two major rival business enterprises in the study region. Post journals written by Hudson’s Bay Company employees at their new Rainy Lake establishment take pride of place because they contain the first references to the presence of mixed European-Indian ancestry residents. Other contemporary volumes from the same source were read for more meaningful information, but to no avail. Published reminiscences and diaries compiled by their North West Company rivals were found to be most instructive about the state of the fur trade, European/Indian interaction, and daily activities at the outposts. These were supplemented by contemporary government records, containing memorials and petitions from the Montreal traders which describe the supply and transportation systems through the study region. More importantly, the growing significance of Grand Portage is revealed and explains why, as the major logistical center, it was soon home to mixed European-Indian ancestry people. Seminal secondary works on fur-trade society were likewise read to understand the phenomenon of marriage à la façon du pays. Such
unions were the primary source for the mixed European-Indian population in the study area since the in-migration of such individuals was not a regular circumstance.

The pinnacle of fur-trade activities in the study area occurred between 1803 and 1821, amidst increased international tensions. Pertinent archival material and secondary sources were consulted to understand why the Grand Portage site was replaced by Kaministiquia as the North West Company’s premiere headquarters. Issues about effective European control began to surface and became more pressing at this particular juncture because of the assertion of international border rights by the United States, promoting the construction of Fort William. Military records were examined at the same time to learn details about the experiences of mixed European-Indian ancestry personnel from the study area who served with North West Company levies raised during the War of 1812. This is an important part of the historic record which has been neglected by previous scholarship.

North West Company correspondence and business records from the early nineteenth century are at their most complete. They were analyzed to learn more about social hierarchy, residency patterns, and early population figures at the principal sites of Fort William and Rainy Lake. As well, such sources revealed personal sentiments, regarding the mixed European-Indian ancestry progeny now evident about company outposts. The 1814 appearance of a “New Nation” of mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers, chiefly associated with the North West Company, was a milestone development in the history of the study region. Although most of the pivotal events in this drama took place west of the Lake of the Woods, Fort William’s role as North West Company headquarters meant that the local mixed European-Indian ancestry residents were aware of this struggle. Besides North West Company correspondence, examination of the Earl of Selkirk’s papers provided useful information about the connections between events at Red River and activities at Fort William. A wealth of material generated by the ensuing propaganda war also sheds light on the relationship between the North West Company and the growth of an independent spirit amongst its mixed European-Indian ancestry associates. Observations about this assertive mixed European-Indian ancestry group’s constituency appear for the first time through partisan European perspectives.

Hudson’s Bay Company records become more prolific and beneficial after 1821 because of its merger with the North West Company that same year. Post journals and district reports exist through the 1830s, allowing some insights into the activities of mixed European-Indian ancestry population associated with the fur trade at both Fort William and Rainy Lake. Once beyond the gaze of the Chief Factor or Trader, however, events in the lives of mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals are rarely mentioned. For instance, journal entries record that the “women of the fort” left for maple stands in the early spring to make sugar. Several weeks later, mention is made that they have returned with no substantive detail recorded about them in the interim. Part of this information deficit can be circumvented by examination of the correspondence between
various post principals or with Governor George Simpson. It was in such material that references about the educational experiences of children sent to Upper Canada’s Eastern District first came to light. Observations about the study region made by the celebrated surveyor David Thompson during his 1822-1823 expedition to determine the international boundary line were also consulted. His commentaries were enhanced by published travel accounts which began to appear in greater numbers between 1821 and 1850. Such impressionistic accounts, however, written principally in the summer months, provide only sketchy ethnographic material. Germaine references are noted throughout this report.

Canadian governmental records play a larger role in the narration of events between 1850 and 1875. Information about treaty negotiations which included mixed European-Indian ancestry families as beneficiaries are of especial interest. These sources too provide details about the growing interest of outsiders in the study region, with concomitant expansion of Canadian interests. The private papers of two individuals, Sir Aemilius Irving and George Gladman, provide useful supplements. The latter’s, created by a person of mixed European-Indian ancestry, and was especially useful to explain his important role in developing official support for the construction of a communication route between Canada and the west. Published memoirs of soldiers engaged in the suppression of the 1870 insurrection at Red River were read with benefit because they describe encounters with “Ojibwa” and mixed European-Indian ancestry people with an eye to detail not found in general travel accounts.

It must be reiterated here that the majority of primary and secondary sources contain only incidental mention of the Lake of the Woods area’s mixed European-Indian ancestry group. However, since the fur trade provided the matrix from which this people evolved, any understanding of their origins and activities must necessarily be derived principally from archival and printed documents associated with this commercial pursuit.

**Terminology**

Mention must be made about the ethnic nomenclature which appears throughout this report. Every effort has been made to refer to the diverse ancestral groups according to actual historical usage. Such apppellations are presented in quotation marks.

The earliest residents of the study region were known by the generic term “Indian.” This noun and a synonym “Native” were in constant use through the report’s 1875 terminal date, appearing regularly in archival and published sources. Specific tribal labels are very rare, perhaps because the dominant regional presence were the “Saulteaux,” sometimes spelled “Saultaux;” or “Sauteux”: all corruptions of the French word “Saulteur.” “Ojibwa” also has deep historical roots and was an acceptable contemporary synonym applied by fur traders. Thus, “Saulteaux” and “Ojibwa” will be used interchangeably in the narrative. “Chippewa” typically appeared in mid-nineteenth
century American sources and this usage will be limited to discussions of contemporary events south of the international border.

The European ancestry population will be referred to by country of origin or ethnic heritage when known. The term “Canadian” expanded in meaning through the study period. Originally a term used to describe French occupants of Canada, it became applicable to any British subject after the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Thus, all Montreal fur traders were referred to as “Canadians” by Hudson’s Bay Company employees, regardless of their ancestry by the latter third of the eighteenth century.

Contemporary nineteenth century usage will also govern references to the mixed European-Indian ancestry population. Although now a pejorative, “Half-breed” was the most frequent term used in the primary sources examined. “Native of the Country” was the next most common phrase. “Bois Brulés” or its shortened form “Brulés” was primarily used in reference to those retainers of the North West Company prior to 1821. After merger with the Hudson’s Bay Company, it became a generic term for any individual of mixed European-Indian ancestry associated with the north-western Canadian fur trade. “Metis” was becoming a fashionable designation for mixed European-Indian people of either Scottish or French background by the signing of Treaty 3 in 1873. This same convention will be followed in the ensuing report.
3. **NARRATIVE**

3.1. **Pre-Contact to 1760**

The Lake of the Woods forms an integral part of the major riverine transportation route, linking the Great Lakes and Hudson's Bay watersheds. As such, people have plied its waters for millennia. Scholars believe that the “Ojibwa” were becoming a significant presence in north-western Ontario by the time Europeans entered the area at the close of the seventeenth century. Called variously by outsiders “Saulteur,” “Nakawawuck,” or “Chippewa,” the Algonquian-speaking people referred to themselves as “Anishinabe,” which means the “original man.”

“Ojibwa” social organization evolved according to the demands of their semi-nomadic lifestyle, with nuclear families providing the basic communal unit. A number of households led by a dominant male formed independent bands which hunted, fished, harvested, and traded together throughout the year. Exogamic marital practices ensured that different clans would be represented in each band, since young men were expected to find a mate outside their own family and reside with in-laws for at least one year. Early population estimates made by British fur traders at the close of the eighteenth century suggest that 150 “Saulteaux” lived around Fort William’s environs with 700 more residents found along the shores of Rainy Lake.

Tribal groups in the Boundary Waters region adapted well to the rhythms and demands of their physical environment. Communal gatherings occurred in the summer months, when temporary villages were established to exploit increased natural food resources.

which, in turn, were augmented by subsistence agriculture. Villagers then dispersed in the early fall to reap the wild rice utilized as a dietary and trade staple. Although hunting and fishing were year round activities, they intensified during the winter months as the various bands relocated to traditional hunting territories. As a Scottish fur trader, Dr. John McLoughlin observed:

Their manner of life is to be wander continually from place to place and [ ] by the seasons what in the same way regulates their food in Winter they keep in woods and live on Animals from about the middle of April until the middle of June they keep along rivers and feast principally on game then on fish which they spear in the Rapids part of the summer they live on flesh and fish as they can get till the Rice is Ripe what with Game is their principal food till the Ice takes hold. . . .

Families remained at their winter camps until March or April when they moved into favorite maple stands, where the sap was boiled into sugar. Upon completion, the annual cycle began again with separate bands congregating at advantageous sites to exploit the area's natural resources.

The height of land which transects the study region separates the Great Lakes and Hudson’s Bay watersheds. Its eastern headlands provide sources for two principal rivers which the “Natives” used as transportation routes from the shores of Lake Superior through the interior. The Kaministiquia River, the more northerly of the two, is linked to the Dog Lake system by a single portage which provides access to points west by a series of laborious carrying places. The Pigeon River, on the other hand, affords more direct travel over the divide and into Rainy Lake via a series of small

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7 Thomas Vennum, Jr., Wild Rice and the Ojibwa People, (St. Paul: 1988), 39-211.
8 Report on Indians between Fort William and Lake of the Woods, c. 1821, by Dr. John McLoughlin, Masson Collection, Manuscript Group (hereafter MG), 19-C1, Volume 58, [unpaginated], Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Ottawa.
9 Rainy Lake Post Journal, 1824-1825, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), Section B, Class 105, Sub-Division a, Piece 10, fo. 10; Fort William Post Journal, 1837-1838, HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 27.
Both avenues converge at Cross Lake which flows into the Boundary Waters via the Namakan River. About six more days would be required to paddle between Rainy Lake’s entrance and the western shores of the Lake of the Woods. These two passages known to resident “Indians” would likewise serve explorers, soldiers, and fur traders when they reached the head of Lake Superior near the end of the seventeenth century.

The arrival of European adventurers was welcomed by “Natives” who recognized the value of manufactured wares and dry goods brought by the subjects of Louis XIV. Notable amongst their number were Daniel Greysolon Dulhut (Du Luth) and Jacques de Noyon. The former ventured west of Sault Ste. Marie in 1679 to strengthen fragile alliances with tribesmen and establish direct trade with others inclined to deal with the English on Hudson’s Bay. The mission’s success paved the way for Dulhut’s second regional foray, between the years 1683-1686. At the head of a large canoe brigade, he pursued this subsequent diplomatic and trade initiative with acumen, establishing a French base near the confluence of the Kaministiquia River. Jacques de Noyon was also active in the region at this time and is credited with being the first French man to trade briefly at Rainy Lake in 1688. Dulhut’s legacy was greater, however, because his base remained in operation for a decade until officials in New France decided to exert more central control over the fur trade. The Kaministiquia installation was one of the advanced posts closed as a result of this policy shift, with “Indian” delegations encouraged to make annual visits to Montreal instead.

French interest in the economic potential of the pays d’en haut [Upper Country] was renewed after the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). Although English title to Hudson’s Bay was recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht’s signatories, Quebec

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administrators decided to increase revenues through the expansion of their western fur trade. Consequently, a series of installations at key sites around the Great Lakes were reconstructed to help finance further exploration efforts. Zacharie Robutel, Sieur de la Noue, was given the task of establishing a second garrison at the Kaministiquia River before he preceded inland on a voyage of discovery. He built a fort near Dulhut’s old site in 1717 and then advanced to Rainy River: the first European to visit the area since Jacques de Noyon had traded there in 1688. Frustrated by inter-tribal wars which impeded further travel, however, Robutel returned to Montreal in 1721 with satisfaction that his enterprise at Kaministiquia had stanched the normal flow of furs from the study area to the English on Hudson’s Bay.

Robutel’s facility on the remote shores of Lake Superior remained a trading center after his departure and provided an important staging area in the next French attempt to reach a western sea, which they incorrectly believed lay somewhere just beyond the lands already traveled by their agents. The catalyst for this enterprise was Pierre Galtier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye who convinced government officials in 1730 that he could reach salt water from a base to be constructed on Lake Winnipeg. Fifty-two men and a Jesuit missionary accompanied La Vérendrye on his expedition which left Quebec in the spring of 1731; a majority of the party over-wintered at Kaministiquia before joining the advanced team that had already built Fort Saint-Pierre at Rainy Lake. This first of eight strongholds to dot the line of march was described in a contemporary report as:

. . . a fort with two gates on opposite sides. The interior length of the side is fifty feet with two bastions. There are two main buildings each composed of two rooms with double chimneys. Around these buildings is a road seven feet wide; in one of the bastions a storehouse and a powder magazine have

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22 Rich, Fur Trade, 84-7; DCB, 3:248-9, s.v. “Galtier de Varennes et de La Vérendrye, Pierre.”
been made, and there is a double row of stakes, thirteen feet out of the ground.\textsuperscript{23}

The site, near the confluence of Rainy River, became a well-known landmark which elicited travelers’ comments generations after the complex had fallen into ruins.\textsuperscript{24}

A more substantial headquarters was constructed on the Lake of the Woods in 1732 by the combined expeditionary force. Called Fort Saint-Charles, it consisted of four bastions, a powder magazine, storehouse, church, rectory, commandant’s residence, and other structures to shelter men and equipment. A double row of pickets fifteen feet high with a watch tower completed the defensive works. La Vérendrye spent almost two full years at this base, holding councils with various tribal groups and managing fur trade operations which underwrote his quest for the western sea. While a brisk commerce was done in furs, missionary efforts were much less successful, according to the Jesuit who accompanied the party, Father Jean-Pierre Aulneau.\textsuperscript{25} He remarked that local “Indians” would never convert to Catholicism “… unless it be by miracle.”\textsuperscript{26} This did not happen in the cleric’s lifetime because he and a small party of men were killed in 1736 by “Sioux” raiders while on their way to Kaministiquia for supplies.\textsuperscript{27}

Fort Saint-Charles’ importance declined in 1737 when La Vérendrye shifted his operations forward to Fort Maurepas on the Red River in a vain attempt to cross the continent.\textsuperscript{28} Despite the explorer’s 1743 retirement, his initial headquarters remained in use through most of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) because the western posts, including Kaministiquia’s garrison of one officer and six men, were not evacuated until very late in that conflict.\textsuperscript{29} Certainly, the base at the Lake of the Woods remained a vital station along the communications link to the interior which had always proven a consistent revenue source for New France until its final days. Alexander Henry, one of the first Britons to pass through the area in 1775, remarked that the fort was still visible and its memory as an important gathering place alive in the affections of local “Indian” bands.\textsuperscript{30}

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\textsuperscript{24} Lamb, ed., Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, 106.
\textsuperscript{26} Father Jean P. Aulneau to Father Bonin, 30 April 1736, in The Aulneau Collection, 1734-1745, ed. Arthur E. Jones, (Montreal: 1893), 74.
\textsuperscript{27} DCB, 2:39-40, s.v. “Aulneau (de la Touche), Jean-Pierre.”
\textsuperscript{28} Champagne, Les La Vérendrye, 446-62; Rich, Fur Trade, 89-93.
\textsuperscript{29} Liste des officers qui servent dans les différents postes de la colonie en l’année 1743,” [1743] MG 1-C11A, Volume 79, fo. 147, LAC; Etat des postes à garnir en Canada et des troupes nécessaires pour les garnir, [September 1748], MG 1-C11A, Volume 118, fo. 164, LAC; DCB, 3:170-1, s.v. “Dejordy (Desjordy) De Villebon, Charles-René.”
\textsuperscript{30} Henry, Travels and Adventures, 243.
\end{flushright}
Unlike rival metropolitan powers, French colonial policy encouraged close relations with amenable “Native” groups since Quebec’s survival depended upon such initiatives. Historians agree that strategic necessity, strong counter-Reformation zeal, a desire to broaden spheres of influence through soft territorial expansion, and the exigencies of hinterland commerce all shaped governmental designs to form coalitions with tribal groups.\textsuperscript{31} Beneficial trade, annual gifts to chiefs and warriors, together with military support were key to the success of New France’s political efforts along its extensive boundaries.\textsuperscript{32} Additionally, the willingness of their agents to adapt to local social mores facilitated this dynamic. Since intermarriage was an essential feature of “middle-ground” diplomacy evolving between different Great Lakes confederacies, French soldiers and fur traders likewise became allies through unions with local women à la façon du pays.\textsuperscript{33} This circumstance personalized frontier coalitions, engendering “Ojibwa” sentiment that “No European nation . . . ever pleased them as well.”\textsuperscript{34}

Country marriage was a practice designed to strengthen Amerindian society through the incorporation of consequential aliens.\textsuperscript{35} A Jesuit observer recorded that these relationships were encouraged by elders primarily “to contract advantageous alliances” with outsiders whose status and concomitant resources would further clan interests.\textsuperscript{36} There was also a human element in this equation because of imbalanced gender relations amongst some groups which made the lot of “Native” women difficult. Peter Grant, the North West Company partner at Rainy Lake, recalled that:

\textsuperscript{34} Henry R. Schoolcraft, \textit{The American Indians: Their History, Condition and Prospects, From Original Notes and Manuscripts}, (Buffalo: 1851), 134.
\textsuperscript{35} Lucy E. Murphy, \textit{A Gathering of Rivers: Indian, Mêtis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832}, (Lincoln: 2000), 28-32.
A Sauteux cannot, with any degree of comfort, support the fatigues of the chase without a female companion to make and mend his shoes, scrape the skins, carry home the meat, pitch the tent and cook the victuals, with many other domestic concerns which necessarily fall to their lot with all the drudgery and most laborious part of the work, while his province is principally confined to hunting and fishing; yet, those women for all their work and devotion, are regarded by the men little better than slaves to their will, or mere beasts of burden for their convenience.\(^{37}\)

Attentive fathers therefore, wishing to spare their female offspring a life of travail, married them to Europeans who could potentially provide an easier existence for their spouse and family. This was the habit of Little Deer, one of the most respected “Ojibwa” hunters at Rainy Lake. A journal entry beside his name simply stated that “. . . He does not like to give his daughters to Indians. . . .”\(^{38}\) Companionship and local social connections brought to the relationship by the new mate benefitted the groom. This was especially important in the fur trade where the yields of a hunt or a season’s worth of trapping were disposed according to kinship obligations.\(^{39}\)

Although conventions varied widely, the basic ceremony was simple and conducted without much fanfare after the suitor had distributed suitable presents.\(^{40}\) Gift-giving was an expensive proposition, but was a compulsory token of goodwill and familial affection. The few extant references to the actual costs suggest that marriage was not a casual undertaking. Daniel Harmon, for instance, recorded that a contemporary gave two-hundred dollars’ worth of imported goods for his bride. The outlay was so high for another trader that he paid installments over the course of a year.\(^{41}\) With these obligations met, the newlyweds were viewed as man and wife until such time as either

\(^{37}\) HBCA B 105/a/14, fo. 5; Grant, “Sauteux Indians,” 2:321.  
\(^{39}\) HBCA B 105/a/4, fos. 7-8; HBCA B 105/a/10, fo.10; Susan Sleeper-Smith, Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes, (Amherst: 2001), 16-20.  
party terminated the relationship in accordance with local custom. The woman returned to her family with any children of these early unions after the father had decamped.42

The rise of a mixed French-Indian ancestry people throughout the pays d’en haut at sites where trade, diplomacy and occupation transpired was one legacy of a century-old frontier strategy.43 Its success, however, was overshadowed by a larger imperial contest between Louis XV and Georgian kings for control of the North American continent. Even the valuable contributions made by Great Lakes warriors and their mixed-ancestry leaders during the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) could not stop Canada’s eventual 1760 collapse.44 Although Kaministiquia, Fort Saint-Pierre, and Fort Saint-Charles were abandoned at this time, their social, political, and economic milieu mirrored adjacent establishments where people of mixed French-Indian ancestry were known to have been born. Even though explicit documentation does not exist to substantiate this occurrence in the study region, circumstances suggest that it did happen prior to Canada’s transfer to the British Crown in 1763 because of dynamic French-Indian alliances established during the seventeenth century.45

3.2. 1760 to 1803

Merchants and traders followed George III’s troops into the interior after Montreal’s 1760 capitulation.46 While the redcoats never established a presence on Lake Superior itself, British subjects quickly resuscitated old western commercial and transportation networks in their attempt to benefit from the Canadian fur trade, valued at £135,000 a year at the

46 Frederick von Hambach to Colonel Henry Bouquet, 1 January 1761, in Sylvester K. Stevens et al., eds., The Papers of Henry Bouquet, 6 vols. (Harrisburg: 1951-), 5:229; George Croghan to William Trent and Alexander Lowery, 5 February 1761, ibid., 282-3; Henry, Travels and Adventures, 10-216.
time of the conquest.47 Their efforts were aided by some “vagabond Canadian settlers” who had remained amongst western tribesmen and were anxious to resume their former pursuits.48 At first, trade was strictly regulated by a licensing system which restricted barter to military posts, where activities could be monitored.49 A select few, however, were allowed to function beyond the immediate supervision of either the army or the Indian Department prior to 1768, when the close regulatory system was finally abandoned.50 Only two canoes had been permitted to trade at Kaministiquia with another allowed to proceed as far as the Lake of the Woods in 1767.51

Freer trade prompted an increase in the number of those willing to venture their capital and goods on “Indian” commerce.52 Kaministiquia, however, did not fare well in the new order because the best way inland lay along the Grand Portage-Pigeon River route,

49 Captain Donald Campbell to Major-General Thomas Gage, 25 July 1762, TGPAS, Volume 8, [unpaginated], WLCL; Major-General Thomas Gage to Messrs. Joseph, Howard, &c., 1 March 1766, ibid., Volume 49, [unpaginated], WLCL; Same to Captain George Turnbull, 2 May 1767, ibid., Volume 64, [unpaginated], WLCL; Rich, *Fur Trade*, 130-38.
50 The Indian Department evolved from the commission given Sir William Johnson by King George II as “Colonel, Agent and Sole Superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations, and other Northern Indians” in 1756. Paid from army extraordinaries, its officers and staff became the primary management tool used by government authorities to deal with tribal groups. It remained a Johnson family fiefdom until after the War of 1812 and retained its quasi-military character until 1830 when it became the Department of Indian Affairs, a branch of the civil service. Robert S. Allen, “The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830,” in *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 14*, (Ottawa: 1975), 5-125.
located approximately forty miles further down the lake. Its strategic location as the gate to the west overshadowed the older passage for a generation as traders made it the major interchange on the way to Pierre La Vérendrye's old haunts. By 1770, the Grand Portage site was already becoming “. . . the Head-Quarters or General Rendezvous for all who commerce in this part of the World,” where supplies from Montreal were consigned to itinerant peddlers whose accounts were settled by the previous year’s returns. Rainy Lake too became more than just a conduit, after British merchants recognized its potential as a secondary depot and distribution center for southern markets.

Two decades of unrestricted trade was chaotic in the lawless North West where independent rivals competed with one another for a clientele. Nathaniel Atcheson, an early nineteenth-chronicler of the fur trade, explained that:

. . . as every person had an equal right to sell goods at the same place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation soon saw himself followed by other traders who were ready to undersell him, with a view to reap the harvest which he had sown at so much peril, and with so much difficulty. Thus circumstanced, he, in his turn, resorted to every means for securing to himself the preference of the Indians, and for injuring his competitor. This conduct provoked retaliation. The Indians were bribed with rum, and the goods were bartered away for a consideration below their value. The consequence was, that the traders ruined each other, the Indians were corrupted, and the English character was brought into contempt.

To break this depressing cycle, nine separate business concerns pooled their resources in 1779 and split the profits from a year’s trade. This original sixteen-share association evolved into the North West Company after its principals ratified a five-year agreement in 1784. Further covenants animated the partnership which grew to forty-six shares, through 1795.

54 Harmon, Sixteen Years in the Indian Country, 21 (entry of 13 June 1800); Major-General Thomas Gage to Captain George Turnbull, 18 September 1770, TGPAS, Volume 96, [unpaginated], WLCL.
56 Henry, Travels and Adventures, 235.
57 [Atcheson], On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company, 6.
Simon McTavish soon became the driving force behind the new enterprise. In partnership with Joseph Frobisher, he also established a Montreal merchant house which imported European wares and, in turn, supplied these items to the wintering partners of the North West Company who were stationed in the interior. McTavish-Frobisher profited on both accounts because they remained major stock holders in the fur trade concern as well. Management was also a talent demonstrated by McTavish who oversaw the shipment of all merchandise from Lachine to the 117 posts located east of the Rocky Mountains. Although numbers fluctuated, by 1802, approximately 540 men were employed each summer to transport company supplies and furs between major distribution centers. At Grand Portage and Rainy Lake, they were met by many of the hivernants [winterers]: those 877 men contracted to work for up to three years as laborers, canoe men, or guides in the hinterland. Their superiors included 161 clerks and interpreters--often trusted with the charge of small satellite trading posts--and twenty active proprietors who managed the affairs of the company’s various departments inland. Only the latter were shareholders who held their annual business meeting at the rendezvous site and were entitled to a percentage of the profits.

Dr. John Bigsby, while a British representative on the international boundary survey commission was entertained by William McGillivray at Montreal in 1819. He aptly described his host as a “soldier-merchant . . . [who] unites the gallantry of the one with the shrewdness of the other.” Certainly, the firm’s social and operational structure reflected a palpable military ethos. Highland Scots dominated the officer class of Montreal agents and wintering partners who supervised the trade and managed daily operations. Below them in the chain of command were the warrant officers charged with acting as intermediaries between partners and their workers. This cadre included clerks, guides, and interpreters. The former were generally North Britons admitted to the concern with expectations of admittance to partnership alongside more senior kinsmen at a future date. French-Canadians with long years of experience in the pays d’en haut

59 DCB, 4:560-66, s.v. “McTavish, Simon.”
60 General Return of the Department and Posts Occupied by the North West Company in the Indian Country With the Number of Partners, Clerks and Men Employed in that Trade Exclusive of the King’s Posts, [1802], Colonial Office (hereafter CO), Class 42, Piece 119, Folio 138, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), London, England; Lamb, ed., Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, 82-96.
61 Davidson, North West Company, 15-17.
acted as guides or interpreters, according to their skills. The rank and file were composed principally of voyageurs from Lower Canada or Iroquois from the three reserves near Montreal--Caughnawaga [Kahnawake], Oka [Kanesatake], and St. Regis [Akwasasne]--who were hired either to hunt or man the canoes.

Grand Portage served as the North West Company’s most important inland logistical center for several years. From a modest establishment of a few rustic store houses, the Montreal businessmen made steady improvements as their partnership prospered. The facility was converted into a fortified station of ample measure by a workforce of at least eighteen men and their supervisors in 1789. One North West Company clerk wrote:

All the buildings with the Fort are sixteen in number made with cedar and white spruce fir split with whip saws after being suquared [sic], the Roofs are covered with shingles of Cedar and Pine, most of their posts, Doors, and windows, are painted with Spanish brown. Six of these building are Store Houses for the company’s Merchandize and Furs &c. The rest are dwelling houses shops compting house and Mess House.

Continuous occupancy and close relations with neighboring “Saulteaux” ensured that this site too became the birthplace for people of mixed European-Indian ancestry. According to fur trade records, this was the home of Nicolas Chatelain, born about 1798, who in later life became the leader of the Fort Frances “Half-breeds.” It was probably

64 “Notes by Roderick McKenzie on Books Ready by Him, Dealing Extensively With Aborigines,” Masson Collection, MG 19-C1, Volume 44, Pages 226-7, LAC; Cox, Adventures on the Colombia River, 288 (entry of 16 August 1817).
65 Entry of 2 June 1815, Colin Robertson’s Diary, 1814-1817, HBCA E Class 10, Piece 1, Page 116; Jan Grabowski and Nicole St-Onge, “Montreal Iroquois engagés in the Western Fur Trade, 1800-1821,” in From Rupert’s Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster, eds., Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens & R. C. MacLeod, 23-58 (Edmonton: 2001); Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 192, 194.
67 MacDonell, “The Diary of John MacDonell,” 94.
69 See Document No. 1 for the entry of Nicolas Chatelain’s birthplace and age on, A List of Servants at Lac La Pluie District, 1825-1826, Lac La Pluie Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1866, HBCA Section B, Class 105, Sub-Division z, Piece 1, fo. 3; DCB, 12:187-8, s.v. “Chatelain, Nicolas.” Entries for Jean Baptiste Jourdain (White Fish Lake: part of the Lake of the Woods), [ ] Vesnis (Fond du Lac), Joseph Primeau (Fond du Lac), and Louis Rivet (Fond du Lac) also indicate that they were other mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals born either in or near the study area about the same time as Chatelain. All would have ties to the North West
also the site where Michel Collin, a prominent mixed European-Indian ancestry resident of Fort William, was born in 1799. His father, Antoine Collin worked at Grand Portage for the North West Company.

A smaller depot at Rainy Lake was also under development at this time. Situated near the confluence of the river, it was regarded as a “tolerable fort” with two bastions and a palisade. Nearby, the small company farm and grist mill were operated to supply fresh rations for Athabasca canoe brigades unable to reach Grand Portage. This magazine became their southern terminus, where fur bundles were exchanged for provisions and merchandise forwarded from the Lake Superior warehouses earlier in the year. As Sir Alexander Mackenzie explained, every July it was requisite to hire:

... a number of men, among who are the recruits, or winterers, sufficient to man the North canoes necessary to carry, to the river of the rainy lake, the goods and provisions requisite for the Athabasca country; as the people of that country, (owing to the shortness of the season and length of the road, can come no further), are equipped there, and exchange lading with the people of whom we are speaking, and both return from whence they came.

The Rainy Lake facility, with its permanent staff of four supervisors, also functioned as headquarters for the North West Company’s trading operations in that area and doubled as a supply center for canoes. Consequently, the first mention about the presence of mixed European-Indian ancestry children are in association with this operation. In 1793, a rival agent recorded in his journal that Charles Boyer with his large family were opposition traders. Boyer was in his sunset years as the North West Company’s

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Company. The one study of the Fond du Lac Department is, Douglas A. Birk, ed., *John Sayer’s Snake River Journal, 1804-1805*, (Minneapolis: 1989), 1-64.


72 Gabriel Franchère, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America During the Years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814*, trans. Wessie T. Lamb ed. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: 1969), 178 (entry of 8 July 1814); Entry of 6 July 1815, Colin Robertson’s Diary, 1814-1817, HBCA E/10/1, Page 140.


75 HBCA B 105/a1, fo. 6; HBCA B 105/a2, fos. 7, 9, 13, 14.
overseer at Rainy Lake after a long career in the interior which probably predated the Seven Years’ War. His six offspring were inevitably of mixed parentage because of Boyer’s life-long involvement in the fur trade.76

The area between the modern towns of Fort Frances and Kenora was not a North West Company preserve since it was located west of the geographic divide. As such, it was a part of Rupert’s Land—the land granted by Charles II’s royal 1670 charter for the exclusive commercial use of the Hudson’s Bay Company—because its waters eventually drained into Hudson’s Bay.77 More than a century passed, however, before any Bay men appeared in the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods corridor to barter directly with the “Ojibwa” on their own territory. Until 1793, when John McKay built their first post, the English concern had relied upon trappers themselves or middlemen to convey pelts all the way to a facility on Hudson’s Bay.78 McKay’s bold initiative, nevertheless, proved illusory and was abandoned after four years. He and his eighteen men found themselves surrounded by no less than five Canadian establishments, headed by Peter Grant of the North West Company.79 Numbers alone were not decisive; official Hudson’s Bay policy against taking local wives was a greater detriment because Montreal competitors used family contacts within resident bands to optimum advantage. McKay gloomily observed that many hunters would not trade with him, preferring to give furs to their brother-in-law, Peter Grant, instead.80

Fur-trade rivalries continued to heat up even after the 1798 closure of Hudson’s Bay Company operations at Rainy Lake. Discontent with Simon McTavish’s dominance of the North West Company led some associates to launch out on their own initiative. Led by John Forsyth and John Richardson, they established a parallel operation with outposts right next to those of the senior concern.81 By 1798, they had become known as the New North West Company, or XY Company, and attracted a number of traders and new employees to their banner, including the celebrated explorer, Sir Alexander

Mackenzie. Unlike the Bay men, however, they married local women and their fixed installations at both Grand Portage and Rainy Lake added to the potential increase of mixed-ancestry children in the study region.

The North West Company was also beset by another serious set of problems, caused by recent accommodations between Great Britain and the United States. Although George III had ceded claims to territory south of Lake Superior by the 1783 Treaty of Paris which ended the American Revolution, merchants from both Upper and Lower Canada had largely been ignored by the new republican government. Jay’s Treaty, signed eleven years later, nevertheless, curtailed the activities of resident British traders who were given only a short grace period to remove all their possessions to Canada, or remain in situ and lose their British citizenship. When an American garrison became established at Michilimackinac in 1796, the Nor’Westers had to determine whether to linger at Grand Portage, which was known to be south of the unsurveyed international boundary line, or build another command center further north. The accidental rediscovery of the old French route into the interior via the Kaministiquia River, led to preparations for an orderly evacuation. A suitable site ten miles long and twelve miles deep was purchased from the “. . . Chiefs and Old Men of the Chipeway and Kitchicamingue Indians at the Grand Portage. . .” in 1798 by the North West Company and construction began on a mammoth project to be called Fort William in honour of Simon McTavish’s successor, William McGillivray. Five more years would pass and £10,000 spent preparing the complex to welcome the 1,500 or so company retainers who would gather there each summer for the annual business meeting.

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87 Harmon, Sixteen Years in the Indian Country, 93 (entry of July 1805); Jean Morrison, Superior Rendezvous-Place: Fort William in the Canadian Fur Trade, (Toronto: 2001), 27; [McGillivray], “Some Account of the Trade Carried on by the North West Company,” 70.
3.3. 1803 to 1821

The new entrepôt was a vestige of European civilization in the wilderness. One eyewitness described it as “an attractive village” with a very ornate dining hall at its center.\textsuperscript{88} He went on to write:

On either side of this house are two others equally long but not so high. They are divided lengthwise by a corridor and each contains twelve attractive bedrooms. [One is destined for the winter partners, the other for the clerks]. To the east is another similar house used for the same purpose. In the same direction is a huge warehouse for the inspection and packing of furs. Behind these is the house used as the guides’ lodging and a fur warehouse. On the south east corner is the powder-magazine built of grey stone and roofed with tin. Along the front of the Fort are the apothecary’s shop, the doctor’s residence, then the main gate, above which has been built a guardroom. Bearing south west, one see the home of the ship’s captain and that of the clerk who usually winters at this post. At the south west corner is a stone building with a tin roof, which make the front uniform. On the west side is a row of houses or sheds, one of which is named the cantine salope [Trollops’ Tavern]. This is where the régal is distributed upon the arrival of the canoes. \ldots\textsuperscript{89}

Additional buildings included, a counting house, prison, miscellaneous smiths’ shops, warehouses and canoe sheds where the vessels were constructed and stored. A strong palisade surrounded the entire complex on whose grounds more than 1,500 people gathered at mid-summer.\textsuperscript{90}

The North West Company’s move to Fort William from Grand Portage included their mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers who had been born and raised south of the international boundary.\textsuperscript{91} The prevailing fur-trade power structure and residency patterns were transplanted at Fort William, where the four primary status groups--1. company partners; 2. clerks, guides, and interpreters; 3. voyageurs and other contract servants; 4. “freemen”--all found new homes. Mixed-ancestry people occupied all these

\textsuperscript{88} Franchère, \textit{Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America}, 180-1 (entry of 14 July 1814); Cox, \textit{Adventures on the Colombia River}, 287 (entry of 16 August 1817); Morrison, \textit{Superior Rendezvous-Place}, 31-8.
\textsuperscript{89} Franchère, \textit{Journal of a Voyage}, 180-1 (entry of 14 July 1814).
\textsuperscript{90} Harmon, \textit{Sixteen Years in the Indian Country}, 93 (entry of July 1805); Cox, \textit{Adventures on the Colombia River}, 287 (entry of 16 August 1817).
\textsuperscript{91} Robert S. Miles’ Journal, 1818-1819, Page 14 (entry of 29 June 1818), F 431, MU 1391, Hudson’s Bay Company-General, Box 7, Item 10, Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), Toronto; A List of Servants at Lac La Pluie District, 1825-1826, HBCA B 105/z/1, fo. 3; Hamilton, “Dynamics of Social Complexity,” 220-23; Swan and Jerome, “The Collin Family at Thunder Bay,” 105.
ranks and lived according to their station. As the Earl of Selkirk observed, “Half-breeds” of all rank were in the North West Company’s employment “...mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of a better education as clerks.”

The sons and daughters of the fur-trade elite enjoyed membership in the top rung of local society. They resided with their parents at Fort William in the best circumstances that could be arranged. An American traveler, who visited the headquarters in 1823, was impressed by the fact that:

The accommodations which it affords were sufficient in the days of the prosperity of the North-West Company, to receive forty partners, and at least as many clerks, who, being all attended by their families, were provided with separate quarters.

Since the fort was a transit station for partners and clerks going in and out of the interior, their mixed-ancestry dependents would often remain for some time at this place where provisions were readily available. It was probably in one of these chambers that Eliza, daughter of John McDonald of Garth and Nancy Small, was born on New Year’s Day, 1804. Her parents, a Highland Scot and a mixed-ancestry (Scots-Cree) mother, had been married at the North West Company’s Isle a la Crosse post “according to the rites & ceremonies of that country” in 1799. Eliza’s four other siblings were born between Fort Qu’Appelle, Saskatchewan and Cornwall, Ontario.

Not all mixed-ancestry children, though, stayed with their parents until the age of maturity. Like Eliza McDonald, privileged youths from Fort William and Rainy Lake were sent to live in the Canadas for the benefits of a good education. This process was

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92 Cox, Adventures on the Colombia River, 288 (entry of 16 August 1817); Bigsby, Shoe and Canoe, 2:231; Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 196-8.
94 Keating, Narrative of an Expedition, 2: 174; Morrison, Superior Rendezvous-Place, 34-6, 53-4.
95 Cox, Adventures on the Colombia River, 288 (entry of 16 August 1817); Major Joseph Delafield, The Unfortified Boundary: A Diary of the First Survey of the Canadian Boundary Line From St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods, ed. Robert McElroy and Thomas Riggs, (New York: 1943), 402 (entry of 9 July 1823); HBCA B 231/a/15, fo.5; HBCA B 231/a/16, fo.1.
97 McDonald Family Bible; DCB, 9:481-3, s.v. “McDonald, John.”
98 Undated Obituary, [Mrs. John Duncan Campbell], Fonds Quesnel, P4/C2, 821, (1), McDonald, (Famille), Le Center d’histoire La Presqu’ile (hereafter ChP), Vaudreuil, Quebec; Brown, “Children of the Early Fur Trades,” 54.
certainly underway by the late eighteenth century, when discussions about such matters comes to light in surviving correspondence.99 Since so many partners and clerks of the Montreal-based concern were Highland Scots from the Eastern District’s Stormont and Glengarry counties, this Upper Canadian locale became a choice educational center for their mixed European-Indian ancestry progeny, where many of these children had previously been baptized.100 Dr. John Rae’s school, located in the hamlet of Williamstown, already a retirement community for Nor’Westers and their country wives, was only the most famous area facility to board students from the study region.101 Indeed, Rainy Lake’s Chief Factor, John Dugald Cameron, withdrew his two sons, Ranald and Duncan, from the Mackinaw Mission after a year and sent them to Dr. Rae instead, where the £25 annual tuition exposed each pupil to a rigorous course of reading, writing, geography, Latin, English, and mathematics.102 Teenagers often returned to the land of their youth in some capacity related to their fathers’ vocation.103

Fort William’s precincts were home to others in company employ, for “engagés” also had been encouraged to marry local women by their superiors. Consequently, all wives and children, regardless of rank, were provided for at company expense.104 Although spartan by modern standards, such “apartments for the mechanics” would be better than those allocated to military dependents in their particular garrisons.105 Retired

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99 Donald McIntosh to Christy McIntosh, 22 August 1816, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2198, Box 3, Item 1, AO; John MacDonald to James MacDonald, 6 August 1819, John “Le Borne” MacDonald Letters, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2201, Box 6, Item 2, AO; Same to Same, 27 August 1825, ibid., AO.


101 John MacKenzie to James Keith, 31 August 1827, Montreal Correspondence-Inward, HBCA B.134/c/4, fo. 261; John Duncan Campbell to Same, 13 October 1828, ibid., fo. 286; James Dugald Cameron to Same, 23 October 1828, ibid., fo. 309; Brown, Strangers in Blood, 37-42, 181; DCC, 10:605-10, s.v.” Rae, John.”

102 William A. Aitken to James Keith, 6 August 1828, HBCA B 134/c/4, fo. 105; John Rae to Same, 7 August 1828, ibid., fo. 113; Same to Same, 2 February 1829, HBCA B 134/c/5, fo. 76; Keith R. Widder, Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837, (East Lansing: 1999), 138.

103 Cox, Adventures on the Colombia River, 288 (entry of 16 August 1817); Brian L. Dunnigan, The Necessity of Regularity in Quartering Soldiers: The Organization, Material Culture and Quartering of the British Soldier on Michilimackinac, (Mackinac Island: 1999), 30-57; Sylvia R.
employees, known as “freemen,” were the other element of the mixed-ancestry group to reside at Fort William. However, they were not allowed to dwell within the gates, but given permission by the proprietors to settle with their families on the concern’s property. Gabriel Franchère noted in 1814 that:

On the other side of the river the land is cultivated and inhabited by former servants of the Company who have not saved any money; married to Indian women and burdened with heavy family responsibilities, they dare not return to Canada but prefer to grow a little corn, a few potatoes, etc., and living by fishing to going back to beg in a civilized country.106

This was also the arrangement at Rainy Lake, where a limited number of former employees were allowed to live near the North West establishment at the company’s pleasure.107

Two years after the new inland headquarters was opened, the North West Company took stock of its far-flung enterprise, having just absorbed the XY Company through a new partnership arrangement in 1804.108 A report was prepared by each of the fourteen western department heads, listing the number of their employees, dependents, and “Indian” clients. Although not a comprehensive tally— it does not for instance, report statistics on company operations east of Lake Superior, numbers of “freemen,” or all rival traders—the roster does provide a suggestive population morphosis. This 1805 enumeration fixed the number of “Ojibwa” living in the area around Fort William at 332 people: seventy males, eighty-four women, and 178 children.109 While the Kaministiquia watershed apparently experienced an increase over an earlier estimate by Duncan McGillivray, the region between Fort Frances and Kenora suffered a dramatic loss. From a potential high of 700 “Natives”, the 1805 survey now determined that only 103 men, 141, women, and 195 children resided along the shores of the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods water system.110 Out-migration may explain this disparity because family bands

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106 Franchère, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America*, 178 (entry of 8 July 1814); 182; Entry of 1 July 1815, Colin Robertson’s Diary, 1814-1817, HBCA E 10/1, 133-4.
107 HBCA B 105/a/5, fos. 1, 9; HBCA B 105/a/9, fo. 38; *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement viz: Return of an Address from the Honourable House of Commons to His Royal Highness The Prince Regent*, (London: 1819), 236.
were very nomadic. John Tanner, the white captive raised in that tribal society, remembered moving frequently between Grand Portage and Red River as harvesting or trading opportunities presented.\(^{111}\) One Nor’Wester at Rainy Lake offered another explanation, observing in 1817 that the “Saulteaux” “. . . were formerly a very powerful tribe; but smallpox, war, and rum, have considerably diminished their numbers.”\(^{112}\)

The European presence also fluctuated according to the season and the immediate needs of the fur trade. Not counting the summer highs, when at least 1,500 men congregated at the inland headquarters in July and a hundred or more men arrived at Rainy Lake with the Athabasca brigades, both facilities and their satellite stations in 1805 boasted a year-round complement of 108 employees between them: sixty-two at Fort William and forty-six at Rainy Lake.\(^{113}\) At the former installation, apparently thirty-five were “engagés” and the rest clerks, artisans, and support staff. The Rainy Lake detachment included six clerks, two guides, and three interpreters; the remainder were contract workers.\(^{114}\)

Statistics about the number of mixed European-Indian ancestry residents in the study area are more problematic because records are scarce and early writers classified them idiosyncratically. The 1805 North West census, for instance, notes that sixteen women and thirty-six children were dependents of the sixty-two white males salaried in the Fort William department. Similarly, the Rainy Lake post was home to ten women and an equal number of children.\(^{115}\) Although classified as “White,” this was an observation predicated upon their household heads’ racial origins, not an accurate description of individual family members. Indeed, every dependent listed was either “Indian” or of mixed European-Indian ancestry because, as one annotated copy of this document states, “The above women are all Indians, there not being a single white woman N. W. of Lake Superior.”\(^{116}\) Unfortunately, this contemporary exegesis too was a simplification, reflecting a bias that anyone with a brown complexion was an “Indian.” According to historians Jennifer S. H. Brown


\(^{112}\) Cox, Adventures on the Colombia River, 280 (entry of 16 August 1817).


\(^{114}\) A Listing of the North West Company Staff at its Posts, 1805, With Notations of Financial Standing and other Remarks, Masson Collection, MG 19-C1, Volume 55, Pages 15-16, LAC.


\(^{116}\) Zebulon Montgomery Pike, The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-6-7, ed. Elliott Coues, 3 vols. (New York: 1895), 1:286.
and Sylvia Van Kirk, many wives of North West Company retainers were already of mixed European-Indian ancestry by 1805 and this preference for daughters of the fur increased as more reached a marriageable age.117

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 presented both perils and promise for the North West Company’s trans-Atlantic commercial operations. The potential loss of supplies and furs to roving privateers was offset by the opportunity to regain access to trading territory signed away by Jay’s Treaty. Partners acted quickly by sending an expeditionary force of over a thousand men from Fort William to assist British troops in their attack on the American defenders at Michilimackinac and rouse tribal support for the Crown during the first summer of the conflict.118 Although they arrived too late to witness the garrison’s surrender, a similar force under retired Nor’Wester William McKay captured the American fort at Prairie du Chien two years later.119 British regiments around Montreal were reinforced by the appearance of another unit of several hundred men raised by the company.120 Called the Corps of Canadian Voyageurs, elements participated in early battles along the St. Lawrence River, being “excellent partisans, and from their superior knowledge of the country, were able to render material service during the war.”121 At least one mixed European-Indian ancestry (Scots-Cree) officer, Lieutenant Joseph McGillivray, whose mother resided at Fort William, was on active duty with the corps; other mixed European-Indian ancestry personnel from the study region, like Nicolas Chatelain, also served in any one of the numerous detachments fielded by the North West Company.122

Armistice in 1814 did not bring immediate peace to the North American interior. There, a conflict had been brewing for two years after a European colony was founded at Red River by the Earl of Selkirk. The Scottish aristocrat, driven by both philanthropic and business considerations, had establish this refuge for some

119 Robert S. Allen, His Majesty’s Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in The Defence of Canada, 1774-1815, (Toronto: 1992), 149-60; DCB, 6:464-6, s.v. “McKay, William.”
unfortunates dispossessed by the Highland clearances. As a major investor in the Hudson’s Bay Company, however, he also located the settlement in the major provisioning center of the western fur trade, where great quantities of pemmican were processed from the buffalo hunts. The plantation thus posed a threat to the livelihoods of the mixed European-Indian ancestry hunters of the area as well as the North West Company who relied upon this portable food source as nourishment for their men throughout the year.

Relations between all parties was amicable at first, with the North West Company and their mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers assisting the newcomers through the first winter. Matters subsequently soured after the colony’s governor, Miles Macdonnell, forbade the normal buffalo hunt and export of pemmican from the Earl of Selkirk’s 116,000 square mile land grant, called Assiniboia, without permission and then seized existing pemmican stocks of the Montreal fur traders by force. He then tried to evict the “Canadians,” claiming that they were trespassing on the Earl’s exclusive domain. Despite all these provocations, North West Company agents did not initially retaliate. Only after the 1814 annual meeting at Fort William were defensive measures taken to protect their business interests. Assertive partners, Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonell (Greenfield), were assigned to the Red River Department and all personnel there enjoined “to defend the Property at all Hazards.” Key to the success of their strategy would be the support provided by the mixed European-Indian ancestry residents of the area who owed both their paternity and economic well-being to the company which now sought their aid.

The association between the North West Company and its mixed European-Indian progeny was a complex relationship shaped by personal, social, and economic considerations. The connection between father and child was present at the most basic level, since Nor’Westers of all ranks had been encouraged to marry à la façon du pays

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128 Douglas, Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk, 4.
and had their own mixed European-Indian children living around Red River. Complementing this parental responsibility was a wider societal sense of clan obligation rooted in the Scottish character of the North West Company partnership who perceived themselves as Highland chieftains bound by the dictates of *noblesse oblige* to protect the welfare of their followers. Roderick MacKenzie, a partner and early historian of the company made this comparison when he stated that “. . . Every partner who had charge of an [sic] winter post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the Chieftain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of his dependents as of himself. . .” Finally, there existed joint economic interests, linking employer and employee in a common commercial pursuit because mixed European-Indian ancestry males were an important managerial and labor source for the North West Company. All of these interrelated currents played a role in the Red River cauldron, where the mixed European-Indian ancestry population asserted title to the soil and declared themselves a “New Nation” under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant in the year 1814.

Cuthbert Grant’s life through 1816 exemplifies the experience of some of the mixed European-Indian ancestry population affiliated with the Montreal fur traders. Born to a Scots father, who was a North West Company partner, and a woman of Cree descent, he was sent to Lower Canada as a ward of William McGillivray after his father’s death. Baptized and educated in Montreal, Grant was given a clerkship during the annual assembly convened at Fort William in 1812. He was on duty in the Upper Red River Department when the initial dispute with Selkirk’s agents erupted and was acknowledged a principal leader of the local mixed European-Indian ancestry group by the North West Company in the fall of 1814. Thus, he led the armed insurgency which contributed to the temporary dispersal of the interloper’s settlement the following year. Now recognized as “chief of the Half Breeds” by all parties involved, he worked under the aegis of Alexander McDonell (Greenfield) in the 1816 offensive that seized the Hudson’s Bay facility at Brandon House. Later, Grant was at the head of a mixed force of North West Company servants, “freemen,” and Indians who clashed with Governor Robert Semple’s colonial party at Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. The rout was complete

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129 Donald McIntosh to Christy McIntosh, 22 August 1816, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2198, Box 3, Item 1, AO.
132 Douglas, *Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk*, 5; Entry of 4 September 1815, Colin Robertson’s Diary, 1814-1817, HBCA E/10/1, Pages 205-6.
in only a few minutes with Semple and twenty others left dead on the battlefield. Selkirk’s plantation was abandoned again and would not have been reconstituted save for the direct intervention of the Earl himself.134

The Red River turmoil was a defining moment in the history of the mixed European-Indian ancestry population associated with the north-western fur trade. Two groups of mixed European-Indian ancestry people were involved: “the Canadian Half Breeds,” whose loyalties were largely with the North West Company, and those born around Hudson’s Bay Company outposts after the English concern began to tolerate country marriages in the late eighteenth century.135 Scholars have noted, however, that it was only amongst the former group that signs of a cohesive consciousness began to appear, ultimately evinced through the declaration of nationhood in 1814.136 In fact, Hudson’s Bay mixed-ancestry dependents in the conflict zone requested arms and training so that they could crush “…those lawless Rascals which the North West Company have with so little regard to every feeling of humanity brought in to Notice & rendered of Consequence.”137 Cuthbert Grant and his mixed European-Indian confreres, on the other hand, began to refer to each other as “countrymen,” an appellation which extended as far as the Eastern District of Upper Canada, where the mixed European-Indian ancestry dependents of the North West Company were receiving an education. As one partner explained to his sister, the Battle of Seven Oaks had recently been won by the “countrymen” of her mixed Scots-“Ojibwa” nephew, John McIntosh, who she was then boarding.138

134 Edmonton Post Journal, 1815-1816, HBCA B 60/a/15, fo. 47; Glyndwr Williams, ed., Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 1680-1870, (Winnipeg: 1975), 209-10; Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement, 75-86; Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, 181-95.
137 HBCA B 60/a/15, fo. 50; HBCA B 235/a/3, fo. 21; Miles Macdonell to the Earl of Selkirk, 14 September 1815, Selkirk Papers, MG 19-E1, Pages 1703-4, LAC.
138 Cuthbert Grant to Alexander Fraser, 13 March 1816, Selkirk Papers, MG 19-E1, Pages 8896-7, LAC; Narrative of James Sutherland Respecting Proceedings at Qu’Appelle in Winter of 1815-16, ibid., Page 1948, LAC; Donald McIntosh to Christy McIntosh, 22 August 1816, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2198, Box 3, Item 1, AO; Williams, ed., Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 217.
Aside from these singular references to “countrymen” in contemporary correspondence, no other early self-ascriptive material was located during the preparation of this report. Outsiders, however, had a great deal to say about the constituency of this “New Nation” which had dramatically appeared in British North America. Remarkably, these definitions had little to do with actual residence at the Red River flash-point, because most of that area’s mixed European-Indian ancestry males were employed in Fort William canoe brigades during the summer and were unable to participate in the active resistance.\(^{139}\) Rather than association with a particular geographic locale, connection to the North West Company seemed to be the defining mark of membership in this distinctive mixed-ancestry group. As the Earl of Selkirk succinctly expressed:

> These half-breeds (or Bois Brulés as they were now to be called) have been described as a Nation of independent Indians: but they are in fact with very few exceptions in the regular employment and pay of the North West Company, mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of better education as clerks. The latter are the progeny of partners of the Company, at whose expence most of them have been brought up, and through whose influence they may look to be themselves partners. These are the chiefs of this “New Nation.”\(^{140}\)

A substantial number of other eyewitnesses echoed the sentiment that “Bois Brulés” and “metifs” were mere synonyms for the “...children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different posts...”\(^{141}\) Even the prominent Red River settler, politician, and historian, Alexander Ross, declared that brulés could be found at the newly-established facilities constructed by the North West Company on the Columbia River and Pacific Ocean during this era.\(^{142}\)

While it is beyond the scope of this report to determine whether the Montreal-based fur traders were the actual progenitors of the “New Nation” or merely its patrons, there is strong evidence to demonstrate that the Nor’Wester partnership actively encouraged their mixed European-Indian ancestry kinsmen at this critical time. Such assistance came in the forms of military aid, logistical support, and political backing. All were crucial in the “Bois Brulés” struggle for survival against foreign colonists who appeared as a threat to the prior residents of Assiniboia.

A strong warrior spirit permeated the North West Company with many of its leaders belonging to families who had fought in British regiments during the American

\(^{139}\) Entry of 14 July 1815, Colin Robertson’s Diary, 1814-1817, HBCA E 10/1, Pages 148-9.
\(^{140}\) Douglas, Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk, 5.
\(^{141}\) Deposition of John Bourke, 16 September 1816, in Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement, xlix. See Attachment One for other similar observations.
\(^{142}\) Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 196; DCB, 8:765-8, s.v. “Ross, Alexander.”
Revolution. This natural ardor was enhanced by a dangerous work environment which required traders to be adept at arms for self-preservation. Such factors qualified both Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonell (Greenfield) to instruct their mixed European-Indian dependents in various military exercises. Tactical advice and logistical support too came from a similar source. The reinforcements sent from Cumberland House to Fort Qu’Appelle, where more than sixty men were subsisted in 1816, had received instructions to neutralize the opposition’s chain of command by shooting at enemy leaders. This advice was taken to heart by the detachment head, Thomas McKay, who brought down one of Selkirk’s principals in early exchanges at Seven Oaks. McKay by the way, described as “one of the best Shots in the Country and very cool and resolute among the Indians,” had been one of the children sent east to be baptized at Williamstown, Upper Canada at the age of six.

Political backing complemented the military and logistical support provided by the North West Company. The Montreal traders were the first to acknowledge publicly that their kinsmen were the rightful “. . .owners of the Country and Lords of the Soil . . . .”, at Assiniboia, not the Earl of Selkirk and his colonists. This resolve was disseminated to a wide audience through the press and by way of pamphlets published on both sides of the Atlantic. A petition addressed to the Governor of Canada from “the Free half breeds of Red River,” expressing concern about the loss of their lands, was also ghost

144 Manuscript by Lord Selkirk Relating to Red River, n.d., Selkirk Papers, MG 19-E1, Page 12851, LAC; John Duncan Campbell to James Keith, 4 February 1827, HBCA B 134/c2, fo. 11.
147 Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, 186; Report of the Proceedings Connected With the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company, 295.
148 Williams, ed., Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 222; Entry No. 1180, 9 November 1804, Registers of Reverend John Bethune, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Williamstown, F 798, Church Record Collection, AO.
written by Nor’Westers for circulation in the capital. Finally, the mixed European-Indian ancestry insurgents were presented with a distinctive flag at Fort William by the partners at the 1815 annual meeting. This emblem of nationhood—a white infinity sign, first on a red, and later a blue field—was repeatedly displayed throughout the conflict with the Selkirk interest and was flown in triumph over captured Hudson's Bay Company standards.

The North West Company’s deep involvement in the defense of their kinsmen’s rights came at great cost. Retaliation was swift from the opposing camp who viewed Fort William as the real headquarters of the insurgency. En route to Red River from Montreal, the Earl of Selkirk with a retinue of disbanded Swiss mercenaries appeared in arms before Fort William’s gates. On 13 August 1816, his troops arrested nine North West Company partners for complicity in the Seven Oaks’ affair. All were sent to Montreal as prisoners while the peer’s forces occupied the fort for the winter. A second detachment was dispatched to Rainy Lake where the next key installation was situated. Here, the facility was seized, supplies plundered, and mixed European-“Ojibwa” ancestry personnel arrested for rousing local warriors in defense of North West Company interests. Repatriation of all the buildings and chattel was ordered by London authorities the following summer. Hudson’s Bay forces, however, remained nearby, constructing a fort to compete with the Montreal traders of the North West Company. Forty-three officers and servants were stationed there, almost doubling the European population in the area.

3.4. 1821 to 1850

The ruinous struggle between the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company for control of the fur trade could not continue for ever. London officials, alarmed by reports of unrest and bloodshed, intervened to stop to the chaos in their
remote dependency. Parliamentary legislation, upholding the Hudson’s Bay Company’s exclusive commercial rights in Rupert’s Land plus the imminent expiry of the North West Company’s own partnership agreement, led agents for both concerns to arrange a union under the former’s name. In exchange for a strong presence amongst the Chief Factors and Chief Traders entitled to share in the consolidated venture’s profits, Nor’Westers agreed to reorient trade and supplies through York Factory instead of Montreal. This measure ended Fort William’s primacy because it became a mere subsidiary station within the new regime’s Lake Superior Department, headquartered at Michipicoten. The effects of its reduction were quick to see. An American military officer, Major Joseph Delafield, observed in 1823 that:

Fort William is a very large establishment in decay. It is contained within pickets enclosing acres and at each angle of the square has a block house, and some bastions included for artillery pieces. Two or three small pieces were mounted. The entrance also has been strengthened since Lord Selkirk’s attack upon them, when he made prisoner of the principal agent, forcing the gate with fixed bayonets, before they had time to close it, sending his men down the river in two batteaux covered with oil cloths to conceal them. The gate is now secured by a portcullis & block house. Since the coalition of the Hudson’s Bay and North West Companies, this post has become very insignificant & fast going into ruin.

The Canadian facility at Rainy Lake was likewise abandoned since it was no longer needed to replenish the Athabasca brigades now supplied from York Factory. Only the smaller Hudson’s Bay instillation remained in use as a commercial operation and landing along the historic canoe route between east and west.

Union in 1821 resulted in a drastic reduction of personnel employed by the consolidated concern, as the work force was reduced to a third its former size. Fort William became a shadow of its former self almost overnight. From a prior strength of over sixty European men when it was the North West Company’s headquarters, only fourteen men

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157 Ibid., 2:406-13; Davidson, North West Company, 175-83.
159 Delafield, Unfortified Boundary, 400-1 (entry of 6 July 1823).
160 F. N. A. Garry and John Bouinot, eds., “Diary of Nicholas Garry, Deputy-Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company from 1822-1835,” Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2d ser., 6 (Ottawa: 1900), 126 (entry of 28 July 1821); Delafield, Unfortified Boundary, 422-3 (entry of 27 July 1823).
were stationed there in 1825.162 Four years later, only ten were under contract.163 The complex’s decrepit aspect, described by one traveler as in a “ruinous state but a shadow of departed greatness. It is now occupied as a petty post, a few Indians and two or three old voyageurs being the sole representatives of the crowded throngs of former times.”164 A skeleton staff of Bay men were simply not able to do the required maintenance on a facility which formerly had boasted six times the number of workers. European population figures did not increase significantly around Fort William until well after the 1850 Robinson Treaty, with the building of the Dawson route and the appearance of the military expeditionary force sent to quell the first Riel rebellion in 1870.165

A sharp decline in local “Saulteaux” residents also became apparent after Fort William’s role in the fur trade was diminished. In 1805, the number had been 332 people.166 John Haldane, the resident Chief Factor, noted in his 1824 annual report, however, that “The Indians about Fort William are not so numerous as they were some years ago some having gone to Nipigon others to Fond du Lac, and a small portion to St. Mary.”167 Only forty adult males and teenage hunters remained to trade at the post.168 A decade later, numbers had increased only slightly: the 1831 district summary recorded a total of thirty families at the fort. Their numbers consisted of fifty men and boys above the age of sixteen, fifty-three women, thirty-three boys, and forty-seven girls. Perhaps a quarter, however, resided on the south side of the international boundary around the old Grand Portage site.169 An 1859 Robinson Treaty annuity paylist provides a last snapshot of “Ojibwa” residents at Fort William during the study period. This government return noted that the resident band consisted of 168 members.170

Although the real numbers of mixed-ancestry residents at Fort William dropped after 1821 when most employees were dismissed, their percentage of the overall local population increased. Chief Trader Roderick MacKenzie noted in his district report of 1828-1829 that of the fourteen Hudson’s Bay retainers--ten servants, three “freemen,” and himself--five were married with a total of twenty children between them. As with the previous regime, some of the wives and all of the children were of mixed European-Indian ancestry. MacKenzie and his “Ojibwa” spouse alone accounted for seven of the

163 HBCA B 231/e/6, fo.1.
167 HBCA B 231/e/1, fo. 2.
168 HBCA B 231/e/6, fo. 1.
169 HBCA B 231/e/7, fo.1.
170 Robinson Treaty Annuity Paylists, 1850-1859, RG 10, Volume 9497, Pages 95-6, LAC.
establishment’s children. The next supervisor, Donald McIntosh, recorded in 1834 that his “Ojibwa” wife and four children shared the company of six other women and their thirteen offspring. There were others, however, residing in the fort’s environs, but who were not always considered part of its official establishment. The most prominent were the wives and mixed European-Indian ancestry progeny of company gentry who over-wintered at the post on their journey to meet their husbands stationed at other establishments. For instance, George Gladman’s family arrived from Montreal in August 1835 and did not depart for Norway House until June of the following year. A second group were the “freemen” who had formerly been company servants, but were now occasional workers, residing in the neighborhood with their households. They were a significant presence in the vicinity whose activities are mentioned frequently in post journals. Finally, there were those of mixed European-“Ojibwa” ancestry who preferred to live with surrounding bands and who periodically visited Fort William on their seasonal rounds. Such individuals were usually identified in post documents by their Christian name, followed by the appellation, “half-breed.”

Between the years 1821 to 1840, John Charles Sayer appears to be the most eminent of the mixed European-“Ojibwa” ancestry group to return to his mother’s people. The son of a North West Company partner and an “Ojibwa” woman, he had been a clerk at Rainy Lake until 1821, when his employment was terminated in the new concern after he refused to take a major salary reduction. Despite being displaced, he remained a fixture around Rainy Lake for many years, living a transient life as a hunter and trapper with his father-in-law’s band. John Dugald Cameron, the Chief Factor at Rainy Lake, noted in the post journal for 1825-1826 that:

. . .Sayer the Free Man got afraid of the high water and has abandoned his usual Haunt. He arrived here last Night. He says [he] intends going to the Plains. I have advised him to go to red River and become a Settler. He is however a Lazy drunken Scamp and prefers leading a Vagabond Life from one turn to an other than to settle in a Place when he would be obliged to work.

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171 See Document No. 2 for a list of Fort William resident families in 1829. HBCA B 231/e/6, fo. 1; Williams, ed., Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 219.
172 HBCA B 231/e/9, fo. 1; Williams, ed., Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 217.
173 HBCA B 231/a/15, fo.5; HBCA B 231/a/16, fo.1.
174 HBCA B 231/a/18, fos. 2, 3, 4, 12; HBCA B 231/a/9, fos. 2, 9; HBCA B 231/a/13, fo. 13; Ruth Swan and Edward A. Jerome, “The Collin Family at Thunder Bay, 105-11.
175 HBCA B 231/a/13, fos. 9, 13, 27; HBCA B 231/a/14, fo.17; HBCA B 231/a/16, fos. 18, 20, 26.
176 Entry of 16 August 1822, David Thompson Journal, No. 52, 1 August 1822-28 February 1823, Page 15, MS 4429, AO; ibid., Page 64, AO; HBCA 105/a/11, fo. 21; HBCA 105/a/14, fos. 1, 22; HBCA 105/a/18, fo. 5.
177 HBCA B 105/a/11, fo. 12.
The former clerk, however, went east instead of west. By the mid-1830s, he was residing at Grand Portage with his wife and children, but trading at Fort William.\(^ {178} \) He utilized the fort as a safe haven, whenever food supplies or the crops he had planted for his family failed.\(^ {179} \)

Sayer was just one of the employees at Rainy Lake discharged as a result of the 1821 merger, when a combined workforce of almost 100 staff and men was initially cut to thirty-two and then almost halved again in 1822.\(^ {180} \) Increased complements in 1825, however, did not necessarily mean a greater European hinterland presence because the new concern began to rely more heavily upon indigenous manpower to meet its labor needs. Of the thirty servants stationed at Rainy Lake over the winter of 1825-1826, nineteen were European, one was a St. Regis Mohawk, and the remainder were of mixed European-Indian ancestry.\(^ {181} \) Population counts of Hudson’s Bay Company employees at Rainy Lake become more problematic after this date because post journals only survive through the late 1830s. The birth of mixed European-Indian ancestry continued to be recorded on their pages, however, as do the activities of mixed-ancestry servants or “freemen” who were still permitted to retire there as late as 1863.\(^ {182} \) Certainly, some of these families—surnamed Jourdain, Mainville, Morriseau, and Linkater—were later included amongst the “Halfbreeds of Fort Frances” in 1871 negotiations with Dominion representatives about construction of the Dawson route through their territory.\(^ {183} \)

Statistics about the “Ojibwa” population are more complete and show a healthy rise in numbers by the latter half of the nineteenth century. A “List of the Rainy Lake District Indians” included in the second extant Hudson’s Bay departmental report, notes that 107 hunters, 118 women, and 455 children lived in the area.\(^ {184} \) Numbers fell through the rest of the decade. There were fifty fewer “Ojibwa” living in the district when the next population report was filed: 195 hunters, 183 women, and 252 children. Of these, eighteen hunters, nineteen women, and 30 children traded with the Americans on the south side of the international boundary and no notice might have been paid them in the

\(^{178}\) HBCA B 231/a/16, fo. 9; HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 20.
\(^{179}\) HBCA B 231/a/16, fo. 20; HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 12.
\(^{180}\) HBCA B 105/e/2, fo. 4
\(^{181}\) This employee list is contained in the Key Documents Section, Document No. 1, A List of Servants at Lac La Pluie District, 1825-1826, HBCA B 105/z/1, fo. 3.
\(^{182}\) Outfit 1863, List of Clerks, Postmasters & Engd Servants in Lac La Pluie District, Fort Alexander Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1870, HBCA B 4/z/1, p. 16; HBCA B 105/a/12, fos. 26, 31; HBCA B 105/a/15, fo. 10.
\(^{183}\) Document No. 3, Dawson Route Paylists (Fort Frances) Pre-Treaty 3, 1871, RG 10, Volume, 1675, Page 71, LAC; Outfit 1863, List of Clerks, Postmasters & Engd Servants in Lac La Pluie District, HBCA B 4/z/1, p. 16.
\(^{184}\) HBCA B 105/e/2, Pages. 3, 11-14.
tally of seven years before.\footnote{HBCA B 105/e/9, fos. 4-12.} A generation later, 958 “Ojibwa” living around the shores of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods received payment from the Canadian government in 1871 for a right of way through their territory.\footnote{Dawson Route Paylists (Fort Frances) Pre-Treaty 3, 1871, RG 10, Volume 1675, Page 70, LAC.}

“Saulteaux” reaction to the 1821 commercial union was cool at best since chiefs throughout the study region knew that hunting bands would no longer benefit from the competition between the two former British companies.\footnote{Garry and John Bouinot, eds., “Diary of Nicholas Garry,” 126, (entry of 28 July 1821); B 105/e/2 fo. 4.} Their concern was heightened a year later by the appearance of surveyors sent to determine the international boundary between British North America and the United States, first negotiated after the American Revolution and again ratified at Ghent in 1814. Another three decades would pass, however, before the final border was determined in 1842.\footnote{Bigsby, \textit{Shoe and Canoe}, 2:266, 298-302, 305; Carroll, \textit{A Good and Wise Measure}, 21-30, 117-44, 264-306.} David Thompson, the celebrated North West Company surveyor and cartographer represented the Crown’s interests in this endeavor. He worked in the area for two years with his Welsh-Cree (ancestry) son, Samuel, and the mixed European-“Ojibwa” former North West Company clerk, John Sayer, who Thompson had hired as a guide and interpreter.\footnote{Entry of 15 August 1822, David Thompson Journal, No. 52, 1 August 1822-28 February 1823, Page 14, MS 4429, AO; Entry of 24 July 1823, ibid., No. 55, 1 March 1823-14 September 1823, Page 46, AO; [Undated Entry], ibid., No. 57, 15 September 1823- 16 June 1824; Page 64, AO; \textit{DCB}, 8:878-84, s.v. “Thompson, David.”} The results of exhaustive field work were drawn on detailed maps prepared by Thompson at his home in Williamstown, Upper Canada. The cartographer used this patronage opportunity to hire another surveyor, William McDonald, his Scots-Cree (ancestry) nephew, to assist him in this important cartographic exercise after the expedition was completed.\footnote{Eustache Antoine Lefebvre de Bellefeuille to Jacob Oldham, 7 October 1823, John MacDonald of Garth Papers, Correspondence famille MacDonald, P30/E,1, ChP; Entry of 18 August 1825, David Thompson Journal, No. 64, 12 October 1825-16 March 1827, Page 58; Burns, “Inverarden,” 166, 209.} Unfortunately, Thompson’s journals were never published and one must rely on the published accounts of the American representatives for information about the residents of the study region.

The writings of Major Joseph Delafield provide some particulars about the mixed European-Indian ancestry population throughout the Boundary Waters in the early 1820s. Incidental reference to wedded couples suggest that social status and proximity were great determinants in marriage patterns. Certainly, the foremost example of endogamic union at Rainy Lake was the match between Chief Trader Simon McGillivray, the Scots-Cree son of the leading North West Company partner, William McGillivray, and the
French-“Ojibwa” daughter of “freeman,” Vincent Roy: one-time interpreter in the North West Company’s Fond du Lac Department. The incongruity of the arrangement puzzled Delafield who wrote that:

Mr. McGillivray is a half breed, and the most accomplished & intelligent of any that I have met. His travels in Europe, and European fashions are ill assorted, I mean the relation of the first, and display of the latter, with the squaw wife and savage inmates that surround him. His wife tho’ a native is a half breed, upon recollection.

Their son, Napoleon Bonaparte McGillivray, was baptized at the nearest church in Red River on 18 August 1825.

The servants and “freemen” of mixed European-Indian ancestry had less opportunity to choose a comparable companion because there were fewer individuals available in the study region. Moreover, evidence suggests that such women, like Vincent Roy’s daughter, or Fort William’s Charlotte Fainiant and one of the Collin daughters, married Caucasians or higher status mixed European-Indian ancestry males if the opportunity arose. Mixed European-Indian ancestry males of this lower status group, consequently, picked suitable mates from a larger pool of “Ojibwa” females. Nicolas Chatelain’s marriage is illustrative. Although a well-paid interpreter, post records intimate that he married into a local clan since his wife is described as a “squaw.” Two children had been born to this union by 1825.

A distinctive “Half-breed” consciousness which first emerged as a result of the Red River insurgency, survived the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821. In fact, this particular population increased in numbers as the Hudson’s Bay mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers were incorporated by their rival counterparts. A contemporary of Major Delafield’s, William Keating, also traveled between Fort William and the Lake of the Woods during the 1820s at the behest of the American government. His use of the term “Bois Brulés”--a nickname applied to the North West Company’s mixed European-Indian ancestry employees by French

191 A Listing of the North West Company Staff at its Posts, 1805, With Notations of Financial Standing and other Remarks, Masson Collection, MG 19-C1, Volume 55, Page 13, LAC. Delafield, Unfortified Boundary, 423 (entry of 28 July 1823); R. Harvey Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-1831, (Toronto: 1940), 71.
192 Delafield, Unfortified Boundary, 432 (entry of 5 August 1823).
193 Red River Settlement-Register of Baptisms, 1820 to 1841, HBCA E 4/1a, fo. 57.
194 Miscellaneous Items, Fort William, 1817-1858, HBCA B 231/a/1, fos. 54-5; HBCA 231/a/17, fo. 14.
195 HBCA 105/a/16, fo. 26.
196 HBCA 105/a/15, fo. 32; HBCA 105/e/4, fo. 4; HBCA 105/a/13, fo. 7.
197 HBCA 105/e/6, fo. 13.
Canadian voyageurs—to describe four of his canoe men is instructive, suggesting the development of this more inclusive form of identity that had not been present a decade before. Prior to the merger of the rival companies, contemporaries realized that the mixed European-Indian ancestry population associated with the Montreal traders already considered themselves to be a distinct people. An erstwhile Hudson’s Bay Company clerk testified in court that the “Bois Brulés” did not “. . .consider themselves as white men, or that they are so considered by white men, nor do they consider themselves only on a footing with the Indians . . . .” What had formerly been a sobriquet associated with the North West Company’s mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers, appears to have become a title equally applied to all mixed European-Indian ancestry employees of the united concern. Weight of numbers, however, was not the sole reason for the assimilation of the old Hudson’s Bay faction by their North West Company confreres. Societal leaders, prejudice, and political events also helped fashion a distinctive consciousness amongst the study region’s mixed European-Indian ancestry residents.

Societal leaders contributed to the early development of a separate mixed European-Indian ancestry ethos at local trading centers. It is important to realize that the posts at Fort William and Rainy Lake after 1821 were staffed by assorted personnel who had worked for both concerns prior to unification. The Chief Factors or Traders through the 1830s, however, were all former partners of the North West Company who had been inculcated with the notion that their mixed European-Indian ancestry dependents were a distinct people. In fact, the principal at Rainy Lake for many years, John Dugald Cameron, was a major supporter of the Red River insurgents during their struggle against Lord Selkirk and his settlers. His subordinate, Chief Trader Simon McGillivray, had actually led a force of his mixed European-Indian ancestry “countrymen” to assist Cuthbert Grant in 1816. Fort William’s Donald McIntosh, similarly, was known to accept the fact that his Scots-“Ojibwa” children were members of this “New Nation” by birth and a mixed European-Indian ancestry clerk, Roderick McKenzie, had also been a participant in the resistance. Both men lived at a place where the common folk were known to revile the memory of Lord Selkirk and all that he

198 Keating, Narrative of an Expedition, 2:64, 72, 85.
199 Report of the Proceedings Connected With the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company, 152.
201 Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council, 71; Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement, xxiv, xxix.
stood for since he had tried to destroy their way of life by force of arms. Accordingly, sentiments expressed about the unique identity of mixed European-Indian personnel or “freemen” in these local contexts may not have been discouraged by these post commanders who had demonstrated sympathy for this point of view.

Prejudice against mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals, which increased in Hudson’s Bay Company management circles during George Simpson’s tenure as governor, may have also fostered solidarity amongst this people. The governor himself considered those of mixed European-Indian ancestry incapable of great advancement. His frequent disparaging remarks about the conceited “half breed race” exacerbated tensions already caused by his cavalier treatment of mixed European-Indian ancestry women, followed by the abandonment of his country wife and children. Scorn at the top may have been magnified by contempt from below, when outsiders sojourned at a post. In a celebrated incident on New Year’s Day, an altercation between two individuals almost sparked a brawl amongst the different residents at Fort William. After the traditional holiday present of food and drink had been dispensed, the post journal for 1838 records that:

. . .there was some Squabbling between Christian the Cooper and Michel Collin the Freeman &c a few Blows exchanged which was near having been the cause of a general Fray between the Half Breeds and Sailors.

Such incidents of discrimination or violence against mixed European-Indian ancestry people would represent the repressive other against which a set of disparate individuals could coalesce. As historian Linda Colley has argued, fear of inimical groups can knit those of lesser differences together.

Political forces were the final element in the construction of an ethnic identity amongst the mixed European-Indian ancestry population. In this case, treaty negotiations between the United States government and “Chippewa” relations acknowledged the that mixed European-“Chippewas” were deserving of recompense for a series of land

203 Donald McIntosh to Christy McIntosh, 22 August 1816, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2198, Box 3, Item 1, AO; HBCA 231/a/17, fo. 7; HBCA 231/a/9, fo. 8; Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, 181; Delafield, Unfortified Boundary, 449 (entry of 20 August 1823).
204 Brown, Strangers in Blood, 204-9.
206 HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 17.
surrenders. Pivotal players included the Roy family from Rainy Lake who were listed amongst those entitled to receive part of the $100,000 compensation package stipulated by the 1837 treaty signed at St. Peters. Vincent Roy, the younger, a “freeman” and Chief Trader Simon McGillivray’s brother-in-law, had worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company in a variety of capacities at Rainy Lake and was a considerable presence throughout the study region. He rose to prominence amongst his mixed European-“Chippewa” kin on the south side of the international boundary and was eventually acknowledged as a “Chief” of the “Chippewa” half-breeds at the 1847 Fond du Lac Treaty negotiated with the American government. His conduct provided a viable model for the mixed European-“Ojibwa” ancestry residents of Fort William and Fort Frances who would insist upon inclusion when Canadian treaties were being negotiated during the later half of the nineteenth century.

Post-merger Hudson’s Bay Company records provide the most detail, such as they are, into the yearly activities of the mixed European-Indian ancestry people through their participation in the fur trade. Like residency and marriage patterns, status also determined an individual’s conduct which included aspects of both European and “Ojibwa” seasonal rounds. For all, however, the fur-trade calendar began in the late summer with the arrival of the supply boats from York Factory or Michipicoten that had been crewed in part by “half-breed” servants accompanied by some of their dependents. Stores of food and merchandise were immediately divided for the use of the satellite posts, according to the expected needs of the trading season which was near at hand. A dance was held just before the different teams departed for their respective winter quarters. Families generally accompanied the trading party if it was determined that they could be adequately subsisted. Clerks managed the post and its trade operations while the servants provided all the labor. It was in these locations that the greatest concentration of mixed European-Indian ancestry employees might occur.

210 John Dugald Cameron to George Simpson, 26 May 1829, HBCA D 5/3, fo. 355; HBCA B 105/a/18, fo. 2; HBCA B 105/e/2, fo. 14.
211 Charles J. Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, 2 vols. (Washington: 1904), 2:569. This Chippewa ceded all their remaining territory east of the Mississippi River and south of Lake Superior by this treaty. They were paid $34,000.00 in a lump sum and received another $1,000.00 in annual installments until 1893.
212 HBCA B 105/e/4, fo. 2; HBCA B 105/a/10, fo. 1; HBCA B 105/a/11, fos. 1, 3; HBCA B 231/a/8, fo. 6; HBCA B 231/a/11, fo. 7.
213 HBCA B 105/a/10, fo. 3; HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 7.
214 HBCA B 105/a/6, fo. 6; HBCA B 105/a/10, fo. 3.
215 HBCA B 105/a/11, fos. 8-9, 29; HBCA B 105/a/14, fo. 22; HBCA B 105/a/19, fo. 6.
The Rainy Lake journal for 1828 notes that the auxiliary post at Bois Blanc was manned by all “natives of the country” except for its commander, Thomas McMurray. Similarly, the station at White Fish Lake in 1835 was inhabited by its manager whose subordinates were listed as, “. . . Primeau, Manville Jos. Guinon with their families in all Eighteen persons young & old . . .”

The state and amount of provisions was a concern throughout the winter trading season. Not only were the company facilities home to employees, but local “Saulteaux” bands could appear, requesting food if game was scarce. All available hands were then pressed into service. A fall fishery had been established at Fort William especially to supplement winter rations; mixed European-Indian ancestry “freemen” were often paid to perform this duty. Fur-trade wives also became especially helpful at this time. These “women of the fort” would utilize their harvesting skills in efforts to maintain the larder. The tedium of fort life was broken by celebrations on St. Andrew’s Day and the Christmas period. Employees and “freemen” gathered for the festivities which included food, drink, and at least one dance. The solemnity of 25 December, when hymns would be sung and a sermon read by the Chief Factor or Trader, gave way to merriment on New Year’s Day which was greeted with a discharge of musketry and the staccato of drums. The next change in daily routine occurred in the early spring when the women left the fort for the sugar bush. At Rainy Lake, this was apparently a female preserve which provided a major revenue source when they sold or traded their surplus to the Hudson’s Bay Company.

The end of the sugaring season was followed by the return of the trading parties from their winter station. Fur packs they brought with them were prepared for shipment to York Factory or Michipicoten and then dispatched by early June. Employees whose time had expired were offered other contracts at this time or were sent either to Red River or back to Canada. One observer remembered seeing canoes filled with

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216 HBCA B 105/a/13, fo. 2.
217 HBCA B 105a/19, fo. 6.
218 HBCA B 105/a/11, fo. 21; HBCA B 231/e/3, fo. 2; HBCA B 231/e/9, fo. 1.
219 HBCA B 231/a/8/, fo. 8; HBCA B 231/a/11, fo. 9; HBCA B 231/a/15, fo. 9; HBCA B 231/e/9, fo. 1.
220 HBCA B 105/a/14, fos. 9, 31, 39; HBCA B 105/a/12, fo. 30, HBCA 105/a/15, fo. 11; HBCA B 231/a/18, fo. 3.
221 HBCA B 105/a/4, fo. 11; HBCA B 105/a/9, fo 39; HBCA B 105/a/10, fo. 5; HBCA B 105/a/11, fo. 14; HBCA B 231/a/9, fo. 17.
222 HBCA B 105/a/11, fo. 15.
223 HBCA B 105/a/12, fos. 17-17; HBCA B 105/a/18, fo. 12; HBCA B 231/a/8, fo. 24; HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 23.
224 HBCA B 105/a/14, fo. 1.
225 HBCA B 105/a/14, fo. 3; HBCA B 231/a/9/ fo. 2.
226 HBCA B 105/a/13, fo. 13; HBCA B 105/a/16, fo. 2; HBCA B 105/a/20, fo. 1; HBCA B 231/a/8, fo. 1; HBCA B 231/a/11, fo. 7; HBCA B 231/a/13, fos. 5, 8; HBCA B 231/a/16, fo. 8.
. . . discharged clerks with their families, and broken-down and superannuated voyageurs, and freemen, all to seek their fortunes in some new mode of life, when set free in Montreal.\textsuperscript{227}

Those remaining behind faced an increased work load with wives and children assisting around the facility. Farming was a major enterprise at both Forts William and Frances because winter survival was often contingent upon food supplies grown in the summer.\textsuperscript{228} By the time the crops were ready, the company’s boats would have returned from their long summer journey and more personnel would be available to assist in the harvest.\textsuperscript{229}

The mixed European-Indian ancestry people in the study region evolved from the fur trade and drew its unique character from this particular activity. Travelers remarked upon the fact that this group was distinct precisely because they were an exotic mixture of European and Indian, uniting “. . . the best qualities of the two races. . . .” and living in proximity to Hudson’s Bay Company posts.\textsuperscript{230} Their knowledge of local tongues as well as English or French made them indispensable translators for outsiders. Indeed the terms “Half-Breed” and “interpreter” were often synonymous. Henry Youle Hind was just one of many newcomers to note that a speech delivered by an “Ojibwa” chief “. . . was interpreted by a half-breed attached to the expedition. . . .”\textsuperscript{231} Apparel too set some of the mixed European-Indian ancestry people apart from either parental group. As one British sojourner at Fort Frances wrote, “. . .the half-breed, half savage, half civilised, wearing a peculiar dress, to mark him to a certain extent as a dependent of the company . . . .”\textsuperscript{232} A list of clothing sent to mixed Scottish-Indian ancestry children in Glengarry County from their parents in the \textit{pays d’en haut} suggests that such garments included, “garnished” shoes—presumably decorated moccasins—"ceintures", buffalo robes, and “capotes”: all items associated with the fur trade.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{227} Delafield, \textit{Unfortified Boundary}, 427 (entry of 30 July 1823).
\textsuperscript{228} HBCA B 105/e/4, fo. 1; HBCA B 231/a/8, fo. 4; HBCA B 231/a/9, fo. 2; HBCA B 231/a17, fo. 29.
\textsuperscript{229} HBCA B 105/a/10, fo. 4; HBCA B 231/a/8/, fo. 9.
\textsuperscript{231} Hind, \textit{Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition}, 1:33, 46.HBCA B105/e4, fo. 4; Huyshe, \textit{Red River Expedition}, 145.
\textsuperscript{232} Peter O’Leary, \textit{Travels and Experiences in Canada, the Red River Territory and the United States}, (London: 1877), 133.
\textsuperscript{233} John MacDonald to James MacDonald, 19 June 1819, John “Le Borne” MacDonald Letters, F 431, MU 2201, North West Company Records, Box 6, Item 2, AO; Donald McIntosh to Christy McIntosh, 22 August 1816, North West Company Records, F 431, MU 2198, Box 3, Item 1, AO.
Another distinctive feature of the mixed European-Indian group in the study region was their early embrace of Christianity, regardless of denominational affiliation. Indeed, one of its number, the Scots-"Ojibwa" son of John Dugald Cameron, James, became a Baptist missionary to his mother’s people near Michipicoten in the late 1830s.234 Despite the absence of resident clerics through most of the study period, however, children were christened at the earliest opportunity.235 The relief felt by parents at the arrival of a priest or minister is apparent from an entry in the 1837 Rainy Lake post journal. On 19 June of that year five canoes put ashore from Montreal with a priest as passenger. He was given little time to himself; the journal notes that “... after resting themselves 2 1/2 hours during which time no less than 7 Children were baptized the brigade preceded on their destination...”236 Matters improved somewhat with the founding of missions near the forts. Methodists were the first to place representatives at Rainy Lake in 1840 who met with little success amongst the "Ojibwa."237 Allen Salt, however, who served there in the mid-1850s, was well-received by Protestant and French “half breeds” alike who attended his services and allowed him to officiate at baptisms, weddings, and funerals.238 Jesuits, to the east, were already ministering at Fort William by this time, having established a temporary mission in 1842 followed by the construction of a permanent residence and chapel seven years later.239

Mineral wealth remained the great untapped resource of the western Great Lakes region despite mid-eighteenth century published British accounts, noting its presence, accessibility, and potential.240 Speculation for copper and other valuable ores did not begin in earnest along Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula until 1842 and three years passed before permission was granted for exploration along the northern shores of Lake

“Ceintures” were woven belts adapted for use in the fur trade. “Capotes” were hooded jackets made from woolen blankets that were a staple item in the fur trade.

234 HBCA B 231/a/18, fo. 8; John Dugald Cameron to James Hargrave, 25 April 1841, in Glazebrook, ed., Hargrave Correspondence, 345; John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, or, The Canadian Itinerants’ Memorial, (Toronto: 1874), 226; O’Leary, Travels and Experiences in Canada, 133.

235 HBCA Fort Alexandria Post Journal, 1822-1823, B 4/a/5, fo. 13; HBCA B 231/a/17, fo. 2.

236 HBCA B 105/a/20, fo. 2.


238 Journal Entries of 1; 8, 10 September 1854, 21 October 1854, 24 December 1854, 4 November 1855, Allen Salt Fonds, File 1, Journal, 25 April 1854-11 November 1855, Pages 11-12, 19, 25, 51, MG 29-D3, LAC.

239 John Swantson to George Simpson, 2 September 1842, HBCA D 5/7, fo. 229; John MacKenzie to Same, 28 December 1849, HBCA D/26, fo. 752.

240 Carver, Travels Through the Interior Parts of North-America, 138-40.
Superior. A prospecting party investigated potential sites around Fort William that year, but mining did not begin in the study area until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although this new venture did not rely upon “Saulteaux” participation for operational success, local bands recognized the economic potential of their tribal lands and began lobbying the Canadian government for recompense. Public attention to their grievances was heightened in 1849 when they seized a mining camp on Mica Bay that was operating on unceded territory. Authorities responded a year later by negotiating a series of land surrenders south and east of Rupert’s Land, known as the Robinson Treaties. “Ojibwa” tribal representatives from Fort William signed the treaty for their band; the local mixed European-Indian ancestry group of sixteen families also became beneficiaries of the settlement and began receiving annuity payments in 1852.

3.5. 1850 to 1875

Fort William’s environs remained fairly undisturbed for two decades after the Robinson Treaty. Aside from a few mining sites located in 1849, government surveyors did not make a consequential appearance again until 1860, when Thomas W. Herrick was given the task of establishing a town plot and two townships, called Neebing and Paipoonge. There was little sustained interest shown by the public, however, when lots began be sold the following year at fifty cents an acre. At that time, a provisional judicial district was formed with its headquarters at Sault Ste. Marie, but a police force and court house were not in operation at Fort William until the early 1870s. The first civic election was held in 1873 when only a few hundred people were living in the new

243 John MacKenzie to George Simpson, 11 February 1847, HBCA D 5/19, fo. 223.
247 John MacKenzie to George Simpson, 28 August 1849, HBCA D/25, fo. 588; Arthur, Thunder Bay District, 96-8, 100.
249 N. Omer Coté, ed. Political Appointments Parliaments and the Judicial Bench in the Dominion of Canada, 1867 to 1895, (Ottawa: 1896), 315, 332; Correspondence, Papers and Documents, of Dates from 1856 to 1882 Inclusive: Relating to the Northerly and Westerly Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: 1882), 231.
Despite the fact that the Dominion government had begun work on a major transportation route to the west in 1867 and the Province of Ontario had established a new District of Thunder Bay in 1871 the Fort William’s population did not increase appreciably during the mid-1880s since it remained overshadowed by the more vigorous sister town of Port Arthur.

Canadian interest in western expansion slowly grew by the middle of the nineteenth century. Driven by a desire for more agricultural land, increased commerce, and fears about American misappropriation of unoccupied territories, leading citizens and politicians advocated reconnaissance of the area still controlled by the Hudson’s Bay Company. Not surprisingly one of the movement’s champions, George Gladman, was a self-described “native of the Hudson’s Bay Territory,” a common euphemism for a person of mixed European-Indian ancestry, who had spent most of his life involved with the fur trade. Gladman’s knowledge of Rupert’s Land and keen “regard to the welfare of its numerous people, and in its progressive improvement” led to his appointment as leader of an exploration party, charged with finding an overland route to Red River and determining the economic potential of the lands through which they passed. Launched from Fort William in 1857, the expedition reached its goal via Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, but differences between Gladman and his two subordinates, Simon J. Dawson and Henry Youle Hind, resulted in the leader’s removal after only one year in the field. Nevertheless, Gladman’s pioneering effort would prove dividends shortly after Confederation.

Canadian governments had great practice with colonization by the time Rupert’s Land was acquired and Manitoba became a province in 1870. Experience had shown that easy access to land was key to rapid development. Consequently, “Free Grant Roads,” as they were called in Upper Canada, provided a prototype for the effort to build a link

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254 Minutes of Evidence,26 May 1857, Page 2, Gladman Family Papers, F 432, Box MU 1144, AO.
with the Red River colony even before the Hudson’s Bay Company surrendered its territorial interests to the Crown. Legislators appropriated funds for a connection between Fort William and Fort Garry, giving the task of overseeing the Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods section to Simon J. Dawson, George Gladman’s old nemesis. Work on the route continued slowly in 1868 because a wagon road had to be cut through forty-eight miles of wilderness until it reached a point where navigable waters could carry passengers by boat from Lake Shebandowan to Kenora. “Ojibwa” interests too had to be satisfied since the bands west of the Lake Superior watershed were unwilling to allow a right of way until adequate compensation had been paid. The entire project would have merely inched along had not Louis Riel established a provisional government at Red River and refused to accept annexation by Canada. A military force was dispatched from Ottawa in 1870 to crush the uprising and received some assistance from mixed European-Indian ancestry people who served as interpreters; the local mixed European-Indian ancestry group did not try to hinder the advance of the queen’s men. 

Colonel Garnet Wolseley’s men did much to expedite construction of the Dawson route. The field commander also had to become involved in hinterland diplomacy because the “Ojibwa” around Fort Frances resented the appearance of trespassers. An army officer recalled that one of the chiefs “demanded ten dollars a head for every person passing through his land offering to the pale faces the right of way and use of wood and water in return, but no settlers.” Although Wolseley demurred from making any commitments, 958 local “Saulteaux” and 49 mixed European-Indian ancestry residents did receive payment from government representatives for any inconveniences caused by the troops’ passage. Tribal concerns about the prospect of homesteaders was well founded. By 1871, pioneers began moving west across the new road and ushered in a new era for those who had lived by hunting and gathering for generations.

257 James W. Bridgland to S. Richards, 4 October 1867, in Correspondence, Papers and Documents, of Dates from 1856 to 1882 Inclusive: Relating to the Northerly and Westerly Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, 127; DCB, 13:261-3, s.v. “Dawson, Simon James.” 
259 A. W. Wells to Simon J. Dawson, 27 July 1859, Dawson Family Papers, F 1008, MU 831, Folder #36, AO. 
263 Diary Entry, 4 July 1871, Josiah Jones Bell Diaries, Diary # 2, Fort Garry to Thunder Bay, 1871, MS 145, AO.
“Ojibwa” resolve stayed firm for another two years as they rebuffed successive attempts by treaty commissioners to obtain a land surrender of 55,000 square miles. It was not until the fall of 1873 that a council was called to discuss cession. Negotiations were stiff during a gathering that lasted nine days, with two issues dominating discussions: the amount of compensation and the inclusion of local “Half-breeds” as beneficiaries. After a great deal of back and forth, a one time payment of $12.00 per person was agreed upon with an annual annuity of $5.00 thereafter. Another $1,500.00 per year was promised the “Ojibwa” for hunting necessaries in addition to the farms and tools provided those wishing to homestead on their respective reserves. Although headmen insisted that their mixed-ancestry relations become treaty beneficiaries, the chief governmental negotiator, Alexander Morris, agreed only to express this concern to his superiors in Ottawa. Treaty 3 was signed with this matter still in abeyance and there the issue remained for another two years. On 12 September 1875, Nicolas Chatelaine, the Indian interpreter at Fort Frances and the recognized “Chief of the Half Bre[eds of] Rainy Lake and River” spoke to John S. Dennis, Surveyor General of Dominion Lands, about the wishes of his people to sign Treaty 3 on the same conditions given the “Ojibwa.” An adhesion to the earlier agreement was accordingly signed by all concerned parties the same day. All of the ceded land now belonged to the new Dominion of Canada, but fourteen more years would pass before the competing ownership claims between Ontario or Manitoba was resolved in the eastern province’s favor.

Two centuries had passed between the arrival of French explorers in the Boundary Waters region and the signing of the “Half-breed” adhesion to Treaty 3. In those years, colonial empires had risen and fallen, merchant capitalists had come and gone, and the gospel of Manifest Destiny had been proclaimed on both sides of the international border to the detriment of North America’s original inhabitants. “Saulteaux” people,

264 Morris, Treaties of Canada, 44-5, 54.
266 Entry of 3 October 1873, in Notes Take at Indian Treaty North West Angle, Lake of the Woods from 30th September 1873 to close of Treaty, Page 32, Simon James Dawson Fonds, MG 29-C67, LAC.
267 John S. Dennis to David Laird, 1 November 1875, p. 9, in Selection of Indian Reserves and Mining Land by S. J. Dawson and R. Pither in Treaty 3, 1874-1875," RG 10, Volume 1918, File 2790D, LAC.
nevertheless, embraced the European newcomers and synthesized them and their manufactured wares into their society. Marriage à la façon du pays was the integration mechanism which, in time, created a population of mixed European-Indian ancestry in the Lake of the Woods study area who developed within the fur-trade matrix. By the early nineteenth century, these “Half-breeds,” “Metis,” or “Bois Brulés” associated principally with the Montreal-based North West Company began to be recognized by outsiders as a distinguishable group which coalesced around the struggle for independence waged at Red River, but supported militarily, logistically, and politically from Fort William. Strong personalities, prejudice, and outside political forces worked to solidify a sense of commonality even after the absorption of the Hudson’s Bay Company “Half-breeds” following the 1821 merger of the two fur-trading concerns. Eventually, this group was able to assert their claims of prior occupancy when Canadian negotiators arrived to negotiate land surrenders. Both the “Half-breeds” at Fort William and the “Half-breeds” of Fort Frances were distinguishable from both their parental European and “Indian” antecedents by the close of the study period, 1875.
4. **DISCUSSION / SUMMARY**

Any study of the Lake of the Woods mixed European-Indian ancestry group through the nineteenth century is complicated by the fact that its members were largely illiterate and left few self-referential documents. Information about these people, therefore, must be gleaned from outside sources which mention mixed-ancestry residents only by happenstance. Nevertheless, extant records such as fur-trade correspondence, governmental records, and travel narratives do establish the existence of a mixed European-Indian ancestry community in the study area between the years 1850 and 1875 when they became beneficiaries of treaties with the Canadian government.

4.1. **Ethnogenesis**

4.1.1. **Historical Demographics**

The mixed European-Indian ancestry community in the Lake of the Woods study area appears to have been established by the time of Confederation. Although fragmented, the best early demographic information emerges from the business records of the dominant fur-trading concerns in the region: the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Both enterprises kept sporadic estimates about “Ojibwa” residents in each district since their agents had to be knowledgeable about clientele numbers. Tallies of European employees and other company associates also exist. Government correspondence from the mid-nineteenth century onwards mention the numbers of beneficiaries arising from either the 1850 Robinson treaty or Treaty 3 negotiations. A basic outline of the study region’s historical demography can be derived from all these divergent sources, despite chronological gaps and other shortcomings.

One of the parental sources of the mixed European-Indian ancestral group was the “Saulteaux” people who were a significant presence in the study region by the eighteenth century. “Ojibwa” living around Fort William in 1805 numbered no more than 332: 70 males, 84 women and 178 children. Numbers diminished thereafter, especially following the outpost’s loss of status as the North West Company headquarters in 1821. An 1859 Robinson Treaty annuity paylist provides a last snapshot of “Ojibwa” residents at Fort William during the study period. This government return lists 168 names of the resident band members entitled to receive treaty payments. “Ojibwa” numbers along the shores of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods followed a different course. From a low of 439 in 1805 tally, the population had more than doubled to 958 individuals by 1871.

European population figures also fluctuated throughout the study region, according to the vagaries of the fur trade. Not counting summer highs, when at least 1,500 men
congregated at Fort William and a hundred or more colleagues from the Athabasca brigades converged upon Rainy Lake in the early nineteenth century, both North West Company posts were year-round homes to 108 employees in 1805. The European presence was bolstered somewhat in 1818 at Rainy Lake when the Hudson’s Bay Company constructed a fort there which was manned by 43 officers and servants. Numbers plummeted after the 1821 merger. Fort William’s complement was reduced to 14 men in 1825 and only 10 remained on strength in 1829. Such low numbers continued with little variation while the Hudson’s Bay Company held sway over the area. The same pattern was also evident at Rainy Lake where 30 company employees worked in the late 1820s. Of these, however, only 19 were apparently of sole European descent. The number of outsiders did not increase significantly until after the construction of the Dawson route and the signing of Treaty 3 which opened the western portion of the study area to settlement.

Population estimates for mixed European-Indian ancestry inhabitants prior to 1875 are more problematic, because early chroniclers categorized such people according to their own perceptions. Thus, the North West Company’s 1805 census lists the 16 women and 36 children at Fort William as “White” because of their household heads’ racial origin. All of these children were biracial as were some of the mature females because of the prevailing fur trade marriage patterns which encouraged unions between company employees and tribal women or daughters of the fur trade, since European women did not reside in the study region until after 1870. The next count is recorded in a district report which records the presence of 5 wives and 20 children; 7 wives and 17 children were resident in 1834. By then, mixed European-Indian ancestry residents had already begun to have their own children: the first such baptismal entry was recorded at Red River in 1825. Certainly these estimates do not count all the mixed European-Indian ancestry population at Fort William. Those not registered would include other company dependents, over-wintering at the facility, but not part of its official strength; “freemen” with families not employed by the company; mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals, living with local bands. The names of all such individuals emerge from the post records, but their numbers are not apparently reflected in official enumerations. By 1852, 16 “Half-breed” families, consisting of more than 64 individuals resided at Fort William and received annuity payments from the Robinson Treaty. Totals were slightly smaller at Rainy Lake. From a low of 6 dependents in 1794, the numbers rose to 20 in 1805 and then to 49 in 1872 when payment was made to that number of “Half-breeds of Fort Frances”. The first baptismal entry of a mixed-ancestry child born to mixed-ancestry parents at Rainy Lake was recorded in 1825.

4.1.2. Residency Patterns

The mixed European-Indian ancestry group in the Lake of the Woods area evolved from the fur trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Neither founding parental groups lived in egalitarian environments and the residency patterns of the mixed-
The mixed European-Indian ancestry population reflected this reality. Fur trade society was divided into four primary status groups: 1. bourgeoisie—North West Company partners, Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factors and Traders—2. warrant officers, represented by the clerks, guides, and interpreters; 3. voyageurs and other contract servants; 4. “freemen.” Mixed-ancestry people occupied all these ranks and lived according to their occupational grade in or near post environs. At Fort William, accommodations were provided for active employees and their dependents; some retired voyageurs and their families lived on company property across the Kaministiquia River. A similar arrangement was evident at Rainy Lake.

A fruitful area of potential future inquiry concerns the residence patterns of mixed European-Indian individuals or families once they moved out of the study area because of educational opportunities, transfer, or retirement. As noted in this report, not all mixed European-Indian children spent their tender years at a company facility. Those born to partners and clerks were often sent to Canada for an academic instruction, where they were fortunate enough to reside amongst their own kind. Children dispatched to the Eastern District of Upper Canada, in particular, arrived in an area where North West Company principals had already retired with their own mixed European-Indian ancestry wives and offspring. Further research in the Hudson’s Bay Company Montreal Department muniments and George Simpson correspondence, as well as local church records and the private papers of known fur-trade families may shed further light on this important subject.

4.1.3. Identity

The mixed European-Indian ancestry population under study evolved primarily from the North West Company fur-trade matrix. As such, members within the Boundary Waters region were deeply affected by events associated with the Red River insurgency of 1814-1817, at which time a “New Nation” of “Bois Brulés” asserted their title to the soil. Contemporaries such as the Earl of Selkirk, Alexander Ross, and Ross Cox asserted that all mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals reared at North West Company facilities were the “Metifs” who formed its basic constituency. The Montreal-based concern certainly supported the aspirations of its kinsmen in a variety of important ways, including militarily, politically, and logistically. Outsiders by the 1820s and 1830s were calling the mixed European-Indian ancestry regional population “Half-breeds” and “Bois Brulés,” suggesting that this identity survived the patronage of the North West Company which ceased to exist in 1821. The Rainy Lake population referred to themselves as “Half-breeds” in 1875 when they signed an adhesion to Treaty 3 that year.

4.1.4. Convergence of the Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Groups

The 1821 economic union of the North West Company and its Hudson’s Bay rival precipitated a merger of two separate mixed European-Indian ancestry groups associated with both business concerns. The one rooted in the Montreal experience,
however, was able to absorb its subordinate counterpart and infuse the larger whole with its own sense of identity. Thus, by the early 1820s “Bois Brulés” became a term which was equally applied to any mixed European-Indian ancestry individual connected to the north-western fur trade in Canada. This sense of ethnic cohesion strengthened over time and “Half-breds” at both Fort William and Fort Frances were recognized by the government as rightful beneficiaries of treaty payments when land surrenders were negotiated in the 1850s and 1870s.

More research in Hudson’s Bay Company records emanating from posts adjacent to Fort William and Rainy Lake (i.e. Michipicoten, Nipigon House, and Lac Seul) might help clarify the issue about the development of a wider ethnic identity. Comments from other contemporaries, particularly Indian agents, military officers, government officials, and others associated with the fur trade around the treaty periods, might deepen an understanding of this process.

4.1.5. Chronological Formation

The establishment of a mixed European-Indian ancestry group in the study region cannot logically predate the arrival of French adventurers in the late seventeenth century. Although Daniel Greysolon Dulhut and Jacques de Noyon were the earliest arrivals, it was probably not until the building of a permanent fort at the Kaministiquia River by Zacharie Robutel in 1717 that a mixed French-“Ojibwa” population could arise. Fixed sites of occupation, where trade and diplomacy transpired, provided a proper setting for biracial children since both parental groups fostered alliances through intermarriage. Although no records could be located explicitly stating that a mixed French-“Ojibwa” ancestry population developed in the study region during the ancien regime, conditions there paralleled surrounding locations in the Great Lakes watershed where such events took place.

Hudson’s Bay Company records indicate that a nascent mixed European-Indian ancestry group was forming at Rainy Lake in the early 1790s under the aegis of the North West Company which had been formed a decade before. John McKay noted the presence of a Canadian trader named Charles Boyer who lived there with a wife and six children. Since Boyer and his business colleagues had adopted the practice of marrying à la façon du pays, other wives and children would have likely been resident in the area although there are no extant documents which explicitly state so. More conclusive evidence can be found in a list of Hudson’s Bay Company employees, working at Rainy Lake in 1825. This return lists Nicholas Chatelain’s age as 27 and his home parish as Grand Portage, indicating that he was born at the North West Company’s major rendezvous site and inland headquarters around the year 1798. When the Fort William facility was opened in 1803, the births of mixed European-Indian ancestry children were recorded within the year. Consequently, the foundational element of a stable mixed-
ancestry population was emerging in the study area at least by the end of the eighteenth century.

4.1.6. Ancestral History

North American fur trade operations conducted by both the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company were a geographically diffuse affair. Consequently, the ancestral groups represented in the mixed-ancestry population were equally diverse. “Ojibwa” and “Cree” were the dominant maternal components because the former were the local inhabitants at both Fort William and Rainy Lake, while “Cree” women were the wives of some partners or clerks transferred to these posts. Paternal bloodlines were more complex. Highland Scots filled the partnership ranks of the North West Company, but Welsh, English, French Canadians, and Anglo-Americans were also listed amongst their number. French Canadian voyageurs and Iroquois from Lower Canada were the “engagés” who worked for the concern. The Hudson’s Bay Company hired English, Welsh, men from the Orkney Islands, and French Canadians as servants. People from all these ethnic extractions spent time in the region and contributed to the genetic heritage of the mixed European-Indian ancestry group that developed around the trading posts.

4.1.7. Distinctives

The fur-trade matrix gave rise to the mixed European-Indian ancestry group in the study region, leaving its own unique imprimatur upon the people it conceived.

Societal status determined occupational roles in fur-trade pursuits and mixed European-Indian ancestry individuals employed by the North West Company could be found in all positions from upper management to voyageur. Endogamic marriage frequently occurred amongst members of fur-trade society, with mate selection contingent upon availability and potential for social advancement. Within a generation of the North West Company’s 1784 establishment, their mixed European-Indian ancestry children and retainers had proclaimed themselves a “New Nation” under Cuthbert Grant’s leadership in 1814 when their existence and livelihood was threatened by the establishment of a European colony at Red River. A flag with an infinity sign emblazoned upon its field was presented to the insurgents at this time by the North West Company partners at Fort William. Political leadership of the study region’s mixed European-Indian ancestry group was later provided by men like Nicholas Chatelain and Vincent Roy: both sons of former North West Company employees.

Activities throughout the year were also regulated by the demands of the fur trade. Participation in fall fisheries and crop harvests at both Fort William and Fort Frances were paramount in the late summer and autumn because stockpiles of provisions were essential for the conduct of the winter trading season. Although local “Ojibwa” could
participate in Christmas and New Year’s Day festivities, only the mixed European-Indian ancestry group joined their European counterparts in the feasting and dancing occasioned by the celebration of St. Andrew’s Day. The tedium of winter work at the outposts was broken finally by the sugaring season when the “women of the fort” left for the maple stands and spent several weeks there before returning to sell excess maple sugar to the local factors or chief traders. Another vital role filled by mixed European-Indian ancestry people was that of interpreter; a trust not confined solely to commercial activities, but an important responsibility when government legations need to negotiate with the “Ojibwa.”

Distinctive fur-trade attire was also emblematic of membership in this particular mixed European-Indian ancestry group. While contemporary descriptions are vague, this was important enough for parents to ship such items to their children attending school in the Canadas rather than purchase other fashions locally. The fact that offspring were sent outside the immediate study region for baptism or instruction suggests that the mobile nature of the fur trade affected the mixed European-Indian ancestry group’s perceptions of its geographic boundaries. They were wide since kinsmen or “countrymen” associated with the North West Company could be found anywhere between Montreal and the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, early accounts about the rise of the “New Nation” of which the mixed European-Indian ancestry population in the study area formed an integral part, restricted their activities by definition only to places where the North West Company was not active. As one Hudson’s Bay Company employee noted, this group composed of “. . .children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women. . .” was present at “. . .their different posts . . . .”

A final distinction separating the mixed European-Indian ancestry population from its “Native” maternal group was their early embrace of Christianity; a circumstance resisted by many “Ojibwa” bands in the study region. The mixed European-Indian ancestry residents at Fort William and Fort Frances availed upon the services of passing clergymen, regardless of denominational affiliation, to baptize children, solemnize marriages, and bury their dead.

Further information about other distinctives might be gleaned from deeper research into the travel narratives of people who passed through the study region prior to the twentieth century. Not all are in published form or are in public collections. The personal papers of military officers and fur traders might provide the best insights.

4.1.8. Effective European Control

The issue concerning effective European control must be dealt with in two parts, since the height of land, running through the study region, divides it into distinct drainage...
basins. Consequently, Charles II’s 1670 charter to the Hudson’s Bay Company affected the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods sector because it formed a south-central extremity of Rupert’s Land and predates the arrival of French explorers by eighteen years. Ownership of the Hudson’s Bay watershed was upheld by the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, but people at the time did not know that the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods flow eventually emptied into Hudson’s Bay. French adventurers returned to the region in 1717 and La Vérendrye constructed Forts Saint Pierre and Saint Charles in the early 1730s. These posts were not abandoned until near the end of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) when the majority of French possessions in Canada were ceded to George III. British suzerainty was challenged after the American Revolution (1775-1782) when the Crown lost territory south of Lake Superior. The international boundary between Canada and the United States was not finally decided until 1842 after survey parties passed through the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods corridor in 1821 and 1822. Surveyors next worked in the study area in 1857 as part of the Gladman expedition seeking an overland route to the Red River. The 1869 sale of Rupert’s Land to the Dominion of Canada prompted the government to bargain with “Saulteaux” people a year later for a right of way, allowing an expeditionary force to pass through their territory. Negotiations almost began immediately again with the Ottawa authorities pressing the “Natives” hard for a land sale. Treaty 3 was signed in 1873 and a “Half-breed” adhesion was completed two years later. However, conflicting provincial jurisdictional claims were not settled until 1889, at which time the western portion of the study region became an official part of Ontario.

The Fort William area, situated east of the height of land, followed a slightly different course to effective European control because it was exempted from the 1670 charter. Like the Rainy Lake-Lake of the Woods corridor, however, French explorers were the first Europeans to arrive when Daniel Greysolon Dulhut passed through the region in 1679. On his second mission he built a fort at the confluence of the Kaministiquia River in 1683 which remained in operation for a decade. The next garrison was established nearby in 1717 by Zacharie Robutel and served as the launching point for La Vérendrye’s enterprises in 1731 which included a missionary amongst its original complement. It too was abandoned when the other French posts were closed during the Seven Years’ War. The British period saw the Kaministiquia River become a backwater to Grand Portage, which the fur traders had adopted as their favorite marshaling yard. Rejuvenation did not occur until after the signing of Jay’s Treaty in 1794, barring British traders from unrestricted access to American territory. Since the Grand Portage site was known to lay south of the still-unsurveyed international border, however, the North West Company relocated its inland headquarters to the Kaministiquia River. Land surveyors moved through the region in 1822 to pinpoint the international boundary and then did not return for another two decades to locate sites for potential mining operations. Both Jesuit and Methodist missionaries followed, establishing a continuous presence at Fort William and Rainy Lake in the 1840s. Subsequently, the Robinson Treaty was signed between local “Ojibwa” and the Canadian government in 1850. Ten
more years elapsed before two townships and a town plot were surveyed and land sales began. A new District of Thunder Bay was formed by the Province of Ontario who established a police force and built a court house in the early 1870s. The first civic election was held in 1873 despite a population numbering only in the hundreds.
5. Reference List

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*Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba*
[Microfilm available at Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa].
Fort Alexander Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1870, HBCA, B 4/z/1.
Brandon House Post Journal, 1815-1816, HBCA, B 22/a/19.
5.1.2. Printed Sources


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### 5.2. Secondary Sources


Waisberg, Leo G. and Tim E. Holzkamm, “‘A Tendency to Discourage them For Cultivating’: Ojibwa Agriculture and Indian Affairs Administration in Northwestern Ontario.” *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993):175-211.


5.3. A List of Historic Definitions Concerning the Bois Brulés (circa 1816)

... *Metifs, Bois Brulés, or Half-breeds*- These are the illegitimate progeny chiefly of the Canadian traders, and others in the service of the North-West Company, by Indian women. They have always been much under the control of that Company, by whom they are frequently employed as hunters, chiefly for provisions,-an occupation in which they are very expert; hunting and shooting the buffalo on horseback. The Company also employs them occasionally in other temporary services; and some of them are engaged in their regular employment as clerks, having, received, in Canada, an education fitted to qualify them for that situation. pp. 17-18.

[Deposition of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun]

That when he [Pambrun] arrived, he found that at the fort or trading post of the North-West Company, near the same place, were assembled, a great number of the men, commonly called Brulés, Metifs, or half-breeds, viz. the bastard sons of Indian concubines, kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company. pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

[Deposition of John Bourke]

... that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, as they are called, that is, the bastard-children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different posts. . . . pp. xlix.


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The invasion of the colony by an armed Banditti, the plundering of the Government house, and the subsequent reduction of it, and the habitations of the inoffensive settlers to ashes, were acts of unparalleled barbarity, which it was impossible to deny; therefore the partners of the N. W. Company, have asserted that they were effected without any cooperation of their servants and that they were wholly the work of the native Indians,
and more especially of the half breeds. They have even attempted to find a justification, for the hostile acts of the latter, who are their kinsmen, by pretending that such a ruthless and insignificant band form an independent nation, who lay claim to the territory of the colony as their own. On this claim it may be remarked, that, by the Laws of England, illegitimate children cannot inherit even the personal property of their own parents, but here is a cluster of civil magistrates and gentlemen of the North West Company, presuming to question the King’s prerogative, and, in the face of a grant, regularly made by the Crown to other persons, laying claim to all these lands, in the name of their own bastards, and those of their dependents; a mode of providing for their progeny, truly becoming the affectation of patriarchs. p.44.


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The free Canadians form too insignificant and dependent a proportion of the population to acquire any influence. Exclusive of these the permanent population of the countries over which the North West Company have assumed the supreme control, may be divided into two classes; the native Indians, who compose the only numerous and important part of it, and the “bois brulés” or “metifs;” appellations which are given to the spurious offspring of the partners, clerks and servants of the company. These last are designations calculated for disguise, by which persons unacquainted with the demi-christian origin of the “bois brulés,” might be induced to suppose that they were some powerful Indian nation. The fact is, however, that many of these have received from the laudable care of their parents the rudiments of education, can read, write, and keep accounts, and are employed as clerks by the North West Company. A large proportion of the others whose education has been less attended to, are employed as servants of the same Company. pp. 44-5.

“A number of the bois brulés, or illegitimate children of the North West partners, and servants. . .” p. 81.

[Extracted from: Samuel Gale, Notices of the Claims of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Conduct of its Adversaries, (Montreal: William Gray, 1817)].

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“. . . for the first time, the half-breed servants of the North West Company assumed a new character, calling themselves the ‘Bois-brules’ and the ‘New Nation.’” p. 14.
It was in these circumstances that the partners of the North West Company at their annual meeting in the 1814, determined to adopt more effectual measures for destroying the [Red River] settlement, before it should be too late to make the attempt. For this purpose they sent instructions to collect from various quarters a set of men whom they judged fit instruments for acts of violence, viz: the sons of their Canadian, and other servants by Indian women, a great number of whom are reared at their trading posts. These men are bred up in the most entire dependence on the Company, and had been always employed in their service in the same manner as their Canadian servants from they were never distinguished till the period alluded to. It was then for the first time that they were taught to consider themselves a separate tribe of men, and distinguished by a separate name, with the view of ascribing their violence to the native Indians. These half-breeds (or Bois Brulés as they were now to be called) have been described as a Nation of independent Indians: but they are in fact with very few exceptions in the regular employment and pay of the North West Company, mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of better education as clerks. The latter are the progeny of partners of the Company, at whose expense most of them have been brought up, and through whose influence they may look to be themselves partners. These are the chiefs of this “New Nation.” pp. 4-5.


For this purpose the Halfbreeds were encouraged to offer every insult every petty aggression that could be expected to provoke the men who remained faithful to the Govr [Miles Macdonell]. Tho’ the Half breeds were acting under the immediate directions of Mr. A[lexander] McD[onell] & of Mr. C[ameron] himself an attempt was made to represent them as a separate & independent body of people, acting for themselves & to carry on this farce a few of the most considerable among them were named as their leaders or chiefs of the new discov’d nation of Half breeds or Metifs; & to give this the more currency at a distance, the new & fanciful name of Bois Brules was bestowed upon them. The person who was selected as the principal chief of this new tribe was a Mr. C[uthbert] Grant a clerk in the Service of the N.[orth] W.[est] Co. & son of a Gentleman who... [sentence does not continue].
In consequence of the great number of the partners, clerks & servants of the NWCo who live in a state of concubinage with Indian Women a considerable number of illegitimate children of mixed blood are continually reared about their trading posts. These half-breeds are in general expert in all species of work required in the employment of the Fur traders & as they grow up they are usually taken into the Service of the Co. employed according to their capacity in the same manner & on the same terms as their Servants. . . Heretofore these men were known by the name of Metifs, which is the proper name for any person of mixed blood. The Canadian Voyageurs who are very fond of metaphorical expressions sometimes in jest gave the name of Bois Brules to their half breed comrades in allusion to their swarthy complexion. A few years ago when it was determined to exhibit the Half breeds as a separate & independent race of men, this later appellation was adopted as being less intelligible to Strangers & more like the translation of an Indian name. Their manners & habits can hardly be distinguished from those of the Canadians & till within these few years no marked distinction was ever made between them by the NWCo.

But the army of the North-West Company was now organized in a systematic manner, and with the distinct avowal of the illegal purpose of driving the settlers from their lands. This purpose was indeed avowed only by the half-breeds; the pretending to have no control over that “numerous and warlike race,” though these independent Indians were all the time receiving pay, and serving under regular contracts, like the other engages of the company; and to add to the inconsistency, this independent nation was employed to enforce the warrant of a Scottish magistrate for Indian territory. But this pretext is now too stale to impose upon the meanest simpleton; and, after the evidence which has been obtained, no argument can be necessary to prove, that ever since the beginning of the year 1815, the half-breeds have been in effect the troops of the North-West company, acting under the orders of Scotch partners, and receiving pay for their military services, with as much regularity as their canoe-men receive it for their work.
[Extracted from: Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement viz: Return of an Address from the Honourable House of Commons to His Royal Highness The Prince Regent (London: 1819), 130].
Justice Canada

Key Documents

For

Historical Profile of the Lake of the Woods Area’s Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community

The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Justice Canada.

Les opinions exprimées dans le présent rapport sont celles de l’auteur et ne représentent pas nécessairement celles du ministère de la Justice Canada.
Key Document Number 1

A List of Servants at Lac La Pluie District, 1825-1826.
Lac La Pluie Miscellaneous Items, 1817-1866.
HBCA Section B, Class 105, Sub-Division z, Piece 1, fo. 3.

(Reel HBC 1M 878)
Key Document Number 2

HBCA B/105/a/2
(Reel HBC 1M 67)

Lac La Pluie Post Journal, 1794-1795

fo. 7, 29 October 1794: “. . .invited Mr. Boyer & family to breakfast & dinner they are six in number.”

fo. 13, 25 December 1794: “. . . I invited him [Boyer] & family to breakfast & Dinner my men invited his at 10am. . . Mr. Boyer invited me & men to a dance but the Negro who played on the fiddle got beastly drunk and spoiled our diversion. . .”

fo. 14, 17 January 1795: “. . . I sent to Mr. Boyer 20 lb. of dried venison with as much green as he is almost starving with his family; he is a good fellow when he has any thing I think its a shame but return him the Compliment especially us who think ourselves a little above the common rank of Traders at the same time Mr. Boyer has three times my wages pr year & does not the least thing more for it, he has three thousand five hundred livers pr annum. . .”

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fo. 7, 1 October 1796: “...several of Peter Grant Brothers in law came in, I was speaking to them concerning what they meant to do this winter, if I could expect any skins from them [folio 8] they seem inclined to give all their hunt to their Brother in law. I asked the Grand Chiefs sons for the Flag I gave their Father telling them that they were unworthy of having an English Flag while they persisted in giving their furs to the Canadians. They said I had right and would give up the Flag immediately which they did. Mr. Grant seems rather jealous of the liberties I took with his Indians as he called them. I mean to be off to morrow as I see plainly there is nothing to be done here.”
As none of us had ever been in that quarter, and old Indian who had been very frequently employed as guide, clerk &c. and who well deserved the confidence reposed in him, was detained by Chaurette to guide me in to my winter quarters. He had a very nice young daughter that both he & Chaurette wished me much to take as wife! A whelp, not yet 18 to marry! Whatever might have been my own bent, which, to tell the truth, was far from averse to it, yet the respect for my fathers injunction, the awe I was still impressed for his authority & the dread of the Knights censure were so powerful as to effectually curb & humble my own dear Passions. Fear prevailed for a long time. The old father became restless & impatient: frequently menaced to leave me, & at last did go off. I sent out my Interpretor to procure me another guide. In vain – my provisions being very scanty, my men so long retarded, fear of not reaching my destination; and above all the secret [-pleasure/satisf] satisfaction I felt in being compelled (what an agreeable word when it accords with our desires) to marry for my safety, made me post off for the old man. He was already several miles on his way. The poor old creature came back. I think I still see the satisfaction, the pleasure the poor old man felt. He gave me his daughter! He thought no doubt that it would be the means of rendering him happy & comfortable in his old days. . .
John MacDonald to James MacDonald  Fort Alexander 27 August 1825

. . . Respecting my ordering my children, from under your protection, it was a necessary step and I am only sorry that it was not done five years sooner. If so, I should not have the mortification to hear them branded as vagabonds. They were as promising children as ever left this country when they went down and had I then placed them with strangers as others did they would not have turned out otherwise than as other children in similar situations. But they are not the only ones when placed with their relations who turned out in the same manner. Witness Donald McIntosh's son! the deceased Mr McLellan's boys your cousin John and many others in Lower Canada, who were sent to their relations who never did any good. Now, I will give you an example on the Contrary of children from this Country sent under the care of strangers. They invariably turned out well. I will begin with a son of Mr. John McGillivray who was sent to Montreal or its vicinity to School. He was only four years in school and came back to this country fully educated adequate to perform the duties of a clerk in the service and is now one of our first rate clerks and bookkeeper to the First Department in the country. There is again a Mr Roderick McKenzie his son was but three years at Terrebonne and is now doing the duty of a clerk with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employers. There is Mr. Patrick Small, one of our first clerks in the Country. There is a son of Mr. Hughes; Donald McKenzie's two sons one at the King's Post and one in this country; Sir Alexander McKenzies son; and two sons of Mr. Wm McGillivray, who are now partners in this Company besides a great number of half breeds from Hudson Bay who were sent to England to be educated and all have turned out well with the exception of one Joseph Cook and he was sent to his relations. There is a son of Mr Dougal Cameron who I believe is now at Williamstown and by what I learn is a young man of good moral character. He never was with his relations but his two cousins, the deceased Ranald Cameron's Sons were brought up at their grandfathers at Sorel and they both turned out to be the greatest vagabonds that ever were in this country. After all these examples and many others I could cite, how can you presume to tell me but those children have been spoiled and badly brought up? . . .
. . . If Donald can be reclaimed I wish he would attend schooling at Williamstown with his brother all winter there to study writing & accounts all winter. I spoke to the Governor of the Northern Dept. of the HB Co who goes home to England this fall and who expects to be out by Canada next Spring. He promised to me if the boy was at Montreal on 25th April that he would give him a passage up in his canoe. If he finds him to be able to render service for God’s sake let him exert himself this winter in writing & ciphering that he may be able to hold a situation above the labouring class. Nothing would induce me to get him up were it not that I am afraid he will become a drunkard by associating with raftsmen who are all drunkards, but if I hear that he tastes a drop of liquor from the day he enters the school it will be the blackest day for him that ever passed over his head. You must tell him that from the day he embark with the Canoe he must consider himself obliged to assist along the voyage as well as if were engaged. He must not consider himself a gentleman passenger. No one is obliged to give him his passage gratis, he must be polite and civil to every one and not give any saucy answers or language to any one. The Governor is a true Highlander from Ross shire and one to whom I am under many obligations and it is no small mark of his attention that he consented to give the boy a passage as such indulgence is not granted by the Company. Tell Donald that I expect he will behave himself so as to meet the Governor’s approbation. It will be greatly in his favour as the Governor passes at this place by his way to Headquarters. I expect to hear him give a better character of Donald than any I have had of him for some time past. . .

. . . Tell Angus I am pleased of the accounts I hear of him. Mr Simpson has also promised to try his endeavors to find some situation for him I hope it will make it his study to make his employers satisfaction. . . If he remains in the town he must by all means not frequent any of those houses where the people of Glengarry resort to or have communication with them. . . If Gov. Simpson cannot procure a situation for him, let him remain where he is until he hears again from me. . .

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HBCA B 231/a/13
(Reel HBC 1M 152)

Fort William-Post Journal 1833-1834, by Donald McIntosh

fo. 12  22 Oct 1833: Donald McIntosh received a letter from J.D. Cameron, stating that Mr John McIntosh “winters at Lac du Bois Blanc.”

fo. 16, 10 Dec 1833: “Mr John McIntosh arrived from lac du Bois Blanc with two men he came for the purpose of taking his family who is here with him to that place. . .”
fo. 18, 5 Jan 1834: “Mr. John McIntosh set out this morning with his family to his charge at Lac de Bois Blanc.”

fo. 18, 11 Jan 1834: “...Louis Rivet arrived he returned from the far end of White Fish Lake he says that Mr John McIntosh who left here on the 5th Inst tracks very slowly on account of his family he thinks they will take ten days to reach Lac de Bois Blanc. ...”

fo. 19, 21 Jan 1834: “...James Robertson whom I sent to assist Mr J McIntosh in taking his family on to Lac de Bois Blanc arrived from thence accompanied with 2 men from that Post who are the Bearers of a Packet from Red River for Sault Ste Mary’s...”

HBCA B 231/a/18
(Reel HBC 1M 152)

Fort William-Post Journal, 1839-1840

fo. 33, 27 May 1840: 3 canoes arrived from La Chine “...on board of which were CT [or F] [Chief Trader/Factor] Simon McGillivray with Clerks Messrs Obrien, McPherson, Maxwell, Duncan Cameron, and two sons of Mr Murdoch McPherson with Several female Passengers bound for the Red River Colony. ...”
Key Document Number 6

North West Company Minute Book
30 June 1801-8 January 1811
MG 19, B 1, Volume 3, Page 43, LAC.

Resolve of 14 July 1806

...It was suggested that the number of women and Children in the Country was a heavy burthen to the Concern & that some remedy ought to be supplied to check so great an evil at least if nothing effective could be done to suppress it entirely. It was therefore resolved that every practicable means should be used through the Country to reduce by degrees the number of women maintained by the Company that for this purpose no Man whatever either partner Clerk or Engage belonging to the Concern should henceforth take or suffer to be taken under any pretense whatsoever any woman or ? from any of the tribes of Indians now known or who may here after become known in this Country to live with him after the fashion of the North West, that is to say, to live with him within the Company’s House or Forts & be maintained at the expence of the Concern.

Resolved that each proprietor respectively should be answerable for the conduct of all the people in their department and those they shall be answerable to him for every offence committed against this resolve. . .every proprietor who shall transgress against this resolve or suffer any other person or persons within his immediate charge or direction to transgress it shall be subject to the penalty of One Hundred Pounds HcCy [Halifax currency] for every offence so committed to be forfeited to the use of the Concern. It is however understood that taking the Daughters of a white Man after the fashion of the Country shall be considered no violation of this resolve. . .”
Copies of Speeches Made at Red River 1815 on behalf of the Colonists of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the Other by Peguis, the Saulteaux Chief,

we consider those who are now driving us from your Lands as having no right to do so half of them was not born upon these lands & the greater part of them are the Sons of Slave Women. [emphasis added] We know these lands are your if you tell us to leave them we are ready to do so, but if you tell us to remain here we will not leave these lands but you must make peace for us with these people. We think that they want to spoil your lands & then to return to their [Page 1761] lands from whence they came. We have repeatedly asked them to come & smoak the Pipe of Peace with us but their answer always is, that we must go away or they will take our property & burn our houses over our heads. We do not send for you to make war upon these people we only send for you to make Peace for us. . .

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[Deposition of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun]

That when he [Pambrun] arrived, he found that at the fort or trading post of the North-West Company, near the same place, were assembled, a great number of the men, commonly called Brulés, Métifs, or half-breeds, viz. the bastard sons of Indian concubines, [emphasis added] kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company. pp. xxxii-xxxiv.
[Deposition of John Bourke]

. . . that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, as they are called, that is, the bastard-children of the partners and servants of that Company, [emphasis added] by Indian women, from their different posts. . . . p. xlix.

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Key Document Number 8


Page 4

It was in these circumstances that the partners of the North West Company at their annual meeting in the year 1814, determined to adopt more effectual measures for destroying the [Red River] settlement, before it should be too late to make the attempt. For this purpose they sent instructions to collect from various quarters a set of men whom they judged fit instruments for acts of violence, viz: the sons of their Canadian, and other servants by Indian women, a great number of whom are reared at their trading posts. These men are bred up in the most entire dependence on the Company, and had been always employed in their service in the same manner as their Canadian servants from they were never distinguished till the period alluded to. It was then for the first time that they

Page 5

were taught to consider themselves a separate tribe of men, and distinguished by a separate name, with the view of ascribing their violence to the native Indians. These half-breeds (or Bois Brulés as they were now to be called) have been described as a Nation of independent Indians: but they are in fact with very few exceptions in the regular employment and pay of the North West Company, mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of better education as clerks. The latter are the progeny of partners of the Company, at whose expence most of them have been brought up, and through whose influence they may look to be themselves partners. These are the chiefs of this “New Nation.

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Key Document Number 9

Fort William District Report

1828 – 1829

HBCA B231/e/6 fo.1

(Reel HBC 1M 783)
Key Document Number 10

Dawson Route Paylist (Fort Frances) Pre-Treaty 3

1871

RG10, Volume 1675, Page 71, LAC.

(Reel T-1777)
Key Document(s) Number 11

HBCA B/231/a/8  
(Reel HBC 1M 152)  
Fort William Post Journal, 1828-1830

fo. 8, 20 September 1828: “Early this morning Michel Collin along with Jos Boucher went off for Pointe au ? to make the fall fishery.”

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HBCA B/231/a/11  
(Reel HBC 1M 152)  
Fort William Post Journal, 1831-1832

fo. 9, 17 September 1831: “. . . Michel Collin with his family and Alexr Sabiston one of the companies Servants went off to the fishing at his usual Station, Rabit [sic] Island. Jean Bsd Vezinant & Alexr Trembly freeman sent off to fish at the Welcome Islands the remainder of this month . . . Deschamp and Family went off to join old Collin . . .” [and help him at the Potie Island fishery].

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HBCA B/231/a/15  
(Reel HBC 1M 152)  
Fort William Post Journal, 1835-1836

fo. 9, 17 October 1835: “. . . Michel Collin & Visina with the former’s family arrived they have Salted 30 Casks of fish which is all he (Michel Collin) intends to Salt for the Company he intends not to proceed with Rivet & his son to the Grand Portage where as aboves said they intend to winter in order to hunt Martins.”

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Key Document(s) Number 12

HBCA B105/a/18
(Reel HBC 1M 68)
Lac La Pluie Post Journal, 1833-1834

fo. 12, 20 March 1834: “. . .the Women of the Fort went off Sugar making.”

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HBCA B 231/a/13
(Reel HBC 1M 152)
Fort William Post Journal, 1833-1834

fo. 23, 18 March 1834: “. . .The Freemen with their families and some of the Servants Wives went off to make sugar a few miles up the River.

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HBCA B/231/a/17
(Reel HBC 1M 152)
Fort William Post Journal, 1837-1838

fo. 23, 19 March 1838: “. . .The women of the Establishment are all off to make their Sugar Huts at their respective Sugar Bushes also the freemen familys.

fo. 24, 24 March 1838: “All the women of the Establishment went off this morning to their respective Sugar Bushes. . .”

fo. 27, 28 April 1838: “. . .The freemen and those servants who have their wives in the Sugar Bush went up in a Canoe this evening to see them. . .”

fo. 28, 12 May 1838: “. . .The Servants & freemen families are all arrived from the Sugar making consider the cold weather they experienced all last month they made a good deal of Sugar among them.”

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The Hudson's Bay Company's post at Rat Portage is but a small affair, three log-houses roofed with bark and enclosed by a high wooden palisading. The Company maintain thirteen men at this post, but nine of them are employed at small outlying posts in the vicinity. Mr. Macpherson, the official in charge, was most civil and obliging. He is a Scotch half-breed, a quiet gentlemanly, elderly man, who has received a good education at Montreal. He had been for thirteen years buried alive at this post! Is it not a most extraordinary thing that men of any education can be found to stand a life like that, utterly cut off from the rest of mankind,

receiving news from the outside world only once or twice a year, to all intents or purposes dead or sleeping? Like Jairus's daughter, one might say of a man living at one of these Hudson's Bay posts for a series of years, 

οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει

[my translation, “not disobedient but asleep”]

I ventured to question Mr. Macpherson on this subject, and he replied simply, that he had long since ceased to feel anything of the kind, he had his little farm and his wife and family, and was quite happy and contented. It is curious how soon men get accustomed to a wild and solitary life; one can understand a man who had committed some frightful crime rushes off stung with remorse, to bury himself in the remotest corner of the globe, as Sir Walter Scott describes in the “Pirate,” but it is not so easy to understand how young men who have not completed their fifth luster can thus shut themselves up far from the busy world, with no companions but Esquimaux or Chippewa Indians. Not theirs the missionary fervour of men zealous for their faith, or even the all-absorbing thirst for gold, for the Company do not pay their servants highly and preclude them by the most rigid rules from entering into any speculation on their own account. Yet they seem

to like the life, and after a brief return to civilization are generally glad to get back to their solitary posts. Mr Macpherson had a few acres of wheat, barley, and potatoes, some pigs and cows, and any number of mangy-looking pariah dogs. These dogs are of all sizes and colours, nasty-looking brutes, but very useful. They do all the winter work, galloping for miles over the frozen snow, dragging small sledges.
Key Document(s) Number 14

Allen Salt Fonds, File 1, Journal, 25 April 1854-11 November 1855
MG 29-D3, LAC.
(Reel C-15,709)

Page 11

1 September 1854: “I buried two children, requested by the parents, two French half-breeds, who call themselves Roman Catholics. The children died of the whooping cough.”

Page 12

8 September 1854: “I married Mr. John Jourdain to Miss Margarette Chastellain, both of Fort Francis.”

Page 13

10 September 1854: “. . . In the service I baptised Nancy daughter of Narcese and Nancy Chatellain of Fort Francis H. B. Territory.”

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Key Document Number 15

The Treaties of Canada

With

THE INDIANS OF MANITOBA

And

The North-West Territories,

By

The Hon. Alexander Morris, PC

Pages 16 - 21, 302 - 304.
Key Document Number 16

Robinson Treaty Annuity Paylists

1850 – 1859

RG10, Volume 9497, Page 26, LAC.

(Reel C-7167)
Key Document Number 17

The Treaties of Canada

With

THE INDIANS OF MANITOBA

And

The North-West Territories,

By

The Hon. Alexander Morris, PC

Pages 44 - 76, 320 - 329.
Memorandum of Agreement

RE: Half Breed Rights Under Northwest Angle Treaty

1875

Aemilius Irving Correspondence

F1027-1-3, MU 1468

Box 30, Package 36

Northwest Angle Treaty

Item No. 3

AO.