Draft Report

Historic Populations of Mixed
Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal Ancestry in Ontario

Mattawa and Environs

Prepared for the Ontario Ministry
of Natural Resources

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FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY
This draft historical report presents the historical facts which are known at this time
concerning the above-noted subject. Other historical facts may be found after the
date of this report which may be considered relevant to this subject. This draft historical
report does not constitute a Government of Ontario position.
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I. Introduction

This research was undertaken at the request of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, who provided Terms of Reference for the work. Each section is introduced by the Terms of Reference questions addressed therein. The sections are structured to address the Terms of Reference throughout the section, rather than separating the material into subsections under each question. This was done to improve the narrative flow and reduce repetition. Similarly, material relevant to more than one section is given a full exposition once, with references to this exposition given in the other relevant sections. No attempt is made to "answer" the questions explicitly; rather evidence is presented that may allow the reader to draw his or her own conclusions.

Sections I and II, on European presence and Aboriginal groups in the Mattawa area respectively, synthesize secondary literature on these subjects with some primary material added where available and of particular interest. However, the focus of the project was not to reconstruct these histories from original research, as this has been competently done by others who have devoted their careers to this work. Section III on the mixed-ancestry (Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal) population in the Mattawa area, however, is almost entirely based on original research and the generation of data from a wide range of primary sources. There is no literature to synthesize on this subject, and even some of the base data for the mixed-ancestry population must be created by pulling out and arranging small pieces of information from primary sources before any exposition is possible. As will be explained in the introduction and methodology for Section III, this was done by building a sortable database of information on individuals and families identified as being of mixed ancestry, or associated with those of mixed ancestry. This database is by no means complete at the present time, as sources already collected and some (such as the 1871 and 1891 Censuses) as yet uncollected are still to be added to it, but it is yielding some general results that may be of interest.

There is a small but important body of secondary literature on the Metis east of the Prairies, exemplified by such works as, among others, Jennifer Brown's Strangers in Blood (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980) and her other published articles, Jacqueline Peterson's articles drawn from her 1981 Ph.D. thesis on the Metis in the Great Lakes region, and Sylvia Van Kirk's Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980). This literature sets out some basic concepts regarding the genesis and persistence of mixed-ancestry populations, such as the social and economic context in which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people formed mixed families and some common characteristics of the following generations of mixed-ancestry individuals. No attempt has been made to synthesize this literature for the purposes of this paper, as while it is helpful in understanding the overall context for Mattawa-area mixed-ancestry populations it does not address the region specifically. The
emphasis in this paper is in developing and describing as much information as possible that
directly relates to the study area, as there is so little of this information currently available. It is
hazardous to apply generalizations or preconceptions drawn from research done elsewhere before
learning more about the specific situation of the mixed-ancestry population in Mattawa and
environs.

The “study area” for this paper is roughly a triangle, with the Mattawa River and Lake Nipissing
forming one side and the Lakes Temagami and Timiskaming areas forming the other two, with
some extensions down the Ottawa River to Pembroke and east to Maniwaki. This area was
chosen based on information on Aboriginal migration and occupation patterns, as described in
Section II. This paper focuses on the area north of the Mattawa River and Lake Nipissing, as
again this appears to correspond to the occupation patterns of many of the Aboriginal people with
ties to Mattawa, and a separate research project has been undertaken with a focus to the south
and west of Lake Nipissing. Although Aboriginal migration patterns have influenced the study
area, the primary purpose of the research was to identify populations linked to Mattawa and to
Tomiko Lake north of Lake Nipissing and not to study the migration patterns per se. Therefore,
the emphasis has been placed on locating the origins, family ties and other characteristics of
populations found in those two locations, rather than following the movements of Aboriginal
populations to and from those locations wherever they might go. This focus has helped to narrow
the study area to a manageable size and direct the narrative to those segments of the population of
most interest for this research.

Persistence of a population over time is one element to be considered in assessing the existence
and continuity of a “community”. If potential members of a community originally centred on a
discrete geographic area begin to scatter outside that area, the scattering may not in itself shatter
the community, but other elements of community life and identity must be strong enough to
overcome the obstacles to shared identity put up by distance. Similarly, sharing residence in an
area does not in itself indicate the presence of community feeling or shared values or ways of life.
Sociologists, historians; demographers, and others who study community and ethnic identity
usually look at a number of indicators to draw their conclusions, including residence patterns but
also including such variables as marriage inside or outside the community; occupational,
educational, class and social ties; religion, language retention, the persistence of cultural
observances such as the celebration of holidays and food preferences, home decoration and dress;
and self-identification. In researching this paper, I did not have access to essential sources for
information about these indicators, such as the oral traditions of mixed-ancestry people in the
Mattawa area, their privately-held documentation of their family and community history, and their
artifacts of home and community life. The documents located in the research to date offer some
very limited data on residence, language and marriage patterns for some families, but in my view

1 For a more complete discussion of the conceptual frameworks used to study communities, see the draft paper “Sociological and Anthropological Perspectives on Community: an Overview”, prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources by Praxis Research Associates, June 1997.
there is not enough material available at this stage to draw definitive conclusions on the existence or identity of a mixed-ancestry "community" at Mattawa and environs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is clear from the research to date that there was a mixed-ancestry population of some generations' standing established in the area at the end of the nineteenth century, but information on the identity and degree of interconnectedness of this population is still quite incomplete.

The sources for this paper are discussed in the introduction to Section IV, and in the appendix entitled "Notes on Sources and Tables". The strength of the collection is in the second half of the nineteenth century. Almost all the sources are in the form of documents generated by non-Aboriginal people for a wide variety of purposes. Very few were generated with the objective of recording or preserving information about a mixed-ancestry population. Although this creates important limitations on the research and its results, I believe that it is still possible to extract meaningful data from these sources, particularly if multiple sources can be compared to cross-check and balance the information. Past observers recording information may have what we now consider to be an imperfect perspective on their environment, but they do have one great advantage over our perspective – they were actually there at the time! Thus, while modern readers may rightly exercise caution in ascribing absolute and exclusive accuracy to these sources, in my view it is important to understand them and the story they might tell. With that conceptual framework established, the rest of the paper follows.

Section II: European presence in the Mattawa area

Terms of Reference questions:

1. When did Europeans first arrive in the Mattawa area?

2. When did Europeans first establish a semi-permanent or permanent presence in the Mattawa area?

10. When did "significant" European settlement occur in the Mattawa area?

The first recorded visit of a European to the Mattawa area was that of Etienne Brule, who camped at Mattawa while exploring the areas north and west of the settlement at Quebec for Samuel de Champlain (Doc. #198, p. 2). In 1615, de Champlain came up the Ottawa himself, with a party of about two dozen Frenchmen, Indians, and a Recollet priest. They also camped at Mattawa on their way west (Doc. #198, pp. 10, 16, 17). In 1626, the Jesuit missionary priest Brebeuf stopped at Mattawa on his way to establishing the Huron mission (Doc. #198, p. 19). After this, until the end of the French regime, the camping grounds at the meeting of the Mattawa and Ottawa Rivers appear to been a well-known stopping point for missionaries, explorers, and fur traders on their way further north and west, although there may have been periods of years when the site was not visited and occupation might have been measured in terms of a few weeks at the most (Doc. #198, pp. 17, 20 - 22, 26 - 27). A plate from the Historical Atlas of Canada.
Volume I (Doc. #202), showing the importance of the Mattawa River as a trade route during the French regime is interleaved on the next page. The site was known to Europeans as “Mataouan”, from the “Indian” term for “meeting of the waters”, by the time of the visit of the trader and explorer Pierre Chevalier de Troyes in 1686 (Doc. #198, pp. 20 - 22).

Lake Timiskaming, thirty-five miles to the north of Mattawa on the Ottawa River, was the site of permanent establishments at a much earlier stage than Mattawa. French traders used forts on that lake to intercept Indian people on their way to trade with the English on Hudson’s and James Bay. A Fort Timiskaming on an island at the mouth of the Montreal River was visited by Chevalier de Troyes in 1686, and may have been established as early as 1679 (Doc. #195, p. 8). In 1688, this post was captured by the Iroquois, and was not returned to French control until circa 1700 (Doc. #195, p. 10). A second Fort Timiskaming was built by the French at “the Narrows” on Lake Timiskaming in about 1720. The two posts were probably operated by the French until about 1760 (Doc. #195, pp. 10 - 16).

The first permanent European site at Mattawa was built in 1784, when the North West Company set up a small fort (Doc. #198, p. 22), as a branch of their Temiscamingue post (Doc. #198, p. 31). Little is known about this post, which may not have been occupied year-round. An “English post” had been established on Lake Timiskaming by 1763, and probably at least a couple of independent fur trade posts were operating on the lake in the 1770s and 1780s (Doc. #195, pp. 11, 17 - 18). North West Company and independent fur trade posts were also operating on Lake Nipissing from the mid-1810s at the latest (see Section IV,C, regarding the Laronde family; Helen Hornbeck Tanner places Northwest Company posts on Lake Nipissing and at Mattawa by 1810 (Doc. #204, map 20)). These posts may have been seasonal, possibly only opening in the spring when Indian people were travelling to trade with their furs. Although the North-West Company’s post at Temiscamingue was still operating at the time of the Company’s merger with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821, there was no mention in contemporary documentation of a post of any kind at Mattawa at that time. The Hudson’s Bay Company does not appear to have had a post on Lake Timiskaming until after it took over the North West Company’s operations in 1821 - 22 (Doc. #195, p. 111), at which time it was a year-round operation (Doc. #195, pp. 134 - 135). The HBC also took over the small North West Company post on Lake Nipissing at the time of the merger of the two companies (Doc. #184, p. 85; Doc. #194, pp. 151, 154; Doc. #51). Around the time of the merger, the Hudson’s Bay Company first heard of an American Fur Company post “on a large lake lying southwest of Lake Timiskaming in the direction of Lake Nipissing”, or Lake Temagami (Doc. #195, p. 120).

The merger of the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company greatly reduced the importance of the Mattawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route west (“the Nipissing Passageway”), as the centre of the fur trade shifted from Montreal to York Factory. Although the posts along this route were kept open by the Hudson’s Bay Company, the emphasis of the HBC was on their territories in the North-West rather than the old fur regions of what is now Ontario and Quebec (Doc. #184, pp. 86 -87; Doc. #202, plate 61). In the late 1820s and 1830s, HBC Governor George Simpson even pursued a strategy of attempting to supply the Timiskaming
District from Hudson Bay instead of Montreal, but the length and arduousness of the route north through Lake Abitibi defeated this idea by the late 1830s and restored some importance to the Nipissing Passageway (Doc. #195, pp. 148 - 157). This trend was reinforced by the extension of winter transport up the Ottawa to Mattawa in 1839 (Doc. #195, p. 156). By the early 1840s, posts as far north as Abitibi were supplied via Mattawa from Montreal, “the transport...to be performed by Indian Voyageurs belonging to Abitibi Post” (quoted in Doc. #195, pp. 156 - 157). Furs, however, were shipped north to Moose Factory from the forts in Nipissing, Temiscamingue and Lake Superior districts (Doc. #195 p. 157).

However, the Timiskaming fur trade was still profitable enough in the 1820s and 1830s that the HBC was anxious to protect it against rival traders, and took an interest in the Mattawa site as a gateway to the Timiskaming trade. In 1828, two HBC traders were sent to Mattawa for the winter in order to cut off some independent traders (Doc. #192, p. 1), but by the end of December 1828 both the HBC and the opposition traders had abandoned the Mattawa trade (ibid.). In the winter of 1829-30, the opposition traders returned. The HBC joined them in the winter of 1830-31 (Doc. #192, p. 2). In the spring of 1833, the HBC operated a “small outpost” at Mattawa to prevent the local Indians from trading with the “shanty men” of the lumber camps to the south (Doc. #192, pp. 2 - 3). Over the next five years, the HBC periodically sent traders for a season to Mattawa (Doc. #192, p. 3). In the summer of 1837, the Company decided to establish a permanent store at Mattawa, although the post may only have been staffed during the winter for the next several years (Doc. #192, pp. 3 - 4).

The Hudson’s Bay Company also established a post on Lake Temagami, to defend its interests against independent traders who had established there, in 1834 (Doc. #195, p. 155). The Company and independent traders also continued to operate posts on Lake Nipissing during this period.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1836, the first mass was celebrated at Mattawa since the days of the French regime, by a Sulpician missionary on his way north (Doc. #198, p. 131). In 1843, the Sulpician missionary Bellefeuille included Mattawa on a regular itinerary of visits throughout the region (Doc. #198, p. 131). After the Oblate Order took over missionary work in the Mattawa/Timiskaming area in 1844, they visited Mattawa two or three times a year, preaching and baptizing children (Doc. #198, p. 131; Doc. #191, p. 11).

In the mid-1840s, a number of independent traders established stores and trading sites near Mattawa, which by this time was a year-round post. As well as its importance as a transport depot and a defensive post against casual and independent traders, Mattawa post was still collecting a modest amount of fur; 300 martens, 130 beaver and “a few small Furs” in the 1845 - 46 season (Doc. #192, p. 7). The trading environment was complex and was not limited to transactions with Indian people living on the land: the head of the HBC’s Fort Colounge district, to which the Mattawa post was transferred in 1848, estimated that “4/5ths of the business now transacted at Mattawa, is with Lumbermen” (Doc. #192, p. 9), and the head of the Temiscamingue district, from which Mattawa was transferred, referred to the “temptation held
out to the Indians, Shanties and Settlers in every direction" (Doc. #192, p. 10).

In 1853, the "Mattawan - Nipissing Road" was surveyed by the provincial government, and "Mattawan & Nipissing Farm Lots" along this road were surveyed from 1854 to 1856. However, there was little or no settlement in the vicinity of the Mattawa River and Lake Nipissing at this time.

Although Ottawa valley lumber operations had reached the mouth of the Mattawa by 1835, the first permanent logging camp was not built on the Nipissing Passageway until about 1855. This camp was located on the north bank of the Mattawa, probably about 3 miles east of the mouth (Doc. #184, pp. 88-89). A post office was opened in the HBC store in this year (Doc. #198, p. 61). By 1860, several logging "shanties" had been established in the area, including on Antoine Creek, L'Amable Dufond River, and Talon Lake (Doc. #198, p. 61). These camps were occupied in the winter only. Doc. #206, a plate and chart drawn from the Historical Atlas of Canada. Volume II, illustrates the area under timber limit in Ontario in 1870 and the seasonal activities of timber harvesting in this era.

In the winter of 1861-62, L. A. Russell, P. L. S., surveyed Mattawan Township into lots. Russell described the location and settlement of the area as follows:

The means of access to it [Mattawa] are — in summer, — the Union Forwarding Cos line of steamers from Ottawa City to the Joachim Portage 145 miles, the remaining 55 miles being travelled in canoes or boats, with three interruptions [Portages]...each about 2 miles long and having a good waggon road across it [p. 2] — in winter, — a line of stages tri-weekly from Ottawa to Pembroke, 100 miles, the remaining 100 miles, private conveyance, on the road used constantly by the lumberers...[p. 3]

Lumberers give employment to settlers and their teams, making and drawing timber, and drawing supplies...[p. 4]

The present, and also future place of business in the Township is Fort Mattawa at the mouth of the river of the same name. — The Reserve made there for a townplot is one of the most suitable and picturesque sites for that purpose to be met with in the Province.

There are already at the Fort a large Catholic chapel, two good hotels, the Hudson Bay Cos general store and on the Antoine a couple of miles distant Mr. McConnells sawmill. — The nearest Post Office at present is the Joachim to which place there is a weekly mail from Ottawa, the lumberers, however feeling much the want of a mail to Fort Mattawa [sic] are endeavouring to get a Post Office.

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2 Plans, reports and survey diaries located in AO, RG1, Series CB-1, MS 924.
established there also. — There is as yet no grist mill the high prices for hay and oats...leading the few settlers there are to cultivate hardly anything else, it being more profitable to buy flour for their own use, and [p. 5] devote all their land and time to growing the before mentioned crop...

Nearly all the square timber has been taken to market, a few sawlogs remain of what was once [p. 6] a very fair timber limit...

This township is not naturally inviting to settlers, but when a farmer receives four times the ordinary price for his produce he can well afford to live on second rate land. —

Its position at the future confluence of Upper Ottawa and Western Lake trade gives it importance. — The time will come soon, when scarcity of timber and the encroachments of settlers on the lumberers where they now are, will lead to the [p. 7] bulk of the lumbering being divided between the country above this and that on the northern tributaries of the river lower down. — The three or four hundred miles yet unexplored and almost unknown course of the Ottawa may yet furnish much, both in timber and minerals, to a trade of which Fort Mattawan will be the depot, when...the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal is made, the Lake vessels...will there discharge their cargoes...Mattawan is peculiarly suited for such a trade...[Doc. #41, p. 8].

In 1862, the Oblates built a priests' residence at Temiscamingue post, to be occupied year-round (Doc. #191, p. 27). 1862 also saw the arrival of the first year-round non-Aboriginal settler near Mattawa, who opened a hotel near the HBC post (Doc. #198, p. 49; Doc. #41). This first settler was followed by two other families over the next four years, one of whom was that of the brother of the HBC trader in charge of the Mattawa post from 1859 to approximately 1863 (Doc. #198, p. 49, Doc. #192, pp. 13 - 14). This HBC trader opened an independent general store in 1864, which then also housed the post office (Doc. #198, p. 22). The Oblates posted a resident priest to Mattawa in 1868, to make rounds from Mattawa to missions at Golden Lake and Fort William, Quebec (Doc. #198, p. 133). They were also pressing the HBC to set aside some of its land grant for a priests' house and a cemetery (Doc. #191, p. 12). By 1869, there were four non-Aboriginal families in the town (Doc. #198, p. 132).

1871 saw the opening of a Catholic school in Mattawa (Doc. #198, p. 151), and the establishment of regular boat service between Des Joachims rapids and Mattawa (Doc. #198, p. 61). In 1872, the judicial District of Nipissing was created, and the first court session was held at Mattawa (Doc. #198, p. 74). Telegraph service was extended to Mattawa in the same year (Doc. #198, p. 74). The 1870s also marked the building of Methodist and Presbyterian churches and the opening of a small Catholic hospital in the village (Doc. #198, pp. 145, 109). In 1878, Papineau Township, on the south side of the Mattawa River and the west side of the Ottawa, was surveyed into lots, with the hope of attracting settlers along the recently-completed Pembroke-Mattawa
colonization road.\(^3\)

The tempo of European colonization accelerated when the Canada Central Railway (later part of the Canadian Pacific Railway) was extended from Pembroke to Mattawa in 1881 (Doc. #198, p. 62). Hudson’s Bay Company records noted a steady decline in fur returns from the late 1870s, combined with an increasing presence of commercial enterprises competing with the HBC in both the fur and retail business (Doc. #198, p. 14). By 1888, Hudson Bay Company inspectors reported that there was a population of 1,000 people in Mattawa, “mostly French”, almost entirely dependent on “the lumbering on Lake Temiscamingue” (Doc. #198, p. 15). According to the inspectors’ report, the HBC itself did little business in town and there were only two or three Indian hunters still frequenting the post; the Company store’s trade being preponderantly with lumbermen (ibid.). An 1889 HBC inspection report noted the presence of at least seven other stores in the town (ibid.). A map compiled by the Mattawa Museum shows that many of the lots in Mattawan Township close to the town were alienated from the Crown in the 1880s (Doc. #213). In 1891, the population of the Nipissing District had risen to 12,000 from 400 in 1871, and European settlement was well-established near Mattawa, along the Amable du Fond River, south of the Mattawa River and Lake Nipissing, and increasingly, north of Lake Nipissing at Sturgeon Falls and North Bay (Doc. #184, pp. 87 - 84). In 1892, Mattawa was incorporated as a town, with a population of approximately 1,780 (Doc. #198, p. 77). A sign of the changing economy of the region was the transfer of the HBC Mattawa post from the Fur Trade Division to the Salesshops Division of the Company in 1893 (Doc. #192, p. 16).

However, the poor soil and short growing season in the vicinity of Mattawa discouraged many early settlers, and as early as 1908 the HBC inspector reported that the town was becoming “daily more out-of-the-way and deserted” (Doc. #192, p. 16). The HBC Salesshop at Mattawa had been closed in 1904, with the buildings being used as an administrative centre and a space to pack furs. In the winter of 1908 - 09, the Company closed its operations at Mattawa altogether and moved what remaining business it had there to North Bay (ibid.). Lumbering was still a vital industry to the town and employed many residents at least seasonally. Harvesting operations and associated saw and pulp mills were most active around Lake Nipissing and north towards Timiskaming for the first three decades of the twentieth century, after which depletion of the resource caused some contractions in the industry (Doc. #184, pp. 109 - 111). Tourism and hydroelectric power development have also provided economic support to the town in the second half of the twentieth century, but generally the region has remained economically and demographically stagnant. The population of Mattawa today is approximately 2,500.

Section III: Aboriginal groups in the Mattawa area

Terms of Reference questions:

\(^3\) Plan, report and field notes of survey of township of Papineau, 11 December 1878, MNR Survey Records.
3. What, if any, Aboriginal groups inhabited or made regular use of the Mattawa area (1) when Europeans first arrived (2) when Europeans established a semi-permanent or permanent presence?

4. What, if any, were the harvesting/hunting practices of these Aboriginal groups at those times?

5. What was the relative significance to these Aboriginal groups of any harvesting/hunting practices at those times?

6. Did these Aboriginal groups hunt in the vicinity of Tomiko Lake?

14. Were the Aboriginal groups of the Mattawa area party to any treaties that may apply to the Tomiko Lake area?

At the time of first contact with Europeans (the first two decades of the seventeenth century), historians and anthropologists have identified Algonquins as occupying both sides of the Ottawa River watershed from just west of Montreal to south of Lake Timiskaming, Nipissings north and south of Lake Nipissing (including, possibly, Tomiko Lake), and Temiscamings in the vicinity of Lake Timiskaming (Doc. #208, p. 44; Doc. #202, plate 18; Doc. #196, pp. 787, 793). While the boundaries between these groups are not precisely defined in the historical record, early observers were fairly consistent in identifying these three areas as occupied by separate Aboriginal peoples distinguishable by markers such as language and an independent relationship with neighbouring peoples. There was also movement by these peoples from the territories described above into adjacent territories; for example, many Nipissing people wintered in south-central Ontario with the Huron and Algonquin people could be found settled as far east as Trois-Rivieres (Doc. #196, pp. 788, 792 - 793).

The most northerly Algonquin group was identified in early seventeenth-century French records as “Ottagoutouemin” (Champlain’s name for them). This is the group that Champlain met at Mattawa in 1615 (Doc. #208, p. 57; Doc. #1, pp. 37 - 39). Two leading anthropologists/ethnohistorians, Gordon Day and Bruce Trigger, have stated that based on surviving sources it is unclear whether the Aboriginal people living to the north of this group on Lakes Timiskaming and Abitibi should be classified as Cree, Algonquin or Montagnais at contact (Doc. #196, p. 792). Champlain called the Ottawa River “the River of the Algonquins” and Lake Nipissing “the lake of the Nipissings”, but noted only that the Mattawa route was used by “les sauvages” in 1615 (Doc. #1, p. 39). Bruce Trigger has identified the Mattawa/Lake Nipissing waterway as the most important trade route in Ontario between the Huron and the great Montagnais trading depot at Tadoussac by (at the latest) the end of the sixteenth century (Doc. #201, pp. 157 - 158; also p. 148). The Algonquins and Nipissings were the intermediaries in this trade, which included Aboriginal commodities such as Huron corn, marine shell, tobacco, and native copper, and, from the middle of the sixteenth century, European goods such as metals and glass beads and the furs traded for them. The importance of the Mattawa/Nipissing trade route
was magnified when the Oneida and Mohawk took control of the Lake Ontario/St. Lawrence route at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but Trigger goes so far as to say that the Huron moved away from fertile southern Ontario at the end of the sixteenth century to be closer to the Mattawa/Nipissing route, not because they had been defeated in war (ibid.). Plate 33 of the Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume I (Doc. #202) illustrates these Aboriginal trade routes. The Algonquins controlled access to the Ottawa River by collecting tolls and occasionally turning back travellers, especially at Morrison’s Island. Part of plate 35 from Volume I of the Historical Atlas of Canada (Doc. #202), showing Huron/Nipissing/Algonquin trade routes circa 1620 - 1640, is interleaved following this page. Trade routes at other times during the seventeenth century are also depicted in Doc. #202, plate 35. It does not appear to have been recorded that the Algonquins exercised control over the Mattawa in the same fashion as they did on the Ottawa.

Although the Algonquins occasionally cultivated small patches of corn, beans, squash and (after contact) peas, and had an extensive knowledge of the plants growing in their territory, anthropologists appear to agree that they relied on hunting and fishing for most of their food and clothing (see for example Doc. #196, p. 792). The soil in the Ottawa Valley region was generally too poor to support an agricultural life. (See also Doc. #202, plate 18; and Doc. #204, map 4). Champlain, in 1615, commented that the Algonquins he met in July “live by the fish they catch in the ponds and lakes, with which the country is well provided” (Doc. #1, pp. 37 - 38). He also commented on the abundance of blueberries in the territory of the Ottaguottouemin (Doc. #1, p. 38). Yvon Couture, in his 1983 volume on the Algonquin, probably drew from Champlain when he described the Otaguottouemins in the early seventeenth century as small in numbers, living in temporary camps year-round and hunting and fishing in the rivers and lakes in their territory, without a central village site such as that found on Morrison’s Island. (Doc. #200, p. 83; Doc. #1, pp. 37 - 38, 117 - 118, 131). Couture also described a small contact-period Algonquin sub-band he called the “Mattawahns [or] Mattawashkininis” living near the Mattawa River. This group, according to Couture, were intermediaries between the Algonquins of the north and those living on the southern part of the Ottawa Valley watershed, and also had close ties to the Nipissing people (Doc. #200, p. 84). The Mattawa River region, in Couture’s view, was a meeting ground for Algonquins amongst themselves and for the Algonquin to meet with the Nipissing and other western tribes (Doc. #200, p. 81). Coutoue believes that this Mattawa group was later absorbed into the Nipissing Ojibwa band (Doc. #200, pp. 111, 158). The trading, hunting and fishing activities of the Algonquins meant that their life was nomadic rather than settled in villages, although at contact bands had identified territories and tended to revisit the same sites year and after year (Doc. #196, pp. 792 - 793; Doc. #208, passim).

The Nipissing people were recorded by the Jesuit priest Father Jerome Lalément as having a regular seasonal round based on spring and fall fishing in Lake Nipissing and its surrounding lakes and rivers, a summer gathering of all the Nipissing groups around Lake Nipissing during which a small amount of cultivation more “for pleasure, and...fresh food...than for their support” was undertaken, and winter trading and co-residence with the Huron people around Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. Variants of this round included summer trips to James Bay to trade with the Cree and the English boats that visited from 1610 onwards, and winters spent in their own country
hunting rather than moving down to Huron territory (Doc. #196, p. 788). Deerskins and furs, as well as fish, were harvested and traded by the Nipissing in exchange for Huron cornmeal, wampum and fish nets (see also Doc. #202, plate 35). Champlain and the Jesuits remarked on the abundance of game, fish and wildfowl in the Nipissing territory, and Father Lalement described them as "a rich people [who] live in comfort" (Doc. #196, p. 788).

However, the Algonquin attempt to enforce a monopoly on trading with the French led to hostilities with Iroquoian peoples resident south of Lake Ontario, who wanted both open access to the European trade and the superior-quality furs that came from the north. Based on Champlain's writings, Trigger and Day have estimated that hostilities between the Iroquois and the Algonquin started as early as 1570 (Doc. #196, p. 793). This intermittent war with the Iroquois, in which the Algonquin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Huron and French were allied against the Iroquois confederacy, intensified to a decisive onslaught in the 1640s. Between the late 1630s and the early 1650s, south central Ontario was cleared of the Huron, Nipissing, Neutral, Wenro, Petun, Erie and Algonquin peoples by the Iroquois, who took over the territories vacated as their fur and game hunting grounds. The Algonquin fled to Quebec missions and settlements including Trois Rivieres, Sillery, and Oka at Lake of Two Mountains (founded by the Sulpicians in 1677) (Doc. #196, p. 794). Other Algonquins may have moved north to Lakes Timiskaming and Abitibi. The Nipissing went west to settle around Lake Nipigon (Doc. #196, p. 789). Part of plate 35 from Volume I of the Historical Atlas of Canada (Doc. #202), showing the dispersion of Aboriginal peoples during this period, is interleaved after this page (see also Doc. #204, map 7).

Day and Trigger have estimated the period during which the Algonquin were dispersed from the Ottawa Valley as between 1650 and 1675 (Doc. #196, p. 794). In mid-May 1686, the trader De Troyes described a group of Indian people making birch bark canoes (a typically Algonquin or Nipissing activity) at an Indian "cabanne" on the point at Mattawa, but he did not indicate to which nation they belonged (Doc. #198, pp. 20 - 21). The Iroquois were distracted by defeats by the French and Indian groups living south of the Great Lakes in the 1660s, resulting in a French-Iroquois peace treaty signed in 1667. A few Nipissing people came back to their original territory following this treaty (Doc. #196, p.789; see also Doc. #202, plates 38, 39 and 40), and also apparently continued east to join the Algonquins at missions in Quebec. During the period of Iroquois domination, the Ottawa people resident on Manitoulin Island and near Georgian Bay took over the Ottawa River as a trade route, thereby giving it its present-day name (see Doc. #202, plate 37). However, the period of use of the river by the Ottawas was quite short-lived; Trigger has stated that by the 1680s the Ottawa people had been bypassed as middlemen by French traders travelling via routes south of the Great Lakes, and had ceased to travel regularly to the St. Lawrence River (Doc. #201, p. 285).

A map drawn in approximately 1680 places "Nipissineins" in the vicinity of Lake Nipissing, and names the Ottawa "Riviere des Outaouais, ou des Hurons". The area around Mattawa is labelled by the mapmaker "Sault au tacle [?talus?] Matouan" and land south of the Mattawa River is described as "En cet endroit il y a plusieurs petits mavius par ou l'en va dans le lac Nipissing en y portent plusieurs fois les Canots" (very roughly, "In this location there are many little rough
places by which one goes to Lake Nipissing, carrying the canoes there many times”). The interior of south-central Ontario is marked “les sauvages Loups et Iroquois tirent d’icy la plus grande partie du Castor qu’ils portens aus Anglois et aux Hollandois” (Doc. #201, p. 272).

Beginning in the 1690s, the Ojibwa living around Lake Huron moved down into southern and south-central Ontario, driving the Iroquois by warfare out of the land between the “Nipissing Passageway” and the St. Lawrence/Great Lakes waterway (see Doc. #202, plates 38, 39 and 40). In 1701, the Iroquois signed a peace treaty with the French and their Indian allies, and a treaty placing their “beaver grounds” in southern Ontario under the protection of the British, bringing an end to the large-scale Aboriginal wars that had swept the area for over sixty years.

It is not clear exactly when the Ojibwa moved into the former territory of the Nipissing around Lake Nipissing. In 1763, Sir William Johnson described “Ottawas” and “Chipewignas” as living “from the [Great] Lakes, to the great Ottawa River, and abt lake Superior, etc.”, noting that “these numerous people...are scattered throughout the Northern Parts...having few places affixed residence” and “subsisting entirely by Hunting” (Doc. #2). Helen Hornbeck Tanner, in her Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, places the Ojibwa north of Lake Nipissing by 1768 (Doc. #204, map 13). However, George Copway, an Ojibwa chief from Southern Ontario, did not include the village or the territory north of Lake Nipissing in his descriptions of Ojibwa communities and territories for a book published in 1850 (Doc. #25). Some Nipissing people may have travelled back to their territory with the Great Lakes Ojibwa, but it is not possible from the existing records to confirm this (Doc. #196, p. 788). It is also not clear exactly when the Algonquins began to return to their traditional territories along the Ottawa River. Some sources indicate that Algonquins and Nipissings together were regularly hunting “far up the Ottawa” by the mid-eighteenth century (Doc. #196, p. 790; see also Doc. #202, plate 47). The usual pattern of residence for the Algonquin and Nipissing peoples at this time was to stay for the summer months at Lake of Two Mountains (and later, at Maniwaki) and spend the rest of the year on their hunting grounds, leaving behind only those too infirm to travel. This pattern was to persist for at least the next 150 years (see for example Doc. #12; Doc. #83, pp. 21 - 22; Doc. #208, pp. 83 - 85). The Lake of Two Mountains mission had attracted most of the remaining identifiable Nipissings and many Algonquins by 1750. Records dating from this period indicate that the Nipissing and Algonquin people lived in two separate, but adjacent, parts of the village at Lake of Two Mountains (Doc. #196, p. 790).

In 1761, Alexander Henry, one of the first English fur-traders to venture up the Ottawa after the defeat of the French in the Seven Years’ War, stated that the Algonquins at Lake of Two Mountains claimed all the land in the Ottawa River watershed as far west as Lake Nipissing, and that the territory was divided very clearly between Algonquin families (Doc. #179, p. 23). This description of Algonquin territory was to be repeated by the Algonquins, sometimes together with the Nipissings, many times over the next 150 years (see for example Docs. #3, 5, 8, 10). The Algonquins and Nipissings described their hunting territories in 1824 as follows:

...the Lands on both sides of the Ottawa and little Rivers as far as Lake
Nepissingue; that is to say both banks of the Ottawa and of the Matawange [Mattawa] River (called by the Voyageurs the little River) to the height of land dividing of the waters of lake Nepissingue from those of the said little River; as also the Countries Watered by all the streams falling into the said Ottawa and little Rivers, North and south to their sources. This tract is bounded to the southward by a Ridge dividing the waters which fall into the lakes and into the St. Lawrence from those falling to the Northward and into the Ottawa River...

These are the Hunting grounds which the two Tribes of Nepissingue & Algonquins conceive they have a right to occupy as such in consequence of their being so long in possession and having been as they conceive further confirmed to them by the act of their father Sir William Johnson in 1763...[Doc. #7]

They gave a similar description in petitions of June 6, 1835 (Doc. #11), February 8, 1837 (Doc. #13), September 6, 1838 (Doc. #14), and August of 1847 (Doc. #18). Couture has expressed the view that the Mattawa River area became increasingly important to the Algonquins in the early part of the nineteenth century, as settlement spoiled their hunting grounds further south in the Ottawa Valley (Doc. #200, p. 106).

The Algonquins and Nipissings also consistently emphasized in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that they depended on the hunting in the territories for their living, and as advancing settlement had destroyed the hunting, they had become poor (see for example Docs. #4; 6, pp. 6 - 10; 5, 8, 14).

In 1829, Alexander Shirreff explored the country between the mouth of the Rideau River on the Ottawa and Lake Huron, with a view to reporting on its settlement possibilities. He waited at Cedar Lake (in the northern part of what is now Algonquin Park) for

the arrival of a son of the Algonquin Chief, named Constant Pennaisesse, who had established his winter quarters here. From him I received an excellent chart...From Constant I learned that there was a much better route from the Ottawa thus far, than that which I had followed. It is by a stream entering the Cedar lake, from the north, and communicating with another, called after the Indian who hunts upon, Map di Fong’s creek [Amable du Fond River], flowing into the Little [Mattawa] river. This, though the longest, is the smoothest route, and is always followed by the Indians passing between the Ottawa and the Cedar lake, with loaded canoes...[Doc. #9, pp. 289-290]

The Oblate missionary who visited Lake Timiskaming and Fort William (Quebec) in the 1840s reported that the Indian people he had met at these places spoke the same Algonquin language as the people at the mission at Lake of Two Mountains (Doc. #16). Yvon Couture states that many Algonquins moved north as far as Abitibi in the nineteenth century as non-Aboriginal settlement moved up the Ottawa Valley, joining others who had moved there during the Algonquin dispersal
in the seventeenth century (Doc. #200, p. 47).

In March of 1845, the Bagot Commission of Inquiry on the "Affairs of the Indians in Canada" tabled its final report to the Legislative Assembly of the United Province of Canada. The Commission reported that there were 418 Algonquins and 318 Nipissings living in the United Province, of which 333 Algonquins and 263 Nipissings lived at Lake of Two Mountains for about two months out of the year. According to the Report, the Algonquins and Nipissings led "a roving life, dwelling in huts and wigwams during the greater part of the year, and some throughout the year", following "the chase". The Report also noted that some of the Iroquois at Lake of Two Mountains went up the Ottawa River in the summer, to work as pilots and raftsmen, bringing logs down the Ottawa to Montreal (Doc. #15). A transcript of the evidence of the Indian Superintendent at Lake of Two Mountains was included as part of the Bagot Report, in which the Superintendent clarified that the Algonquins and Nipissings there went for most of the year to "their hunting grounds, which extent from Point D'Original, above the Long Sault, up the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, and embrace all the rivers, creeks, &c., from their sources North and South, emptying themselves into the Ottawa" (ibid.).

A separate 1845 report to the Secretary of Indian Affairs from a missionary at Lake of Two Mountains noted that 46 "Temiscamings", "reduced to their final destitution", had come down to the mission that year "in the hope of receiving some gear, and in the desire of uniting with their brothers, to form with them only one village" (Doc. #17). In August of 1848, eight families of "the Nipissingue Tribe from Temiscamingue" were brought down by their missionary to Lake of Two Mountains in the hope of receiving presents from the government (Doc. #19), and in 1850 there is another reference by a missionary to 42 Temiskaming who had been coming regularly to Lake of Two Mountains for assistance (Doc. #27). A report by the Bishop of Bytown in 1849 seems to indicate that the Indian people of the northern Ottawa River watershed spoke Algonquin as far north as Lake Abitibi, where the dominant language changed to Cree. This report also stated that "we do not have exact enough notions" about the Aboriginal peoples living "west of the Ottawa up...Lake Huron" (Doc. #20). Based on this report, a reserve was set aside for the Algonquins at the head of Lake Timiskaming in 1849 (see Docs. #21, 22). A reserve for Algonquin people was allocated at the same time in the vicinity of River Desert in Quebec. These reserves were further confirmed by an Order in Council issued in 1853 (see infra).

A petition from Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs at the Lake of Two Mountains dated August 30, 1849, described their hunting grounds as "from the foot of Long Sault up to Lake Nipissing, situated on the north and on the south of the Ottawa", including "certain islands situated on the Ottawa, from the foot of the "Long Sault" to the Matawam inclusively" (Doc. #23). In the late summer of 1849, 16 "warriors" with wives and children totalling 63 people had come to Manitouaning from "Nebesing" to receive annual presents from the Crown. These individuals are not identified by name or ethnicity in the records (Doc. #26). In December of 1849, Alexander Vidal and Thomas Gummersall Anderson, commissioned by the Government of the Province of Canada to report on the proposed making of an Indian Treaty north of Lakes Huron and Superior, described the territory east of that claimed by the Indians of French River as "supposed to belong
to the Indians of “Two Mountains Canada East”, as far as the Ottawa River (Doc. #24).

On September 9, 1850, the Robinson-Huron treaty was signed by W. B. Robinson on behalf of the Crown and a number of “Chiefs...and Principal Men of the Ojibway Indians” from the Lake Huron area. A transcription of this treaty is attached as Doc. #29. Chief “Shébokeshiek” signed on behalf of a group who were to receive a Reserve “from their present planting grounds on Lake Nipissing” to the mouth of the Sturgeon River, and Chief “Dokis” signed on behalf of another group who were to receive a reserve on the French River “near Lake Nipissing”. It is historian Jim Morrison’s view that “it is...apparent that some chiefs and principal men who had not originally been invited [to the Treaty negotiations and signing] had arrived with the Lake Huron chiefs...and asked to be included in the agreement” (Doc. #210, p. 8). He cites as evidence for this assertion the clause in the treaty text stating that “in consequence of the Indians inhabiting French River and Lake Nipissing having become parties to the Treaty, the further sum of one hundred and sixty Pounds Provincial Currency shall be paid”. Morrison also notes that the description of lands surrendered in the Robinson-Huron Treaty could exclude much of Lake Nipissing, although Robinson addressed the possibility that this description would not cover the lands he had “purchased” by inserting a “blanket extinguishment” clause including “all unconceded lands” to which the signatories had “just claim” in Canada West (Doc. #210, pp. 14 – 15). Based on his extensive review of the surviving evidence, Morrison believes that it is not possible to ascertain when the Lake Nipissing chiefs found out about the Treaty and decided to join, although he observes that they attended the annual present distribution at Manitoulin Island in August of 1850 (Doc. #210, p. 8).

Morrison also does not hazard a guess as to the ethnicity of the signatories and their bands from Lake Nipissing. It appears that the interpreters and other multilingual “cultural arbiters” present at the Treaty spoke Ojibway, and in one case Ottawa, as their Aboriginal language, and there is no record of Algonquin or Nipissing being spoken at the Treaty proceedings. Chief Dokis and some other signatory chiefs apparently could speak French (Doc. #210, pp. 9 - 10).

An 1850 “Census” of Indians in the (future?) Robinson Treaty area included a count of 70 from “Nebesk” (Doc. #26). Of 13 family names on this census list, one (“O.cheek” or Otjik”) appears to match a name identified as Nipissing on an 1847 petition regarding land rights (Doc. #18), and another (“Ke.neese” or “Kinyous”) may match an Algonquin name on that petition. The same thirteen family names, representing 47 people, are listed in a document signed by Robinson himself on September 15, 1850, entitled “Indians of Lake Nepissing entitled under the Robinson Treaty to share in the Annuities and occupy the Reserve” (Doc. #31). “Shaw.bo.kegik” is identified as the “head” of this band. Another petition, dated August 21, 1850, on behalf of

4 Morrison also notes that in 1898, Department of Indian Affairs officials took the position that the region between the eastern end of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River, and the Mattawa River and Lake Timiskaming, was not included in the Robinson Treaty. However, since 1977 Departmental maps have shown the border of the treaty as extending along a height of land to the Quebec border. See Doc. #210, p. 14.
Algonquin and Nipissing families that had not travelled to Lake of Two Mountains for over three years, lists five Nipissing family names and nine Algonquin names. None of these names match those on the Robinson Treaty lists.

In February 1851, the Algonquins and Nipissings of Lake of Two Mountains sent a petition to the Assembly of the United Province of Canada which, among other items, noted that “in Upper Canada all the lands have been bought from the Indians” and pointed out that Indian Reserves for signatories to the Robinson Treaties had recently been posted in the official gazette. The petitioners requested similar treatment for the Indians of Lower Canada, asking particularly for land to be reserved “where the settlers are beginning to go” for sale for their benefit, and for cultivable land to be secured to them in the Seigneurial of the Lake of Two Mountains (Doc. #33).

In 1853, reserves for Algonquins were established at Maniwaki (River Desert) and Lake Timiskaming. A schedule attached to the Order in Council setting apart these reserves described them as follows:

Lake Temiscamingue, 38,400 acres, A tract extending along the River Ottawa at des Quinzes 6 miles in breadth from the divisional boundary between Upper & Lower Canada to the head of Lake Temiscamingue by ten Miles in depth — Nipissings, Algonquins & Outaouais. Nomadic tribes inhabiting the Country watered by the Ottawa adjacent to the Hudson Bay Territory.

Maniwaki or River Desert, 47,750 acres A tract on the West Bank of the Gatineau bounded on the North East, by the River Desert on the North & North West by the Eagle Branch averaging 7 Miles in front by 8 in depth. Tetes de Boule, Algonquins & Nipsis. Tribes hunting on the territory between the St. Maurice and Gatineau principally residing at the Mission of Lake of Two Mountains. [Doc. #34]

Large numbers of Algonquins and Nipissings relocated from Lake of Two Mountains to Maniwaki in 1854 (Doc. #196, pp. 790, 795).

Several names were added to the Robinson-Huron Treaty paylists for the Nipissing Band during the 1850s. No explanation was offered in the paylist documents for the addition of these names.

A patent to the Crown in trust for Algonquin families “resident at or near Golden Lake” was issued for 1,561 acres in South Algona, County of Renfrew, in September 1873. The families at Golden Lake were said to have come from Algonquin and Nipissing families at the Lake of Two Mountains sometime in the early nineteenth century (see Doc. #38, also Doc. #196, pp. 790, 795). Couture believes that some of the Golden Lake families had been nomads who had traded regularly at Mattawa and posts further south along the Ottawa, such as Fort William and Fort Coulange, in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that their hunting grounds had been located along the Petawawa, Bonnechere, Madwaska, Dunoine, and Coulange Rivers (Doc.
A June census of the Indian people at Lake of Two Mountains taken in 1873 revealed that 101 Algonquins and Nipissings were living there at that time, or about one-seventh their population at mid-century. The census taker noted that “Le plus grand nombre des algonquins et Nipissingues du Lac des deux Montagnes ne descendent plus au village trop eloigne maintenant de leurs terres de chasses. Il leur est plus commode et plus advantageux de se rendre aux nouvelle missions de Temiskamingue, Matawan, Fort William et Riviere au Desert” (Doc. #43). The census from Maniwaki for the same year recorded an increase in population, with 98 “Algonkins” and 29 “Taitst Bous” residing there. The Agent’s comment was that the increase was “partly from having more birth than deaths and partly from the Number of Indians emigrating from the Lake of Two Mountains, from the Lievre, from the Colonge and other Tributaries of the Grand [Ottawa] River to take up and farm here on the Maniwaki Indian reserve” (Doc. #44). Another census taken at Lake of Two Mountains in November 1873 showed only 66 “Algonquins” living there (Doc. #45).

In 1877, following unrest and the burning of the church, the mission at Lake of Two Mountains was closed and all the Algonquins and Nipissings that had lived there dispersed, mostly to Maniwaki. After the Algonquins and Nipissings moved to Maniwaki, records generally do not distinguish between the two groups, further impeding identification of Nipissing descendants in modern-day Aboriginal groups.

In 1883, according to the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, there were 136 Algonquin people living on the reserve at Lake Timiskaming, who supported themselves by fishing, hunting, and trapping (Doc. #48). In 1887, about 200 Algonquins were reported living on the reserve, making a living “in comfort by hunting and fishing” with farming on a very small scale (Doc. #57). The Golden Lake reserve residents, according to a Department of Indian Affairs inspector’s report of October 1882, made their living largely by hunting, fishing, and working in the lumber camps (Doc. #47). Indian Agents’ reports from Nipissing, Temiskaming, Temagami, Golden Lake and Maniwaki in the 1890s described the principal occupations of the residents of the Indian Reserves as hunting, trapping commercially for furs, working in lumber camps, guiding, and to varying degrees agriculture and wage work on roads or railways. As the decade progressed, the reports indicate that wage labour became gradually more important in the reserve economy, but also that hunting and trapping were still primary economic activities by 1900 (Docs. #83, 89, 95, 99, 110, 124, 133, 137). The Indian Agent for Golden Lake reported in 1895 that only three of the families on the reserve farmed “to any extent”, while the rest “prefer to hunt and work on the river in the spring for the lumbermen” (Doc. #110). The Agent wrote of the Nipissing Band in 1898 that “their farming operations are carried on only to a limited extent, as they depend largely on securing employment in the lumbering camps and hunting as a means of earning a living” (Doc. #133, p. 35), although a few years earlier the previous agent had observed that “the chase is being abandoned by most of the younger men...they take to the more profitable work of the lumber woods. A few only seem to take kindly to agriculture and still fewer to fishing” (Doc. #99, pp. 6 - 7). At Maniwaki, up until the end of the nineteenth century, families
left the reserve in September and October to hunt, fish and trap. Winter wage labour in logging camps also was important. The families returned to Maniwaki in May and June to sell their furs, cater to tourists as guides or craftspeople, visit friends and relatives, and harvest animals and plants near the village. Agriculture was of varying importance depending on the price of fur and wage levels (Doc. #208, pp. 83 - 85, see also Docs. #48, 49).

The Mississauga Ojibwa also claimed the area in the vicinity of Mattawa from time to time. In 1869, a group of Mississauga chiefs from Rice, Mud, and Scugog Lakes sent a petition to the Government of Canada stating that land north of the 45th degree of latitude had never been ceded and was claimed by them (Doc. #42). In 1895, Canada put forward for arbitration a claim on behalf of the Mississaugas of Mud, Rice, and Scugog Lakes and Alnwick, and the Chippewas of Lakes Huron and Simcoe, to land described as follows:

Commencing on the Georgian Bay at the northeastern angle of the surrender of the 18th Nov., 1815; thence southerly and easterly following the boundaries of the said surrender to the westerly shore of Lake Simcoe; thence northerly following the said westerly shore of lake Simcoe and the westerly shore of Lake Conchiching [sic] to the foot of the said Lake Conchiching; thence northerly and easterly along the boundaries of the surrender of the 8th Nov., 1822, to the Ottawa River; thence up the said Ottawa River to the point where it crosses the 47th parallel of latitude; thence southerly and easterly along the boundaries of the lands of the Ojibwas of Lake Huron, ceded by them on the 9th September, 1850, to Moose Deer Point on the Georgian Bay; thence southerly following the easterly shore of the Georgian Bay to the point of Commencement...[Doc. #98]

The 47th parallel crosses the Ottawa at a point about one-quarter of the way upstream on Lake Timiskaming, and passes through Bear Island on Lake Temagami.

In its reply to Canada’s submission, the Government of Ontario denied liability for this claim, but also argued that, based on the historical evidence, the lands in question belonged to the Algonquins, not the Mississaugas and Chippewas (Doc. #123). The case was withdrawn by the Governments as not being within the jurisdiction of the arbitrators, but a report by senior Department of Indian Affairs officials (McKenna/Rimmer) concluded in 1899 that the territory north of surrenders taken in 1815/1818 and 1820/1822 was Algonquin hunting ground, and was also used by the “Chippewas of Lake Huron” who signed the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850 (Doc. #132). However, the claims of the Mississaugas and Chippewas to land in the vicinity of Mattawa were put forward again in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1903, a member of the Alnwick Band of Mississaugas stated in a sworn declaration that

...a year ago last fall I was at the Village of Mattawa on the Ottawa River and I met an Indian of that part of the Country who had formerly come from Oka in the Province of Quebec, and I asked him where they claimed their territory extended to, and he informed me that they did not claim further South then the Mattawa and
said 'This is the extreme to which we come' and that all South of that point belonged to the Mississauga Indians...[Doc. #142]

However, other Mississaugas and Chippewas indicated that their hunting ground did not extend as far east or north as Mattawa.

In 1913, anthropologist Frank Speck visited the Timiskaming and Temagami Indians with a view to describing their culture and their hunting territories. In his resulting report, Speck noted that the Timiskaming Band resident at the village of North Timiskaming had been influenced both by their French-Canadian neighbours and the Ojibwa living "only a few score miles to the west of them" (Doc. #163, p. 1). He considered that other Algonquin bands, including the "Mattawa" band which he identified as living at the southern end of Lake Timiskaming, had preserved more "characteristic traits of the Algonquin group" (Doc. #163, p. 2). He reported that the Timiskaming Band considered groups identified as "Blue-water people" (Lake Abitibi), "Big-outlet people" (Grand-lac Victoria), "Long-sand-point people" (Quinze Lake), "Hungry-river people" (River Desert and Mantwaki), "Mouth-of-river people" (Mattawa), and "Big-river people" (bands living along the Ottawa River) as "belonging to their own dialectic and cultural group" (Doc. #163, p. 3). Speck also noted that several Temagami Ojibwa families had become interconnected with the Timiskaming Band. The hunting territories of the Timiskaming Band and these interconnected families were recorded by Speck as extending as far west as Lake Temagami, and as far south as the Kipawa River at the southern end of Lake Timiskaming (Doc. #163, p. 6A).

In the same report, Speck identified a "Kipawa Band" of Algonquins" "now located near Mattawa". One family in this group, the head of which was identified as "Antoine Simon" or "Mi'skoci'ma'gan", was recorded as having a family hunting territory east of the Ottawa River between the Maganisipi River (about 35 kilometres south of Mattawa) and Lac Beauchene (about the same distance north of Mattawa). The other families in this group were noted as having territories between the Ottawa River and Lake Kipawa (on the Quebec side) (Doc. #163, pp. 9-10, see also Doc. #164, map). In his 1983 volume, Couture also observed strong ties between the Kipawa band and Mattawa, stating that the band traded there in the early part of the nineteenth century and later visited frequently to marry and baptize children at Ste. Anne's Church.

According to Couture, there was a movement of Algonquins from Mattawa, Golden Lake and Lac Dunoine north to Kipawa in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The present-day Kipawa Band also includes Algonquins from the communities of Brennan Lake, Hunter's Point, Wolf Lake and Timiskaming (Doc. #200, pp. 123 - 125).

In another part of his 1913 trip, Speck made his way north from the north shore of Lake Nipissing "along the line of contact between the Algonquins [whose territory he described as "north from Ottawa river to Grand Lake Victoria and from Lake Two Mountains westward to Lake Timiskaming"], Ojibwa and Cree, obtaining data from "the Ojibwa of the Nipissing band, the Algonquins of Timiskaming, Mattawa, and Dumoine river, and the Ojibwa of Timigami" (Doc. #163, p. 11). In his published report, however, Speck concentrated on the Temagami Band, who
had been gathered for their annual summer meeting at Bear Island at the time of his visit. The southernmost extent of the hunting territories of the Temagami Band and associated families appears to have been in the vicinity of the meeting of the Sturgeon and Temagami Rivers, except for one associated family “Ca’bog’jik” of the Nipissing Band, whose territory was from Red Cedar Lake south to Lake Nipissing, including Tomiko Lake (Doc. #163, pp. 13 - 16, see also Doc. #164, map). Speck did not record any family connections to the area north-west of Mattawa, south of Lake Timiskaming and Wicksteed Lake, east of Tomiko Lake, north of Lake Nipissing and the Mattawa River, and west of the Ottawa River (Doc. #164, map).

Couture has noted the close ties between the Temagami band and the Timiskaming Algonquin (including the Kipawa group), in terms of marriage, family names and shared culture myths and practices. He in fact claims that the Temagami are not Ojibwa but Algonquin, contrary to Speck and other authors (Doc. #200, pp. 128 - 129).

R. V. Sinclair, Law Clerk to the Department of Indian Affairs, wrote in a report of November 23, 1916 that, to his knowledge, “no claim has ever been made by the Algonquins to the hunting grounds now claimed by the Chippewas and Mississaugas [sic]”, and cited the sworn declaration of 1903 quoted earlier as additional proof (Doc. #165). The Government of Canada appears to have acted on the basis of Sinclair’s report in preparing to make a treaty with the Chippewas and Mississaugas, which was eventually completed in 1923. As part of the preparations for obtaining the treaty, Treaty Commissioners were appointed by Ontario and Canada to hold an “inquiry” into the claims of the Chippewas and Mississaugas. Generally, the Chippewas claimed a territory west of Georgian Bay north of the French River, while the Mississaugas of Rice, Mud, and Scugog Lakes and Alnwick were divided as to whether their traditional hunting territories extended over the height of land separating drainage into Lake Ontario from drainage into the Ottawa and Mattawa. The Mississaugas who did not hunt north and east of this height of land often identified those grounds as belonging to the Algonquins, as did Chippewa people when referring to land on which they would not hunt east and north of Lake Nipissing.

One of the Chippewas of Christian Island testified before this Commission that the Band’s hunting limits went along the south side of Lake Nipissing to the Ottawa River, although he was not sure of its northern boundary (Doc. #168, pp. 34 - 37). Johnson Paushash of the Mississaugas of Rice Lake (Hiawatha Reserve) stated that the Mississaugas had lived south of Lake Nipissing since before the late seventeenth-century wars with the Iroquois, and had hunted as far east as the Ottawa River, although he did not mention the Mattawa River (Doc. #168, pp. 253 - 257). John Comeco of the Mississaugas of Alnwick stated that the Tribe had had a hunting ground as far north as Lake Nipissing and east to the Ottawa River, “and the streams that run to the Ottawa” (Doc. #168, 259 - 260). Miss Crow of the Mississaugas of Alnwick also testified that her father had gone as far north as Lake Nipissing and as far east as the Ottawa River, but did not mention the Mattawa (Doc. #168, pp. 277 - 279).

The Treaty signed in October and November, 1923, by the Chippewas of Rama, Georgina Island and Christian Island and the Mississaugas of Mud, Rice, and Scugog Lakes and Alnwick,
purported to surrender the "Indian title of the...tribe to fishing, hunting and trapping rights over the...lands" bounded by Georgian Bay, surrenders of 1815 and 1822, the Ottawa River, the Mattawa River, the north shore of Lake Nipissing, and the French River, as well as parts of the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Ontario and York (Docs. #173,174).

A local observer recorded that the population on the Reserve at Golden Lake increased from 86 in 1900 to 164 in 1924, which he attributed to the moving in of Algonquins that had been scattered around the district (without specifying from whence they came) (Doc. #175).

In 1927, 1928, and 1929, Frank Speck visited Maniwaki to study the hunting territories of the Indian people resident there. Of seventy-eight family heads identified as enrolled with the Maniwaki band, Speck was able to locate twenty-eight men who hunted regularly over family territories, together with two other family heads connected with the band but not band members. Of the fifty family heads not linked with hunting territories, Speck remarked that

their occupations are purely farming or a mixture of farming upon the reserve and periodical hunting excursions here and there where circumstances lead them in the same manner as the Canadians. Many of them engage as laborers, lumberjacks; others are migrants, leaving the reserve for some years, then returning or locating, as many have done, more or less permanently in towns throughout the province. [Doc. #176, pp. 113 - 115]

Anthropologist Jacques Frenette and associates interviewed Maniwaki elders in 1987 and combined their interviews with archival research and a literature survey to expand on Speck's work. They concluded that the boundary of Maniwaki-based hunting territories had expanded westward in the early twentieth century, from the Couteau River to the Dumarine River (located about 85 kilometres downriver from Mattawa on the Quebec side), largely as a result of the Maniwaki band absorbing many members of the Couteau River Band. Maniwaki elders told Frenette that the territory of their band extended as far west as the Dumarine River, "where Kipawa Algonquins may be encountered" (Doc. #208, pp. 77 - 78). Frenette also reported that in the nineteenth century Maniwaki Algonquins had hunted as far south as the Ottawa River, but that in the twentieth century non-Aboriginal settlement had "dislodged" Maniwaki Algonquins from hunting south of Maniwaki (Doc. #208, p. 78). Private hunting and fishing clubs had also closed much of the Maniwaki Algonquin traditional territory to Algonquin hunters in the early twentieth century, and the introduction of the registered trapline system in Quebec in 1947 had dealt the final blow to inheritable family hunting territories at Maniwaki (Doc. #208, pp. 81 - 82). However, despite this, Frenette recorded that Maniwaki Algonquins continued their traditional hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering activities as much as they could (Doc. #208, p. 83). Agriculture was only resorted to when the returns from traditional harvesting and the wage economy declined past the subsistence level, and according to Frenette's research the late 1920s, when Speck was visiting, was one such transient period (Doc. #208, p. 85). However, generally the proportion of band members' income derived from traditional activities declined steadily during the first half of the twentieth century as that derived from wage work increased (Doc.
Couture observed a similar pattern among the Algonquins at Golden Lake (Doc. #200, pp. 118 - 119).

In 1980, Leo Morel, a third-generation resident of Mattawa friendly with some local Algonquins, described the family territories around Mattawa as follows:

Two influential bands of the Algonquin tribe resided in the Mattawa area when the first white settlers arrived. The Mattawa River was agreeably chosen as the boundary between the hunting grounds of Chief Antoine Kiwiwisens and Chief Amable Dufond. They were known as 'Montagnais' whose great Chief was in Lac-Des-Deux-Montagnes, near Montreal.

North of the Mattawa River, Chief Antoine reigned over the Virgin Forest including Rosemount (where Ste. Anne's Church now stands), up to the Temiscaming area (Jocko River) leaving his name to Antoine Creek, which crosses Hwy. 533 some three miles north of Mattawa, to Antoine Provincial Park and more recently to the new Mount Antoine Ski Hill.

Amable Dufond was chief of the tribe which hunted in the area which include Eau Claire, Rutherglen, Kiosk and Lake Talon. He also left his name to Amable Dufond River which crosses Hwy. 17 some ten miles west of Mattawa. The two chiefs were very friendly and built their homes adjacent to one another on Rosemount in Mattawa.

Generally, hunting grounds covered an area of about 20 square miles. To the west of Lake Nosbonsing it was Chief Commandant. To the north of Lake Nipissing, Chief Beaucage reigned without rivals. He left his name to Beaucage Bay as well as the Beaucage Indian Reserve near Sturgeon Falls. These two Chief belong to the tribe of the Nipissings. Descendants of these tribes are numerous and many are still living in the area between Mattawa and Sturgeon Falls. [p. 43]

My good Indian friend Okima Wabe Pine (Bernard Bastien), deceased in 1967, told me this story about the Dufonds. Amable Dufond first settled at the south end of Lake Kioshoque (Lake of the Gulls), and again further south to Lake Manitou (God's Lake) where they cleared quite a large area of land and built sturdy log houses and a fairly large barn. The early Lumber Companies along Amable Dufond River were happy to buy whatever the Dufonds could grow on their farm. In this way they became so prosperous that they came to be looked upon by Indians and Whites throughout the Mattawa area as persons of wealth and importance.

The Old Suzanne, as Bernard called the wife of Dufond, was an excellent worker and a thrifty housewife. When Bernard knew her, she was about eighty years
Suzanne was a full-blooded Indian, and had learned the arts of her ancestors as a young girl. She could tan moose and deer hides better than any other in the area and made good deer and moose skin mitts and moccasins. Suzanne was also very good at making maple syrup and sugar, selling a lot of this product in the lumber camps and in the village of Mattawa... [Doc. #198, p. 45]

Moral's initial paragraphs regarding the chiefs Dufond and Kiwiwisen appear to be based on an account left by Father Nedelec, the Oblate priest posted to Mattawa in the late 1860s (see Doc. #194, pp. 96 - 97). The 1848 diary of Colin Rankin, then in charge of the Mattawa Post for the Hudson's Bay Company, reported that Amable Du Fond was among a number of Algonquin Indian people from Lake of Two Mountains who passed through the post in the fall on the way to their hunting grounds, traded back at the post, and came through again in the late spring on their way back to Lake of Two Mountains (Doc. #194, pp. 97 - 98).

In summary, according to the ethnographic and anthropological literature, the area north, east and west of Mattawa, including Lake Timiskaming, Kipawa, land north of Lake Nipissing, and Lake Temagami, appears to be a zone of considerable interconnection between Aboriginal people and overlap between the Ojibwa and Algonquin. This zone, with particular emphasis on Mattawa, has therefore become the "study area" for this project. Ojibwa influence appears to increase in strength in the western part of this zone, although Algonquins are present throughout. As a result of the dispersion of the Algonquins and Nipissings in the seventeenth century, many Aboriginal families in the area have ties to Quebec Algonquin communities, especially those from the former missions at Oka (Lake of Two Mountains) and Maniwaki (River Desert). The Algonquin, Nipissing and Ojibway occupants of the Mattawa area have strong hunting and fishing traditions that were pursued as primary occupations well into the twentieth century, although wage labour became increasingly important for family support in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All groups also experimented with farming to varying degrees throughout the historic period, although generally the climate and soil of the area were not conducive to agricultural life. As will be discussed in the next section, this pattern of Aboriginal occupation is reflected in the population of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry resident in the Mattawa area.

Section IV: Populations of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry in the Mattawa area

Terms of Reference questions:

7. Did a local, identifiable population of mixed European/Aboriginal ancestry arise in the Mattawa area from European contact with these local Aboriginal groups?

8. If a local population of mixed ancestry did develop,
   a. when did it do so;
   b. what was the relationship/interaction between this population and the local
Aboriginal and European populations;
c. did the local “mixed” population come to be seen as having some form of
distinctive communal identity or existence;
d. did the local population of mixed ancestry develop any distinctive traditions,
customs and practices, and if so, what were these;
e. what, if any, were the harvesting/hunting practices of these people;
f. what was the relative significance of their harvesting/hunting practices over time,
and;
g. did their harvesting/hunting practices originate in the pre-contact practices of the
Aboriginal groups that occupied the area at the time of European contact and early
settlement?

9. What, if any was the role of the local “mixed” and Aboriginal populations in the creation
of any treaties?

11. What impact did “significant” European settlement in the Mattawa area have upon the
local population of mixed ancestry, and any communal identity, distinctive way of life or
harvesting/hunting practices that may be attributed to this population?

12. What has transpired with the local population of mixed ancestry in more recent years,
particularly in respect to any communal identity, distinctive way of life or
harvesting/hunting practices that may be attributed to this population?

13. What “Metis” organizations have been active in the Mattawa area in recent years? What
role have any such organizations played locally, and how have any such organizations
related to one another and the broader local population of mixed ancestry?

Section IV.A Introduction

Leo Morel, the third-generation Mattawa resident quoted earlier in this paper, when speaking of
the “early days” when the Algonquin Indians alone lived in the Mattawa area and famous
explorers stopped to rest, remarked in 1980 that “very little is left in Mattawa to remind one of
those early days with the exception of the Indian blood that flows throughout the old inhabitants
of the little town” (Doc. #198, pp. 17 - 18).

According to the ethnographic and anthropological literature reviewed in Section III, the area
north, east and west of Mattawa, including Lake Timiskaming, Kipawa, Lake Temagami, and the
region north of Lake Nipissing, appears to be a zone of considerable interconnection between
Aboriginal people and overlap between the Ojibwa and Algonquin. This zone, with particular
emphasis on Mattawa, has therefore become the “study area” for this project. The general pattern
of Aboriginal occupation as described in Section III of this report is reflected in the population of
mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry resident in the Mattawa area.
Based on the research to date, there appear to be two groups of families of mixed ancestry in the area around Mattawa and on the north shore of Lake Nipissing. One group arose from European intermarriage with Ojibway Indian people and the other are related to Algonquin or Nipissing Indian people who once stayed for part of the year at Lake of Two Mountains. Many of these Indian people were associated with the Nipissing Indian Band, and others had links with the Timiskaming, Kipawa, Temagami or Maniwaki Bands. These families have often become interrelated. Sources of the mixed-ancestry population resident in the town of Mattawa include families disqualified from living on Indian reserves by the Department of Indian Affairs, families and individuals following economic opportunities from other locations in the Ottawa Valley and the study area, dependent family members joining those already resident in Mattawa, and other whose histories are as yet unknown.

Section IV.B: Methodology

Sources for this section include Department of Indian Affairs records held at the National Archives of Canada; histories, records and periodicals produced by priests of the Oblate Order and the parish of Ste. Anne’s Roman Catholic Church, Mattawa; the manuscript of Schedule 1 of the 1901 Canadian Census, Hudson’s Bay Company post records from Mattawa, Timiskaming and related posts, held in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Ottawa; and miscellaneous publications held at local archives in Mattawa and elsewhere in the Ottawa Valley. Of the Department of Indian Affairs collections, records regarding payment of annuities and interest money, band membership and schools were the focus of research, as these were common collision points between people of mixed ancestry and government administration. The sources cover a time period from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, with particular strength in the period from approximately 1880 to 1910.

These records were examined for general descriptive material regarding people of mixed ancestry in the study area, and were also mined for information about individuals of mixed ancestry and those related to them. Information about specific individuals was then entered into a database with fields for the person’s name, date to which the information relates, the location of the person at that time, the occupation of the person or the head of the family on which he or she was economically dependent, comments including coding as to ethnic origin, relationships to others, and personal history, and the source of the information for the entry. The same individual may have several entries in the database, based on information from different sources, referring to various dates, locations, occupations or other variables. Names were copied as written in the sources, with a standardized version supplied in square brackets if there were variants. Fields were left blank if no information related to the field was supplied by the source. The result was a database currently containing about 750 entries covering approximately 700 individuals, predominantly but not exclusively of mixed ancestry according to the sources. This database is fully searchable by keyword or name, and sortable by name, date, location, occupation, ethnicity, source and other key variables in almost any combination. However, the database should be understood as a qualitative, not quantitative, tool. The tabular and sortable format of the information does not confer statistical accuracy on sort results, because some entries contain
overlapping or conflicting information and some individuals or their characteristics are not captured by the database as a result of gaps in the source documents. Instead, the data sorts possible with this research tool should be interpreted to highlight trends and patterns in the population under study. (For further information on the database and sources, see appendix “A Note on Sources and the Database”).

Two types of sorts were done to produce the results reported in this paper. The first was a sort by name for four large and prominent families supposed to be of mixed ancestry in the study area (Antoine, Bastien, Grandlouis and Laronde). Two of these families (Antoine, Bastien) can be traced with some certainty back to an identifiable Aboriginal signatory of the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, while a third (Grandlouis) is likely linked to an unidentified signatory. The fourth family (Laronde) can be linked to one of the first Europeans known to have settled in the area. The family name sort helps to illustrate the origins and movement of these families, providing insight into the origins, relationships and migrations of the historic mixed-ancestry population of the area as a whole.

The second type of sort was geographically-based, selecting all the individuals related in the sources to Mattawa and its immediate area (Mattawan and Papineau townships). This sort cuts across many families to identify those who were specifically linked to Mattawa at various times in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; hence the nickname “cross-section”. This selection was examined to describe the composition of the mixed-ancestry population in Mattawa, and can be related to the results of the family sort to gain an insight into the possible origins and development of that population.

While references to documents are provided in the text of the discussions of the tables, detailed source references may be more easily located in the tables. It may be helpful for the reader to have the tables at hand while reading Sections IV.C and IV.D.

Section IV.C: Four Founding Families

This section will describe the results of the family name sorts of the larger database. The four families selected were chosen because they were large and well-documented in the area, with ancestry traceable back to the time of first European permanent settlement and/or the signing of the Robinson Treaty in 1850. The term “founding families” is not intended to imply that these four families alone are the basis of the Mattawa mixed-ancestry population, but rather that they have demonstrably deep roots in the territory and supplied many members of that population by the turn of the twentieth century. A very rough estimate would be that between one-third and one-quarter of the individuals in the database identified as or connected with mixed-ancestry families were somehow related to the four families.

Family 1: Laronde

Murray Leatherdale, in his history of the Lake Nipissing area, quotes North West Company
records referring to the presence of Eustache de la Ronde trading for the Company on Lake Nipissing in 1814. By 1817, he was described by North West Company officers as a “free trader”, still on Lake Nipissing. Leatherdale describes his wife as a “Nipissing Indian”. Contemporary observers remarked on the large number of his children, of which the sons eventually became traders at Penetang, Georgian Bay, and Lake Nipissing (Doc. #194, pp. 138-142). This Lake Nipissing “post”, which appears to have been moved from the south to the north shore of Lake Nipissing some time between 1814 and 1821, was taken over by the Hudson’s Bay Company after the merger of the two companies, and renamed from Fort Laronde (or De la Ronde) to Nipissing Lake Post (Doc. #194, p. 151). Toussaint La Ronde, who may have been a son or brother of de la Ronde, was in charge of this post in the mid-1820s, but later became an independent trader on Lake Nipissing (Doc. #194, p. 154).

The subsequent history of some branches of the de la Ronde (standardized for the database to Laronde) family, complete with some conflicting information as is to be expected, was well-described in the course of an investigation of the family’s right to live on the reserve in the late nineteenth century. In this case, one can first hear the family story as told by the family members and those who knew them firsthand, and then compare the story to other sources in the database to get an overall picture.

Joseph Laronde was asked in the winter of 1886 to leave the Nipissing Reserve with his family, and appealed to a friend of his in the Militia Department at Ottawa to intervene on his behalf with the Department of Indian Affairs. He gave his friend, E. Edmond Lemeaux, the following information:

...i came up to the reserve with the consent of my Father Alexander Laronde and Jocko Coucha chief of the band. I made improvements on the reserve by building a house and clearing two acres of land now they want me to leave...i claim to belong to the band...[Doc. #50]

...my name in indian is Joseff Quiqcosh my wife is Sawpot Casqua than sa bosune the reserve is situated on north Shore of lake Nipissing Starting at LeSharny creek and running west 20 miles the Chiefs name is Jocko Coucha my Father did live on reserve when young but left over 50 years ago my grandFather was in the employ of Hudson Bay Cy and went to Lower Canada to live with consent of chief and my Father came back with consent of present Chief who is a [cut off] blood red Indian I have no ritten document concerning the mater no we are not Full Indian as i do not think there is many on the reserve my wife is half indian...

reasons for turning me off The reason because i improve the Land and he say i do not belong to the Band but i claim to belong to it as my Father is one of them...[Doc. #51]

On being asked to investigate by the Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa, Indian Agent
Walton’s first reaction was that “I do not know anything of the man nor do I remember his ever claiming to belong to the Nipissing Band” (Doc. #52). The “second chief” of the Nipissing Band, Semo Commanda, then told Walton that “Joseph Laronde does not belong to our Band but...I do not see why he should be put off the Reserve” (Doc. #53). Walton was instructed by the Department to make a “careful personal inquiry” into the case (Doc. #54), and then reported that

Joseph LaRonde claims to be a Cousin to Chief Cochay of the Nipissing Band but I found that his relationship and nearly all his Indian Blood comes through his mother and maternal grandmother. His male ancestors were all white except his Father who was born of an Indian woman by a White Father...[Doc. #55]

Although the Department decided to take no action, believing the dispute between Laronde and the Chief Couchai to be resolved, Laronde wrote again in October of 1888 to report that he was once again being threatened with eviction after four years on the reserve, and asked for “some kind of paper” to establish his right to live on the Reserve and collect Treaty money. He (or his father) signed his name “Alex Aquakook [or Aquakosh] (Joseph Laronde)” to this letter (Doc. #61). His friend Lemieux once again took up his case with the Department of Indian Affairs, recommending Laronde as “an industrious and now a most temperate man, with a large family” (Doc. #63). Walton submitted a report on the conflict as follows:

On the Nipissing Reserve there reside three Indians named Alex Aquakosh alias Larone, his son Joseph Larone and Joseph Lariviere\(^5\) none of whom belong to the Band. The dispute is entirely confined to these three men...I investigated the matter in the presence of 14 members of the Band when Alex Larone distinctly stated that he simply complained that Jos. Lariviere had had a quarrel with him and had ordered him off the Reserve.

I explained the fact that all three resided on the Reserve on sufferance and that they could not have given to them any legal right to remain but that so long as they were peaceable and industrious I did not see any reason why they should be disturbed...[Doc. #64]

However, the next year there were more disputes between the Laronde families and Nipissing Band members. The Chief and Councillors of the Nipissing Band presented a petition to the Department, supported by the Indian Agent, asking for the removal of the two Laronde families and the Lariviere family, citing their frequent quarrels and unauthorized sale of cordwood from their locations on the Reserve (Doc. #68). The Larondes, however, would not go without a fight. In support of his right to stay on the Reserve, Alex Laronde (or Aquakosh, as he identified himself) swore an affidavit outlining his connections to the area:

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\(^5\) Referred to in another Departmental file as a “half-breed Carpenter and a resident on the Reserve”. RG10, Vol. 2310, file 61938.
I, Alexander Aquakosh generally known as Alexander Laronde of the Nipissing Reserve, and one of the Nipissing Band of Indians occupying the reserve known as the Nipissing Reserve, make oath and say

That I am son of Eustache Aquakosh of the above named Band. That I was born at the mouth of the stream known as La Vase. That I am a second cousin of the late chief Couchai. That my cousin Paul Wayasomiko known as Paul Laronde has lived on the above named Reserve and his family are now living on it and participating in the benefits allowed by Government to the Indians of the Reserve.

That Chief Couchai and band at a meeting held in the month of July or August of 1884 gave me permission to return to the Reserve with my family. That at said meeting Semo Commanda was appointed Second Chief. That Dr Walton was present when a vote was taken admitting me without a dissentient on to the Reserve. That on or about the 23rd September 1884 I moved my family here and have continuously resided here since and have my family here.

That my son Joseph has moved here and built a house and that the late Chief and a part of the band assisted him in erecting the building. That more of my family are likely to return to the Reserve. That I am now going on seventy seven years of age and desire to have my family live on said Reserve. That I am in all justice entitled to their privileges. That myself and son have chopped and logged at least ten acres of land and have a portion of it seeded down and a portion of it under crop in rye...[Doc. #72]

A friend of Laronde’s living in North Bay provided more information in a letter to the Department dated 6 March 1889:

[Alexander Laronde] said ‘My Father ½ Indian and ½ French my mother full Blood Indian, me am three parts Indian’.

In support of this lineage there is now living on the reserve an Uncle of Quakosh’s. His mothers Brother of course a very old Indian and also a Bounty Indian. This Uncle and the old chief Koshi’s Father were Brothers – Lerones mother and the late chief Koshi’s Father would be first cousins and thus Alex Quakosh and the late or last Chief Coshi second cousins...[Doc. #71, 1889/03/06]

As well as the blood relationship, Laronde’s friend stated in his opinion the Laronde family had “a sort of proprietary claim to a home in this part of the country”, as Alex. ’s father had been born on Lake Nipissing on or near the Reserve and had “always lived in and about here”, and Alex. had spent “the greater part of his life in this neighbourhood” (Doc. #71, 1889/03/06).

Walton, after making some inquiries on the Reserve, came back with the following information:
Regarding the lineage of Alexander Laronde or Aquakosh it was clearly established that the Uncle of Alex Laronde, mentioned in Mr. Gregory's letter to your Department dated the 6th March last, is Metigomem a member of the Dokis Band residing, like other members of that Band on the Nipissing Reserve. The statement in Mr. Gregory's letter above mentioned that this Uncle, Metigomem, and the Father of the late Chief Cochai were brothers is not correct. They were only very distantly related. The relationship was estimated as 3rd or 4th cousinship. All relationship between the Larondes and the Cochais is repudiated and denied by the present representatives of the latter family and by the other members of the Band.

The lineage of Alex Laronde or Aquakosh as learned during the investigation may perhaps be best shown by the following Diagram:

```
                                      Father
Laronde — a Frenchman
                                      
Father                                  Mother
Eustache Aquakosh                     Indian — Name Unknown
                                      
Alex Laronde or Aquakosh              
                                      
Mother                                  Parents both Indian
Sister of Metigomin                     but names unknown
of the Dokis Band
                                      
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There is no doubt but what Larondes parents were married as they reared a family of seven children.

Without a dissentient voice the Band refused to reconsider their request that the Larondes be removed from the Reserve and Acting Chief Commanda gave as a reason the litigious character of the younger Laronde...[Doc. #75]

The Department at Ottawa responded by asking for more information on the Band affiliation of the Laronde family's Indian antecedents, and observing that

It is quite evident...that he [Alex.] is three-quarters Indian...He appears to have been born in or about the year 1817 and if that was the case, it is probable that at that time the law or the custom observed by the Indian Bands in regard to membership would establish his right of membership in some Band of Indians, the only question being as to the particular Band of which he would be entitled to be considered a member.  [Doc. #76]

Alexander Laronde then furnished the following additional information about his family:

My Father's Mother belonged to the Nipissing Band and her name Adyithomoga.
My Grand Father's name was Gitchi Anishanaba Laronde. My Mothers name Pimatakokotabis and belonged to the Nipissing Band and lived and died here and all her parents belonged to the Nipissing Band. My uncle Louis Metigonine living now on Dokis Reserve but born on the Nipissing Reserve...[Doc. #77, 1889/05/21]

Agent Walton, however, cautioned the Department at Ottawa that "it was quite evident during my late investigation that he failed to understand what is meant by the term 'belonging to the Nipissing Band'" (Doc. #77, 1889/06/03).

In the fall of 1889, Walton made further inquiries about the Larondes. Still more of the family history then came to light:

Matequabe, a member of the Nipissing Band – a very old man – testified that the paternal Grandfather of Laronde came from France and his Grandmother, an Indian, from Lake Temagami. To these was born Eustache Laronde, the father of the Applicant, who with his Father went to Montreal. Subsequently Eustache Laronde returned from Montreal and like his Father worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. While so engaged he had living with him at the same time two wives both of whom were sisters of Metigomein now a member of the Dokis Band. By both of these women he had children Alex Laronde was born of the younger. At a later period Eustache Laronde again went to Montreal, took up land at Madawaska and never returned. Matequabe further stated that the Grandfather of Metigomein and consequently of Laronde's mother came from Lake Superior. – that none of them ever belonged to the Nipissing Band and that as Metigomein married the sister of Chief Dokis he (the Chief) enumerated him in his Band.

Metigomein, a member of the Dokis Band testified that he and his sisters the youngest of whom was the mother of Alex Laronde should by right have belonged to Shabogesic’s Band (Nipissing Band). He further said that the Grandfather spoken of by Matequabe did come from Lake Superior but that he was the progenitor of himself and many members of the Nipissing Band. When asked, however, he could not name any of his descendants now living.

During my recent visit to the Nipissing Band I read to Laronde, in presence of the Band, my notes of the above investigation and asked him if he had anything further to add. He replied that as far as he knew the facts I had gathered were correct and fairly stated and that he would rest his case on them. None of the Band had anything to add except that they did not consider he had any claim. [Doc. #79, emphasis in the original]

If the Laronde lineage as described by Matequabe is accurate, the Laronde family could have been
trading in the Lake Nipissing or Lake Temagami area by 1785 or even earlier.

The Department’s response was that Laronde “has no right to reside on the Reserve of the Nipissing Band without their consent and he certainly has no claim to share in their annuity” (Doc. #80). Laronde resisted this decision, and submitted another sworn affidavit as to his family history, including the additional facts that

a. I am an Indian son of one Kwaie Kosh (also named Eustache Laronde), a half-breed Indian born on Lake Nipissing and a full blooded Squaw anem Pena Ta-Ka-Kote-Pitch also born on Lake Nipissing.

b. I was born on the said Reserve in 1811 and resided there with my parents until 1814 when they brought me to Ste Annes near Montreal to be christened.

c. On our return journey an epidemic broke out among the Indians of our party and my Father and family were left behind because they were ill and after they recovered he finally settled on the Ottawa River near Pembroke.

d. I continued living there until about six years ago when the Canadian Pacific Railway being constructed past Lake Nipissing I was enabled to return there intending to take up my residence again upon the said Reserve....[Doc. #81]

By the winter of 1890, even the father Alex. Laronde was complaining of harassment from his son Joseph and asking for Joseph to be removed from the Reserve (Doc. #86, 1890/10/28). In February of 1891, Joseph was forcibly evicted from the Nipissing Reserve, although his family was allowed to stay in their house until spring (Doc. #87, see also Doc. #88).

Some time between 1891 and 1897, Alex. Laronde died, leaving his widow in the house on the Nipissing Reserve (Doc. #114). Another investigation was launched when she applied for relief from the Department of Indian Affairs and the new Agent on the Reserve, W. B. McLean, held a meeting with the Nipissing Band to consider her situation. He reported that

(2) Mrs Laronde is an Indian woman who originally lived at the Lake of Two Mountains
(3) She left there some 13 years ago + removed to the Nipissing Reserve, where she has resided ever since...[Doc. #121]

It appears that Mrs. Laronde was allowed to stay on the Reserve, but was not considered entitled to any benefits as a member of the Nipissing Band.

During investigations into the Robinson-Huron Treaty annuity paylists in 1899 the family history of Alexander Laronde’s cousin Paul came under scrutiny (see file RG10, Vol. 2832, file 170073-2). Paul, who if really a cousin of Alexander’s would have been a child of a brother (?) of the
1814 - 1817 Lake Nipissing trader Eustache Laronde, was identified by Department of Indian Affairs as a "French half-breed of Pembrooke", married to a "French half-breed of Allumette Island" whose mother in turn had been an Algonquin from Lake of Two Mountains. Paul was also noted as having four brothers still resident near Pembrooke. Paul and his family had taken the Indian name Obtagesic and had two grown children living on the reserve (plus three others, location uncertain) (Doc. #131). One of these children had taken a wife of Algonquin and Irish origin from the Ottawa Valley, another married a member of the Commanda family from Mattawa, a third married a Treaty Indian with the Dokis Band (Doc. #96), and a fourth married Treaty Indian Louis Beaucage of the Nipissing Band. The Obtagesic families were allowed to stay on the reserve, although Departmental officials decided that they and several other Nipissing Band families had no legal entitlement to Robinson-Huron treaty annuities. However, annuities were paid to them to avoid undue conflict in the short term, under a category known as "non-transmissible title" (Docs. #134, 138). This was a term devised by Departmental officials for individuals who had been receiving Treaty annuities, but who for various reasons (often because they had non-Aboriginal antecedents on the paternal side) were not considered to have a legal claim that could be transmitted to their children (see Doc. #210, pp. 23 - 25). The practice of designating families as "non-transmissible" was discontinued in the second decade of the twentieth century, and many children of those families were eventually reinstated on Treaty payment lists.

Other female Larondes were known to have married into other families in the Nipissing Band in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, especially the Commanda, Goulais and Couchi families (Doc. #212). The Goulais family were descended from a trader at the Sturgeon Falls Hudson Bay Company post, originally from Goulais Bay on Lake Superior. The ethnic origin of these family is not clear, although a Department of Indian Affairs official expressed doubt in 1899 as to whether the senior Goulais was ever "an Indian in the eye of the law" and his wife's maiden name was that of a Batchewana Bay mixed-ancestry family (Doc. #131).

As well as the contingent of Larondes becoming intertwined with the Indian community near their place of origin on Lake Nipissing, there were significant numbers of Larondes still located near

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6 The Commandas were of Algonquin, Iroquois or possibly Ottawa origin from Lake of Two Mountains, at least one of the founders of the Nipissing Band branch having emigrated to Lake Nipissing in the 1830s (Doc. #211, pp. 107, 109). The family name Commanda was well-represented among the Algonquins at Maniwaki in the 1901 Census. According to former Nipissing Band chief Semio (Simon) Commanda, a member of the founding Commanda family at Nipissing who died in 1938 at the age of 110, this family traces its ancestry to his grandfather, a Chief Rotten-Wood of the "Ottawa tribe of Iroquois" who was given the name "Commander" for his leadership of Indian troops for the British in the War of 1812 (Doc. #211, p. 110).

7 The Beaucage family on the Nipissing (Beaucage) reserve may be descendants of the chief Beaucage described by Leo Morel after Father Nedelec as being dominant in this area in the mid-nineteenth century.
Pembroke at the turn of the twentieth century. Three male Laronde heads of large families can be located on Allumette Island from the 1901 Census, married to non-Aboriginal spouses, and another also married to a non-Aboriginal spouse in Pembroke Township. Another group had settled in Mattawa and Mattawan Township by 1901, represented in the Census by two male family heads. A third family, also composed of a mixed-ancestry Laronde husband and a non-Aboriginal spouse with their children, had established themselves in the township immediately to the east of the Nipissing Indian Reserve (Widdifield) (see 1901 Census, Doc. #141, and Laronde family table).

Conclusions as to the self-identity of this family, or any of the other families, are risky in the absence of more direct evidence. The Laronde family members resident on the Nipissing Reserve tended to emphasize their connections to the Indian community, including adopting Indian names in preference to their French one. This behaviour might be expected of people not wanting to be evicted from their homes and deprived of a cash benefit, although their remaining on the reserve could also be construed as genuine self-identification with the area and the people among which they already had deep roots. Other residents of the Nipissing Reserve at the turn of the century apparently identified at least some Larondes as not part of the Band, although there was apparently no hesitation in marrying into the family. In the 1901 Census, one Laronde family head resident on reserve was identified as "Chippewa m[ets] f[rancais]", while the other was called Algonquin. As is discussed in the Appendix on Sources and Methodology, it is unclear to what extent these Census identifications are self-ascribed or assigned by the census-taker.

Of the Laronde families resident off the reserve, the Widdifield family head was identified in the 1901 Census as "O[ther] B[reed]", and the Pembroke/Allumette Island family heads were labelled "Algonquin F[rench] B[reed]", "Indian O. B." (2 family heads), and "Indian" (although his children were identified as "Indian F. B.", despite their Irish mother). The Mattawa/Mattawan family heads were called "Iroquois" and "Algonquin F. B.". At most, one might conclude that the Indian component of the Laronde family identity in those families located was strong around the turn of the century, even if the family was living off-reserve and intermarried with non-Indians.

Occupationally, the Larondes were identified in the records as traders, farmers, woodcutters, shanty labourers, skilled tradesmen (a carpenter in Pembroke and a stonemason in Mattawa), and general labourers.

**Family 2: Antoine**

This family has links traceable to another very early mixed-ancestry year-round resident of the Mattawa/Nipissing area, as well as to an identifiable recipient of the first Robinson-Huron Treaty payments made in 1850. It is not yet clear what the relationship of this group is to the chief Antoine Kiwiwisens mentioned by Leo Morel and Father Nedelec, said to have his traditional territory near Mattawa north of the Mattawa river around the middle of the nineteenth century, although the Kiwiwisens family is known to have adopted the surname Antoine.
As in the case of the Laronde family, much of the family history of the Antoines was recorded as a result of a Department of Indian Affairs investigation into the family’s eligibility for Robinson-Huron Treaty annuities with the Nipissing Band, in this instance undertaken in 1910 (see RG10, Vol. 2929, file 192533). As this 1910 investigation draws together several members of the “foundling families” discussed here, it will be addressed again in the discussion of Family 4: Grandlouis.

The line of the Antoine family best documented in the records examined to date begins with Antoine Neeshquawahshance, father of at least four children: Jawbitt or Jawbone (probably drawn from Jean-Baptiste, b. Quebec 1838), Francois (b. Quebec 1844), Alexander (b. Quebec 1846), and Susan (b. Ontario 1852). Nothing is known for certain to date about the mother of these children, although she may have been an Indian born c. 1811 in Quebec (see infra). The family may have been among the Algonquins who spent time at Lake of Two Mountains, as an allegation was later made that they should be counted with the Oka Indians and not with the Nipissing Band (Doc. #166). Francois and Jawbone were identified in the 1901 Census as “Algonquin F. B.” (Alexander and Susan are absent). This could mean that Antoine and/or his wife were of French or mixed French-Indian ancestry. The related family Bastien, to be discussed in the next section, were descended from Antoine Neeshquawahshance’s sister Mary Jose (Marie Josee?) and also were consistently identified as Algonquin “F. B.” in Census records. In 1850, a family head named Neeshquawahshance was paid Robinson-Huron Treaty annuities with the Nipissing Band for a family including two men, three women and three children (Doc. #31).

The issue of whether people of mixed ancestry were included or meant to be included in the Robinson Treaties has been the subject of considerable debate. At Sault Ste. Marie, where Robinson was confronted with an established and salient Metis group, he appeared to resist including them in the Treaty, telling the Sault Ste. Marie chiefs that he “had nothing to do with anybody but the Indians” (Doc. #28, p. 6). However, most of the Sault Metis had also resisted the attempts of the Sault chiefs to include them in their bands, telling the chiefs before the Treaty that they considered themselves “Indians enough” without coming under the chiefs’ control (Doc. #94). Individuals of mixed ancestry from the Sault, including some that Robinson or his advisers clearly knew were of mixed descent, were paid Treaty annuities by Robinson in 1850 if they identified themselves as being members of the signatory bands and were apparently accepted as such (Docs. #30, 32, 94). The Nipissing (Shabogesic) and Dokis bands, according to James Morrison’s research, were not initially expected to attend the Robinson Treaty negotiations and Vidal and Anderson, who advised Robinson on the Indian groups with whom he would be dealing, did not seem to know much about the people north of Lake Nipissing (see the discussion of the Robinson Treaties in Section III of this report). There is no surviving record of any conversations between Robinson, Shabogesic, and Dokis (whose father was French) regarding the inclusion of people of mixed ancestry. There is no evidence located to date that Robinson knew that Dokis and possibly other members of the Lake Nipissing bands (including, perhaps, Neeshquawahshance) were of mixed ancestry.

The three sons and the daughter of Antoine Neeshquawahshance next surface in the historical
record in the 1881 Census of Mattawa village. At this point, they have all adopted the surname Antoine, except for Susan who has taken her husband’s name (Commanda). Jawbone is listed with his wife Mani (a common Algonquin adaptation of Mary) and six children, Francois with his wife Elizabeth and three children, and Alexander with his wife Mani and a seventy-year-old woman named “Antoine Vieille” (“the old lady Antoine”) who may be his mother. All the family members were identified as “Indian” in this census. Generally, the “half-breed” category was rarely used in Ontario in the 1881 census, although it does appear elsewhere in the Mattawa rolls.

In 1901, the Francois and Jawbone Antoine families, with additional children, some now with families of their own, were still settled in Mattawa. The married children chose as spouses other members of the mixed-ancestry community, from “Chippewa F. B.” (Grandlouis/Commanda) or “non-Treaty” (? see Doc. #156) backgrounds. In 1910, Jawbone, Susan and Francois Antoine and their families, numbering about 29 individuals, were reinstated to Robinson-Huron Treaty annuity paylists with arrears covering the period 1851 to 1909, although they continued to live in or near Mattawa. The file regarding this reinstatement is closed to researchers without the permission of the Nipissing Band. However, based on Departmental policies of the time, the family could have been reinstated regardless of its mixed ancestry because they could trace descent through the male line to a person who received annuities at the time of the Treaty. In 1920 the families of Francois, his son Frank, and Jawbone’s son Bernard (at minimum) were stated by the Indian Agent to be resident at Mattawa (Doc. #167), and in 1940 an individual in Mattawan Township who was likely a son of Francois was noted as the only family head on the Nipissing paylist to have school-age children who could attend in Mattawa (Doc. #180).

The Antoine families traced above evidently valued their Aboriginal ancestry, based on their successful application to be reinstated to the Treaty paylists. The 1901 Census recorded that Jawbone and Francois Antoine raised their children speaking Algonquin at home; however the Census also uniformly identified the Antoine’s, their children and grandchildren as “Algonquin F[rench] B[reed]”. It appears from the available evidence that the senior Antoine’s chose to stay in Mattawa and environs with their families rather than return to reserve communities, even after they were reinstated to the Nipissing paylists in 1910. Given that the families had been living in the Mattawa area since at least 1881, they may have considered Mattawa to be more homelike than Lake Nipissing or the relocated Oka Algonquin community at Maniwa. They lived close together in Mattawa, in the older predominantly Indian and mixed-ancestry part of town on the north side of the Mattawa River (the side on which the Mattawa HBC establishment stood).

Occupationally, Francois, Jawbone and Alexander Antoine, and Jawbitt Commanda, husband of Susan Antoine, were all listed as “hunters” in the 1881 Census. In 1901, Francois was still identified as a hunter, but Jawbone had become a “Grocer Merchant” supporting a considerable number of children and grandchildren. His son and son-in-law were both shanty labourers. Another son, Jawbone (also known, confusingly, as Antoine Jawbone) was in Kippewa by 1885. Most of the occupants of the Lake Kippewa area were identified in the 1881 census as hunters, with a few pioneer farmers mixed in. This son died in 1894.
Family 3: Bastien

This family can be traced to Charles Colton, a "non-Treaty half-breed", and Mary Jose [Josephine?] Neeshquawahshance, sister of Antoine Neeshquawahshance (the progenitor of the Antoine family from Mattawa). These two were married in 1820, and were the parents of two children named Ignace (b. 1833 in Ontario) and Antoine (b. 1838, birthplace unknown). Colton died and Mary Jose remarried a man named Angus Pechese or Bastien, whose surname the children took. In 1850, a family head named Neeshquawahshance was paid Robinson-Huron Treaty annuities with the Nipissing Band for a family including two men, three women and three children (Doc. #31), as discussed in the section on the Antoine family.

Ignace had two wives, Jose (Josee?) Notawase and Madeleine Notawase. The sources are inconsistent as to dates of birth of the children of these two women and the possible death date of Jose, but based on the 1901 Census it appears that one family could have been established between 1870 and 1886 and a second family between 1894 and 1900. The children of the first family were born in both Ontario and Quebec, suggesting some family movement, and the legible birthplaces given for the second family are all in Quebec. Ignace, Madeleine and all the children of both families were identified on the Census rolls as "Algonquin F. B.", resident in Mattawa on the same side of the river as the Antoine family. It seems likely that Leo Morel's friend Bernard Bastien, quoted earlier in this paper, was one of Ignace's sons. Antoine Bastien was resident at Mattawa in 1910 but does not appear there in the 1901 Census, and less is known about his family. Ignace and Antoine applied for reinstatement to the Robinson-Huron Treaty rolls in 1910, at around the same time that the J. B. Antoine family was reinstated, but after the compilation of their family tree, the Department decided that "it is clear that these persons make their claim through the female line" and "therefore the claim made by the above mentioned family is not valid and cannot be recognised by the Department" (Doc. #150).

Although the Department of Indian Affairs did not consider the Bastien families eligible for Indian status, their lineage was essentially similar to that of the Antoine families – the singular difference being that the Bastien Treaty ancestor was female. The Bastiens can also be traced back more certainly one further generation to a mixed-ancestry forebear (Colton). Ignace and Madeleine, like the Antoines, considered Algonquin their mother tongue and raised their children as Algonquin speakers. Unlike the Antoines, a return to a reserve community was not possible for the Bastiens. This family seems to be more mobile than the Antoines, but like them can be identified with other mixed-ancestry and Indian families at Mattawa.

The word "Hunter" is struck out by the census taker and replaced by the word "Labourer" in Ignace Bastien's 1901 Census entry. Four of his older sons are identified as "Shanty Labourer's. This suggests an increasing emphasis on wage labour in the family economy, although the reason for the change in Ignace's entry is unknown.
Family 4: Grandlouis

As in the case of the Laronde family, one can hear the story of the Grandlouis family almost in their own words in the documents, as well as through family trees and Census records. As with the Larondes, a family member and his contemporaries will be quoted first, followed by an overview of the family as seen in these and other records.

On March 23, 1896, E. [Xavier or Exavier] Grandlouis of Beaucage Bay wrote to Hayter Reed, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to complain that a merchant had garnished his wages from the CPR, and asked Reed if this was legal “as I am under the Indian Act” (Doc. #105). Grandlouis explained in a subsequent letter that

I Belong to the Nipissing Band. as my grand father was the first chief of this Reserve. But I do not draw any money and my wife draws on this reserve. I Belong to the Chipawas Band and I do not know why I do not draw money as well as any of the rest in the reserve [Doc. #106].

Reed asked the Indian Agent at Parry Sound to investigate (Doc. #107). Agent Walton replied, on April 15, 1896, that

Grandlouis is not and never was a member of the Nipissing Band and that the only connection he has with that Band is his marriage in 1891 to Nancy Commanda a daughter of Alex Commanda...His wife's name will be found on the Census List of the Band...

I have never seen the man as far as I know, but understood at the time that I took note of the marriage that he was a French half-breed...[Doc. #108]

Walton enclosed a copy of a letter he had written Grandlouis informing him that “as you do not belong to the Nipissing or any other of my Bands it is not my duty to interfere in your affairs”. In August of 1896, Grandlouis wrote again to Ottawa explaining that

I am an Indian living on the Reserve. I never received any money as an allocation due to Indians, I am certainly entitled to that money. There is a talk among Indians here to put me out of the Reserve. Will you...protect me and my family...[Doc. #112]

The Department replied that “you are not recognized as a member of the Nipissing Band, and should therefore leave the Reserve as soon as possible, as the Department must see that only Indians interested in the Reserve reside thereon” (Doc. #113). In 1901, however, Xavier Grandlouis, his wife Nancy and three of their children were still located on the Beaucage (Nipissing) Indian Reserve in the Census, living with her father Alex Commanda.
In 1910, the Department of Indian Affairs received a claim from "a large family at Mattawa, named Pechese or Bastiens who claim to be descendants of Money Jose Naeshquaywahshance, now dead, and aunt of J. B. Antoine", for inclusion on the paylist of the Nipissing Band (Doc. #149). As discussed in the section on the Bastien family, this claim was eventually denied on the basis that "it is clear that these persons make their claim through the female line" (Doc. #150). In the course of the investigation of this claim and a related claim from Jawbitt Grandlouis, more information was gathered about the Grandlouis family. Jawbitt stated that his father’s name had been Louis Commanda, and that this man had received Robinson Treaty annuities in 1850 along with the father of Jawbone Antoine (sr.). Jawbitt’s mother, the wife of Louis Commanda, was Sea-bo-quay, of unstated parentage and location. The alternate name “Grandlouis” had been affixed to the family as a derivation of the nickname “Gran Leo” or “Grand Louis” given to Louis, according to Louis’ longtime neighbour and relative on the reserve, Alex Commanda. Alex Commanda swore in an affidavit of 1910 that Louis (then deceased) was, to his knowledge, “a thorough bred Indian” (Doc. #154).

Jawbitt had been born in 1843 in Ontario, according to sources used in the Departmental investigation (1848 according to the 1881 census). Other children of the pair included Xavier, the subject of the 1896 correspondence with the Department (b. 1843 in Ontario), Baptiste (b. 1847), Louis (b. 1849), Francis (b. 1851), Louise (b. 1853), Marion (b. 1855), and Mary (b. 1857). It is possible, based on an inconsistency in the sources, that the Department of Indian Affairs official collecting this information confused Jean Baptiste, b. 1853 in Ontario according to the 1901 Census, with his wife Louisa Grandlouis, who was actually an Antoine born in 1876 (a daughter of Jawbone Antoine sr.). Jawbitt had married Susan Antoine, the sister of Jawbone Antoine sr. and daughter of Antoine Neeshquaywahshance, and following the reinstatement of the Jawbone Antoine family had applied for reinstatement of his own family, which was denied on the grounds that Departmental officials could not link the name Louis Commanda (or Grandlouis) with any name on the 1850 paylists. Jawbitt and Susan were settled in Mattawa village by 1881, had eight children, and in 1910 were living in a rural area not far from Mattawa.

Xavier, as previously noted, had married Nancy Commanda, daughter of Alex sr. The Commandas, as noted in footnote 6 supra, traced their ancestry back to a chief who was probably Grand Louis’ grandfather or Xavier’s great-grandfather, so Xavier and Nancy (who was one generation younger than Xavier) would likely have been cousins of some degree. In the 1901 Census, Xavier is recorded as an Algonquin and Nancy and their children as Chippewa.

Louise Commanda married a son of Jawbone Antoine sr. named Jawbone Antoine jr. or Antoine Jawbone. Jawbone jr. died in 1894 and she remarried a “non-Treaty Indian”. The son of Jawbone and Louise was reinstated on the Nipissing Band Robinson–Huron Treaty paylists in 1910. Louise and Jawbone lived for a time in Kippewa, although they were married in Mattawa and their son William may have spent some time with his grandfather in Mattawa.

Jean Baptiste Grandlouis, identified as a “Chippewa F. B.” with his wife Louise (an “Algonquin F. B.”) were recorded in the 1901 Census with their four children living in Mattawa with Louise’s
father, Jawbone Antoine. Other Grandlouis individuals identified as "Chippewa F. B." or simply "F. B." were recorded in lumber camps in Kippewa in 1901, and later in Ste. Anne's Church bulletins (Kippewa was part of Ste. Anne's pastoral area). Grandlouis women, at least one of whom was a daughter of Xavier, married into the Pashegesic, Couchi, and Goulais families on the Nipissing Reserve in the first half of the twentieth century (Doc. #212).

There is no identifiable French ancestor in the Grandlouis family tree as put together from the records, yet (apart from Xavier) there is a consistent trend among Grandlouis family members to be identified as of French and Chippewa or Algonquin ancestry. The ancestor Louis "Grandlouis" Commanda may have been regarded as an Indian by at least some members of the Nipissing Band, although the Indian Agent in 1896 did not consider his son Xavier to be part of the band socially and other siblings appear to have dispersed from the reserve to the Mattawa/Kippewa area, where they tended to marry members of other long-established mixed-ancestry families. The identification of family members as both Algonquin and Chippewa (as well as Iroquois and Ottawa) may be a sign of Aboriginal national overlap in the area north of Lake Nipissing, in that the family may have intermarried into both groups and identified in varying degrees with them.

The members of the Grandlouis family for whom occupations were given in the 1901 Census were all labourers or shantymen. Jawbitt Commanda (Grandlouis) was listed at Mattawa in the 1881 Census as a hunter.

Four founding families: a summary

Tracing four mixed-ancestry families with deep roots in the Mattawa/Lake Nipissing area helps to illuminate some larger trends, including:

a) the length of time there has been a mixed-ancestry presence in this location. The roots of some of the families under study go back to the early nineteenth and possibly even the late eighteenth century in this region; a time at which unmixed Aboriginal populations were themselves still at a fluid stage. In some instances, founding families of currently-recognized Registered Indian communities arrived in this area at about the same time or later than founding families of mixed ancestry became established.

b) the patterns of movement of mixed-ancestry people in the area, which broadly mirror the movement of Aboriginal peoples as described in Section III. Many mixed-ancestry families have origins in the Lake of Two Mountains mission communities, although the deep-rooted families under study were generally established in Mattawa/Lake Nipissing prior to the signing of the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850. The families also show influence from both the Ojibwa (Chippewa) and Algonquin peoples, with increasing Ojibwa influence further west.

c) the gradually diverging patterns of integration among and inside mixed-ancestry
families. Many branches of mixed-ancestry families intermarried with reserve
Indian communities and have become almost completely integrated with them,
despite the efforts of the Department of Indian Affairs to segregate the two
populations. Other mixed-ancestry family groups intermarried with non-Aboriginal
people and became increasingly established outside Indian communities; although
in 1901 these family members apparently still self-identified or could be identified
by others as partly Indian. A third group tended to marry other off-reserve mixed-
ancestry individuals, and although many of these people were barred from
returning to Indian communities by federal policy, others did not return even if
they could claim the right to do so. In some cases, these people had lived for many
years or even generations outside mission or reserve communities and may have
preferred to stay where they had built their own personal connections. Generally,
however, in the period up to 1901 there is little observable repudiation of Indian
identity in the records relating to all the mixed-ancestry families under study.

Section IV.D Mattawa: A Cross-Section

A sort of the database was done to select all the individuals who had some documented
connection to Mattawa, or Mattawan or Papineau Townships, at any time. This sort brought up
several of the families and individuals discussed in the previous sections on the family sorts,
however there were also many other individuals and families who were selected. One new
category of the mixed-ancestry population that was highlighted by the Mattawa sort was the
Scottish-Aboriginal group, who were represented by several families. These people had origins in
both Ontario and Quebec, generally spoke English at home, and tended to live in the same
neighbourhoods as the other Indian and mixed-ancestry families discussed earlier. Most were
Catholic and went to Ste. Anne’s Church together with other mixed-ancestry, Indian, and
European families. A few families had one parent of exclusively European ancestry and the other
of mixed or exclusively Indian ancestry, but several had both spouses identified in the Census as
being of mixed descent.

As a very rough estimate, perhaps one in five of the residents of Mattawa at the turn of the
century, according to the Census, were of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal descent or closely
associated with those who were (i.e. married to, parent or grandparent of, et cetera). Most of the
mixed-ancestry individuals and families lived on the north side of the river (the same side as the
old Hudson’s Bay Company post) on small lots in the town. They were preponderantly
Algonquin and French, but Scottish ancestry was also prominent and Chippewa (Ojibwa) and
Iroquois ancestry was also recorded.

In 1881, at least half of the identifiable mixed-ancestry families resident at Mattawa had hunting
listed in the Census as their primary source of support. By 1901, the majority of individuals of
mixed ancestry were identified with wage labour in the Census, as shanty labourers, general
labourers, hotel servants, or domestic labourers. A few individuals were identified as
entrepreneurs or skilled tradesmen, such as Jawbone Antoine, the grocer, or Louis Laronde, the
stonemason, and some had small farms of their own. However, guiding and hunting as primary occupations were still prominent among the mixed-ancestry population in the 1901 Census.

There is a limited amount of descriptive material for this population in the early years of the twentieth century (see Section IV.F for oral testimony relating to the mixed-ancestry people of Mattawa in the mid- to-late twentieth century). This earlier descriptive material focusses on the mixed-ancestry population as clients for Indian Affairs-funded schools.

The Catholic school in Mattawa, in 1904 and 1906, applied to the Department of Indian Affairs for an increase in the Department’s $100 contribution to the school, on the grounds of the large number of “Indian” children attending. In 1906, Indian Affairs doubled the grant (NAC, RG10, Vol: 6142 file 406 - 1, part 3). However, when the separate school board applied in 1907 for another increase, the Indian Agent at Sturgeon Falls investigated and reported that

I visited the school on the 15th [January, 1908] and found 32 half-breed children present and the school register shows a total attendance of 36 of these children.

The parents of these children are half-breeds who live nearby in the Town of Mattawa and their occupations are chiefly acting as Guides river-driving and working in the adjacent lumber-camps.

A number of the children are illegitimate and I find they are taken care of by the Sisters in charge of the school.

...6 of the families pays a total amount of $40 in taxes

considering the attendance at this school I think the board are shewing good results in return for the annual grant of $200...[Doc. #145]

The Department’s official in charge of Indian schools provided further information:

...in November, 1874, the Rev. Father Poitras, Missionary at Mattawa, applied for a grant to assist the new school he had established there, stating that there were about thirty Indian families in the neighborhood, with fifty children of school age. The Department agreed to contribute $100 a year after July 1, 1875, and has paid the grant ever since then...

The attendance at this school has always been very regular and shows an average of over 25 for the past three years, while December quarter had an enrolment of 36 with an average of 29...[Doc. #146]

In view of the “good work” done by the school, which was considered by the Department to be a “factor in the civilization of the country”, the grant was increased to $250 per year (NAC, RG10,
Vol. 6142, file 406 - 1, part 3). The grant stayed the same until the Board applied for another increase in 1923, on the following grounds:

At the present we have nearly three hundred children in our School, many of those Indians and a great number of them half-breeds, very difficult to say whether they are half-breeds or not. We are educating those children for almost nothing since it costs us about $30 per child each year...In many cases the Indians are not paying taxes, merely squatting...[Doc. #169]

The Department, on reviewing its records, asked the Indian Agent at Sturgeon Falls to investigate, noting that “the returns show an attendance of about 50 Indian children. No doubt, a certain number of these are half-breeds” (Doc. #170). Cockburn, the Agent, reported back that

...I visited the school yesterday...the school register shows an attendance of 56 children of this number there are 12 registered Indians the balance being half-breeds.

The parents of the Indian children reside adjacent to the town limits in the township of Papineau and do not pay taxes. The majority of the half-breed families reside in the town of Mattawa are assessed and pay taxes to the school, during the summer months a small number of Indian families reside in tents adjacent to the town when their children attend school...[Doc. #171]

A. F. MacKenzie, the acting Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department at Ottawa, then instructed Cockburn that

...the Department is under no obligation for the education of the half-breed children. We note that the majority of the half-breed families reside in the town of Mattawa and are assessed and pay school taxes. As there are only 12 bona fide Indian children who attend regularly, and in view of the excellent reports received, regarding the work of this school, the Department will allow an increase of $100 per annum in the grant...This...is considered ample remuneration for the number of Indian children who attend...[Doc. #172]

In August of 1940, the Agent of the Nipissing Agency reported to the Superintendent of Welfare and Training for the Indian Affairs Branch (successor to the Department of Indian Affairs), that

...there are no Indian children, for whom the Indian Department is responsible, attending school in Mattawa.

The only family on the Nipissing list with children of an age to attend school are the Michel Antoines...living in Mattawa Township, and they do not go to school. Moreover, under the 18 months regulation, the Department does not assume
45. Do the Indian men or women frequently intermarr[y with the whites? – Indian women do frequently intermarr[y with the whites, but very few of the Indians intermarr[y with white women.

46. Among the Indians under your superintendence, what is the proportion of half-breeds? – At least two-thirds in my opinion.

47. Is there any marked difference in habits and general conduct of the half-breeds and the native Indians; and if so state it? – No difference whatever exists in the habits and ways of living of the half-breeds and the native Indians, but in general the half-breeds are far more addicted to vice than the native Indians.

48. In cases where intermarriages with the whites have taken place, do you find the condition of the Indian improved? – In cases of intermarriages taking place with the whites, the condition of the Indian does not improve; white women who marry Indians adopt their manners and dress themselves like Indian women, and the generality of the white men who marry Indian women do the same, as well as their children.

49. Do the Indian women frequently live with white men without being married? – In the Indian villages no women live with white men without being married; but there are instances of Indian women living with white men without being married, at a distance from the villages. The Missionaries and Indians will not allow whites to remain with Indian women in the village without being lawfully married.

50. Does the birth of illegitimate children among the unmarried women occur as frequently now as heretofore, and in what light is the circumstance viewed by the Indians? – The birth of illegitimate children, among the unmarried women, does not occur as frequently as formerly; when it does happen, it produces no effect whatever on the Indians. The child is adopted by the Tribe, and looked on as well as if it was legitimate...[Doc. #15]

After most residents of Lake of Two Mountains had relocated to Maniwaki or had moved permanently to other places (such as the Mattawa/Lake Nipissing area), the priests described “two camps” at Maniwaki in the late 1860s and 1870s:

…the pure-blooded Algonquins, the most numerous, the most moral, the more pure and the best. The other groups was formed of a mixture of all kinds and tribes and of various Metis: The latter formed the majority, being mainly scottish Metis. They were the nastiest, drunkards, immoral, etc. They had been elected leaders in October because the pure-blooded Algonquins had almost all left for the hunt. The pure-blooded Algonquins were extremely irritated...[Doc. #193]
45. Do the Indian men or women frequently intermarry with the whites? – Indian women do frequently intermarry with the whites, but very few of the Indians intermarry with white women.

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Timiskaming/Kippewa

Mixed-ancestry populations in the Timiskaming/Kippewa area were well-established by end of the nineteenth century, especially around Kippewa. The Kippewa population appears to have had a significant degree of family connection with Mattawa mixed-ancestry families (see also Doc. #200, pp. 111, 123 - 125). Further work can be done to document these connections. However, some descriptive material also exists on the mixed-ancestry population of this area.

In November of 1892, Father Nedelec, an Oblate missionary priest who had lived in the Mattawa/Timiskaming area for over twenty-five years, wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs making several requests on behalf of Indian people at the head of Lake Timiskaming. He applied for a “good school” for 40 to 50 children, the implementation of a form of local government, and for some changes in settlement practices:

II. Land. After the settling of a great part, it remains yet 8000 acres of which about two hundred acres are cultivated. No more. Why? The Indians would not cultivate on the one hand, on the other they hinder the half breeds to settle and cultivate it, without reasons. All the half breeds connected with the tribe either by blood or language have, in my humble opinion, right to settle on the Reserves. If not, why to allow some by favor, why to hinder others without reasons? Now again if you put the half breeds out of the settlement, who will remain? The rabbits? It is now time to settle wisely that question. Many wish to settle immediately. Another reason, if the wise and just wish of the government to see the Indian settling on the Reserves and the half breeds also. Better, than to settle at the tavern’s door along the Ottawa or camp in the vicinity of the shanties. Even Mr L. Vankoughnet refused to grant assistance to poor inds they would go and settle on Reserves. Now how to go and settle on Reserve when put out by foolish chiefs? Besides the same chiefs would not stop and settle themselves on the Reserve...[Doc. #91].

The Department replied that

...the right of each Halfbreed family has to be considered on its own merits, consequently the Department would require, before determining as to the right of occupancy by any Halfbreed, to know through the Indian Agent from which side his Indian blood is derived...likewise...whether his progenitor was a member of the Temiscamingue Band...whether the parents were legally married according to the laws of the country, or after the established Indian custom of that Band...[Doc. #91]

Nedelec persisted over the years, stating in January of 1896:

1. The Reserve was granted in order to give a just compensation to the
Temiskamingue Indians for the ruin of their hunting ground, occupied by the shantymen.

2. It was granted to all the hunters concerned and tribe in the vast district of Temiskamingue Kipawa

3. Now, y [I] understand half of the hunters who have a strict right to the Reserves or money coming from the Reserves are not living on it on the one hand. On the other half of the actual settlers on the Reserves have no claim to it and are drawing all the benefit, coming from it...[Doc. #101]

The Department simply referred Nedelec back to the Indian Agent, advising him to “As regards the right of Half Breeds to occupy land on the Temiscamingue Reserve...furnish [the Agent] with full particulars respecting the hunters who you state have a right to live on the Reserve and share in the funds of the Band but do not live thereon.” (Doc. #102).

In early March of 1896, Indian Agent McBride of the Temiscamingue Agency reported to the Department at Ottawa that the Indians of the Temiscamingue Band had resolved to allow James King Sr. and John King Sr., “both half-breeds”, “to reside and farm on the Temiscamingue Indian Reserve” (Doc. #103). The Department replied that it “did not approve of...half-breeds, being allowed to reside and farm on the Temiscamingue Reserve and you will be good enough to see that they leave at once, as under the law none but Indians are entitled to reside upon an Indian Reserve, unless they come in the same category as those mentioned in your letter of 16th May 1895 [not located]” (Doc. #104). In June of 1897, Agent McBride reported that “five more families of Indians has been taken in on this Reserve by the Convent of the Band about a year ago” (Doc. #115). In July of 1898, McBride reported that three more people had been “taken in on the Reserve” by resolution of the “Temiscamingue Band in Council”, namely “Baptist Okitenze”, “Benjeman McKenzie”, and “Frank Tamure” (Doc. #126). The Department asked for a report (Doc. #127), to which McBride replied that McKenzie and Tamure were from Des Joachims and/or Fort William (Quebec), and Okitenze was from “Keepaway” (Doc. #128). In 1900, Adam Burwash, the new Indian Agent at Temiscamingue, wrote to the Department about James and John King, asking if they had ever been admitted to the Band, “as there is some think...but are not positive” that they had been. Burwash reported that the majority of the Band claim that Mr. Chitty [previous Inspector of Indian Agencies] told them that any person with any Indian blood in them was an Indian and was entitled to live on the reserve. This impression is causing some trouble. I am reminded of it frequently...[Doc. #139]

J. D. McLean, Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, informed Burwash that the Kings had been allowed by the Department to reside on the Reserve and had been allotted an acre each, and “when the plan list was made up for the first interest distribution their names were included by consent of the Band and they are therefore now members of the Band” (Doc. #140).
Temagami

From the early part of the twentieth century, the Department of Indian Affairs operated a Catholic day school during the summer months at Bear Island in Lake Temagami, so that the children of the Indians who gathered there every summer could go to school. In the 1930s, the Department of Indian Affairs resisted the doubling of the rent charged by the Province for the lot on which the school stood on the grounds that “this school is attended by a considerable number of non-Indian children, who are given free education by the Department each summer” (Doc. #178). In 1950, the Indian Agent at Sturgeon Falls reported that “the Temagami Indians residing at Bear Island, together with the whites and half-breeds in the vicinity are anxious to have a public school. Approximately 25 children would attend” (Doc. #185). In the spring of 1951, the Agent recommended that the school not be opened for the summer session,

as we are only encouraging a few half-breeds to remain on Bear Island when they should be residing where their children would receive proper education.

Opening the school at Bear Island for the summer would be an excuse for most of the twelve children, at present attending school in Temagami, to return to the Island before the school term is finished in Temagami....

Last summer only 9 children attended summer school. Three were Indians and the remaining six were half-breeds...[Doc. #186]

The Department did in fact discontinue the Bear Island summer school, and a public school opened in September 1951. The Agent reported favourably on this arrangement in March of 1952, reporting that of 23 pupils “only 8” were “Treaty Indians”, who seemed to be doing well (Doc. #187). However, the Superintendent of Education for the Department of Indian Affairs discouraged the transfer of land for a larger school on Bear Island in 1956, noting that the request was

to build a school intended to accommodate thirty children about half of whom are entitled to be registered as Indians...

The Indian school at Bear Island was deactivated in the expectation that the Indian pupils would continue to attend school at Temagimi [sic] and that the development of the integration process, already begun, would be fostered.

The island is not an Indian Reserve. Title to nearly all the land was acquired by the Crown in right of Canada. It is not understood how there can be enough self-supporting people in legal year-round occupancy on the island to warrant the proposed construction and to carry the tax burden.

The fact that the school enrolment is growing suggests that the island has already
attracted occupants whose right to occupancy is doubtful and whose economic situation is precarious. Such island concentrations of Indians and Metis tend to accumulate the economic and social problems peculiar to segregation...[Doc. #190]

The resolution of this issue is not noted on the file.

**Section IV.F: The modern mixed-ancestry population in Mattawa**

Although generally speaking the research team was not able to obtain information directly from Aboriginal people resident in the Mattawa area, our field researcher talked to some members of Aboriginal communities involved in research and claims affecting Mattawa.

David Joanisse, active in the Antoine Band claim, identified two “bands” involved in researching an Aboriginal title claim for the Mattawa area. One is based in North Bay and was called by Joanisse the “Mattawa Algonquin Band”, and the other was called generally the “Antoine Algonquin First Nation”, with both Registered and non-Registered Indian members. Joanisse indicated that the claimants are Algonquin, not Ojibwa; and that they identified as Indian, not Metis. He believed that early fur trade families generally did not settle in the Mattawa area and those few that did were absorbed into Robinson-Huron Treaty First Nations (mostly the Nipissing First Nation).

Brian Cockburn, from the Metis Nation of Ontario, and an independent (anonymous) genealogical researcher investigating Aboriginal families in the Ottawa Valley/Nipissing Passageway area who has provided information to both the Antoine Band and Metis Nation of Ontario lawyers, told our field researcher that there is a historic (and present-day) Metis community at Mattawa, who originate in families along the fur trade route from Lake Timiskaming to Penetanguishene. This researcher believes that most Metis around Mattawa descend from families who stayed at Maniwaki (River Desert) and Lake of Two Mountains (Oka), and that some of the Metis families have been absorbed by the River Desert Indian Band. According to her, many Metis families came north and west from Quebec to work in lumber camps and later on to work on the CPR. She identified two “branches” of the Mattawa-area Metis: one, whom she called “Abitibi”, who went to the Lake Timiskaming/Wolf Lake region; and another, “Golden Lake”, who went to Pembroke and Mattawa. The Mattawa Metis, according to the independent researcher, mostly originate with “two founding Indian chiefs”, Amable Dufond and Antoine Kiwiwisens. The Christian name “Antoine” was later adopted as a surname by many of his descendants, and she reported that this appropriation of given names for surnames (and vice versa) is not unusual in this community. Name-changing, in her experience, was quite frequent among community members, as they might have both an Indian name and a European name to be used in different situations, and change either name during their lifetimes for a variety of reasons. She told our researcher that most of the Mattawa Metis are now on the Temiscamingue and Nipissing Reserves (and some on Golden Lake), because “at the time the signing of the Robinson Treaties, the Metis were forcefully taken from their homes and placed on Reserves”.
Annette Chretien, a Metis person whose grandfather farmed and trapped near River Valley (about 40 kilometers north-west of Sturgeon Falls, on the Temagami River) and whose family still occupies the original homestead, wrote an M. A. (Music) thesis in 1996 on the music and culture of the Metis at Mattawa (Doc. #209). Her primary sources were three Metis individuals currently living in Mattawa, with family names Belanger, Groulx, and Gauthier. Belanger spoke French, English, “and a little Cree and Algonquin”, while Groulx spoke French, English, and Ojibwa. Her direct transcriptions of her conversations with these elders reveal that they spoke to her in a French dialect that may have been influenced by these Aboriginal languages. She also identifies the Mattawa Metis as linked to those of Lake Timiskaming (Doc. #209, p. 60), and frequently employed as guides in the Temagami area (p. 185). Chretien states that “Metis political organizations” (she was a member of the Metis Nation of Ontario at the time of writing her thesis) estimate the Metis community at Mattawa as between 150 and 350 persons (p. 80), and noted the conflicts between the Metis Nation of Ontario and the Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association over membership in the area (ibid.).

Chretien identified two sub-communities in the town of Mattawa: “Little Gaspe Town” south of the Mattawa River, and “Squaw Valley” on the north side of the Mattawa (pp. 83 - 84). “Squaw Valley” is now known as Rosemont and is the site of the more expensive homes in town; the small houses formerly inhabited by the Indians and Metis having been torn down in the 1950s and 60s (p. 87). “Squaw Valley” corresponds to the neighbourhoods in which many of the mixed-ancestry individuals located at Mattawa in the 1901 Census were living. Chretien’s sources included elders from both communities. All the elders to whom she spoke had been and continued to be active trappers, hunters, and fishermen.

As well as discussing their music, the elders talked with Chretien about life in Mattawa. According to Chretien,

...a subsistence lifestyle...continues to predominate in the Mattawa Metis community.

In Mattawa, the furtrade labour force partly found employment in the logging industry, guiding, and the mining industry, although trapping continues to provide a supplementary income for many. For long periods of time these workers would be in the bush or in logging camps and when they returned to town, they would live in a section of Squaw Valley that was referred to as the ‘hydro colony’ because of its location near the La Cave dam. Its residents included many Metis and Indians, as well as transient workers. Charlie Pepin described it for me as follows:

The hydro colony was [pause], they were somewhat distinct from the Valley. That’s where all the fights were and the drinking and ‘low-life’ so-called...But, that was happening over here too, but there was no hypocrisy on that side...[p. 177]
Chiga Groulx has explained to me that many of the Native and Metis people in the area refused to take on employment for any extended period of time because they felt exploited, and did not like working for the white man. They would work just enough to get by. Seasonal work provided some income and the rest of the year they would live off the land, hunting when they needed food, basically living a subsistence lifestyle...[p. 178]

In Chiga’s opinion, physical features pose a great handicap in job opportunities. Those Metis who look aboriginal are socially regarded as Indians and yet do not qualify for status and cannot benefit from their aboriginal rights. Those who look white can choose not to self-identify as Metis and live as a White man, as many do.

Charlie described the socio-economic conditions that existed prior to the rebuilding of Squaw Valley in the 1950s. He described the segment of the community that could not pass for Whites in the following way.

They had no way out. You could get a job at the mill at a dollar ten an hour, and that was too attractive to go beyond grade eight...they’d work there for four or five years, and then the monotony would get them, and by then, they’d be old enough to drink legally, and the booze’d...[p. 180] get them...[p. 181]

Although the elders were able to identify many modern and traditional non-Metis influences on their music, they also isolated what they considered to be distinctive “Metis” elements in their playing. Interestingly, the elders from “that side” (Squaw Valley) and “this side” (Gaspe Town) were able to distinguish two quite different styles of music that had developed in the two communities, despite the small size of the town. These differences were expressed in the use of different keys, rhythmic inflections, and ornamentation of basic melodies, which the elders attributed to the styles adopted by the dominant players on each side of the river and ways of playing that their fathers had passed on to them. Gaspe Town musicians also seemed to draw more on American bluegrass styles and purely instrumental music, while Squaw Valley players preferred “sad country tunes” and vocal music. Musicians from both sides of the river shared a repertoire of traditional American, Irish and French-Canadian folk and dance tunes and popular songs that their fathers might have heard on the radio, and as well each made up some of their own tunes and songs, some with lyrics specific to well-known people and places in Mattawa. Squaw Valley musicians appeared to be more influenced by Aboriginal sources and Gaspe Town by the French, although the sources also indicated that they adjusted their playing somewhat based on the ethnicity of their audience (p. 155).

Chretien also commented on the reticence of many Metis people in Mattawa to self-identify, and the personal shyness of many Metis individuals. She observed that

When Chiga [Belanger] showed me around Squaw Valley, he drove down by the
Mattawa River and recounted that 'high society' lived on the other side and that, as kids, they would throw rocks at each other across the river. He says that they hated each other. This life experience is related to the fact that in Northern Ontario there is still a strong perception that Metis are Indians which often leads to feelings of shame when self-identifying as Metis...

The shyness of Metis musicians in Mattawa has been mentioned to me countless times... musicians seem to fear that the choices of musical tools typical of Metis musicians can inadvertently lead them and their music to be classified under racist categories...

In Northern Ontario, public attitude towards Indians are often expressed in very negative ways. They are considered lazy alcoholics who do not want to work, and who just live off the government. Land claims, it should be added, have intensified this sense of resentment on the part of non-Natives in this part of the province.

The choice to self-identify as Metis therefore can lead to overt racist attacks. Such discrimination prevents many Metis from openly declaring their heritage or obtaining their status card. As a result, this hesitance has substantially inhibited the progress of Metis political organizations. (pp. 156 - 158)

One elder commented to her that

Metis cultures are so close and so far. So many different identities and lifestyles. Sault Ste. Marie is different from Moosonee. Up north, they live their culture, they're less inhibited. It amazes me that it can be so different and yet so close. So different in terms of doing things, but so close in thinking the same. (p. 159)

Chretien observed that many Metis people were skeptical of political organizations and did not get involved in the local meetings or activities (p. 182). The elders to whom she spoke were affiliated, at least nominally, with either the Metis Nation of Ontario local or the Ontario Metis Aboriginal Association local in Mattawa, although their degree of involvement ranged from very occasional to regular.

Summary

- At the turn of from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, there was a population of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry at Mattawa with roots in the Mattawa/Nipissing area going back three to four generations. A relatively small number of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal households were still being formed at this time, although it appears that most intermarriages between unmixed-ancestry individuals took place at an earlier stage.
The Aboriginal origins of this population reflected the migration patterns of Aboriginal peoples in the area in the nineteenth century. The Algonquin/European part of the population had family ties back to the Algonquin/Nipissing mission communities, especially Lake of Two Mountains, to which the Ottawa Valley Algonquin and the Nipissing fled after their dispersal by the Iroquois in the seventeenth century. There were therefore also family ties to Maniwaki, although the Algonquin families under study appear mostly to have returned to the Mattawa/Nipissing area prior to the relocation of the Lake of Two Mountains groups to Maniwaki. Some of these families continued their migration further north to Kipawa and Timiskaming. The families identified with Mattawa also shared family connections to Golden Lake Algonquin through their common residence at Lake of Two Mountains, and Aboriginal groups from south and east of Mattawa may also have come there regularly to trade. The smaller but significant Ojibwa/European segment of the population had ties to the Ojibwa community north of Lake Nipissing, who moved in from the west at some point after the Iroquois dispersals. This Ojibwa community absorbed many Algonquin mixed-ancestry individuals, despite the efforts of the Department of Indian Affairs to segregate the "Indian" and "half-breed" populations.

The non-Aboriginal origins of the population were predominantly French, with a significant Scottish element. Most of these non-Aboriginal ancestors were associated with the fur trade. The great majority of these non-Aboriginal ancestors and the mixed-ancestry population were Roman Catholic. At the turn of the century, mixed-ancestry households in Mattawa claimed French, English and Aboriginal languages as their mother tongues still spoken.

The Mattawa mixed-ancestry population had an element who were barred from living with their relatives on Indian Reserves by the regulations of the Department of Indian Affairs, but there was another element who had lived off reserves and outside Indian mission communities for generations and may have chosen to stay in the Mattawa area even if it were possible for them to return to a reserve. However, based on their interest in regaining recognition as Indians, the preservation of Indian languages at home and identification in the census as being of mixed ancestry, it appears that many Mattawa-based families wished to retain links to their Indian ancestry in the early twentieth century.

Most mixed-ancestry households in the nineteenth century were dependent on hunting for fur and food for their living. In the last decade or so of the nineteenth century, wage labour (especially working seasonally in the lumber camps) became increasingly important to family economies, but many families still claimed hunting as their primary means of subsistence at the turn of the century.
SECTION V

APPENDICES
Section V.A  A Note on Sources and the Database

The sources for this paper are generally discussed in the Introduction and in Section IV. The strength of the collection is in the second half of the nineteenth century. Almost all the sources are in the form of documents generated by non-Aboriginal people for a wide variety of purposes. Very few were generated with the objective of recording or preserving information about a mixed-ancestry population. Although this creates important limitations on the research and its results, it is still possible to extract meaningful data from these sources, particularly if multiple sources can be compared to cross-check and balance the information. Thus, while modern readers may rightly exercise caution in ascribing absolute and exclusive accuracy to these sources, in my view it is important to understand them and the story they might tell. One key source of information is the Dominion Census, available for this area every ten years from 1861 to 1901.

While the quality and nature of census data vary from census to census and enumerator to enumerator, the consensus among historians and other students of historical communities and economies is that manuscript census information is generally more accurate and comprehensive than that from any other nineteenth-century source. Enumerators in Canada went to astonishing lengths to try to get information on even the most remotely located individuals and transients, without the incentive to pad the lists offered by the per-name payments usual in the United States. Complete non-compliance, notably among Aboriginal peoples, was not common, although enumerators occasionally noted that subjects might have understated assets either in the belief that census results could have been used for taxation purposes or simply because their records were incomplete. Some categories, such as occupation and ethnicity, were subject to more discretion and changing conventions than others and require caution in interpretation. Generally, it is helpful to correlate and temper census results with information from other sources, and this has been done where possible.

Only the 1901 Census has been integrated into the database to date, although some information from the 1881 Census has been included in the text of the paper. Other sources collected also have not been fully incorporated, including most notably Hudson’s Bay Company records. However, most of the information from key RG10 files and some from Ste. Anne’s Church records are included. The source for each row’s information is identified in the “Source” column, with a year provided if the date of the source is not the same as the date of the information. These dates and cross-referencing to secondary sources in the annotated bibliography should facilitate tracing the source documents in the document set.

A copy of the entire database to date has not been provided with this paper. The four family tables and the geographical cross-section table discussed in the text only are appended.

Names are reproduced as they are found in the original source. Names with several variants are also recorded in a standardized spelling, often in square brackets, to ensure that they will be captured in selections and sorts for the family (this has also been done for “Location” and “Occupation” fields), and maiden names are also included where known. One individual may have several entries, if he or she was documented in a number of sources and at different times. This approach, while reducing the usefulness of the database for purely statistical purposes (to
which it was not particularly well-suited by the sources in any event), better links each piece of
information to its source. This is an advantage when sources conflict, and allows some sorting by
date. The “Date” column provides the date to which the information applies, and the “Location”
indicates the area to which the information is linked at the time. “Occupation” gives the economic
activity connected to the individual by the source, and is left blank if none was supplied.
Dependants are given “occupations” as a relative of the family head, if none are supplied (this is
particularly true of census entries) to facilitate sorting families by occupation. The “Comments”
section notes the ethnicity of the subject individual, usually as given in the source, standardized to
the abbreviations used by the 1901 Census again to facilitate sorting. In some cases this
information is recorded in square brackets if ethnicity is not stated (or is possibly mis-stated) but
has been reliably established elsewhere. Other “Comments” include the relationship of the
individual to other individuals in the database and other information noted in the source.

The database programme used (the Tables function in WordPerfect 8.0) allows the user to
perform selection sorts, where any row with a given character string or combination of character
strings is recompiled into a new table, and alphabetical or numerical sorts. In the family tables,
the draft tables compiled by the selection sort function were reconstructed manually to keep
information on members of nuclear families or households together. In the “Mattawa...Unsorted
Table”, no attempt was made at family reconstitution within the table, although its alphabetical
arrangement tended to keep family members with the same name together.

The abbreviations used in the 1901 Census and in the database are as follows:

F. B.       “French Breed”
E. B.       “English Breed”
S. B.       “Scottish Breed”
O. B.       “Other Breed” (used for other European ancestries, and also sometimes
            with mixed marriages such as those between an “F. B.” and a “S. B.”)
RC         Roman Catholic
CE         Church of England
Presby.    Presbyterian
MT         Mother tongue if still spoken. This information was collected in the
database only for Mattawa residents
PI L15      Stands for page 1, line 15 of the manuscript census records. The name of
            the Census subdivision is given. A number in (brackets) after the
            subdivision name indicates the subsection of the census manuscript, if more
            than one was required to cover the area.
Historic Populations of Mixed
Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal Ancestry in Ontario
Mattawa and Environs

Annotated Bibliography of Sources Consulted

I. Primary Sources

A. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg

B.312 Records of Mattawa post, 1868 - 1906. Includes Reports on District, correspondence books, account books, and other items. Reviewed by Public History, Inc. in Winnipeg. Some items copied.

Post History by HBC Archives staff: see Secondary Sources.

B. Mattawa Museum and John Dixon Library, Mattawa

Assortment of local secondary historical material (see Secondary Sources) (some copied or purchased). Collection searched by Public History.

C. National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

MG19 D4 (Records of fur-trading post at Fort Timiskaming, Hudson's Bay Company and its predecessors, 1791 - 1890, two volumes)

Records include Indian credit book, 1805 - 1806 (extract copied), post journals 1869 - 1890 (extracts copied), fur returns and accounts, 1799 - 1888 (extracts copied), bills of lading and district tariffs, 1842 - 1864, correspondence (some copied). Includes some information on dependent posts such as Hunter's Lodge and correspondence with Mattawa.

MG29 A 12 (Colin Rankin papers)

Rankin (1827? - 1921) was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and was posted at Mattawa in both junior and senior positions. This is a small collection of personal papers including correspondence with Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona). Nothing copied.

RG10 (Records of the Department of Indian Affairs)

Records of Robinson Treaty annuity payments by Band for Nipissing Band (held at DIAND Specific Claims West Resource Centre)

Vol. 1906, file 2284  Re: 49 persons not paid by Indian Department, Maniwaki
reel C-12777  IR, 1873. Extracts copied.
Vol. 1913, file 2596
reel C-11110
Vol. 1913, file 2567
reel C-11110
Vol. 1915, file 2683
reel C-11110
Vol. 2025, file 8618
reel C-12777
Vol. 2262, file 53294
reel C-12781
Vol. 2292, file 58335
reel C-12781
Vol. 2292, file 58336
reel C-12781
Vol. 2297, file 59257
reel C-12781
Vol. 2298, file 59275
reel C-12781
Vol. 2310, file 61938
reel C-11199
Vol. 2316, file 62939
reel C-12781
Vol. 2317, file 63138
reel C-12781
Vol. 2334, file 67514
Vol. 2335, file 67801
reel C-15513
Vol. 2335, file 67802
reel C-15513
Vol. 2341, file 68801
reel C-12781
Vol. 2344, file 69087
reel C-12781
Vol. 2355, file 71889
reel C-12782
Vol. 2363, file 73033
reel C-12782
Vol. 2367, file 73900
reel C-12782
Vol. 2372, file 75258
reel C-12782
Vol. 2397, file 82193
reel C-2397

Census and school returns for Maniwaki IR, 1873. Extracts copied.
Census of the Algonquin, Nipissing and Iroquois Indians of the Lake of Two Mountains, 1873. Extracts copied.
Census of Oka Reserve, 1873. Extracts copied.

Nipissing annuity and interest payments, 1877. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1884. Extracts copied.

Application by Paul Optagechik to be admitted to the Nipissing Band. Copied.
Application by Francis Nesquivescence to be admitted to Nipissing Band. Copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1885. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1885 - 1887. Extracts copied.

Nipissing Indian school, 1885 - 1892. Extracts copied.

Parry Sound Superintendency – annuity and interest payments, 1885. Nothing copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1885 - 1886. Extracts copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1886. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1886. Extracts copied.

Identified as Nipissing interest payments, actually Shawanaga. Nothing copied.
Nipissing/Temagami annuity payments, 1886 - 1888. Extracts copied.
Removal from Temagami paylist of children of Mary Ann Chute, 1886 - 1892. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1886. Extracts copied.

Disputes over residence of Laronde family on Nipissing IR, 1886 - 1897. Copied.
Claim of Noona Francois to be on the paylist of the Maniwaki Band.
Nipissing interest payments, 1887 - 1888. Extracts copied.

Application of Lacompte family for admission to Maniwaki Band, 1887 - 1888. Extracts copied.
Vol. 2413, file 85178
reel C-12783
Vol. 2414, file 85604
reel C-12783
Vol. 2435, file 89960
reel C-12783
Vol. 2454, file 94698
reel C-12784
Vol. 2455, file 94975
reel C-12784
Vol. 2458, file 96985
reel C-12784
Vol. 2480, file 99864
reel C-12784
Vol. 2484, file 100740
reel C-12784
Vol. 2509, file 105271
reel C-12784
Vol. 2532, file 110267
reel C-12785
Vol. 2533, file 110277
reel C-12785
Vol. 2565, file 115071
reel C-12876
Vol. 2565, file 115260
reel C-12787
Vol. 2580, file 117542
reel C-12787
Vol. 2599, file 120992
reel C-12787
Vol. 2782, file 117803
reel C-12787
Vol. 2584, file 118055
reel C-12787
Vol. 2598, file 120614
reel C-12787
Vol. 2599, file 120992
reel C-12787
Vol. 2654, file 132413
reel C-11258
Vol. 2682, file 137504
reel C-12790
Vol. 2700, file 141932

Nipissing interest payments, 1888. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1888. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1888. Extracts copied.
Robinson Treaty annuity arrears and grant of IR to Temagami Band, 1889. Cover page only.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1889. Extracts copied.
Nipissing/Temagami/Dokis annuity payments, 1889 - 1891. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1889. Extracts copied.
Timiskaming band fund, 1889. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1890. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1890 - 1891. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1890 - 1891. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1891. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1891. Extracts copied.
Resolution of Temagami Band to admit John Friday and his family to the band, 1891. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1891 - 1892. Nothing copied.
Resolution of Maniwaki Band to admit Joseph Levergn to Band membership, 1891. Extracts copied.
Nipissing/Temagami annuity payments, 1891 - 1893. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1891 - 1892. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1891. Extracts copied.
Land occupied by half-breeds, hospital, and schools on Timiskaming Reserve, 1892 - 1896. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1893. Nothing copied.
Admission of new members to Maniwaki Band, 1893 -
1898. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1893 - 1894. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1893. Nothing copied.
Nipissing annuity payments, 1894 - 1902. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1894. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1894 - 1895. Extracts copied.
Minutes of Council meetings, accounts etc. of the Nipissing Band, 1894 - 1902. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1894. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1894 - 1895. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1894 - 1895. Extracts copied.
Nipissing annuity payments, 1894 - 1895. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1895. Extracts copied.
Nipissing annuity payments, 1895. Extracts copied.
Claim of Mary Ann Goulas (Makatenine) to land on Maniwaki and readmittance to the Band, 1895 - 1896. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1895. Extracts copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1895 - 1896. Extracts copied.
Manitouwining Agency, membership in more than one band. Extracts copied.
Claim of Xavier Grandlouis to membership in Nipissing Band, 1896. Copied.
Maniwaki interest payments, 1896 - 1898. Extracts copied.
Nipissing interest payments, 1896. Extracts copied.


Maniwaki interest payments, 1896. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1896. Extracts copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1897. Nothing copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1897. Extracts copied.

Claim of Xavier Pierre McDougall for arrears of interest payments, 1897 - 1922. Extracts copied.

Nipissing annuity payments, 1897 - 1899. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1897. Nothing copied.

Estate of late Antoine Neeshquaywaychance and claims for annuities submitted by his survivors, 1897 - 1910. Extracts copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1897 - 1898. Extracts copied.

Application of Antoine Techeme to transfer from Maniwaki to Temiskaming Band, 1898. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1898. Extracts copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1898 - 1899. Nothing copied.

Resolution of Temagami band to admit Peter Keewagana, 1898. Extracts copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1898 - 1899. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1898 - 1899. Nothing copied.

Nipissing annuity and interest payments, 1899. Nothing copied.

Maniwaki interest payments, 1899. Extracts copied.

Timiskaming interest payments, 1899. Extracts copied.

Nipissing interest payments, 1899 - 1900. Extracts copied.
reel C-9666
Vol. 2988, file 214498
Maniwaki interest payments, 1899 - 1900. Extracts copied.
reel C-9666
Vol. 2991, file 216500
Maniwaki band, children of late Widow P. Buckshot, 1899. Extracts copied.
reel C-9666
Vol. 6025, file 43-5-1, pt. 1
Beaucage day school, 1894 - 1916. Extracts copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-5-1, pt. 2
Beaucage day school, 1936 - 1945. Nothing copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-5-9, pt. 1
Beaucage day school, 1901, 1910. Extracts copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-6-1, pt. 1
Wolf Lake day school, 1910 - 1931. Extracts copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-6-1, pt. 2
Wolf Lake day school, 1932, 1948. Extracts copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-6-5, pt. 1
reel C-8146
Vol. 6025, file 43-7-1, pt. 1
Kipawa day school, 1912 - 1914, 1948. Extracts copied.
reel C-8146
Vol. 6133, file 394-1, pt. 1
reel C-8198
Vol. 6142, file 406-1, pt. 3
Mattawa school, 1894 - 1944. Extracts copied.
reel C-8204
Vol. 6142, file 406-5, pt. 2
Mattawa school, 1908, 1918. Nothing copied.
reel C-8204
Vol. 6780, file 452-258
reel C-8521
Vol. 6781, file 452-263
Mattawa: Pension of late Private Decaire. 1919 - 1920. Family identified as mixed ancestry following the "Indian mode of living". Copied.
reel C-8521
Vol. 6882, file 411/28-3
Nipissing Agency annuity payments, 1874/1904. Extracts copied.
pt. 1, reels C-7992, 7993
Vol. 6883, file 411/28-3
pt. 9, reel C-7993
Vol. 6884, file 411/28-3
reel C-7994
Vol. 6886, file 475/28-3,
pt. 5, reel C-7994
Vol. 8794, file 411/25-11-63
reel C-9716
Vol. 9987
reel C-11056
Census, Manitoulin Island Bands (includes Nipissing and
Vol. 9988
reel C-11056  
Series C-V-2, Vol. 10682  
file 43/20-4, parts 1, 2  
Temagami), 1850. Extracts copied.

Series C-V-2, Vol. 10682  
file 43/20-4, pts. A, B  
Dokis Band harvest permits and statistics, guiding. extracts copied. Reviewed by Public History.

RG17 (Records of the Department of Agriculture)

Vol. 378, docket 40754  
Letter from Manager of North American Railway Contracting Company, Nipissing Division at Mattawa, reporting on arrangements to import able-bodied men, 1883. Copied.

Vol. 381, docket 41045  

Vol. 395, docket 42661  

Vol. 701, docket 80351  
Chief Dokis at Sturgeon Falls fined for refusing to answer Census questions (no interpreter), 1891. Nothing copied.

RG45 (Records of the Surveyor General of Canada)

Vol. 129, notebook 1732  

Vol. 135, notebook 3046  
Notes on Railway line (C. P. R.), G. M. Dawson, 1887 - 1888. Copied portion referring to Mattawa and Lake Nipissing.

reel C-4847

Vol. 159, notebook 1974  

Vol. 167, notebook 444  

Vol. 167, notebooks 1223 - 1225  
Notes on survey of Upper Ottawa River and Lake Abitibi, W. McOuat, 1872. Mostly inland on Quebec side from Mattawa to Lake Abitibi. Copied part of notebook 1224 regarding vicinity of Mattawa.

Vol. 169, notebooks 2057 - 2060  
Notes of survey of Upper Ottawa River, L. R. Ord, 1876. Pontiac County, Fort Coulange and area, etc. Nothing
Vol. 236, notebooks 703 - 704
Notes of survey of Upper Ottawa River and Abitibi District,
M. E. Wilson 1910. Lake Abitibi area, no descriptive notes.
Nothing copied.

Vol. 295
Notes on Ottawa River townsites, Robert Bell, 1867.
Actually contains notes of a visit to Newfoundland.

Vol. 296, notebook 1
Notes of survey of route from “Minnitawaki to Long L., via
Mattawa and other waterways”, R. Bell, 1883. Refers to
Mattawa River in northwestern Ontario (Wabigoon/Eagle
Lake area). Nothing copied.

Vol. 297, notebook 1
Notes on survey of area up Ottawa River to Lake
Timiskaming, along Montreal River to Lake Temagami,
Robert Bell, 1887. Description of area and occupants,
including sketch maps. Extracts copied.

Vol. 297, notebook 2
Notes on survey of Ottawa River watershed including
Kipawa, Lac Dumoine, and Gatineau area, Robert Bell,
1887. Copied notes on Barriere Lake post and activity of
Indians.

Vol. 297, notebook 3
Notes on survey of Montreal River/Matachewan, Robert
Bell, 1888. Copied portion regarding Temagami and
Sturgeon River.

D. North Bay Public Library and North Bay Museum, North Bay

Collections searched by Public History. Copied compiled plans of land disposition in Mattawan
and Widdifield Townships. Material focusses on post-railway period (strength of historical
collections is 1880 to 1910). Little material on Aboriginal residents of area.

D. Oblate Archives (Archives Deschatelets), Ottawa

HEC 4371.J43C
4

HEC 6757.J83C
4

JC201.C21R
Box and other items related to Mattawa. Items copied including
newspaper clippings; nineteenth-century reports from Mattawa mission.

JC3820.C21P
JC3901 .C21R 44

JH201 .C21R
Boxes and items related to Mattawa missions. Items copied including “Gesta Dei per oblases”, chronology of the mission at Mattawa by Father J.-M. Nedelec, 1840 - 1895; newspaper clippings including extensive histories of Mattawa; Mattawa voters’ list, 1899; extracts from Ste. Anne’s Church bulletins, 1911 - 1912 and other records of baptisms, marriages and deaths, 1891 - 1900

JH401 .C21R
Box of material related to Timiskaming and Abitibi. Items copied including “Histoire des Missions de l’Abitibi”, 1836 - 1874, with references to Mattawa and Timiskaming; map of Lake Timiskaming, Kipawa and Mattawa/Ottawa River c. 1895 showing missions, settlements, surveyed lots, etc.

JH701 .C21C 1 - 3
Kapuskasing Codex Historicus, including Mattawa 1910 - 1914. Copied.


E. Ontario Archives, Toronto

MS65 Colin Rankin papers (HBC, Mattawa and Timiskaming). Post journals, correspondence, traders’ accounts, etc., 1863 - 1902. Held at University of Waterloo library, purchased copy of records on microfilm through Archives of Ontario. Arrived too late to review for report.
MU1392  Fur Trade Papers, Hudson’s Bay Company records, Temiscaming District, Mattawa, 1865, 1875 - 1876, 1885 - 1889. Correspondence copied.


MU1400  Envelopes 17 & 18  Hudson’s Bay Company miscellaneous correspondence, Timiskaming District, 1858 - 1869. Personal letters, some records of goods going to Mattawa. Nothing copied.

MU 3811  Fur Trade Papers, Hudson’s Bay Company records, Temiskaming District 1832 - 1869. Indian debt and ration ledgers, accounts, cash books, servants’ lists etc. Lists of employees, people with accounts, receiving rations, etc. copied.

Pamphlet. Farr, C. C. “The Lake Temiskamingue District, Province of Ontario, Canada. A Description of its Soil, Climate, Products, Area, Agricultural Capabilities and Other Resources together with Information Pertaining to the Sale of Public Lands”. Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1893. Includes a “Sketch of Townships Surveyed at the head of Lake Temiskamingue”, also showing townships surveyed north of Lake Nipissing to Lake Temagami and east to the Ottawa River. Extracts copied.


RG1 A-I-8 Cont. 7  Ministry of Natural Resources. Minister’s files. Indians, Ontario Metis and non-Status Indian Association. 1976. Temagami, 6 NAN Bands, Grassy Narrows, etc. Nothing copied.

RG1 A-I-8 Cont. 7  Ministry of Natural Resources. Minister’s files. Hunting. 1977. Regarding trespassing on private property, conservation, hunting regulations, guiding etc. Nothing copied.
RG1
A-I-8
Cont. 9

RG1
A-I-8
Cont. 16

RG1
C-IV
MS658
reel 293
reel 384

RG1
Series CB-1
MS924
reel 15

F. Other

Antoine/Butler family tree and list of present-day “Antoine First Nation” members, sent to Ontario by counsel for Antoine First Nation.

Interview with anonymous genealogist, North Bay (Public History).

Interview with Brian Cockburn, Metis Nation of Ontario, North Bay (Public History).

Hansen, L. C. Notes on Nipissing Band genealogies from Ph.D. research, early 1980s.


Interview with David Joanisse, Antoine First Nation (Public History).

Metis Nation of Ontario website not accessible in February 1999.


Nipissing University/Canadore College Library, North Bay. Collection searched by Public History. Limited secondary material only. Nothing copied.
OMAA website, February 1999. Only reference to Mattawa that the Mattawa Local initiated a Native Nursing Home Care Programme. Site under development.

ONAS files. Some miscellaneous clippings and press materials regarding the Metis Nation of Ontario copied. Region based in North Bay, community rep from Mattawa from 1995. Other papers and reports copied listed under Secondary Sources.


II. Printed Primary Sources

Canada. Sessional Papers. Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1890 - 1900.

III. Secondary Sources

Bell, Catherine. "Who are the Metis People in Section 35 (2)?". Constitutional Studies. After a discussion of history and criteria for definition of "Metis", Bell concludes that the criteria for identification as Metis (apart from the primary qualifier as being of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry) may be flexible depending on the nature of the Metis group and the rights being claimed. Copied. Not included in document set.


Black, M. Jean. "A Tale of Two Ethnicities: Identity and Ethnicity at Lake of Two Mountains, 1721 - 1850", conference paper presented at the Algonquian Conference, 1992. (Copy located at ONAS.) This paper is the result of a study of the records of the mission at Oka and the post-1843 registry of births, marriages and deaths of the Oblate missionaries. Black indicates that there is some blurring of the distinction between Algonquin and Nipissing in these records, despite the efforts of the missionaries to label their charges by ethnicity, and that there were a number of other Aboriginal nationalities represented in the Oka population. Included in document set.

Carriere, Gaston. Les Missions catholiques dans l'Est du Canada et l'Honorable Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson (1844 - 1900), n. p., 1957. (Copy located at Archives of Ontario library.) This book collects historical evidence regarding the relationship of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Oblate Order in eastern Ontario, Quebec, and Labrador. Carriere
includes some early material about these institutions at Mattawa and Timiskaming. Extracts included in document set.


Driben, Paul. “Metis Identity in Ontario: A Preliminary View”. (Copy located at ONAS.) This undated draft paper concludes that Metis identity in Ontario has been constructed from kinship, law and prejudice, as these factors have both separated them from Indian and non-Indian societies and bound the Metis together as a group. Not included in document set.

Drouin, Rita. *Algonquin Women Anecdotes*. n. d., n. p. (Copy located at University of British Columbia Library.) This volume records the memories and life stories of several Aboriginal women from Kipawa, including some of mixed ancestry. Extracts copied. Not included in document set.

Elias, Peter D. “Algonquin Kinship, Genealogy and Social Organization**, facilitator’s report from a workshop sponsored by DIAND Claims and Historical Research Centre, 15 September 1998. (Copy located at DIAND Treaties and Historical Research Centre.) Summarized information shared by the participants, who were all researchers Algonquin societies. Copied. Not included in document set.


Gale, Alison E. “Robinson Treaty Metis”. Report prepared for DIAND Claims Research and Assessment Directorate, March 31, 1998. (Copy located at DIAND Treaties and Historical Research Centre.) This report is about the Robinson-Superior Metis, but there are useful expositions of documents regarding the investigations into Robinson Treaty annuity lists and the creation of non-transmissible titles. Copied. Not included in...


Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, “H. B. C. Post at Mattawa”, 1960. This essay may have been written by Archives staff for the Historic Sites Board of Ontario. It provides a useful overview, based on HBC documents, of the operations of the Company at Mattawa and information about the trade of the area and early non-Aboriginal settlement. Included in document set.


Leatherdale, Murray. Nipissing from Brule to Booth, North Bay, Ontario: North Bay and District Chamber of Commerce, 1975. (Copy located by Public History in Mattawa or North Bay.) Early history of the Lake Nipissing area, including accounts of the Nipissing people and early missionary and fur trade activity. Extracts included in document set.

Lussier, Antoine. “Aspects of Canadian Metis History”. Paper prepared for Research Branch, Corporate Policy, DIAND, 1985. (Copy located at DIAND Treaties and Historical Research Centre.) This paper is a collection of three essays. Lussier, a Prairie Metis person himself, focusses on the Prairie Metis and expresses doubt that there are any true Metis in Ontario. Copied. Not included in document set.


Morel, Leo. *Mattawa "The Meeting of the Waters"*. Mattawa: Leo Morel and Societe de Mattawa Historical Society, 1980. (Copy located at National Library of Canada and Mattawa Museum.) A local history of the town and environs by a descendant of one of the first non-Aboriginal settlers. Provides a useful chronology of the establishment of institutions such as the church, hospital, political framework, transportation, et cetera, as well as reprinting early accounts of travellers such as Champlain and recording memories of elder Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents. Included in document set.


Ontario, Ministry of Culture and Recreation. *Metis and non-Status Indians of Ontario: Community Profile and Demographic Study*. Toronto, n. d. This study was based on extensive field research and personal interviews in 66 communities in Ontario, and includes information on demographics, economic indicators, standard of living and other items. Statistics were broken out down to the community level in some instances, Mattawa was not among the communities for which statistics were available. Extracts copied. Not included in document set.

Peters, Evelyn, Mark Rosenberg and Greg Halseth. The Ontario Metis: Characteristics and Identity. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, 1991. (Copy located at DIAND Library, Ottawa.) Based on a questionnaire survey issued by the Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association which collected some demographic and economic information as well as information on interest in a land base, Metis registration, Aboriginal and Treaty rights, and some other questions relevant to OMAA’s objectives. Copied. Not included in document set.


Ratelle, Maurice. “Location of the Algonquins from 1534 to 1650”, in Clement, ed., The Algonquins (see separate entry for complete citation). A close examination of the available early historical sources referring to Algonquin groups to pinpoint their territories and migrations during the study period. Included in document set.


Rumney, George R. “Settlement of the Nipissing Passageway”, Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, Vol. XXVIII, 1949 - 1950. Toronto: Royal Canadian Institute, 1949. This article is a Ph.D. dissertation reprinted by the Institute. Rumney outlined the history of non-Aboriginal use and settlement of the area around the travel route he labelled the “Nipissing Passageway”, from Mattawa House across Lake Nipissing to the mouth of the French River on Georgian Bay. There are several interesting maps and photographs interspersed with the text. Extracts included in document set.

Speck, F. G. Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley, Canada. Department of Mines. Geological Survey. Memoir 70, No. 8,
Anthropological Series. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915. This paper by anthropologist Frank Speck was the result of a summer visit in 1913. Speck indicated that he spent "some weeks" at the head of Lake Timiskaming, as well as travelling north "along the line of contact between the Algonquins, Ojibwa and Cree", visiting the "Ojibwa of the Nipissing Band, the Algonquins of Timiskaming, Mattawa and Dumoine River, and the Ojibwa of Temagami, as well as supplementary material from those of Mattagami, Matachewan Post, and Lake Abitibi". Among these groups, he listed the family names, totems, hunting territories, and various traditional names of several of the families of these bands (especially those of Temagami), and supplied some stories, dances and customs of the people. The map of traditional territories is appended to Memoir 71 (these two documents were published together). Included in document set.

Speck, F. G. Myths and Folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa, Canada. Department of Mines. Geological Survey. Memoir 71, No. 9, Anthropological Series. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915. Stories and traditional practices collected by Speck in 1913. Speck does not provide any information about his informants for these stories. The only part copied for the document set is the map of traditional territories referred to Memoir 70 cited above. The handwritten annotations on this map were made by a previous borrower.


Speck, Frank G. "Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the River Desert Algonquin", 1929, reprinted in A Northern Algonquian Source Book, Edward S. Rogers, ed., New York and London: Garland Publishing 1985. This paper was developed from information collected on visits to the River Desert (Maniwaki) Reserve in 1927, 1928 and 1929. Speck gave a brief history of the Algonquin people and their arrival at Maniwaki, and than attempted to define their relationships with neighbouring Aboriginal groups, including those Algonquins of Lake Timiskaming and south that he had described in his papers of 1915. Included in document set.


Trigger, Bruce G. *Natives and Newcomers: Canada’s ‘Heroic Age’ Reconsidered*, Kingston, Ontario and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1985. This book focusses on the period from first contact to 1663. It has two parts: a literature survey and discussion of views of Indians and methods of studying them from the nineteenth century onwards (the explanation of the concept “Heroic Age”) and an ethnohistorical narrative of Aboriginal societies and their contacts with Europeans (the material for the “Reconsidered”). Extracts included in document set.

Trigger, ed., *Northeast*. Vol. 15 in Sturtevant, William C., general editor *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978. Several chapters by various authors on peoples resident in southern and eastern Ontario and western Quebec have been copied. The three referred to most often in the report text are “Southeastern Ojibwa” by E. S. Rogers (pp. 760 - 771), “Nipissing” by Gordon Day (pp. 787 - 791) and “Algonquin” by Gordon M. Day and Bruce G. Trigger (pp. 792 - 797).


Whiteside, Don (Sin-a-paw). *Indians in Canada through 1845, with special reference to half-breed families; the Circle being threatened*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Institute of Canada, 1979. Mostly refers to Southern Ontario, some administrative history. Nothing copied.