HISTORIC MÉTIS IN ONTARIO:
GEORGIAN BAY

Submitted to:
Valerie J. Stankiewicz
Policy Officer, Historical Research
NATIVE AFFAIRS UNIT
ONTARIO MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES
300 Water Street
P.O. Box 7000
Peterborough ON K9J 8M5

Submitted by:
Gwen Reimer, Ph.D. & Jean-Philippe Chartrand, M.A.
PRAXIS Research Associates
6352 St. Louis Drive, Orleans ON K1C 2Y1

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents data and interpretations pertaining to the study of the potential development of métis communities in three areas of Georgian Bay: Penetanguishene, Parry Sound and Owen Sound. The basic findings are as follows:

- The Georgian Bay region as whole experienced a discontinuity in Aboriginal occupation during the early-contact period. The original occupants in the early 17th century, namely the Huron and Petun in the Penetanguishene Peninsula and Nottawasaga Bay areas, and the mainly proto-Ottawa Algonquian bands along eastern Georgian Bay and the Bruce Peninsula were forcibly removed from the region by successive Iroquois raids beginning in the late 1640s. The Georgian Bay region may have been used by the Iroquois as a hunting ground between 1650 and the 1680s, when Ojibwa began to migrate and settle in the region. The Ojibwa forcibly removed the Iroquois and settled permanently throughout the region by the beginning of the 18th century:
  - The Huron and Petun lived in sedentary villages and relied primarily on agriculture for their subsistence;
  - The proto-Ottawa, and later historic Ojibwa lived in semi-nomadic bands that followed a seasonal cycle of resource harvesting in which hunting formed the main subsistence base of groups in winter months.

- The involvement of the Huron in the French fur trade led to the settlement of French missionaries in Huronia after 1615. A small number of French fur trade employees (interpreters and couriers de bois) also lived in Huronia between 1615 and 1650 and their involvement with Huron and perhaps other Indian women in the Georgian Bay region, almost certainly led to the development of a small population of mixed French and Indian descent:
  - This population, however, is not described in missionary records which offer the only source of information specific to the region in this time period;
  - Behavioural and attitudinal data concerning the couriers de bois suggest that their children remained with Indian families and were raised by their Indian mothers;
  - There is no evidence suggesting that this population was viewed by others or self-identified as a distinct group. The short time-period prior to the forced dispersal of Aboriginal occupants almost certainly prevented the development of any social and cultural differentiation in this population of mixed descent.
Until the late 18th century, the Georgian Bay region generally remained a hinterland area seldom visited by Europeans. The exception was the Toronto Carrying Place route which was developed and used by the French, and later the English, as a transportation corridor linking Lake Ontario fur trade posts with Michilimackinac and other Upper Great Lakes posts:

- Toward the end of the century independent fur traders began to establish small stores and cabins in the Penetanguishene and Muskoka areas;

- Interactions between voyageurs and later independent traders and Ojibwa likely created a context in which some of these Europeans took Indian wives and likely had children of mixed European and Aboriginal descent;

- Little to no direct information exists concerning this new population of mixed descent, and it is likely that these individuals either remained with their mothers and were raised as Ojibwa, or in other cases assimilated into European settlements.

An examination of five land surrenders and two treaties negotiated in the Georgian Bay region between 1875 and 1923 failed to uncover any significant participation by local métis. The land surrenders and treaties explicitly concern only Indian bands and representatives. As opposed to the negotiations of the Robinson-Huron treaty at Sault Ste. Marie, the métis involvement in the negotiations of the adhesion to that treaty at Penetanguishene involved only one local métis who acted as interpreter.

Clear and systematic evidence of a significant population of métis in the Georgian Bay region dates to the 1828 migration of voyageurs families from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Basic genealogical data concerning these voyageurs enable the positive identification of a large number of families as métis or as including métis members. Sociological analysis of the métis population at in the Penetanguishene area presents strong indications that this population formed a distinct community during the 19th century:

- The majority of métis voyageurs families remained established in the Penetanguishene area during the 19th century;

- The adult male members of this population remained occupationally distinct from other settlers near Penetanguishene, in particular the French-Canadian and Québécois migrants who settled as farmers (habitants) at Lafontaine;

- Marriage patterns in the métis voyageurs population involved a high degree of endogamy (métis marrying métis) during most of the 19th century, and this tendency is likely attributable to cultural differences between the métis voyageurs and French habitants.
In contrast to the Penetanguishene area, relatively little data are available documenting a métis population in the Parry Sound area in the 19th century. Some individuals and families positively identified as métis near Parry Sound can be traced to the Penetanguishene voyageurs migration, while other métis, specifically at MacTier appear unrelated to this group and are likely traceable to the Mohawk community at Gibson Lake (Wahta). Overall there is insufficient evidence to determine whether métis in the Parry Sound area formed a community.

There is almost a complete lack of historical data pertaining to métis in the Owen Sound area, despite a relatively large body of data on the Aboriginal history of the Bruce Peninsula. There is some historical evidence suggesting that a number of Saugeen and Cape Croker band members were of mixed European and Indian descent, likely dating to the late 1850s. However, these persons remained integrated within the bands as Indians, and no evidence suggests they self-identified as métis.

Very little data are available concerning métis in Georgian Bay in the 20th century, and no conclusions can be drawn about the métis population in the Georgian Bay region for this time-period:

- 1901 Census data clearly identify three centres of métis population in the Penetanguishene area, most of whom self-identified as "French Breeds". Some evidence suggests that a métis community developed at Honey Harbour in this time period. In more recent years several métis organizations have been active in the Penetanguishene area and have established offices at Port McNicoll, Midland and Penetanguishene;

- The 1901 Census identifies two centres of métis population in the Parry Sound / Muskoka districts, one near MacTier and another near Byng Inlet. In recent years, métis organizations have been located at MacTier, Nobel (Parry Sound) and Britt (Byng Inlet);

- No métis were enumerated in Owen Sound in the 1901 Census, and only a half-dozen individuals self-identified as 'half-breeds' in the northern and western sections of Bruce county. No métis organizations appear to have established offices in the Owen Sound area.
1. **INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY**

PRAXIS Research Associates is pleased to submit a historical research report to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (hereafter ‘the Ministry’) pertaining to the formation and development of populations of mixed European and Aboriginal ancestry in the Georgian Bay region of Ontario. This introduction outlines the background to the report and details the research requirements specific to this study.

1.1 **BACKGROUND**

The Ministry is dealing with a growing number of claims by individuals and groups asserting métis rights. In each case, the Ministry requires historical information to determine whether the communities in which these individuals and groups reside, sufficiently qualify as historic métis communities having potential rights as such.

A primary objective of this research is to provide the Ministry with the information necessary to understand the potential differences in the history of each part of the wider Georgian Bay region as it pertains to the development of populations and perhaps communities of mixed European and Aboriginal ancestry. In particular, this research focuses on the history of Aboriginal/European contact in the regions surrounding the present day centres of Owen Sound, Penetanguishene, and Parry Sound.

1.2 **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This project comprises a study of Georgian Bay historic communities of mixed European and Aboriginal ancestry with particular foci on the Owen Sound area, the Penetanguishene area (including Midland and Honey Harbour), and the Parry Sound area. This report presents the results of the collection and analysis of historical evidence relevant to the following research questions, as set out by the Ministry:

- When did Europeans arrive in each of the above regions?
- When did Europeans first establish a semi-permanent or permanent presence in the above regions?
- What, if any, Aboriginal groups inhabited or made use of the above mentioned regions in the time frames referred to in the first two questions?
What, if any, were the harvesting/hunting practices of these Aboriginal groups at the times referred to in the first two questions?

What was the relative significance to these Aboriginal groups of any harvesting/hunting practices at the times referred to in the first two questions?

Did a local population of mixed European/Aboriginal ancestry arise from contact with the local Aboriginal people(s)?

If a local population of mixed ancestry did develop:

- When did it do so?

- What was the relationship between this mixed population and the local Aboriginal and European populations?

- Did the local mixed population come to be seen as having some form of distinctive communal identity or existence?

- Did the local population of mixed ancestry develop any distinctive traditions, customs, and practices, and if so, what were these?

- What, if any, were the harvesting/hunting practices of these people?

- What was the relative significance of their harvesting/hunting practices over time?

- 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?

If there was a local population of mixed ancestry, and this population did have some form of recognizable communal identity, how did this community respond to persons of mixed ancestry from outside of the above areas and vicinity who settled the region?

What, if any, was the role of the local mixed and Aboriginal populations in the creation of the Robinson-Huron treaty, or any other treaties?

When did "significant" European settlement occur in the above noted areas?

What impact did "significant" European settlement in the above areas have upon the local population of mixed ancestry, its communal identity, distinctive way of life or any harvesting/hunting practices that may be attributed to this population?
What has transpired with any local populations 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?

What "métis" organizations have been active in the above noted areas 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?

This report includes complete lists of sources cited and consulted in the course of this assignment. An index and legal-size supplement containing copies of all primary documents cited are appended to the report. The index and document collection also include key published primary and secondary sources cited extensively in the text of the report (e.g., Osborne 1901 [Doc.#46]).

1.3 USE OF THE TERM "MÉTIS" IN THE REPORT

An overview by Praxis Research Associates of the literature relevant to métis in Ontario and to issues of métis identity generally reveals that criteria of métis ethnicity are multi-faceted and somewhat ambiguous, especially when considering the development of a distinct métis population in the Great Lakes region. No consensus exists concerning which criteria should be used in measuring métis identity, as an ethnic entity distinct from their heritage in either European or Aboriginal parentage. It is important to note that within the context of this academic debate, scholars such as Jennifer Brown (1987) have posed a distinction between small "m" métis — connoting mixed parentage but no ethnic identity — and capital "M" "Métis" — the name of an identifiable ethnic group. Because the latter spelling has potential political and legal implications, Praxis uses the more neutral spelling "métis" throughout the present report (except when spelled otherwise in direct quotations from other sources).

The following sections present the methodological approach used to meet the research objectives listed above, as well as a discussion of the methodological issues and limitations pertaining to this assignment.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Praxis Research Associates has submitted two earlier reports to the Ministry pertaining to historic métis in Ontario, focusing on the Wawa, Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods regions (Praxis Research Associates 1999a; 1999b). To some extent in the current assignment, Praxis was able to apply similar data collection techniques and to forecast methodological issues and problems pertaining to the conduct of historical research on métis in Ontario.

A previous report pertaining to the historical development of a métis population in the Wawa region has thoroughly addressed the ethnohistorical issues and problems regarding the identification
of persons of mixed European and Aboriginal descent in Ontario. That discussion provides an overview of the secondary literature relevant to métis identity in the Great Lakes region according to criteria of self-ascription, other-ascription, cultural integrity, and social relations. The full discussion of indicators and criteria of métis identity is not reproduced in this present report, and the reader is referred to Chapter 2 - Section 2.3 of the report: Historic Métis in Ontario: Wawa and Environs (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a). However, it should be noted here that much of the criteria and indicators employed in previous historical research by PRAXIS regarding métis in Ontario, does not apply to the present assignment, due primarily to the limited data base pertaining to the Georgian Bay area.

Historical research on the development of a mixed population in the Georgian Bay area presented several unique methodological challenges, due primarily to the distinct Aboriginal and fur trade history which differs substantially to the northern and western Great Lakes areas. One of the key issues posed by this present study involves the complexity and diversity of Aboriginal occupation in the three target areas around Georgian Bay at contact, and the changes in Aboriginal groups occupying the areas over the early-contact period (the 17th and 18th centuries). Adding to the complexity of historical analysis is the fact that the three areas experienced relatively early settlement by Europeans, effected by several early land surrenders and treaties beginning in the late 18th century, continuing into the 19th century and culminating with the Williams Treaty of 1923.

Ironically, despite the historical complexity of the region, specific aspects of that history have resulted in limited historical documentation available to the researcher. Specifically, the lack of any Company fur trade posts in this region has meant that no journals or other records exist for this area. These and related methodological issues are discussed in the sections below.

1.4.1 Published Primary And Secondary Document Search

PRAXIS Research Associates conducted a search and review of relevant secondary and published primary sources at the following holdings in Ottawa:

- Carleton University Library (MacOdrum);
- Ottawa University Library (Morisset);
- National Library of Canada;
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Library (INAC);
- Claims and Historical Research Centre (located at INAC).

An exhaustive search for published sources (primary and secondary) documenting the history of the Georgian Bay region, European settlement, Aboriginal and European contact, and ethnohistorical studies of the different Aboriginal groups occupying the region over time, was
conducted at Carleton University and Ottawa University libraries through CUBE, an on-line electronic catalogue of library holdings having access to books, government documents and recently published journal articles. Journal articles published prior to 1993 were searched on-site by consultation of abstracts and social science indices.

Holdings at the National Library of Canada were searched on-line through resAnet (Internet search engine). In particular, the National Library holds collections of local histories specific to each of the three target regions, all of which were reviewed in the course of this assignment. Included among these is the newsletter Ancestry published by the Descendants of the Establishments, a local historical society in Penetanguishene dedicated to recording local historical accounts. Several articles published in this newsletter provided additional information on the migration of voyageurs from Drummond Island, the state of the fur trade in Penetanguishene during the 1820s, and the early settlement of the town (included in the Document Set). In the absence of major fur trade company posts in the study area, published diaries and letters of independent fur traders in the Penetanguishene area – for example, George Gordon and William Basil Hamilton – provided some valuable data. A recently published local history about Honey Harbour (Murdoch 1999) contains excellent family histories of families with Aboriginal ancestry, several of whom were connected with the migration from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Unfortunately, local histories of Midland, Owen Sound and Parry Sound had little to no useful information concerning métis.

Another important source of published primary documents and secondary sources is the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) Library, which was searched on-site. Documents searched at INAC include Sessional Papers, Department of Indian Affairs Annual Reports for the Parry Sound Agency, Penetanguishene Agency, and Saugeen Agency. However, in contrast to the usefulness of Annual Reports in previous studies of métis in Ontario (Praxis 1999a; 1999b), the reports pertaining to agencies in the Georgian Bay area contained no data relevant to métis populations. At INAC, a search of unpublished research papers and reports pertaining to reserves and Aboriginal communities in the Georgian Bay region was also conducted. Finally, a search was conducted for material relevant to treaties and surrenders, as well as to the formation of reserves, at the Claims and Historical Research Centre, INAC.

Of particular importance are the published accounts of the migration of voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in the late 1820s to early 1830s, collected by A.C. Osborne and published by the Ontario Historical Society in 1901 (included in the Document Set). This is a compilation of oral historical accounts by individuals who could still recall this relocation, accompanied by editorial and historical notes which provide background to the event. Also contained in this publication is a list of names of voyageurs who migrated to Penetanguishene, with notes on where individuals and families later moved and settled. Although Osborne’s list is apparently incomplete (see Gidley and Patterson 1991:iii), his list of names of individuals and families helped to determine the identity of métis persons listed in other types of records such as paylists, etc. In sum, this publication provided a valuable tool in documenting the history of that métis population.
1.4.2 Archival Document Search And Review

PRAXIS Research Associates conducted an exhaustive search and review for relevant primary documentation at the following holdings:

- Government Document Record Groups, Paylists, Fur Trade Company Records, 1901 Census Records held at National Archives of Canada (Ottawa);
- Missionary Records, Fur Trade Papers, Indian School Reports, Survey Accounts, Jarvis Papers, Gordon Papers, held at Archives of Ontario (Toronto);
- Catholic Archdiocesan Records held at the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto Archives (Catholic Pastoral Centre, Toronto).

As indicated above, the greatest limitation to data collection for this present assignment is the absence of any documented fur trade post histories in the Georgian Bay area. A thorough review of the detailed-National Archives’ Finding Aids for the Pre-Conquest Papers, French Regime(MG18) and for the collection of papers related to the Fur Trade and Indians, British Regime(MG19) revealed no document sets of direct relevance to activity in the Georgian Bay area. Similarly, the Fur Trade Papers held at the Archives of Ontario contained no data for this region. While Georgian Bay included an important fur trade route – the Toronto Carrying Place route from Lake Ontario (at Toronto) to Lake Huron (Severn Sound, near Penetanguishene) via Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching – as a centre of trade itself, the region was not significant.

Since none of the major fur trade companies – Hudson’s Bay Company, North West Company, etc. – established posts or forts in the area, there exist no set of journals, accounts or other records that could potentially provide localized information on the development of a mixed population or community. Previous research on historic métis populations in Ontario (PRAXIS 1999a; 1999b) demonstrated the value of such fur trade records to the documentation of that history. In the absence of such data for the Georgian Bay area, PRAXIS looked to other archival sources for potential information. Considering the volume of material searched, only a comparatively small amount of direct data has been found: The result is that the analysis contained in this report must be qualified by the number and scope of gaps in the information base.

Archival research focused on government document collections, missionary papers and other collections of private papers. The National Archives of Canada (NAC) on-line database (ArchivianaNet) listed thousands of files relevant to Penetanguishene, Owen Sound, Parry Sound, Midland and Honey Harbour. Searches of files relevant to Robinson-Huron and Saugeen annuity and interest paylists also resulted in hundreds of "hits." In all cases, file titles were downloaded and a review of all titles resulted in a selection of approximately 115 files for review. Of these, only a small number contained any data of direct or indirect relevance to the subject of a mixed population in the Georgian Bay area. However, the 1901 Census of Canada does contain data directly relevant to the "mixed-breed" origin of individuals and families in the study area.
Several record sets held at the Archives of Ontario (Toronto) also contain indirect and direct data relevant to this research. The Catholic Archdiocesan Archives Collection (1828-1842; also known as the “MacDonell Papers”) contains letters regarding the Mission at Coldwater-Penetanguishene (1832-1836) and others respecting the removal of métis voyageurs and inhabitants of Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in the period 1828-1832. However, these letters provide only scant information about métis and must be cross-checked with the published work by A.C. Osborne (1901) on the Penetanguishene voyageurs. Education records from Indian schools at Parry Sound (ca. 1880s) were reviewed but found to have no relevant information. Survey Accounts (ca. 1850s) regarding the surveys of Indian reserves in the Lake Huron area for which métis were hired to assist the Surveyor, were also reviewed, and several pay sheets were found to contain names of voyageurs listed in Osborne 1901. The diaries of Samuel Jarvis (1847-1857), the Mary O’Brien Journals (1832-1838), the A.E. Williams Papers and the George Gordon Papers were also reviewed, but found to contain little to no information relevant to this study.

1.4.3 Internet Search and Interviewing

An Internet search was conducted to provide basic data on the existence of local organizations associated with the Métis Nation of Ontario (MNO) and the Canadian Métis Council (CMC). The website of the Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association (OMAA) was unavailable at the time of this research.

Finally, an interview was conducted with Gwen Patterson, a Family Historian who specializes in the genealogical history of the Penetanguishene area, with particular focus on the Drummond Island voyageurs. Ms. Patterson provided confirmation and explanation for a number of inconsistencies and gaps in the documentary data-base regarding the voyageur population and concerning métis ancestry. Dr. Reimer conducted and tape-recorded the telephone interview on February 14th, 2000.
2. ABOYINIGAL OCCUPATION OF THE GEORGIAN BAY REGION: EARLY 17TH CENTURY

This chapter presents historical and ethnographic data and interpretations concerning the Aboriginal occupants of the Georgian Bay region during the period of early contact with Europeans. The chapter begins with a brief discussion identifying the original Aboriginal occupants of Georgian Bay and the determination of their approximate territorial boundaries. Section 2.1 presents more detailed data concerning the tribal identity and harvesting practices at contact of one of the two main Aboriginal groups occupying the region, the Algonquians. Section 2.2 focuses on the Iroquoian occupants of Georgian Bay, the second main Aboriginal group residing in the region.

Throughout the first half of the 17th century, the eastern and southern shores of Georgian Bay and adjacent areas inland were occupied by up to ten distinct Aboriginal groups, overall living in two very different types of societies whose members belonged to two different language families: Algonquian and Iroquoian (Wilson and Unwin 1995:29-30; Becker 1995:318). The Algonquian groups likely consisted of bands associated with or belonging to the Ottawa or proto-Ottawa, while one band may have been proto-Ojibwa. The Iroquoians, by contrast, lived in villages belonging to larger tribal units themselves forming parts of two Confederacies: the Huron and Petun.

The Iroquoian Huron and Petun occupied the southeastern and southern shores of Georgian Bay. They were surrounded by the Algonquian groups, mainly Ottawa or proto-Ottawa bands living in the Bruce Peninsula, and the eastern shore of Georgian Bay and Algonquin bands in the area east and northeast of Lakes Couchiching and Simcoe. Directly relevant to this assignment, the Parry Sound area was occupied by either a proto-Ottawa or proto-Ojibwa Algonquian band. The Penetanguishene area was occupied by one of the five tribes comprising the Huron Confederacy. The Owen Sound area was likely occupied by proto-Ottawa, neighbouring west of the Petun.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the main early-contact historical data for the Georgian Bay region was recorded by French missionaries and explorers, principally the Jesuits who established important missions in Huronia in the 1630s and lived there continuously until the final dispersal of the Huron at the hands of the Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy in 1650. The recordings of the Jesuits compiled in the edited Jesuit Relations focusing on the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Georgian Bay region naturally reflect the focus of their missionary efforts and present a relative wealth of social, cultural, political and economic information on the Huron. Although the Jesuits regularly visited neighbouring peoples and even established temporary missions among the Petun, historical data concerning non-Huron peoples in the region are relatively scant and of generally lesser quality.

While the Huron have been the subject of extensive historical and ethnographic research presenting highly detailed reconstructions of their way life and intertribal and inter-Con federate relations, the social life, territorial boundaries, and even the tribal identity of the Algonquian groups in the Georgian Bay region have remained somewhat obscure and subject to some speculation and
hypotheses (Feest and Feest 1978:772, 785). The interpretations presented in the following section reflect majority opinion in the ethnohistorical literature although a definitive reconstruction may be impossible given the relative dearth of available information.

2.1 THE ALGONQUIANS (Parry Sound and Owen Sound Areas)

The different Aboriginal peoples surrounding the Huron are enumerated on and their relative locations identified in a 1640 Relation listing the different ‘nations’ living between the Ottawa River (then known as the ‘River des Prairies’), the St. Lawrence and Lake Huron:

Going up this river [des Prairies] then, we find the Ouacoueckhatrini, which we call the “petite nation” of the Algonquins. Going still farther up the river we find the Kichesipirini, the Savages of the Island, who have adjacent to them, in the territory to the North, the Kotakoutouemi. To the South of the Island are the Kinounchepirini, the Mataouchkarini, the Ounctchararounsouga, the Sagahiganirini, the Saginitaougama, and then the Hurons, who are at the entrance to the fresh-water sea. These last six nations are between the river saint Lawrence and the River des Prairies. Leaving the River des Prairies when it turns directly to the North, that we may go to the South west, we come to Lake Nipisim, where the Nipisirinieris are found. These have upon their North the Timiscini, the Outimagami, the Ouachegeami, the Mitchitamou, the Outurbi, the Kirstionon, who live on the shores of the North sea whither the Nipisiriniers go to trade. Let us return now to the fresh-water sea. This sea is nothing but a large Lake which, becoming narrower in the West, or the West Northwest, forms another smaller Lake, which then begins to enlarge into another great Lake or fresh-water sea...

I have said that at the entrance to the first of these Lakes we find the Hurons. Leaving them, to sail farther up in the lake, we find on the North the Ouasuarini; farther up are the Outchougal, and still farther up, at the mouth of the river which comes from Lake Nipisim, are the Aitchiligoiam... (Thwaites 1959[18]:229-231; insert added)

Previous research undertaken for the Ministry has identified the Ouacoueckhatrini, Kichesipirini, Kinounchepirini, Mataouchkarini, Ounctchararounsouga, Sagahiganirini and Saginitaougama as bands likely comprising the direct ancestors of the modern-day Algonquin Nation (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:10-12). While at least one ethnohistorian (Ratelle 1996:44) has placed the Sagahiganirini along the eastern shore of Georgian Bay directly north of the Huron, this placement

\[1\] As is common in 17th century records several of the names listed are subject to orthographic variation. For example, the Kinounchepirini are also written as Kinouchepirini, the Mataouchkarini as the Matoweskarini, the Ounctchararounsouga, an Iroquois name for one of the Algonquin bands, are also written as the Oontchararounsouga (cf. Ratelle 1996:55; Day and Trigger 1978:793).

appears to be in error. The description from the 1640 Relation indicates that the direct northern neighbours of Huron are the Ouasourini. Since the Kichesipirini are considered by ethnohistorians as inhabiting Morrison's Island on the Ottawa River, and the 1640 Relation describes the relative location of the respective Algonquin groups by following a general east to west and north to south direction, this implies that the Sagahiganirini and Saginitaouigama, as neighbours of the Huron, would likely border their inland territorial boundary. As will be shown in Section 2.1.2, the historic Huron territory reached (at least) the western shores of Lakes Couchiching and Simcoe. The most likely location of the Algonquin bands neighbouring the Huron is therefore east or perhaps northeast of Lake Couchiching, and therefore outside the geographic focus of this study.

2.1.1 Identification of Algonquian Occupants

While the Algonquian inhabitants of the eastern shore of Georgian Bay north of the Huron are identified by band names (Ouasourini, Outchougai and the Atchiligouan) the main historic information on the inhabitants of the Bruce Peninsula area comes from Samuel de Champlain's 1616 journal identifying a people he termed Chevaux Relevez, or 'Raised Hairs' (Geographic Board of Canada 1913:374; Biggar 1924[3]:94-96, in Trigger 1985). Champlain had met about 300 'Raised Hairs' in 1615 at the mouth of the French River, while en route to Huronia, and was given to understand by their chief that they used this location to dry berries which served as a winter food supply (ibid). Champlain spent the 1615-1616 winter among the Huron, forging a political and trade alliance (Trigger 1985:180-181). During this winter he visited some neighbouring Petun villages and reported meeting up with some of the 'Raised Hairs' people he had first encountered at the French River the previous summer. As translated in Biggar (1924[3]:94-96, in Trigger 1985) his journal account states:

...we set off together on [January] 15th to go to that tribe [the Petuns], where we arrived on the seventeenth of that month...We visited seven other villages of their neighbors and allies, with whom we made friends... After visiting these people we set out from that place and went to a tribe of savages that we named Chevaux-releves who were very glad to see us again. (Inserts added)

Champlain’s written accounts of his travels to the ‘Raised Hairs’ specify neither the direction, distance, or travel time involved from his departure from the last Petun village. This lack of basic information has led at least one historian (Garrad 1970) to refute earlier assumptions that Champlain had visited the Bruce Peninsula in this expedition. Champlain, however, produced a map of the Lake Huron region in 1632 in which he placed the Chevaux releuez to the west of Petun (ibid:239; see Map A.1), suggesting these people likely inhabited at least the southwestern portion of Nottawasaga Bay, if not the Owen Sound area. A reproduction of Champlain’s map presented in Jones (1909:69), places the Chevaux Relevés immediately west of the Petun in the Owen Sound area and implies that their territory may include the Bruce Peninsula (see Map A.2).

Ethnohistorical reconstructions of the pre-contact and early-contact territory of the Ottawa identify Champlain’s ‘Raised Hairs’ as the Ottawa and consider the early-contact Ottawa territory to
include Manitoulin Island, the Bruce Peninsula and the eastern shore of Georgian Bay (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998a:39-40). Historical evidence indicating that the 17th century French considered the 'Raised Hairs' as Ottawa includes, for example, a remark in a 1640 Jesuit Relations documents concerning the Ouateouan, inhabitants of Manitoulin Island, as “having come from the nation of the raised hair” (Thwaites 1959[18]:231), and a map by French cartographer Nicholas Sanson dated to 1656 placing the Cheveux Relevés on Manitoulin Island (Coyne 1903:xxvii; see Map A.3). As indicated in a previous report prepared for the Ministry (PRAXIS Research Associates 1998a) the available historical evidence concerning the different Algonquian groups living along the eastern and northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior in the first half of the 17th century strongly suggests that these peoples lacked broader tribal identities resulting in their being labelled as Ojibwa and Ottawa in later historic times. The prefix 'proto' is hence recommendable in referring to the constituent bands or other groupings (e.g., 'Raised Hairs') of the later historic Ottawa and Ojibwa (cf. Wright 1994:36)².

It is interesting to note that the Ouasouarin Algonquian band identified in the 1640 Relation as the direct northern neighbours of the Huron along the eastern shore of Georgian may have been at least partly ancestral to a proto-Ojibwa band named Ouace in early 18th century French records. By the 1730s, a people named Ouace are described as living near the Kaministikua river in the vicinity of present-day Thunder Bay, in the region northwest of Lake Superior (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999b:13-15). The appearance of the Ouace took place in the context of fur-trade related warfare between Cree, Assiniboine and Dakota Sioux in the Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods region, in which the Ojibwa joined the Cree-Assiniboine alliance against the Dakota, leading to the permanent settlement of historic Ojibwa in the Lake of the Woods region and beyond. The lack of explicit identification of the Ouace as Ojibwa in 1730s French documents is consistent with an interpretive framework suggesting they had remained politically autonomous and had not yet developed a formal Ojibwa tribal identification. Their appearance on the northwestern shore of Lake Superior by this time period is also consistent with a hypothesis suggesting an expansion of the historic Ojibwa territory resulting in part from group migrations linked to involvement in the fur trade and fur trade wars of the 17th and 18th centuries (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998b).

2.1.2 Algonquian Harvesting Practices

French records during the first half of the 17th century provide comparatively little information on the harvesting practices of the Algonquian bands neighbouring the Huron and Petun. The relative dearth of information concerning these people is likely explainable in terms of their secondary importance to the French in the fur trade during this time period. At the beginning of the 17th century the Algonquins, centred in what was to become the Ottawa valley and western Quebec region, were the main Aboriginal middlemen bringing furs to French posts on the St. Lawrence that were traded

² Within this interpretive framework, the Ottawa and Ojibwa develop as tribal identities in the context of the expanding fur trade, and as a result of political alliances (also including the Potawatomi) formed during the Fur Trade or Beaver wars with the Iroquois in the second half of the seventeenth century.
from other Aboriginal bands located further west and north (Trigger 1985). By the 1620s and until the forced migration of surviving Huron, Petun and Ottawa from the Georgian Bay area in 1650, the main middleman role in the French fur trade had shifted to the Huron and Nipissing (Trigger and Day 1994:67-72). The Ottawa only became important middlemen in the French fur trade in the second half of the 17th century, after their forced migration from Georgian Bay and their re-settlement, particularly at Mackinac (along with some Huron), near the main French military and trade post in the Upper Great Lakes region (ibid:74-75; Feest and Feest 1978:774).

The Georgian Bay area, as part of the Great Lakes region, presented an environment that was relatively rich in renewable resources to be harvested by Aboriginal residents:

The forests were home to a number of animals desired primarily for their meat and hides, but also for other purposes. These included deer, bear, moose, rabbit, beaver, otter, muskrat, fox, wolf, raccoon, skink, bobcat, and numerous fowl. These were hunted with bows and arrows or spears, or caught in traps, round-ups, or deadfalls. Edible fruits, nuts, roots, and in places, wild rice were harvested. Europeans have always recognized that staples of the region in historic times, particularly corn, beans, and squash, were cultivars. What has been recognized only more recently is that many other vegetable products were not simply gathered; the plants were in one way or another tended. Aquatic resources, including freshwater fish, eels, and turtles, were also of major importance to most peoples in the region. Tools used for fishing were bone fish hooks, nets, harpoons, spears and weirs. Animal skins and bones, wood and bark, clay and other such items provided the raw materials from which people created the things necessary for life: clothing; shelter; utensils for building, hunting, fishing, gardening, and the various domestic tasks; and objects that were decorative or recreational. (Becker 1995:317-319)

While Algonquian peoples have often been described as hunters and fishermen and Iroquoians as agriculturalists, according to Becker (ibid:319) in the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron region generally, the differences in harvesting strategies between these groups were more in degree than in kind:

For the most part, Iroquoian-speaking people during the historic period were more intensive farmers than the Algonquian-speakers, who relied more heavily on fishing, hunting and gathering. Friendly relations between Algonquians and Iroquoian peoples, when they occurred, often centred around trade, with corn and other agricultural produce going to Algonquians in return for meat, fish and furs. The economies of both groups were broadly based, so that Iroquoians also engaged in fishing, hunting, and gathering, while many Algonquians practised horticulture.

The subsistence economic base of the Ottawa involved an emphasis on fishing, followed in degree of importance by hunting, horticulture and the collecting wild food plants and maple sap. The proto-Ottawa in the Georgian Bay region likely lived a semi-sedentary way of life characterized by a division of work and lifestyle based on age and sex. Women, children and the elderly resided in
established villages throughout the year, while male hunting and trading parties travelled extensively throughout the region, returning to the villages periodically with supplies of meat and furs. Furs and pelts not needed for village subsistence were traded in the early part of the 17th century to neighbouring Petun and Huron (Trigger and Day 1994:66).

As described by Feest and Feest (1978:774) towards the mid-17th century:

*Fishing was of decisive importance for the Ottawas living along the lake shores... Individual or group hunting...of deer, bear, beaver, other mammals, and fowl was likewise important, particularly during the winter...although the Ottawas were not regarded as the most efficient hunters...*

While hunting and fishing were men’s work, the women planted corn, beans, and squash. The yields of horticulture diversified and stabilized the native food economy. Gathering of wild food plants (except rice) was widely practised. Only the collecting of maple sap and not the process of sugar making is reported. Plants collected included a kind of lichen used as emergency food, blueberries, raspberries, and strawberries.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the practice of a limited type of agriculture among eastern Algonquins pre-dated European contact, and was likely adopted from the neighbouring Iroquoian peoples. Wright (1994:36), however, emphasises the differences between Iroquoian and Algonquin practices by highlighting the significantly more limited practices of Algonquin horticulture:

*Certain of the eastern Algonquians adopted corn agriculture from their Iroquoian-speaking neighbours, but only in a limited fashion. They planted in the spring, abandoned the crop during the summer, and harvested whatever had survived the ravages of raccoons, birds, and insects, in the fall.*

Ecological differences between the areas occupied by proto-Ottawa (particularly in the Bruce Peninsula region) and the Huron and Petun may have been partly responsible for the more limited horticultural development among the former:

*Unlike the Iroquoian-speaking peoples, the Algonquin, Nipissing and Ottawa depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild plant foods. Yet they differed from Algonquin-speaking peoples living farther north in that they regularly planted corn. Nevertheless, the poor soil and the dangerously short growing season throughout most of the region they inhabited made agriculture quite marginal. These groups represented the northernmost extension of native food production in eastern North America. (Trigger and Day 1994:65)*
Nevertheless the proto-Ottawa are considered to have practised horticulture more extensively than either the Algonquins or Nipissing:

The Ottawa groups who lived west of the Petun relied more on horticulture. Each of these Ottawa bands may have lived in villages inhabited year-round by women, children and old men. During the summer, Ottawa groups composed of both sexes moved from such villages to hunt, fish, and dry blueberries. During the winter male hunting parties travelled for long periods and brought meat back to their communities in processed, usually smoke-dried, form. (Trigger and Day 1994:66)

During most of the first half of the 17th century, the yearly renewable resource harvesting cycle practised by the semi-sedentary bands was supplemented by trade with Petun and Huron peoples. While the proto-Ottawa were not extensively involved in trading directly with the French until 1650, their indirect participation in the French fur trade dates at least to the 1620s. It is at this time period that the first French missionaries to the Georgian Bay region, the Récollets, begin to use the designation ‘Ottawa’, spelled variously as Andatchouats, a Huron name, and Poils Leuës, a synonym for ‘Raised Hairs’ (Geographic Board of Canada 1913:378). The term ‘Ottawa’ is derived from an Algonquian word meaning ‘to trade’ (ibid:373), and this activity is the likely source of the development of the tribal identity of the various bands living in the Georgian Bay region in the first half of the 17th century.

Information on the trading activities of the proto-Ottawa was obtained first by the Récollets and beginning in the 1630s by the Jesuits, mainly from the Huron among whom the main French missions and trade posts were established. The proto-Ottawa bands likely had developed trade networks by the early 1620s in which they exchanged European goods and corn obtained from the Huron for furs and pelts with western proto-Ojibwa and other Algonquian bands:

Before 1612 Nipissing traders had begun to travel as far north as James Bay each summer, exchanging Huron corn and European goods for furs that ultimately made their way to French traders on the St. Lawrence. A decade later, according to the early-seventeenth-century Récollet Gabriel Sagard, the Ottawa operated similar routes, from Georgian Bay westward into the vicinity of Lakes Michigan and Superior. (Trigger and Day 1994:68)

Other goods obtained from these westerly peoples included shell beads (wampum), pigments and perhaps copper (ibid:72). Until 1650, Ottawa or proto-Ottawa seem to have acted as secondary middlemen in the French fur trade, linking remote bands in the Upper Great Lakes region to the main Aboriginal middlemen groups, the Huron, Nipissing and Algonquin.
2.2 THE IROQUOISANS: HURON AND PETUN (Penetanguishene Area)

In comparison to the Algonquian occupants of the Georgian Bay region, French explorers and missionaries recorded a wealth of social, cultural and economic information concerning the Huron, who are regarded as one of the best known Aboriginal people in the early European-contact era in Canada (Heidenreich 1978:386). Their immediate neighbours to the south and southwest, the Petun, are significantly less well known even though some Jesuit missions were established in their territory in the 1640s. The relative dearth of information on the Petun (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:397) may be attributed to several factors, including the relatively small size of this confederacy, and the lack of established French presence until the last decade prior to the forced migration of these people from the Georgian Bay region\(^3\). Overall, compared to the Huron, the Petun remained of tangential interest and importance to the French, both in economic terms (fur trade) and politically (as military allies against the Iroquois).

2.2.1 The Petun: Territory and Resource Harvesting

During the first three decades of the 17th century the Petun confederacy occupied a stretch of land beginning along the southeastern portion of Nottawasaga Bay (a few miles west of present-day Collingwood) that essentially followed the Niagara escarpment up to the Mad River (see Map A.4). Historically, they were known by an Aboriginal name of uncertain origin having several orthographic variants (Quienontatéronon, Khionontateronon, and Tionnontatehronon), as well as by the French-derived term 'Tobacco Nation' stemming from the fact that tobacco constituted one of their major crops and trade goods. The term 'Petun' was apparently first used by Champlain who borrowed a Brazilian word referred to tobacco (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396).

Jesuit missions established in their territory reported that the confederacy was comprised of two 'nations' whom Jesuits termed 'the Wolves' and 'the Deer' (Thwaites 1959[33]:143). Some Jesuit authors simply referred to these 'nations' without identifying them as members of the Petun confederacy or Tobacco Nation, leading to some confusion as to their identity\(^4\). The social scientific status of these 'nations' has not been determined definitively, as some authors have argued that the Wolves and Deer represented major clan groupings or perhaps phratries\(^5\), while others have claimed

\(^3\) The Huron were instrumental in limiting direct French contact with the Petun during the majority of the first half of the 17th century. Although the Huron and Petun were close allies and trading partners during the contact period, the Huron wished to retain their trade monopoly as middlemen between the French and the Petun, and to that effect not only prevented the establishment of missions and trade posts in Petun territory (until the 1640s) but also successfully prevented the Petun from crossing through their territory to trade directly with the French on the St. Lawrence (Trigger 1976; Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396).

\(^4\) For example, Father Du Creux made several references to the Nation of the Wolves in his writings concerning Huronia and French colonization in the early to mid 17th century. James Conacher, editor of the two volume publication of Du Creux's writings, erroneously considered the Nation of the Wolves as comprising part of the historic Ojibwa, likely on the knowledge that the Ojibwa also have a wolf clan (cf. Du Creux 1951).

\(^5\) A phratry is a union of two clans, and typically forms a subdivision of a tribe.
they represented major tribal divisions (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:395). During the early-contact period the Petun territory is considered to have been reduced in size following the attack and destruction of the southernmost village in the confederacy, Ehwae, circa 1640 (Trigger 1976; see Map A.4).

At contact in 1616, the Petun lived in eight villages located between Nottawasaga Bay and the Mad River (Biggar 1922-1936[3]:95-101; [4]:278-284, in Trigger 1985). The total population of the confederacy, prior to disease epidemics in the 1630s that also decimated the Huron, has been estimated at about 8,000 (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:395). Although the village populations were not enumerated by the French, the Petun villages were described as being ‘large’, and if the total Petun population estimates are correct, they would average roughly 1,000 persons in size. Similar to other Iroquoian peoples, the Petun lived a sedentary village life permitted by extensive reliance on agriculture (Becker 1995:326). However, also similar to other Iroquoians, Petun villages would be relocated periodically, roughly every 10 to 30 years due primarily to soil erosion resulting from intensive agricultural practices (Trigger 1994:43). During his travel to the confederacy in 1616, Champlain was apparently informed that two new Petun villages were under construction, suggesting that the process of village relocation was a regular phenomenon pre-dating European contact (Biggar 1922-1936[4]:278-284, in Trigger 1985). By 1639, the Jesuits identified nine large villages and an undetermined number of small ‘hamlets’ (Thwaites 1959[20]:43-45):

The resource harvesting practices of the Petun appear to have been virtually identical to those of the Huron, with the exception of their specialization in growing and trading tobacco. In fact, information recorded by French missionaries during the first half of the 17th century suggest that the Petun and Huron shared a large number of social, cultural, political and economic characteristics. According to Garrad and Heidenreich (1978:395):

Unless it be the degree of specialization in growing and trading tobacco, the Petun do not appear to have possessed a single trait not shared completely or is some degree with the Huron. The spoke the same language as the Attignawantant⁶, were sedentary, cultivated the land, and raised corn and tobacco. Several authors specifically pointed out that Petun customs were similar to those of the Attignawantant even down to the way women dressed their hair. The men were reported to have tattooed their bodies more than the Huron, a practice they may have picked up from close relations with the Neutral⁷. The Petun shared with the Huron the same beliefs in sorcery, spirits, curing, feasts... Their “reverence for the

⁶ One of the five tribes comprising the Huron confederacy (Becker 1995:325).

⁷ The Neutral comprised another Iroquoian confederacy comprised of five tribal groupings living to the southeast of the Petun, in the Niagara peninsula region. This confederacy was given the name ‘neutral’ by Europeans in relation to the neutral political and military stance it took throughout the period of Huron-Five Nations Iroquois confederacy warfare (Becker 1995:325).
As with Iroquoian peoples, generally, the ethnohistorical record tends to over-emphasise the importance of agriculture to the overall economy and way of life of the Petun. Agricultural production certainly provided the mainstay of Petun village economies: for example, Trigger (1994:42) estimates that cultivation provided up to 80 percent of all food consumed in villages. Nevertheless the Petun, like other Iroquoians, also practised fishing and to a lesser extent, hunting.

Petun villages were inhabited year-round by women, children and the elderly. As the main able-bodied workers living in the villages year-round, women conducted most of the agricultural work and the gathering of fruits, wild vegetable products, water and firewood. Adult males occupied economic and military positions that frequently required them to take part in expeditions travelling well beyond the vicinity of home villages (Trigger 1994:43). As described by Becker (1995:327):

Iroquoian men were hunters, fishermen, councillors and warriors. In spring, summer and winter (primarily late winter and early spring), men went on hunting expeditions, using bows and arrows to take deer, moose, bear, mountain lion, and similar large game. More casual hunting, in late spring and early summer, focused on small game, e.g., otter and beaver. Fishing, by net, lance, and weir, was undertaken primarily in spring. Meat fish, and some vegetable foods were commonly dried for storage. Men made hunting, fishing, and war tools, built homes and canoes, cleared new fields, and traded, negotiated, and warped with other nations. They had much greater contact with the world outside their villages than did women.

The Petun were involved in extensive trading relationships with their neighbours, the proto-Ottawa Algonquians to the west, the Neutral to the southeast, and the Huron to the northeast, although the level of trade observed in the early contact era is considered to have been significantly increased from that found in Aboriginal times, i.e., prior to the 16th century proto-historic period in which European goods first appeared in southern Ontario (Trigger 1994). During the first half of the 17th century the Petun-Huron trade mainly involved tobacco exchanged for European goods. While

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8 One of the more over-studied social and cultural institutions of the Huron is a periodic, inter-tribal ceremonial practice known as the Feast of the Dead (Trigger 1976).

9 The political and military neutrality of these people did not prevent them being subject to occasional attacks from the Five Nation Iroquias Confederacy during the first half of the 17th century. The Neutrals were also subject to occasional famines in which villages would be abandoned and members would relocate to either Petun or Huron territory (Becker 1995, Trigger 1976).

10 Petun resource harvesting practices closely resembled those of the Huron, for which detailed yearly cycles have been described and published. In order to avoid repetition Petun harvesting practices are only summarized here while more extensive data are presented below focusing on Huronia.
they likely grew most of the tobacco they traded, it is also possible that they obtained some from trade with the Neutral, also in exchange for European manufactured goods (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:395).

Although they were socially and culturally related most closely to the Huron, the main trading partners of the Petun appear to have been the proto-Ottawa bands living to the west of their confederacy:

*The most intimate relations the Petun had with any other group were with the Ottawa. Ottawa bands wintered regularly near the northern Petun villages and in areas farther west along the shore of Nottawasaga Bay and the Bruce Peninsula. By 1647 there were so many Algonquians wintering in Ekaromondi, for example, that an Algonquin-speaking missionary was sent there. Judging from Champlain's statement that the Ottawa persuaded him not to visit the Neutral while he was among the Petun, the Ottawa must have had considerable influence among their hosts and neighbors.* (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396)

The nature of and reasons for the intensive Petun-Ottawa trade appear to be similar to those concerning the Huron-Nipissing trade, as will be seen below. In essence, the trading relationship was symbiotic. While the proto-Ottawa practised horticulture and grew some of the corn, squash and beans they consumed, and the Petun practised fishing, and hunting which supplied them with some of meat they consumed, neither group practised these respective activities to a level permitting self-sufficiency. In this context, the exchange of Petun agricultural products for Ottawa meat and fish allowed both groups to maintain more reliable and varied food supplies. In other respects, the Petun likely acted as middlemen between the Ottawa (and other Algonquians) and the Neutral, from which the Ottawa likely obtained some of their tobacco supplies, as well as seashells for manufacturing wampum (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396).

#### 2.2.2 The Huron: Territory and Resource Harvesting

The northeastern neighbours of the Petun, the Huron, rank amongst the better-known Aboriginal groups of the early-contact era. By the time of Champlain's arrival in 1615, the Huron occupied a stretch of land from Georgian Bay to Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. The Huron were primarily agriculturalists and lived in sedentary villages, so that their area of settlement at contact was concentrated in the arable portion of their territory (Heidenreich 1978:368). The Huron territory certainly exceeded the area of village settlement, although exact geographical boundaries between the Huron, Petun, and Neutral confederacies, and between the Huron and their northern Algonquian neighbours have not been determined. The Huron territory is known to have included the entire Penetanguishene peninsula and may have been delimited to the south by the Nottawasaga River, and to the north by the Severn River (Gosselin 1905:195). Heidenreich (1978:368) describes the boundaries in the following terms, referring to a map reproduced in this report as Map A.5:

*The southern frontier of Huronia was defined by the Jesuits in terms of these*
regional strongholds and principal villages: Ossossane (La Conception), Scanonaentr (Saint Michel), Teanaustoye (Saint Joseph II), and Contarea (Saint-Jean Baptiste). To the northeast, vast swamps stretched along the contact line separating the rock-knob area of the Canadian Shield from the arable uplands of Huronia. The southwest was sharply defined by the tangled cedar and alder swamps of the Nottawasaga lowlands. Only along the southeast frontier between Orr Lake and Lake Couchiching were the swamps more discontinuous. Huronia was in fact an upland area of arable soils surrounded by water and swamp.

Huronia as observed by the French in the early 17th century is generally considered to have experienced a territorial reduction from the mid-16th century proto-historic period, when ancestors to the historic Huron confederacy were scattered:

...In many individual villages and village clusters along the north shore of Lake Ontario, in the Trent valley, and throughout modern Simcoe County. (Trigger 1994:41)

Archaeological evidence presented by Trigger (1976) demonstrates an area of pre-contact settlement significantly exceeding the boundaries of historic village sites (see Map A.6). The Huron sites depicted on this map are limited to the proto-historic period, i.e., the period from which European goods first appeared in the Great Lakes area (circa 1550) to the date of arrival of the first Europeans (1615) (cf. Trigger 1994:45-47). Data concerning the extent of Huron or proto-Huron territorial occupancy and use pre-dating the mid-16th century are scarce and have been subject to differing interpretations.

The Huron confederacy at contact very likely had also experienced social and political change from the proto-historic period, through the joining of two additional 'nations' or tribal groupings as recently as the beginning of the 17th century, i.e., merely a few years prior to the first direct meeting of Huron traders with the French. The main evidence for this rests with oral historical accounts recorded by Jesuit missionaries in the 1630s, but as Trigger (1994:41) remarks concerning the proto-historic period:

The status of tribal confederacies in the middle of the sixteenth century is obscure. The Huron later claimed that the two founding nations or tribes of their confederacy, the Attignawanian and the Attigneenongnahac, formed their alliance about A.D. 1450 and that the two other nations, the Tahontaenrat and the Arendahronon, only became part of the confederacy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Various smaller groups were joining these nations as late as the 1630s.

Both the territorial and political changes affecting the Huron between the proto-historic area and the
time of contact were likely caused in large measure by warfare with other Iroquoian peoples. As summarized by Heidenreich (1978:385):

At the time of French contact early in the seventeenth century, the Huron were embroiled in a long-standing war with the five Iroquots tribes but especially with the Seneca. Within their memory, the Huron had also been at war with the Petun and possibly the Neutral. A peace had been concluded with the Petun shortly before Champlain's arrival in Huronia, while the Neutral tried to be on peaceful terms with both the Iroquoits and Huron-Petun.

Both prior to and after contact during the first half of the 17th century, Huronia was subject to important dynamic social, political, and economic developments.

The historic Huron confederacy is known to have been comprised of five ‘nations’ or tribal groupings: the Attignawant, who occupied the Penetanguishene peninsula, followed to the west by the Attaronchonon living along the southern shore of Matchedash Bay, who had to the south the Tahontane vat. The last two tribes, the Arendahronon and the Attignenongnahac, comprised the northeastern and southeastern most tribes, whose eastern territorial boundaries were formed by the shores of Lakes Couchiching and Simcoe, respectively (Heidenreich 1978:368; Trigger 1976; see Map A.7). Prior to the disease epidemics in the 1630s, the total population of the confederacy is considered by recent scholars to have numbered approximately 20,000-25,000 individuals (Heidenreich 1978:369; Becker 1995:329; Trigger 1985:234).

From 1615 until the late 1640s the Huron population was distributed among approximately twenty villages having population ranges of 800 to perhaps as high as 2,800, although Heidenreich (1978:378) considers the modal village population as nearing the lower range figures:

In terms of population, it would seem that few villages grew over 1,000 or 1,600. The vast majority must have been 800 people or less. The large villages coincide with a large hinterland of fertile arable soils, but this access does not seem to be the major reason for their size or existence. From what is known of the large villages during the Jesuit period they were regional strongholds, the seats of tribal authority and residence of chiefs with unusual ability...

Some of the largest settlements were multiple villages. The Warminster site (Cahiagué) for example was composed of six- and nine-acre segments, Quieunonasacran was a triple village, and Saint Ignace (Taenhatentaron) and

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There is a debate among ethnohistorians as to whether the fur trade or “beaver” wars observed by Europeans in the seventeenth century actually began in the proto-historic period, i.e., following the introduction of European manufactured goods into central and southern Ontario through pre-existing Aboriginal trade network (cf. Trigger 1979; 1985:149-161, 172-183; 1994:47; Becker 1995:329-330). While different Iroquoian peoples were certainly engaged in warfare during this period, the causes of these conflicts have not been definitively established and remain subject to speculation.
Akrethsi were so close together they sometimes went by the same name. Other large villages such as Osossane, Toanche, and Cahigud split into segments during the process of village movements.

As with other Iroquoians, the Huron led a sedentary lifestyle permitted by extensive reliance on agricultural production. Heidenreich (ibid) states that:

*Except for regional strongholds, the function of all Huron villages was the same: They were economically self-sufficient agricultural units. None appears to have had special economic functions such as regional markets or specialized manufacturing. Contact with neighboring villages was purely on a social, and perhaps semipolitical, basis. The spacing of villages was therefore a matter of physical site requirements such as the presence of water and the area of available agricultural soils.*

While the Huron practised fishing, and to a lesser extent occasionally hunted game, ethnohistorical sources unanimously agree that agricultural production provided by far the most important resource harvesting activity of their economy. The permanent presence of Jesuit missions established in Huronia from the early 1630s until the final migration of surviving members of the confederacy from Georgian Bay in 1650 has resulted in the compilation of a rich database describing Huron subsistence harvesting activities.

Huron harvesting practices involved a division of labour by sex similar to that described above for the Petun. While men were responsible for clearing new fields, the bulk of the agricultural work was performed by women, who were also responsible for the collection of wild fruits and vegetables (Becker 1995:326; Trigger 1994:42; Heidenreich 1978:382-383). Considering that agricultural production provided Huron society with approximately 80% of its food supply (Trigger 1994:42), and in fact involved the production of a significant surplus used in trade with neighbouring Algonquian peoples, women’s work played a key role in Huron economic life. Various aspects of Huron economic life and resource harvesting have been described and published in several sources, notably Trigger (1976, 1985), but Heidenreich (1978:378-385) provides one of the best overviews, based mainly on original sources (mainly Jesuit Relations documents). The following information is therefore compiled essentially from his comprehensive analysis.

Agricultural products, and specifically corn, formed the basic staple of the Huron diet throughout the year. Agricultural production generally contributed 80% of the food supply, and Heidenreich (ibid:379) estimates corn, by itself, provided 65% of total food intake, while other produce, mainly beans, squash and pumpkins, contribute the remaining 15% of the agricultural component of the Huron diet. The daily reliance on Sugamite, a basic corn soup, is one of the great

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12 This report presents little data and analysis of the social organization of Aboriginal groups found at contact since this issue lies beyond the terms of reference of this assignment. However, it can be remarked that Huron society was matrilineal (clan membership, and inheritance rights were recognized exclusively along the female line of descent) and residence patterns were matrilocal. Although women did not participate in formal political councils, they essentially managed everyday affairs in village households (cf. Heidenreich 1978:370).

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ethnohistorical stereotypes concerning the Huron, originally promulgated in the writings of Jesuit missionaries. Corn provided the basic ingredient of the soup, into which for variety any and all other foods would be added depending on taste and availability (ibid:378). Of other vegetable and fruits, Heldenreich states that:

Beans were of lesser importance, and pumpkins or squash only in the late summer and fall when they were available. Various fruits formed the bulk of the gathered produce, and acorns in times of famine. On the whole, gathered vegetable foods were of little importance, except as a source of vitamin C.

Both eyewitness accounts by French missionaries and archaeological data indicate that meat was of distant secondary importance to the Huron diet relative to fish:

Numerous references demonstrate that meat was a rarity. Bressani [a Jesuit Missionary], for example, was of the opinion that the Huron “hunted only for pleasure or on extraordinary occasions”. Meat was more plentiful in the late winter and fall, the principal periods of deer hunting. Although butchering practices may be partially responsible, the rarity of meat in the Huron diet is reflected by the paucity of bone material on Huron sites. (Insert added)

Fish, and to a lesser extent other aquatic animals such as turtles and clams, seem to have been of considerably more importance than meat. Fish is usually mentioned as a major component of the usual corn gruel. Fish could be dried and stored longer than meat; they were more predictable in their habits, easier to catch, and more plentiful in Huronia than any meat source. Pound for pound, fish brought a higher return for effort expended than any meat brought in by hunting. (Ibid:378-379)

Fish is likely to have contributed about 10% of the total food supply, while meat probably formed no more than 5%, with the remaining 5% comprised of gathered wild foods (ibid:379). As will be seen below, ethnohistorical sources suggest that a significant proportion of the total fish and meat supply was actually obtained by trade from neighbouring Algonquian peoples, mainly Nipissing and to a lesser extent, Algonquins from the Ottawa valley region.

Huron harvesting activities followed a predictable seasonal cycle, which was recognized by early French observers. Numerous documents compiled in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1959) provide extensive details on the different aspects of the annual round practised by the Huron between the late 1620s and the late 1640s. Although of secondary importance to the overall Huron food supply, fishing was the only harvesting activity conducted regularly throughout the year. Hunting, the least important activity with the possible exception of gathering wild foods, was practised in late winter and spring, and resumed again in the fall. Agricultural work performed by women dominated village life from early spring until early fall, a time during which men focused on trading and warfare. Gathering of wild foods, performed to different degrees depending on necessity (relative success or failure with crops) was practised by women in summer months. Winter was mainly a time for
manufacturing work (largely performed by women) and socializing, including nurturing trade relations and military alliances with visiting Algonquian trading parties. As summarized by Heidenreich (1978:379-380):

The cycle of activities began in early March when some men went hunting to places where deer had “yarded” to escape the deep ice-encrusted snow of late winter. After returning from the hunt the men went fishing until mid-May to take advantage of the spring spawning runs of walleye, sucker, pike, and sturgeon. About this time the women gathered firewood and began preparing the fields by burning them over, a task men helped with if new fields had to be cleared. Toward the end of May the women put the seed in the ground while the men departed on trading or war expeditions. A predetermined number of men would stay at home in case of enemy raids. These would help at odd jobs or go fishing and hunting near the village.

Throughout summer the villages were virtually deserted as the women and children stayed in the fields hoing the corn and chasing away pests. During the late summer most of the gathering took place, particularly wild fruits and Indian hemp. In this task the women were helped by the children. A constant threat during the summer were Iroquois raiding parties who tended to pick on small parties working away from the village. Similar attacks were carried out by the Huron among the Iroquois tribes.

By the end of August and early September the corn was harvested, dried, and stored away. It was about this time that the men returned from trading and warfare and began to get ready for the large autumn deer hunts. Deer hunting was carried out a few days’ journey to the south of Huronia in the oak (mast-producing) areas of Ontario. Here deer congregated for the rutting season, the last half of October. On returning from deer hunting the village populations concentrated on the fall spawning runs of whitefish, lake trout, and cisco, which lasted from early November to the beginning of December. Most of the fish would be dried and stored away for the winter.

During late fall a number of Algonquian bands settled near the Huron villages to spend the winter. The Nipissing usually settled among the Attignawantan in the west and various Ottawa valley groups among the Arendaroon in eastern Huronia. On their way to Huronia the Algonquians would obtain fish, meat, and furs to trade for corn and other items. As soon as the ice broke in May, these groups would depart to the north.

By early December everyone was back in the villages marking the beginning of a variety of social activities to celebrate successful harvesting, hunting, fishing, and trading. These feasts were accompanied by gambling and gift giving. If captives had been taken, some were tortured at this time. Among the few activities performed during the winter were ice fishing and trade with Algonquian neighbors. The women
would weave mats, manufacture fish nets, and prepare corn for the next season’s trade.

This cycle would be periodically interrupted by two types of events. Village relocations were required roughly every 10 to 12 years due to soil erosion, or to the exhaustion of firewood from local forests. Also every 8 to 12 years (in a cycle that often coincided with village relocations), the Huron practised a massive (tribal-level) re-burial of their deceased in what have been one of their most important and elaborate religious rituals, the Feast of the Dead (Trigger 1976; Becker 1995:328)\(^\text{13}\).

The extensive Huron trading practices observed by early 17th century French explorers and missionaries, particularly those involving neighbouring Algonquian peoples, were in part the result of fur trade related developments having roots in the proto-historic period. It is difficult to determine with any exactitude the extent to which the introduction of European manufactured goods intensified trade between the Huron and their Algonquian neighbours during the 16th century, since the only durable foreign artifacts found in Huron sites are made of shell, chert, red slate and native copper (Heidenreich 1978:384). Nevertheless ethnohistorians consider that Huron likely had developed a symbiotic trade relationship with their Algonquian neighbours, particularly the Nipissing, well before direct contact with Europeans.

The earliest observations of Huron trade by the French (notably Champlain and the Récollet missionary Gabriel Sagard) suggest that they had developed closer relations to their Algonquian neighbours than with the Petun, although these observations may have reflected the fact that the Huron had recently ended a war with the Petun, waged in late proto-historic times. Heidenreich (ibid:385) asserts that:

Precontact Huron trade was strongest with some of the Algonquian groups, notably the Ottawa, Nipissing and Ottawa Valley Algonquins. The Ottawa were considered great traders with extensive relations for 400 to 500 leagues (about 800 to 1,500 miles) into Lakes Superior and Michigan. Their main products were dried berries, reed mats, fish, furs, and other products for which the Huron exchanges wampum, nets, and pigments. No Ottawas were ever seen on the Saint Lawrence prior to the destruction of the Huron in 1649, probably because they were not permitted to cross Huron and Nipissing trade routes. Huron trade with the Nipissing was of long standing, as Ridley’s (1954) excavations on Lake Nipissing show. Although the Huron had close relations with the Ottawa Valley Algonquins, notably the Kichesiptirini and Weskarini who sometimes wintered in eastern Huronia, it is doubtful whether the Huron did much travelling on the Ottawa River prior to the development of the fur trade.

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\(^\text{13}\) This ritual is only mentioned briefly in this report with reference to its interruptive effect on Huron resource harvesting cycles. It is by far the best documented religious ritual of the Huron and has been the subject of extensive ethnohistorical analysis. However, its description lies beyond the terms of reference for this study.

Prior to contact, the main items of trade received by the Huron from the Petun and Neutral consisted of what Trigger (1994:44) termed as “luxury items”, notably tobacco (used for ceremonial purposes and likely traded further to Algonquians), and shell (used to manufacture wampum), for which the Huron traded copper likely obtained from Algonquian peoples.

Analysis of ceramics (pottery) found in archaeological sites in the Upper Great Lakes suggests that the Huron were linked to a wide-ranging trade ‘network’ including proto-Ojibwa groups on the eastern shore of Lake Superior, although it is a matter of speculation as to whether the Huron practised any direct trade with these bands. Heidenreich (1978:384) emphasizes that pre-contact Huron trade was motivated by social and political factors rather than by basic economic need:

*Trading was carried on for a number of reasons. To some men it was a form of adventure, similar to warfare, through which they could prove their manhood and gain prestige. Others undertook the journeys in order to acquire goods for gambling, as games of chance were a favorite pastime. Unquestionably, the major reason for trading was the acquisition of desirable goods and the conversion of these into social status through reciprocal and other forms of institutionalized gift giving.*

Trigger (1994:44) confirms this interpretation by stating:

*The principal motive for accumulating surplus food stuffs and obtaining rare goods from other groups was to be able to give them away to fellow tribesmen... Prestige was derived from giving away property.*

The Huron-Algonquian trade involved mainly symbiotic exchanges of different foods (Huron corn, Algonquian fish and meat) resulting from the economic specialization of each group (Trigger 1978:344). In summarizing the geographic extent and status of pre-contact trade, Heidenreich (1978:385) concludes:

*In the main... Huron trade contacts prior to the fur trade seem to have concentrated on Algonquian groups within a 200-mile arc from the Ottawa in the west to Ojibwa groups and the Nipissing in the north to the Kichesipirini and Iroquets in the east. The number of traders who participated in these ventures is impossible to estimate, but it must have been considerably less than the number who were later engaged in the fur trade... Pre-European trade among the Huron should be seen in terms of its social and political importance rather than as an important occupational or economic activity.*

The gradual introduction of European manufactured goods in intertribal and inter-group trade networks during the proto-historic period, however, is considered by Trigger (1985, 1994) to have contributed to important political transformations in Iroquoian societies linked to the development of the fur trade wars observed by the French in the 17th century. Contemporary ethnohistorians agree that fur trade related warfare between the Huron and the Five Nations Iroquois may have originated
during proto-historic times (Trigger 1978; Heidenreich 1978:385). Generally, the increase in European goods in trade during the protohistoric period may well have contributed to the broadening of political alliances among Iroquoian societies, to the point of expanding and strengthening the different confederacies observed by the French in the early 17th century, as well as intensifying Huron-Algonquian alliances (Trigger 1994:47).

The following chapter presents data regarding the consequences of Aboriginal / European contact with respect to the development of a population of mixed Indian and European descent.
3. ORIGINS OF A MIXED DESCENT POPULATION: 17TH CENTURY

This chapter presents historical and ethnohistorical data and interpretations relevant to consequences of contact between Aboriginal groups and Europeans during the 17th century, with respect to the development of a population of mixed Indian and European descent. The nature and extent of European contact and settlement during the 17th century is discussed in Section 3.1. Historical evidence concerning the creation of a population of mixed French and Indian origin during the first half of the 17th century is presented and discussed in Section 3.2. Finally, Section 3.3 briefly covers developments taking place in the Georgian Bay region during the second half of the century in the context of the fur trade or Beaver wars, leading to the migration and permanent settlement of Ojibwa by the end of the 1600s.

3.1 EUROPEAN CONTACT AND SETTLEMENT, 1609-1650

Samuel de Champlain’s 1615 expedition to Georgian Bay is often cited as the date of first contact between the French and the Aboriginal occupants of the region, when in fact it marks the date of the first ‘official’ (recorded) colonial exploration of the region by France. French knowledge of the existence of the Hurons dates at least to a 1603 meeting between Champlain, fur trader François Gravé Du Pont, and Algonquins from the Ottawa valley near present-day Montreal. Du Pont was a trading partner in Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnemuit’s company, which held a monopoly of the French fur trade at the time, and which had recently received royal approval to expand its operations along the St. Lawrence River (Trigger 1985:172-173). Following the construction of a permanent trade post at Tadoussac in 1600, the Algonquins had developed a specialization as middlemen in the French fur trade, and were regularly bringing furs to the St. Lawrence that they obtained from other Algonquians, likely proto-Ottawa and proto-Ojibwa bands living further in the interior regions to the west of the Ottawa valley.14

Champlain and Du Pont were attempting to obtain information concerning the location of a ‘Great Lake’ or ‘Fresh-water Sea’, whose existence had first been reported to Jacques Cartier in 1535 (Jaenen 1996:92). While providing “inconsistent and confusing” accounts of the geographic location of the ‘Great Lake’, the Algonquins nevertheless confirmed the existence of a river route to this lake, where there lived a people termed as the “good Iroquois”, who bartered furs with them in exchange for French goods (Coyne 1993:xi). Champlain’s Algonquin informants may well have been deliberately unclear concerning the location and travel route to the ‘Great Lake’. Trigger (1994:47) considers that the prevention of direct French-Huron contact by the Algonquins would help secure

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14 The Algonquins were allowed to trade directly with the French at Tadoussac by the Montagnais, into whose territory the trade post was situated, for political and military reasons. By 1600 both the Algonquins and the Montagnais were subject to periodic Iroquois raids (cf. Trigger 1976:232; see Map. A.8), and were forging an alliance against the Five Nations (Trigger 1985:174).
their ongoing role as key middlemen in the French fur trade. However, only a few years later, after increasing attacks by Oneida and Mohawk raiding parties, Algonquin traders required and sought the military support of the Huron (ibid:48).

By 1608 the French realized that increasing Iroquois raids on the Algonquins and throughout the St. Lawrence valley were jeopardizing the successful expansion of their fur trading activities. That year Champlain built a fortified trade post at Quebec and agreed to accompany a party of Montagnais and Algonquins on a planned raid against the Iroquois (Trigger 1985:174-175). One of the Algonquin chiefs from this raiding party, belonging to the Petite Nation band and named Iroquet, had wintered among the Arendahronon tribe:

...and while there invited his Huron trading partner, Ochastequin, to participate in the raid. Ochastequin accepted this invitation and in 1609 he and his men became the first Hurons to contact the French in the St. Lawrence valley. (Ibid:175)

Following a successful attack on about 200 Mohawk warriors, Ochastequin promised Champlain that more Hurons would return to the French the following summer to assist in raids against the Iroquois, after which "they would lead Champlain into the interior and show him their country" (ibid:176; Trigger 1978:349). Although Huron warriors did in fact return and another successful raid was conducted, Champlain did not take up the Huron offer to visit their country in 1610, for reasons that remain unclear (Trigger 1985:177).

3.1.1 European Contacts in Huronia, 1610-1615

However, in the summer of 1610 Champlain sent a young fur trade employee to live with Iroquet’s band, in part to further develop the French-Algonquin alliance. In turn, Champlain agreed to take with him back to France the younger brother of a Huron chief, named Savignon. Historians agree that the young fur trade employee was Etienne Brulé (Coyne 1903:xii; Trigger 1985:177; Jaenen 1996:107), who would later play an instrumental role in the French exploration of the Toronto Carrying Place route linking Huronia to Lake Ontario (Robinson 1965:1-13). Brulé spent one year with Iroquet’s band, learning their customs and more importantly (from a French perspective) learned their language (Coyne 1903:xii). Considering Iroquet’s close trading relationship and political / military alliance with the Arendahronon tribe, Trigger (1985:177) speculates that Brulé very likely spent part of the winter of 1610-1611 living in the eastern portion of Huronia:

Iroquet almost certainly spent the winter in the Huron country and it seems likely that Brulé himself lived with Savignon’s family rather than among the Petite Nation. Thus it appears that the ties Iroquet had to his Arendahronon hosts were very close.

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15 This type of exchange was common practice by the early 17th century, having antecedents to Jacques Cartier’s time and perhaps even earlier (Trigger 1985:119-135). Through this custom, the French and Aboriginal groups allowed individuals to gain first hand information about each other’s ways of life and each other’s respective languages. Upon their return, each side had acquired persons with invaluable skills as interpreters.
By introducing the Hurons to the French and allowing Brulé to live with them, he was promoting a close relationship as well between these two groups.

Adding credibility to Trigger’s speculation is the fact that Brulé returned to Champlain in the summer of 1611 among a party of two hundred Huron warriors (Coyne 1903:xii).

Brulé’s experience among the Algonquin and Huron, and a few years later involving residence among the Nipissing, were the key elements in his grooming as a truchement, a type of coureur de bois specializing in providing interpreting services and generally acting as cultural intermediaries in the French fur trade. A biographical sketch of Brulé written by Jaenen (1996:107) states:

Brulé was to live among the Hurons in order to learn their language so that he could serve as a truchement or interpreter in the interests of the fur trade. He was not the first truchement, as is sometimes stated. In the mid-sixteenth century the French had started the practice in their Brazilian colony of sending young men to live among the aboriginal peoples in order to learn their language and customs, and act as intermediaries and interpreters in the profitable brazilwood trade. Brulé seems to have taken well to life in the Native communities, especially enjoying the pre-marital sexual liberties accorded Huron youth, and was an able student of language and customs.

Over the years Brulé’s work as truchement involved travels and residence among several different Aboriginal peoples throughout the Great Lakes region, notably the Algonquin, Nipissing, Huron, Petun, Andastes and Delawares (ibid:108). However, Brulé appears to have developed an affinity for the Huron way of life as he was to return often to Huronia and eventually spent most of his time in residence among Aboriginal peoples with them (Trigger 1978:350). During a (brief) English military takeover of the colony of New France in 1628, Brulé, then newly employed by the recently formed Compagnie des Cents Associés, ‘switched sides’ and entered the service of the English. Labelled as a traitor by Champlain and the French establishment, Brulé took up permanent residence among the Huron, living in ‘exile’ after France regained control of its colony in 1632, until he was murdered (by his Huron hosts) in 1633 (ibid:109).

Étienne Brulé is generally acknowledged as the first European to visit Huronia and live among the Huron, but he apparently did not write records detailing his travels and experiences and little definitive information exists concerning the nature and extent of his activities among them. He is often portrayed by historians as a ‘womanizer’ and described as engaging in free sexual relations with Indian women in the different Aboriginal bands and communities he visited (Jaenen 1996; Robinson 1965; cf. Harrington 1981). In this respect Brulé’s conduct was rather typical of the behaviour of coureurs de bois, as will be discussed in Section 3.2 below. There are no records proving he fathered children in Huronia, as this is likely to have remained unreported by the Jesuits.

Prior to 1615, Champlain made at least one attempt to visit the Nipissing and Huronia, in 1613, but only reached Allumette Lake on the Ottawa River where he was discouraged from
proceeding further in the interior by the Algonquin, who “exaggerated the difficulties of the journey” (Coyne 1903:xii). In doing so, the Algonquins were most likely motivated by a desire to protect their middleman role in the fur trade, which was being threatened by increasing contacts between the Huron and the French (Trigger 1978:347). By 1615 however, the Algonquins relented. They had been subject to growing pressure from the Huron and Nipissing to allow them passage along the Ottawa River for trade purposes. As Champlain returned up the Ottawa, he promised military assistance to the Algonquins, who had been planning another raid on the Iroquois with Huron allies, and this may have finally persuaded them to permit regular Huron and French travels through their territory (ibid:349; Trigger 1994:48).

The 1615 expedition included about a dozen soldiers and a Recollet priest, Father Joseph Le Caron (Heidenreich 1978:387). Historical sources present slightly different accounts of the arrival of Champlain’s expedition to Huronia, but all agree that the expedition followed the eastern shore of Georgian Bay, crossing Matchedash Bay and landing on the Penetanguishene peninsula. Historians generally agree that the expedition was likely preceded by Etienne Brulé, who likely acted as an emissary and allowed the Huron time to prepare and formally receive Champlain, Le Caron and the rest of the party (ibid). One source, however claims that Le Caron actually preceded Champlain, who was accompanied by Brulé (Coyne 1903:xii). According to this author, Le Caron arrived in Huronia with his own expedition comprised of “twelve Frenchmen”, and found an unstated number of French “fur traders” camped on the peninsula (ibid).

While it is possible that a few coureurs de bois in addition to Brulé may have reached Huronia by 1615, any fur trading activities they may have conducted there would have been viewed as illicit by the Algonquins, and possibly by Champlain himself, who was involved in delicate political negotiations with his diverse Aboriginal allies, and with French fur trading companies, the Catholic Church and colonial administrators concerning the future expansion of the colony (Trigger 1985:179; 1994:48-49; Coyne 1903:xii). If any coureurs de bois (Brulé excepted) visited Huronia prior to Champlain’s arrival, it is possible that their travels may have been motivated by personal or social factors (curiosity about the Hurons’ agriculturally-based, sedentary way of life, fulfillment of a need for adventure, etc.).

3.1.2 The French in Huronia, 1615-1650

Champlain’s expedition arrived on August 1st and wintered in Huronia. During this time, Champlain visited a number of the most important villages of the different tribes in the confederacy and forged a formal political alliance with individual tribal chiefs (Trigger 1978:349; 1985:180-181; 1994:49). From 1615 until 1650 there was a continuous French presence in Huronia (Heidenreich 1978:387). The Hurons were permitted to travel through Algonquin territory for trade purposes, although the Algonquins regularly charged them “tolls” i.e., required Huron traders to leave them a portion of their furs or of the supply of European goods they were returning with to Huronia (Trigger 1994:48).
Between 1615 and 1634, when the Jesuits established permanent fortified missions, only a small number of French individuals appear to have visited Huronia (Trigger 1994:51). No trade posts or military forts were established in the region. The direct participation of the Huron in the French fur trade after 1615 essentially involved a growing Huron role as key Aboriginal middlemen in the Georgian Bay region, in which Huron trading parties brought furs to French posts on the St. Lawrence, collected in Huronia, as well as from neighbouring peoples. Heidenreich (1978:338) estimates that usually less than 300 Huron traders were involved in these travels on a regular basis, although up to 700 Huron traders visited French posts yearly at the height of their participation in the trade. The Huron rapidly over-hunted the beaver population in their territory and hunting grounds, and thus were forced to obtain their furs from other (mainly Algonquian) peoples. As described by Trigger (1994:49):

After 1615 groups of Huron travelled to the St. Lawrence valley each summer by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River. They supplied the French with ten to twelve thousand beaver skins each year. By 1630 they obtained all of these skins in trade, having exhausted the beaver population of their own hunting territories.

Until the 1630s the French presence in Huronia was limited mainly to Récollet priests, some soldiers, and coureurs de bois.

Trigger (1994:51) considers that most of the French in Huronia were likely employees of the fur trading company. In an earlier publication he summarized the pre-1634 French presence as follows:

Because of the remoteness of the Hurons from areas of European settlement, the number of Europeans who visited their country was small. Most of them were men who were employed by the trading company to live among the Huron and encourage them to bring their furs to the Saint Lawrence each year. The best known of these was Etienne Brulé... Many of these early coureurs de bois learned to speak Huron and adapted themselves to the Huron way of life. (Trigger 1978:350)

One of the key roles of the coureurs de bois was to accompany Huron trading parties and protect them from Iroquois raids:

The majority of these Frenchmen had guns and their presence discouraged Iroquois attacks against the native communities in which they lived. Each summer they travelled with Huron, Nipissing and Algonkin traders to the French trading stations on the St. Lawrence and protected them against Iroquois attacks in the Ottawa Valley. As a result, the Oneidas\(^\text{16}\) stopped their raiding there in the 1620s as the Mohawks had done along the St. Lawrence River a decade earlier. The presence of Europeans also ensured that the Algonkins did not charge the Hurons and Nipissing

\(^{16}\) One of the five nations then comprising the Iroquois confederacy.
Extortionately for using the Ottawa River. (Trigger 1985:194)

Not all of the fur trade employees living in Huronia were adult _coureurs de bois_. Some were young men or even young teenagers who, like Etienne Brulé in 1610, were developing skills and experience as _trchements_ for the fur trade company (ibid). No records have survived containing reliable statistics on the number of fur trade employees living with the Huron for specific years. However, from the writings of Récollet Father Gabriel Sagard, Trigger (1985:195) estimates this number at anywhere between “five to twenty”, and concerning the duration of their stay in Huronia, comments that “Some remained for only one winter; others, for many years”.

Between 1615 and 1626, the missionary presence in Huronia was basically limited to priests from the Récollet order (Trigger 1994:51). Their approach to religious conversion formed a key component of French colonial policy concerning Amerindian peoples of New France in the early to mid-17th century, which has termed by some historians as a policy of “Frenchification” (e.g., Peterson 1981; Eccles 1972). This policy, of which Champlain was an early proponent, was aimed at increasing the population of New France by culturally assimilating and (biologically) absorbing Indians through intermarriage with French colonists and relocation within the settled areas of New France (Jaenen 1976:154).

In accordance with this colonial policy, the Récollet approach to the religious conversion of the Huron required not merely renouncing traditional spirituality and beliefs, but a complete transformation in an individual’s way of life, concluding with the permanent relocation of converted Indians to French settlements along the St. Lawrence valley. Champlain and the Récollets hoped to achieve this by establishing French colonies among the Indians, comprised of full families (not exclusively male groups of _coureurs de bois_) that would provide an initial ‘civilizing’ influence on the Huron and other Indians. In reviewing this early-contact assimilation policy, LeBlanc (1968:136-137)\textsuperscript{17} states:

_The French themselves, and especially the missionaries, were aware of [the] imbalance in the contact situation\textsuperscript{18} and sought to correct it. From the very beginning they sought to establish colonies of Frenchmen among the Indians. Le Jeune, in his Relation of 1635, devotes a whole chapter to the need for colonies. Champlain had proposed the same thing to his Huron hosts and they, thinking no doubt of the bonds of alliance, asked him to have Christian families settle in their country... The establishment of colonies would thus have a two-fold effect: the..._

\textsuperscript{17} Peter LeBlanc is acknowledged as a Jesuit priest in this publication.

\textsuperscript{18} The imbalance LeBlanc refers to here is essentially the enormous population imbalance of the early-contact and settlement period in New France, in which a few hundred (later a few thousand) colonists were outnumbered by tens of thousands of Aboriginal inhabitants. In the specific French-Huron contact situation, LeBlanc (ibid:136) considers the imbalance to also refer to broader social and cultural factors, as the individual French colonial agents (limited to _coureurs de bois_ and missionaries) were dwarfed by the population size, political complexity and cultural richness of the Huron confederacy.
Indians would become accustomed to the French ways of life, and they would have the example of “good and virtuous Christians” to guide them. (Insert added)

The planned colonies were never developed and the French presence in Huronia remained limited to exclusively male fur trade employees and missionaries (ibid.137). While the Récollets introduced some Christian concepts among the Huron, and some Huron expressed a nominal interest in the Catholic religion, virtually no Huron conversions were achieved under the Récollet period. Trigger (1978:350-351) summarizes the dismal failure of their efforts in these terms:

They made an effort to record the Huron language, but their insistence that an Indian could be converted only if he agreed to leave his people and live as a Frenchman at Quebec led to their mission work's having no practical results.

Not surprisingly, the handful of Récollet priests residing in Huronia at any one point received no cooperation from (in relative terms) the demographically larger number of coureurs de bois and tricheurs. The Frenchification policies of the 17th century ran contrary to the interests of the different fur trade companies that held monopolies under the French regime, whose operations were dependent upon maintaining the Indian population in the remote forest regions of Canada where they could hunt for furs.

If anything, the relationship between these priests and the fur trade employees living in Huronia (and elsewhere) was likely marred by underlying resentment and hostility concerning each other's roles and conduct towards the Indians. Father Gabriel Sagard's written observations at Huronia in the 1620s describe French-Huron relations as involving an opposite process to the official Frenchification policy, namely the “Indianization” of the coureurs de bois and tricheurs:

Gabriel Sagard was one of the first to observe how much more easily European men could adapt to Indian life than Indians could to European ways. Most of the French traders quickly adopted items of native dress, accustomed themselves to use canoes and snowshoes, hunted alongside Indian men, and joined them in their ritual steam baths. All these activities won them the approval of their Indian companions. Most of them also appear to have enjoyed the greater sexual freedom of native life. Because of the uninhibited behaviour of Hurons prior to marriage, young women were easily available. Although the Hurons found beards distasteful, presents of European goods and the novelty of Frenchmen may have offset this liability. Competition for women did not cause trouble with Huron men, since the Hurons strongly disapproved of overt expressions of sexual jealousy. (Trigger 1985:195)

Contemporary historians caution against assuming that the apparent adoption of Indian lifestyles by the coureurs de bois and tricheurs involved a process of cultural assimilation or irreversible social integration into native society. The records describing their conduct were written by missionaries, and the Récollets in particular were generally hostile to them and their visible “debauchery”. The coureurs de bois and tricheurs were low-status fur trade employees who were exploited by the companies.
they worked for and generally very poorly treated by their middle-class superiors (Trigger 1985:196). By contrast, they were normally well-respected and even held in high esteem by their Indian hosts.

As Trigger (ibid) remarks, it might be tempting in this context for an historian to interpret the material adoption of Indian lifestyles and the sexual unions with Indian women as evidence that the *coureurs de bois* and *truchements* also adopted native values, attitudes and aspirations. However, other evidence suggests that in the Great Lakes region, most *coureurs de bois* likely maintained their goals of career advancement in the fur trade, eventually allowing them to rise to a middle-class status and lifestyle upon returning to Europe. Contrary to earlier historical depictions, such goals appear to have been held by the best known *coureurs de bois* of the period, Etienne Brulé:

*Contemporary but clearly hostile sources describe Brulé as knowing only one brief Christian prayer and as being as credulous and superstitious as any Huron. On such grounds, later historians have imagined that these early interpreters became deeply integrated into Indian society and adopted a native style of life, as did many of the *coureurs de bois* in the West who founded the Métis nation. It is tempting to believe that young Europeans of low social status would respond warmly to egalitarian native societies and in due course identify with them. Yet this did not happen in New France. Recent research indicates that Brulé spent more time in Europe and displayed far more business acumen than traditional biographers have ascribed to him. Other interpreters who outlived him... became businessmen and landholders of some importance in New France. In the early days there was considerable opportunity for enhancing one's status in the colony, and work of this sort was a source of income and experience that would allow a young man of humble background to better himself. Being in at least yearly contact with the colony, each of these men remained aware of such possibilities. Hence, whatever passing attractions native life held for them were outweighed by the chances for social advancement... of New France. These employees of the trading company never came close to identifying their interests with those of the Indians, partly because of European ethnocentrism but mainly because their careers were based on exploiting them. In this respect, their outlook was little different from that of the middle-class traders for whom they worked. (Ibid:196-197)*

Overall, it appears that French fur trade employees superficial adoption of native ways of life was motivated more by practical necessity, boosted perhaps by a sense of romance and adventure, than by wholesale rejection of European society and values. However, the frequent sexual unions of *coureurs de bois* and *truchements* with Indian women did produce a generation of persons of mixed French and Indian descent in the Georgian Bay region. In Section 3.2 below, more specific data will be presented concerning these offspring, the majority of whom were likely of French-Huron unions.

Little information was found concerning the impacts, if any, on the Aboriginal population of Georgian Bay of the temporary English takeover of New France between 1629 and 1633. The Jesuits had visited Huronia in 1626, probably in order to begin replacing the Récollets, who had failed to win
any converts in the region. Missionaries apparently deserted Huronia between 1629 and 1634 (Jones 1909:297). Meanwhile, an important development in the French fur trade had taken place in 1627, with the formation of the famous Compagnie des Cents Associés (Du Creux 1951[1]:37) by Cardinal Richelieu. Upon the restoration of Quebec to France in 1633 (Coyne 1903:xv), this company would enjoy a monopoly of the French fur trade for years to come. The Société de Jésus, the official name of the Jesuit order, exercised its influence on the colonial administration in order to obtain their own monopoly of mission work in the colony (Trigger 1978:351).

The Jesuits' approach to mission work in Huronia, as elsewhere, was systematically different from the Récollets in that they methodically sought to change only those aspects of Indian society and culture that contradicted Christian standards of morality and values (Trigger 1994:51). As opposed to the Récollets, the Jesuits' religious conversion criteria did not require converts to abandon their societies and relocate to French settlements. To the Jesuits, conversion was a strictly spiritual and moral phenomenon (Du Creux 1951[1]) and they generally viewed Christianity as being compatible with basic social, political and economic characteristics of Aboriginal life (cf. Trigger 1978:351). This more reasonable approach allowed the Jesuits to achieve some degree of success in converting Aboriginal individuals to Christianity. The Jesuits in fact took a keen interest in understanding the various aspects of native societies, including social institutions, languages, customs and practices of the peoples they sought to convert, as they considered this understanding as providing them with vital information they could use to 'work within' the societies and facilitate the conversion process. One consequence of their approach is that their writings, compiled and edited in the Jesuit Relations, contain much social, political and economic information on Aboriginal groups in the early contact era (Thwaites 1959).

The Jesuits were well aware that one of the major sources of frustration in mission work in Huronia rested with part of the resident coureurs de bois and truchements, who not only behaved 'immorally' and engaged in 'debauchery', but who had also directly undermined attempts at conversion by the Récollets in the 1620s. With their monopoly over mission work the Jesuits held considerable influence with the French Court, the colonial administration and even with members of the Cents Associés. As such they successfully lobbied to obtain the authority to expel any truchements or coureurs de bois formerly involved with the Huron that they considered 'undesirable', i.e., persons whose 'loose morals' and actions were seen to have corruptive influences:

In return, they promised that the duties of these men would henceforth be discharged, wherever possible, by laymen who were employed by themselves and hence subject to their own discipline and control. (Trigger 1978:351)

During the 1630s the lay workers replacing the coureurs de bois consisted of ordinary 'hired men', although beginning in 1639 and until the destruction of Huronia a new class of lay workers known as donnés took over the former duties of the coureurs de bois (Trigger 1976:575).

The intervention and involvement of the Jesuits in the operations of the fur trade in Huronia and elsewhere at this time period led some of their contemporary critics and rivals to accuse them of
profiting from that trade, an accusation that was later taken as accurate by some historians. The Jesuits consistently and vehemently denied such claims, in one case labelling them as an "atrocious calumny" (Du Creux 1951[1]:387). In considering the nature and scope of the fur trade related activities taking place in Huronia in the first half of the 17th century, it appears doubtful that the Jesuits benefited economically from having some of their lay workers take over the functions of some of the *coureurs de bois*. No trade posts were ever built in Huronia during this time period, even as the Huron became the key middlemen in the region. Instead, the Huron continued to trade furs they had either stockpiled in their villages, or obtained through Algonquian groups encountered along the way to the St. Lawrence posts. The basic role and activities performed by *coureurs de bois* in Huronia had been to encourage the Huron to undertake these yearly trips, to help organize them, to protect the furs stockpiled in Huronia as well as to protect the trading parties from Iroquois raids during their trips to and from the French posts.

The more reasonable (and calculated) approach and methods utilised by the Jesuits in their conversion efforts achieved a significant degree of success, compared to dismal results obtained by the Récollets. By 1646, twelve years after the permanent establishment of the first Jesuit mission, Huronia counted about 500 practising Huron converts (Trigger 1994:54). The Jesuits used their involvement in the fur trade to encourage conversions. Among other tactics, they instructed their lay traders to treat converts:

...with more respect than non-Christians and paid them higher prices for their furs. When the French began to sell missets to the Huron in 1641, they sold them only to trustworthy and tested converts. These actions encouraged the baptism of many Huron traders and warriors. (Ibid)

Prior to 1639, the fur trade activities operating through the Huron missions were conducted by lay workmen identified as "hired men" and "adolescents" (Jones 1909:311). That year saw the construction of Sainte Marie, described by Trigger (1994:54) as:

...a fortified, agriculturally self-sufficient mission centre on the banks of the Wye River. The priests transported pigs, calves, and even a cannon inland from Quebec to equip this mission, which became a sizable, all-male European settlement in the Heart of the Huron confederacy.

Jesuit records for Sainte Marie in 1639 indicate it was staffed by 30 persons, of which 16 were priests and 14 were lay workers (Jones 1909:320-321). The lay workers included 4 domestics, 2 boys, 2 adolescents, and 6 adult men forming a new class of workers known as *donnés* (ibid:321). The *donnés* replaced the ordinary hired men that had worked in missions up to that time, as the latter had proved often incapable to adhere to Jesuit standards of "chastity and good behaviour" (Trigger 1976:575). The *donnés* represented a type of indenture servants that the Jesuits hoped would be more easily manageable than the free hired men who had worked for them before:

*The Canadian donné was to bind himself by civil contract to abjure all personal*
possessions, to work for the Jesuits without pay, to obey the Jesuit superior, and to be chaste. The Jesuits, for their part, guaranteed to provide the donnés with clothes, food, lodging, and other necessities, and to care for him in sickness and old age...
The Canadian Jesuits pressed for the maximum incorporation of these men into the order... (ibid)

Between 1639 and 1648, as other mission centres were established in the Georgian Bay region, these donnés would become involved in the fur trade related activities of the missions, among other duties. By 1646 there were 16 donnés working at Sainte Marie (Jones 1909:357). The other missions centres established in Huronia operating up to the mid-to-late 1640s included St. Joseph, La Conception, St. Jean-Baptiste, St. Michel, St. Ignace and Ste. Magdelaine (Trigger 1976:690-693; see Map A.9).

The Huron continued to play a dominant middleman role in the French fur trade during the 1630s and early 1640s, but by the latter time period the confederacy had been seriously weakened by disease epidemics (begun at the time of the Jesuits' arrival) that were to reduce its total population by at least 50%, to approximately 9,000 from a pre-contact estimate of 20,000 to 25,000 persons (Heidenreich 1978:387). Huronia had also become increasingly vulnerable to direct attacks by the Five Nations Iroquois confederacy, who had resumed raiding Algonquin trading parties on the Ottawa River a decade earlier (Trigger 1978:354).

The Huron confederacy was unable to mount an effective counter-offensive or resistance to this threat due to several factors, the most important likely consisting of political factionalism. By the mid-1640s an anti-Christianity or "traditionalist" faction had developed primarily among the Arendahronon or eastern-most tribe, that demanded the removal of all Jesuits from the confederacy. These traditionalists were opposed by mainly pro-Christian and western-most Attignawtawen tribe, who even refused to provide military assistance to the Arendahronon as the latter's villages were being decimated and pillaged by the Iroquois (Trigger 1994:55). By 1647 the Adendahronton had abandoned their villages near Lake Simcoe and either relocated to westerly villages or were absorbed as captives by the Iroquois confederacy (Heidenreich 1978:387). Systematic Iroquois attacks in 1648 and early 1649 destroyed a number of large villages and mission centres (Stone and Chapat 1978:602). Later that year, in council with the Jesuits, the remaining Huron decided to abandon Huronia (Heidenreich 1978:387). Some Huron, along with remaining Jesuits relocated to a new mission centre called Sainte Marie II located on present Christian Island (Du Creux 1951[2]:535).

Facing starvation, and being harassed by Iroquois warriors camped on the mainland, they quickly abandoned this location by 1650 (Jones 1909:401).

A more detailed analysis of the forced migration of Huron, Petun and Algonquian peoples from Georgian Bay is presented in Section 3.3 below. The following section examines the development of a generation of persons of mixed French and Aboriginal ancestry in the Georgian Bay region during the 1615-1650 period.

3.2 THE ORIGINAL GENERATION OF MIXED DESCENT IN GEORGIAN BAY

There is strong evidence to suggest that a generation of persons of mixed French and Indian descent developed as a result of contact in the Georgian Bay region during the first half of the 17th century. A report prepared for a Métis and Non-Status Indian consultative body goes a step further and claims that the origin of the Métis nation dates to early 17th century liaisons between Frenchmen and Huron women in Georgian Bay:

*It was the friendly relations between the French and the people of the Huron Confederacy that produced the original coureurs de bois and started the process that led to a "new nation" of people.* (Pratt et al. 1980:4)

However, this claim is ambiguous and in part technically incorrect, at least in terms of the history of the Georgian Bay region. The statement can be interpreted to refer to the origin of the western Canadian *coureurs de bois*, many of which were of mixed French and Indian descent and whose descendants became incorporated into the Plains Métis in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Giraud 1986). This interpretation is partly accurate, although only a very small number and proportion of the western *coureurs de bois* likely ever originated from Huronia proper (cf. Foster 1995). On the other hand, the statement can be interpreted to mean that the historic métis first emerged in Huronia or in the Georgian Bay region, as the original *coureurs de bois*. As will be seen in this section there is no historical evidence to support the latter claim, and in any case it is clear that the occupation of *coureurs de bois* in the 17th century existed prior to the development of a generation of mixed French and Huron descent.

In a detailed study of the etymology of the term *coureurs de bois*, Saunders (1940:125) shows that this expression — used historically to designate a specific class of fur trade employee — first appeared in French government documents in 1652. In the original edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, the documents concerning Huronia do not use this expression to refer to fur trade employees, but the terms *engagés* and *truchements* appear with some frequency. The proper term *coureurs de bois* seems to have been derived from the generic expression *courir les bois* used by Récollets missionaries to describe activities of any French colonial agent (missionaries, explorers, *engagés*, *truchements*) involving purposeful travel in the woods (ibid:123).

There is no doubt, however, that some — perhaps even most — of the *truchements* and *engagés* living in Huronia from 1615 until 1633 had sexual relations with Huron women. Ethnohistorical analyses based on the writings of Récollet and Jesuit missionaries indicate that sexual relations with Huron women were clearly more prevalent in the 1615-1633 period than in the 1634-1650 Jesuit period:

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19 The first appearance of the term *coureurs de bois* in the *Relations* is in an allied document, a letter of Father Crepeul dated to 1686 (ibid:124).
Prior to the English interregnum, 1629-1632, the Récollet and Jesuit missionaries had experienced great difficulty owing to the presence in Huronia of French fur traders who, although popular with the Indians, were considered by missionaries to be a great hindrance to their work of conversion. Many of these young men preferred Indian mores to Christian ones, bedded down with the Indian girls, who did not hold premarital chastity in any esteem, and were a living refutation of the way of life the missionaries espoused and wished to impose on the Indians. (Eccles 1972:42)

Jaenen (1976:108) suggests this was characteristic of general French-Indian contacts throughout New France in the first decades of the 17th century:

The fur trade encouraged the sexual laxity that the missionaries greatly deplored. The coureurs de bois sent to the hinterland to consolidate economic ties for French merchants and traders, led dissolute lives by French moral standards. The Récollet missionaries reported this unfortunate consequence of contact from the first mission station established in the interior country.

Between 1634 and 1639, some of the coureurs de bois not yet expelled from Huronia by the Jesuits, and even some of the new hired men they hired to replace those expelled upon their arrival, would occasionally get caught in acts of ‘debauchery’ or be accused of ‘licentiousness’ or ‘intemperance’, despite measures put in place by the Jesuits aimed at preventing such conduct (cf. Thwaites 1959[10]:65; [18]:141).

There are several methodological issues that need to be considered in assessing the extent to which these types of relations took place and in reconstructing the nature of the social and sexual relations between coureurs de bois and Indian women in the early 17th century. As Trigger (1968:119) and other historians have pointed out, all of the evidence concerning these activities comes from the writing of missionaries, who co-existed with coureurs de bois in a mutually hostile relationship in native communities. In this context some missionaries may have been prone to exaggerate the immorality of the conduct of the coureurs de bois, or accept as true accusations based on hearsay or rumours. In this line of reasoning, it is possible to assume that the writings of missionaries may describe a greater frequency or prevalence of illicit sexual relations than what actually took place.

A second and distinct issue may in fact contribute to under-reporting sexual relations in missionary documents. Such activities would have been a source of embarrassment to missionaries as they provided evidence of their lack of moral control and influence over their fellow countrymen. Finally, the use of coded terms creates a problem of ambiguity in the documentary records. Likely a reflection of 17th century moral values, and certainly a reflection of the document authors’ morality, the writings of missionaries typically use (by present standards) code terms that ‘veil’ the carnal nature of the activities ascribed to the coureurs de bois. A historian looking for evidence of sexual relations between Frenchmen and Indian women in the Jesuit Relations infrequently encounters direct references to this activity, as many authors instead present more vague complaints of
‘debauchery’, ‘licentiousness’ and ‘intemperance’ exhibited by either Indians and Frenchmen, and these terms can refer to different possible types of (perceived) ‘evils’ (drunkenness, flaunting religious teachings, uttering obscenities, etc).

Setting these issues aside, the basic problem concerning the determination of the development of a population of mixed French and Indian descent in the Georgian Bay region prior 1650 is that missionary records make virtually no mention of children resulting from unions of *coureurs de bois* and Indian women. The dearth of basic information concerning persons of mixed French and Indian descent in the early 17th century is confirmed by Jaenen (1976:109), who also acknowledges that no attempts have been made by historians or ethnohistorians to derive population estimates for this group. In another passage from the same publication he considers that this lack of information applies to generations of persons of mixed French and Indian descent born throughout the geographic contact area between Frenchmen and Amerindians, from the late 16th to the 17th centuries:

*Since the first contacts between fishermen and sailors and the native women of the Atlantic Coast there had been a certain amount of racial admixture. But these illicit and usually temporary liaisons produced a half-breed population, the numbers of which were never recorded although the physical traits are still discernible in descendants who claim to be “pure blood” Europeans or Amerindians. It is believed by some authorities that the Malecites were not a genuine Algonkian tribe but were the half-caste descendants of unions between Micmac women and the fishermen of Saint-Malo. There were, beyond doubt, numerous half-breed children wherever the *coureurs de bois* carried French trade and in the vicinity of forts garrisoned by French soldiers. (Ibid:161–162)*

The lack of acknowledgement of children of mixed French and Indian descent in the Georgian Bay region applies to both alleged ‘illegitimate’ unions, as well as the few ‘legitimate’ unions involving Christian marriages performed by the Jesuits in the 1630s and 1640s. Since the *coureurs de bois* themselves left no direct records of their lives in the region, any historical or ethnohistorical attempts at reconstructing the development of such a population must be based on speculation and inferences from later 17th century descriptions from other regions of New France.

While it is effectively impossible to determine with any exactitude the number of children born in the Georgian Bay region of mixed French and Indian descent, some very rough estimates may be inferred from the crude social variables and demographic figures available in the literature. As presented in Section 3.3 above, the number of *coureurs de bois* and *truchements* present in any given year in Huronia between 1615 and 1628 varied from 5 to 20. The number who remained during the English take-over of Quebec between 1629 and 1633 is unknown, although it is possible that a handful resided in Huronia or among the Algonquians as was the case with Etienne Brulé.

Assuming an average number of estimated at dozen non-clergy Frenchmen throughout this period, and taking in consideration the fact a few (one or two) *truchements* were young boys, there were probably no more than ten Frenchmen mature enough to enter into sexual relations with Huron
women in a typical year in the 1615-1633 period. After 1634, although the number of non-clergy French increased to include some couriers de bois, truchements, hired men brought in to replace banished couriers de bois, domestics and donées, some of these men had taken vows of chastity, and were all of them were any case generally kept under close surveillance by the Jesuits. For example, a Relation by Father Le Jeune dated to 1634 describes the general state of relationships between Frenchmen and the Huron as follows:

*I do not wish to importune [the Huron]; but I am glad to know that we will serve them willingly, and that we shall expect them to give what is necessary for the maintenance of our Fathers in the new settlements... and that they will give also wages and food to the men whom we shall keep for their sakes; and on their account, either among the Hurons, or elsewhere, we keep these men with us, in order that they may not become debauched with the Savages and show a bad example, as those did who were here formerly. (Thwaites 1959[6]:81-83; insert added)*

Although some of these men still engaged in ‘illicit’ sexual relations with Huron women, this type of activity was curtailed to some extent compared to pre-1628 period.

There is no reason to believe that every sufficiently mature truchement and couriers de bois engaged in sexual activity in Huronia, although it appears reasonable to assume that a majority likely did so. It is also likely that some of them had multiple partners, although the promiscuity of Huron women has been exaggerated and stereotyped in the historical literature. Only unmarried teenage girls typically engaged in free sexual relations in Huron society, and Huron marriages were monogamous (Heldenreich 1978:370). Neither the Récollets nor the Jesuits recognized Huron marriages as legitimate, and thus any Frenchman entering into marriage with Huron women according to Huron custom would be considered as engaging in an act of ‘debauchery’, etc.

That some couriers de bois married Huron women according to Huron custom, as Trigger (1968:119) suggests is highly probable. The length of residence of the couriers de bois in Huronia varied widely overall, from one to several years. However, the basic purpose of their presence was to encourage the development of the fur trade and cement the political and military alliance between the Huron and the French. As with most Aboriginal societies of the time, the key to developing economic and political ties between peoples was to create kinship links between them, and this would be achieved most effectively in the Georgian Bay region by having couriers de bois integrate themselves into Huron kin groups by marriage. However, as indicated in Section 3.1 above, in the early 17th century few couriers de bois attached themselves to a single Aboriginal group for long periods, and only a small minority of these abandoned their French nationality and aspirations to middle-class status and life in Europe by permanently adopting an Aboriginal way of life in bands or villages. Most who married Indian women in Georgian Bay likely did so for convenience or practical reasons, and probably engaged in sexual relations with other Indian women during their fur trade related travels.

Taking these different factors into consideration, it is clear that some elements of the total
situation of Frenchmen in Huronia encouraged the widespread practice of engaging in sexual relations with Aboriginal women, in some cases with multiple partners. However, other elements of this situation, including the small number of non-clergy French, the restrictions imposed by the Jesuits, and even the marriage customs of Huron, acted to limit the extent to which sexual relations could develop. While no statistical formula can be used to generate an estimate of the number of children born in Huronia from mixed descent, it seems unlikely that overall more than 200 such children would have been born between 1615 and 1650, and most of these were likely born prior to 1634. This number would represent about 1% of the pre-epidemic Huron population (estimated at 20,000 to 25,000), and about 2% of the post-epidemic population (estimated at about 9,000). Since Huronia was by far the major centre of French activity in the Georgian Bay region throughout the first half of the 17th century, it seems unlikely that more than perhaps 100 children of mixed descent would have been born outside Huronia but within Georgian Bay as a whole.

These rough estimates are purely speculative since missionary records virtually do not acknowledge the existence of persons of mixed descent in the Georgian Bay region. In one respect this silence is perplexing since the development of population of mixed French and Indian descent formed an integral part of Champlain’s Frenchification policy. Aș Jannen (1976:162) elaborates:

*Since mercantilist officials feared a depopulation of metropolitan France and were also aware of the unattractiveness of the majority of the colonies for metropolitan Frenchmen, the absorption of the large native population through inter-marriage was proposed as an alternative to large scale immigration from France. The idea of a racially mixed empire in North America had been in Champlain’s mind when he told the Hurons that, if they accepted the Catholic religion brought by the Recollets, the French would live among them, marry their daughters, and teach them their arts and trades.*

First proposed to the Huron in the second decade of the 17th century, Champlain reiterated his plans for French and Huron intermarriage in 1634 as part of the negotiations allowing the colonization of Huronia by the Jesuit. As stated in a *Relation* by Father Le Jeune dated to 1635:

*After public affairs, Monsieur de Champlain, our Governor, very affectionately recommended our Fathers, and the French who accompanied them, to these Tribes; he told them, through an interpreter, that if they wished to preserve and strengthen their friendship with the French, they must receive our belief and worship the God that we worshipped; that this would be very profitable to them, for God, being all-powerful, will bless and protect them, and make them victorious over their enemies; that the French will go in goodly numbers to their country; that they will marry their daughters when they become Christians; that they will teach all their people to make hatchets, knives, and other things which are necessary to them; and that for this purpose they must next year bring them many of their little boys, whom we will lodge comfortably, and will feed, instruct, and cherish as if they were our little brothers.*

(Thwaites 1959[8]:49)
The Frenchification policies of the 17th century, however, envisioned the development of a population of mixed descent as resulting from large-scale ‘legitimate’, i.e., Christian marriages between Frenchmen and (converted) Indian women, a process which clearly never took place in Huronia or elsewhere prior to 1650. Even a later revival of the policy, started under Colbert’s administration in 1667, met with failure despite its inclusion of “a substantial wedding gift to any Indian girl who married a Frenchman” (Trigger 1985:294; cf. Peterson 1981:30). Marriage statistics compiled during the second half of the 17th century indicate that only nine Frenchmen had married Indian women (by Christian ceremony) and one French woman had married an Indian man (Lanctôt 1964:205, Dickason 1982:9-11, both in Trigger 1985).

By the end of the 1600s the colonial administration abandoned the policy, noting that attempts at encouraging Indian-French marriages had not only failed to make Frenchmen out of Indians, but had produced the opposite result, leading Frenchmen (principally coureurs de bois) into adopting Indian ways of life. In the words of one commentator from the late 17th century:

“It was long believed that it was necessary to draw Indians near us to frenchify them; there is every reason to acknowledge it was a mistake. Those who have approached us have not become French, and the French who frequented them have become savages.” (Peterson 1981:14).

In this context, the most likely explanation for the lack of references to, and identification of, children of mixed Indian and French descent during the first half of the 17th century in the Georgian Bay region, is that they were simply retained in Huron and Petun villages and in Algonquian bands and raised by their Indian mothers as members of their respective societies (Giraud 1986[1]:227).

Jaenen (1976:164) agrees with this assessment:

[French-Indian] marriages were usually between a French man and a native woman, not between French women and Amerindian men. Therefore, although the children of such unions were, in European terms, French by paternity, they were raised in the native way of life by their native mothers. (Insert added)

This outcome applied equally to the few children from Christian marriages as to those resulting from ‘illegitimate’ relations between coureurs de bois and Indian women. The “optimistic” Frenchification policies:

...ignored the fact that the fruit of such legitimate alliances would be little different from the fruit of the illicit encounters. The native way of life would be reinforced rather than French colonization being promoted. (Ibid:163)

While a few coureurs de bois developed long-term relationships with Indian women by marrying them according to native customs, the majority of sexual relations between Frenchmen and Indian women appear to have been relatively casual affairs (Giraud 1986[1]:230). In either case, however, the way
of life of the *couriers de bois* required them to travel extensively for the fur trade and it is therefore unlikely that they would have played any significant role in child-rearing, since even those who developed long-term relations would be absent from their native households for long periods.

There is no evidence that the Huron, Petun or Algonquian peoples in the Georgian Bay region developed terminologies to distinguish children of French fathers from children of Indian fathers prior to 1650. The Huron, as with other Iroquoian peoples, had an institutionalized system of adoption by which outsiders became incorporated into extended families, clans, and tribes. If children of French fathers were at all socially distinguished from those of Huron fathers, they were likely incorporated into Huron society through this system, which was even extended to some of the *couriers de bois*:

*Among the Hurons, the practice of adoption also favored mixed unions. Sometimes it was no more than a formal adoption, whose only practical effect was to ensure the material subsistence of the guest allowed to share the life of the family that adopted him (an institution from which the missionaries profited in furthering their evangelistic aims), but occasionally it took the form of a more genuine adoption, which - as among the Iroquois - incorporated the newcomer completely into the family and made it easy for him to contract an alliance among the native people.*  
(Giraud 1986[1]:231)

The few ethnological publications presenting analyses of the formation of a population of mixed French and Indian descent in the Georgian Bay region during the first half of the 17th century agree that this population did not develop a sense of community distinct from that of their Aboriginal mothers and / or French fathers in the 1615-1650 period. Certainly, the 35-year time span between the (regular) arrival of *couriers de bois* and the forced migration from the region of remaining Huron, Petun and Algonquians, would have allowed only one full generation of persons of mixed descent to reach adulthood. This lack of time precludes the possibility that this population developed any distinct social institutions, economic resource harvesting practices, or traditional customs. Finally, while it quite possible that some of these individuals survived the Iroquois raids and continued to live within their Huron, Petun and Algonquian groups during their forced migrations from the Georgian Bay region, no information from later 17th century sources exists concerning their fate. The following section examines developments taking place in the Georgian Bay region during the second half of the 17th century.

### 3.3 THE 1650-1700 PERIOD AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE OJIBWA

The history of the Georgian Bay region during the second half of the 17th century is basically a history of widespread population shifts that can be divided into three periods (Schmalz 1984:332; 1991:18). Following the forced migration of the original Aboriginal occupants, from roughly 1650 until the 1680s, the region was essentially unoccupied and most likely used as a hunting ground by the Five Nations Iroquois. During the 1680s and 1690s, the region was the site of several decisive battles between the Five Nations and an alliance of Algonquian peoples principally comprised of

Ojibwa, but also including Ottawa and Nipissing factions, which succeeded in eventually repelling the Iroquois from southern Ontario. The last decade of the century saw the permanent settlement of the region by Ojibwa groups.

The forced migration of the remaining Huron and Jesuits from Sainte Marie II on Christian Island in 1650 was part of a widespread process of depopulation of most of the Georgian Bay region resulting from a series of attacks on Huron and Petun villages that had begun in 1648 (Heidenreich 1978:387; Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396). The Huron confederacy was actually beginning to disintegrate that year, with some joining Neutral and Petun peoples, and others fleeing to live among northern Algonquian peoples (Trigger 1978:355). Following the dispersal of the Petun in 1650, the Iroquois attacked and defeated the Neutral confederacy the following year. Some members of the Huron and Neutral confederacies were integrated as war captives in the Iroquois confederacy and appear to have eventually assimilated into the Seneca tribe. The majority of Huron and Petun refugees, however, fled northwest of the Georgian Bay region and settled at various locations in Lake Michigan (Mackinac), the southern of lake Superior (Chequamegon) and different inland regions west of Lake Huron, where they fused into a new tribal grouping known as the Wyandots (ibid; Heidenreich 1978:368; Stone and Chapat 1978:602).

The Ottawa (or perhaps still proto-Ottawa) bands living in the Bruce Peninsula area and on the eastern shore of Georgian Bay also came under intensive Iroquois attacks circa 1650 and experienced dispersal and forced migrations. Many relocated temporarily to Manitoulin Island, which had a traditional part of their territory pre-dating European contact, while others settled at Saginaw Bay and Mackinac, along with Huron refugees (Feest and Feest 1978:772-773). Some Ottawa also settled at Chequamegon Bay with Hurons in 1660 where they were joined by Ojibwa (ibid). The history of Huron and Ottawa relocations in the upper Great Lakes region is extremely complex and any detailed account is well beyond the scope of this report.

Between 1650 and until a temporary peace with the French established in 1667, the Iroquois conducted extensive raids on different Algonquian peoples in the Upper Great Lakes region, including the Nipissing, the proto-Ojibwa bands living along the northern shore of Lake Huron up to Sault Ste. Marie, and beyond (Trigger 1976[2]; see Map A.10). In the early 1650s, the Nipissing abandoned their homeland had relocated in the vicinity of Lake Nipigon by the 1660s (Day 1978:789). The Ottawa also likely abandoned Manitoulin Island in the early 1650s, relocating to the north shore of Lake Huron, where they mixed with proto-Ojibwa bands. Some Ottawa may have retained a distinct identity from the Ojibwa as these mixed groups migrated into the boreal forest region beginning in the late 1600s and continuing during the early to mid-1700s (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998b:59-60).

Although the Iroquois conducted several raids against proto-Ojibwa bands living on the north shore of Lake Huron, these were usually unsuccessful, and the proto-Ojibwa groups are not considered to have experienced any significant territorial losses. Schmalz (1991:19), for example, describes two important Iroquois losses against Ojibwa on the north shore of Lake Huron in 1653 and 1658. The fur trade related Iroquois raids may well have contributed to the development of the
historic Ojibwa and Ottawa tribal groupings through the formation of intensification of political alliances between formerly independent bands or villages. It is in the post-1650 period that the Ottawa at Mackinac, and later those returning to Manitoulin Island, emerge as the main middlemen and traders in the French fur trade (Feest and Feest 1978) by controlling the flow of furs and European goods between the old French River-Lake Nipissing-Ottawa River route to the St. Lawrence, and the rich fur and pelt hinterland regions west and north of Sault Ste. Marie.

Until 1667 the Iroquois were also at war with the French and conducted both fur raids and military attacks on settlements in the St. Lawrence (Trigger 1976). While the trade route to the St. Lawrence via the Ottawa River remained open, the Iroquois were largely successful in forcing most of the Algonquins from their traditional territory in the Ottawa valley (Day and Trigger 1978:793-794). While displacing most of the original inhabitants of southern and eastern Ontario, the Iroquois only settled in villages along the north shore of Lake Ontario and in the Niagara Peninsula region by the 1660s (Schmalz 1991:18; Murray 1963:xxxviii-xxxix). The Georgian Bay region was likely used as a hunting ground of these settlements (ibid).

For nearly two decades after 1650 the French appear to have been completely absent from the southern Georgian Bay area. A peace treaty with the Iroquois concluded in 1667 permitted the resumption of French explorations in central and southern Ontario (Coyne 1903:xxi). Very few explorers and couriers de bois had been permitted to venture south of Huronia during the first half of the 17th century as the Hurons feared that extensive contact with Petun and Neutral peoples would undermine their position as middlemen in the French fur trade. Lake Ontario, particularly its western portion, was relatively poorly known by French traders, who were seeking an alternate route to the Ottawa River in order to reach the western regions of the Great Lakes (ibid).

It is possible that Etienne Brûlé was the first Frenchman to travel what later became known as the Toronto Carrying-Place route linking Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario, via Lake Simcoe (Voorhis 1930:10), although this claim has been subject to controversy. Ethnographers agree that the route was travelled as early as 1669 by Jean Peré (also written as "Perray"), a relatively little-known courrier de bois operating during a period in which his occupation was about to become outlawed by the colonial administration of New France (Saunders 1940:125). Murray (1963:xxxix) reports that:

...in the final third of the seventeenth century, Europeans at last were able to enter Lake Ontario and use the trails and waterways across the peninsula of southern Ontario. In 1669 Jean Peré apparently left Lake Ontario by the eastern branch of

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20 By the mid-17th century and until the development of the 18th century development of the voyageurs trade, the term couriers de bois had gained a pejorative meaning as it tended to refer to fur trade employees involved in illicit trading activities with the English, and who generally behaved immorally (ibid:125-126). According to Robinson (1965:21), Peré himself was accused of trading with the English at Albany (New York), which may help explain his relative obscurity: although he may have been the first European to travel down the Moose River (which bears his name on some inaccurate 17th century maps of northern Ontario) he was "one of those many Frenchmen attracted by the life of the woods who disappeared in the wilderness" (ibid).
the Toronto Carrying Place, and crossed by Lake Simcoe and the Severn River to Georgian Bay. No record of his trip has been found but his route is indicated roughly on the Galinée map of 1670.\(^2\)

The Toronto Carrying Place route was travelled on several occasions by the French explorer La Salle in the 1670s (Murray 1963:xxxx; Robinson 1965:14-15). Meanwhile, the French built Fort Frontenac in 1673, near present-day Kingston, in order to establish a military presence against possible English intrusions and to intercept Iroquois trading parties who continued to bring furs to the English at Albany from villages established on the north shore of Lake Ontario (Voorhis 1930).

It is from this time period that the Toronto Carrying Place probably first acquired a strategic importance to Europeans as an alternative travel route from the St. Lawrence to the Upper Great Lakes:

*With the establishment of Fort Frontenac at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario in 1673, the French found themselves at last in a position to impose an effective curb upon the Iroquois, and to collect at their leisure the peltries from the north and south sides of the lake. Le passage de Toronto, which but for the Iroquois would have been the main avenue of approach to the Huron country, now became the link between Fort Frontenac at the base of the St. Lawrence and Michilimackinac and the Sault in the heart of the west, and began in measure to replace the route by the Ottawa which had been the only available approach to the interior since the days of Champlain.* (Robinson 1965:14)

Murray (1963:xxxx) agrees with this assessment by stating:

*In the days when water transportation took first place, the Severn River as the outlet of navigation across the peninsula of southern Ontario had obvious strategic importance. One of the first to recognize this was Baron de Lahontan. He argued that if France's Indian allies were to attack the Iroquois in their own country they must have forts. Accordingly he suggested that three "forts supposed" or "little castles" be built, one at the mouth of Lake Huron, one at the mouth of Lake Erie, and one near the mouth of the Severn. By the time that Lahontan published his work the power of the Iroquois was already broken and the forts were unnecessary, but the Toronto Portage with the Severn River continued to hold a strategic importance.*

While the Toronto Carrying Place route was likely travelled with increasing frequency by *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* during the 1670s, the Georgian Bay region, specifically the Penetanguishene peninsula and the Severn sound area remained unoccupied.

\(^2\) A reconstruction of Galinée's map by Coyne (1903:78, 83), indicates the presence of an Iroquois village named Ganateckagonoa, likely near present-day Bowmanville, as the site at which "Ferrey" camped prior to entering Lake Huron.

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*PRAXIS Research Associates, 2000: Historic Metis in Ontario – Georgian Bay*
The resumption of fur trade wars between the Iroquois and the French and their traditional Algonquian allies and trading partners in the 1680s brought a sudden end to the Lake Ontario trade and the temporary abandonment of the Toronto Carrying Place route. By this time the formerly independent proto-Ojibwa groups living along the northern shore of Lake Huron and the eastern shore of Lake Superior had begun to develop a broad tribal identity under which most groups would lose their former identities as they became subsumed under the Ojibwa name (Hickerson 1970; Schenck 1994; cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998a:15-30). Only one proto-Ojibwa group, the Mississauga, have retained their name up to the present time, although they consider themselves as part of the Ojibwa (ibid).

Peter Schmalz (1984;1991:13-34) presents an account of the eventual conquest of Georgian Bay and southern Ontario by the Ojibwa that is partly based on written collections presenting Ojibwa (and Ottawa) oral histories. The expansion of Ojibwa along the eastern shore of Georgian Bay may have begun in either the late 1670s or early 1680s, as several maps from the period show Mississauga settled at first in the Lake Muskoka region (Murray 1963:xli). According to Schmalz (1991:23-26), the Ojibwa engaged the Iroquois in several battles in the Bruce Peninsula and Owen Sound regions, as well as in the vicinity of Penetanguishene. As the Iroquois experienced a number of successive defeats, the Mississauga mainly spread from Georgian Bay eastward along the Trent waterway, while the other Ojibwa, most of whom later became termed Chippewas, settled along the shores of Georgian Bay and into southwestern Ontario (Murray 1963:liii).

By the end of the century, the Ojibwa had settled permanently in the Georgian Bay region. A general peace between the Iroquois and the French in 1701 (Schmalz 1991:32) would ensure that the region experienced social and economic stability during the first half of the 18th century. The following chapter examines relations between the Georgian Bay Ojibwa and Europeans during the 1700s, and the development of new population of mixed Indian and European descent in the context of the 18th century French fur trade, and the growth of early English settlements towards the end of that century.
4. MIXED DESCENT POPULATION: 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES

This chapter examines historical developments taking place throughout the Georgian Bay region beginning in the early 18th century, following the migration and settlement of Ojibwa, and up to the early 19th century, when permanent European settlement began. The first section presents social and economic data concerning the resource harvesting practices of Ojibwa bands. This is followed by an overview of the development of the fur trade during the 1700-1830 period, distinguishing the different forms of development characterizing the French trade (ca. 1700-1750) and the establishment of independently owned small trade stores in the English period (1790s-1830s). The last section of the chapter presents evidence detailing the probable formation of a new population of mixed European and Indian descent, and ethnohistorical speculations concerning this population's possible growing socio-economic specialization as intermediaries in the fur trade and in the early British colonial administration of Indian affairs.

The relative brevity of this chapter is due to a general paucity of information on the Georgian Bay region during the 1700s. With the exception of the Toronto Carrying Place route linking the Penetanguishene area to fur trade posts, and later to the growing town of York under the British period, Georgian Bay remained little more than a fur trade hinterland region during the century. No major fur trade posts were ever established in Georgian Bay, which also lacked mission centres until the 19th century. It was only in the last years of the 18th century that the British colonial administration began to acquire title to land in Georgian Bay proper, although one earlier land surrender peripheral to Georgian Bay had been obtained in 1785.

4.1 RESOURCE HARVESTING PRACTICES OF GEORGIAN BAY OJIBWA

Population estimates from the early 18th century suggest that the initial Ojibwa settlement of Georgian Bay and southern Ontario may have involved less than 1,000 persons, although by the mid-1730s, either by natural increase, or ongoing immigration, or both, the total population likely comprised up to 1,500 individuals spread among several bands. No specific data exist for the Owen Sound and Parry Sound areas proper, but a band of Ojibwa was clearly well-established at Matchedash Bay by 1718 (Robinson 1965:64). Rogers (1978:762) indicates that:

Towards the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century an estimated 300 Ojibwa or "about 60 or 80 men" were living in a village at the north end of Lake Saint Clair. Others lived along the north shore of Lake Ontario, some at Quinté (Kent), others at Toronto, and at the Head of the Lake, in all consisting about 150 able-bodied men, perhaps totalling 700-800 people. For 1736 the French gave the following estimates of Ojibwa in southern Ontario: 60 men at Lake Saint Clair and 150 at Quinté, the head of Lake Ontario, the Humber River, and Matchedash,
perhaps 1,000-1,500 people.

The Ojibwa bands that came to settle along the eastern and southern shores of Georgian Bay, including the Bruce Peninsula, lived an essentially semi-nomadic way of life involving a seasonal cycle of resource harvesting generally similar to that of Ojibwa occupying the north shore of Lake Huron (Rogers 1978). Semi-nomadism refers to a way of life, usually regulated according to a yearly cycle comprised of alternating periods, in which a group lives a nomadic existence during some seasons, followed by a sedentary existence during others (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998b:5-10).

The seasonal cycle of the Ojibwa involved a relatively sedentary life lasting from late spring until late fall, in which individuals lived in larger bands compared to those of winter months. The summer bands, usually comprised of over one hundred individuals, were typically established in coastal villages along the Bay, or in some cases on the larger islands adjacent to the coast. The larger group size and sedentary existence were made possible by relying on the rich fisheries and aquatic resources of Georgian Bay. Some groups practised horticulture which provided band members with supplies of corn and other crops harvested in early fall (Rogers 1978:762). At this time, many bands collected wild blueberries which were preserved as a food supply for the winter months. In late fall, the bands would break up into smaller winter bands, comprised of about 40 persons each, that dispersed into inland regions in order to live primarily from hunting. The main animals hunted appear to have been beaver and moose (ibid). Trapping of fur-bearing animals for trade purposes was also conducted at this time, since by the early 18th century the Ojibwa who had migrated to the Georgian Bay region had been integrated in the French fur trade for several decades. Some bands collected maple sugar in early spring, and by late spring planted corn and other vegetables in their gardens prior to returning to fishing villages where they reunited into larger summer bands.

More specific data detailing the seasonal cycle of the Ojibwa in the Parry Sound area is available from oral histories collected by Jenness (1935)22. Prior to the emergence of family hunting territories in the second half of the 18th century (Rogers 1978:763), the Parry Sound band collectively owned the hunting territories, maple groves and fishing grounds used by band members throughout the year. The emergence of the family hunting territory system towards the middle of the century represented a modification of the land tenure system, where extended family units were allocated specific tracts of land on which members had exclusive rights to harvest fur-bearing animals. The family hunting territory system in Georgian Bay, as elsewhere among different Aboriginal peoples in northeastern Canada, constituted an adaption to changing ecological conditions, typically a scarcity

22 The data, however, concern the pre-1850 Robinson-Huron treaty period and are not fully representative of 18th century. For example, Jenness (ibid:14-15) distinguishes between Ojibwa and Ottawa harvesting practices, and the Ottawa members of the Parry Island band, along with some Pottawatomi, only migrated from the United States to the Parry Sound area in the 1830s (ibid:1). One difference between Jenness' data and the 18th century Ojibwa and Pottawatomi migrants were more intensive horticulturalists than the Ojibwa ever were (Rogers and Tobobundung 1975). It is also almost certain that there were material changes in harvesting technology between the 1700s and 1800s encouraging changes in practical resource harvesting techniques. On the whole, however, the Ojibwa-specific data collected by Jenness for the pre-Treaty period likely provide a generally accurate portrayal of the nature and extent of the Ojibwa resource harvesting cycle during the 18th century.
of fur-bearers, and provided a mechanism of resource allocation in this context (*ibid*).

According to Jenness’ sources, the hunting season typically lasted from November to the end of March. The winter bands were normally comprised of either one large extended family or groups of two to three smaller extended families. Prior to the break-up of the larger summer bands, the heads of extended families (typically elder males respected for their hunting skills and knowledge) would hold a council at which they pre-determined the general hunting ground locations to be used by the winter bands (Jenness 1935:4). The hunting of large game was conducted by adult males; moose constituted their chief quarry. Women usually worked at snaring small game such as rabbits and grouse, and occasionally fished through the ice on lakes (*ibid*:10,13).

Towards the end of March the hunting season would come to an end with the melting of snow. At this time families would move to maple groves, where the women processed sap into maple sugar while men involved themselves in fishing. Maple sugaring usually ended towards mid-April, at which time band members involved themselves in diverse harvesting activities prior to joining up into the larger summer bands. Depending on location and the availability of resources, people may either take part in some fishing, or hunt a variety of smaller game, such as beaver and deer. Life in summer bands revolved principally around fishing, which provided the mainstay of the diet from late spring until late summer. In summer months, women took part in collecting wild fruits, roots and eggs. The Ojibwa around Parry Sound do not appear to have practised horticulture, relying instead on harvesting wild rice in late summer and early fall (*ibid*:14-15). Towards late fall (October) band members would concentrate on fishing again and develop a food stockpile prior to their break-up towards mid-to-late November.

4.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUR TRADE UP TO THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

4.2.1 The French Period (1701-1750)

The establishment of peaceful relations with the Iroquois in 1701 allowed the French to re-develop their trading activities in Lake Ontario and re-establish a trade network linking that region with their major northwestern posts in the Upper Great Lakes (Stone and Chaput 1978:604). Michilimackinac, centrally situated near the juncture of Lakes Michigan and Huron was by far the key military and trade post in the Upper Great Lakes region, from which furs were shipped to the St. Lawrence for export to Europe through the long-established French River–Lake Nipissing-Ottawa River route. After 1701, however, the construction of new trade posts at Detroit, Niagara and on Lake Ontario greatly expanded the French trade networks and a viable alternative route to the Ottawa was developed.

The main development in the French fur trade during the 1701-1750 period affecting the Georgian Bay region was the re-establishment of the Toronto Carrying Place route linking the Penetanguishene Peninsula area to Lake Ontario. Although no fur trade posts were built in along the eastern and southern shores of Georgian Bay, the French constructed a series of store-houses at
Niagara, Quinté, and Toronto by 1720 that served two main purposes. First, the Quinté and Toronto houses formed part of the alternative trade network linking Michilimackinac to Lake Ontario; and second, the Toronto and Niagara houses helped to discourage and intercept the Ojibwa settled in the Georgian Bay region and southern Ontario from trading with the English at Albany (Robinson 1965:66-67; Schmalz 1991:37).

Prior to the construction of the store-house at Toronto, few voyageurs seem to have travelled between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron via the Toronto Carrying Place route:

From the lists of engagements of voyageurs in the district of Montreal a good deal is to be learned about the condition of the fur trade on Lake Ontario in the early years of the eighteenth century. The number of those voyageurs whose destination was Fort Frontenac or other parts of Lake Ontario is exceedingly small. Traders went to Michilimackinac, to the Illinois, to the Mississippi and to Detroit, but it is not till 1702 that there is any mention of Fort Frontenac or Lake Ontario. In that year Joseph de Fleury de la Gorgendière engaged ten voyageurs to make the trip to Fort Frontenac, and, we assume, to trade about the lake. In 1703 eight men and one woman were engaged to go to Fort Frontenac. There is no further mention of Lake Ontario until 1716, when...Jean and Alexandre Dagneau-Douville and others engaged themselves to Jean Baptiste Maurisseau to make the trip to fond du lac, autour de Katarakou et au fort des Sables. There is no further mention of Lake Ontario in the voyageurs agreements for several years. (Robinson 1965:67)

By 1727, however, the store-house was upgraded to a full trade post (ibid:73), and another post, Fort Toronto (1750) would later be established in the same area. Fort Toronto operated only for a few years until the outbreak of war with the English effectively ended the French fur trade era.

Since the records and journals of the Toronto posts have not survived it is very difficult to estimate the extent of involvement by Ojibwa from the Georgian Bay region in direct trade activities at Toronto. Schmalz (1991:35-62) presents a general overview of Ojibwa participation in the Great Lakes fur trade that depicts the 1701-1759 period as a ‘golden age’ of southern Ojibwa history, in which Ojibwa often successfully play off French and English traders, and suggesting significant travel to different trade posts. This analysis, however, presents very little data concerning the Georgian Bay region proper. Other portions of Schmalz’s historical analysis describe intensive and localized relationships developing between coureurs de bois, voyageurs and Ojibwa during the first half of the century, as will be seen in Section 4.3 below. Since the Toronto Carrying Place formed the only fur trade corridor linking Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario in this period, it is possible in this context that trade activities of Georgian Bay Ojibwa may have been largely delimited to the Penetangushene Peninsula area during the first half of the century.
4.2.2 The English Trade in the Second Half of the Century

The English conquest does not appear to have led to any important change in trade activities for Ojibwa in the Georgian Bay region during most of the second half of the 18th century. Overall, the region remained little more than a hinterland area devoid of any permanent presence by European traders until the 1790s. After 1763, the Toronto Carrying Place route became used by English traders based at Albany mainly as a transportation corridor to Michilimackinac and other Upper Great Lakes posts (Barry 1968:23). The route was travelled by trader-explorer Alexander Henry in the 1760s and continued to be used to some extent by the Northwest Company (NWC), following its creation in the 1780s and lasting into the second decade of the 19th century (Voorhis 1930:10).

Murray (1963:xcv) suggests that Ojibwa trading patterns following the English conquest involved limited travels to areas regularly frequented by voyageurs; although by the end of the 18th century independent traders had begun to set up a few small trade stores in the Penetanguishene and Muskoka regions:

At the beginning of the English period the Indians carried their furs from the Muskoka and Parry Sound area to traders on Georgian Bay, or to Lake Simcoe and the Holland River, or exchanged them with traders who had set up temporary trading posts in the [sic] hunting grounds.

The NWC largely employed Canadiens as voyageurs, the majority of whom were men of French Canadian descent. Until the last decade of the 18th century, direct contacts between Ojibwa and fur trade employees at local and regional levels in Georgian Bay therefore continued to involve individuals of French identity and descent. As will be seen in Section 4.3 below, it is apparent that a growing number of individuals of mixed French and Indian ancestry gained employment as voyageurs during the 18th century (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:40-43). In this context it is possible that some of the voyageurs coming into regular contact with Georgian Bay Ojibwa were of mixed French and Indian ancestry.

Toward the end of the 18th century the fur trade in the Georgian Bay region began to develop locally through the establishment of small, often temporary trade stores owned and operated by independent traders. Although the NWC employed voyageurs who continued to travel through the Toronto Carrying Place route, the development of these small stores represented a structural change in the Georgian Bay fur trade as Ojibwa bands were now able to trade locally.

4.2.3 The Independent Fur Traders (1790s-1830s)

Very little specific information is available concerning the individual traders who established temporary 'posts' and stores in the Georgian Bay region other than Murray's claim that "they were all French or English". She attributes the dearth of data concerning these individuals to the fact that:

...no journals kept by trappers of fur traders in this district [Muskoka] have been
found, and as a result it is usually impossible to tell who first traded on a given lake or river, or who built the make-shift trading posts. (Ibid)

With one exception, these fur trade stores were built in eastern Georgian Bay, in the Penetanguishene and Parry Sound areas. Only two small stores appear to have been built in the Owen Sound area, prior to 1830 (Landon 1944:116; see Chapter 9).

The first fur trade store in Georgian Bay for which there is written information was built at Matchedash Bay and was in operation by 1793. Its owner, a Mr. Cowan, who was also known by a French name (Jean Baptiste Constant) is described by Murray as the most important independent trader in the Penetanguishene and Muskoka areas in the 1790s. As Murray (1963:xcv-xcvi) reports few other traders were active in the area at that time:

At the end of the eighteenth century the trader who probably obtained the majority of the furs from Muskoka was George Cowan, also known as Jean Baptiste Constant or Constance, who had a trading post at the southeast of Matchedash Bay, described in McDonnell’s journal of Governor Simcoe’s trip in 1793. An equally colourful figure in the early trade was Quetion St. George, a French Royalist who came to Canada in 1798, opened several stores in the southern part of the country, and began trading with the Indians in the north. One of his posts is said to have been at the Narrows between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, and this, no doubt, attracted some of the trappers from the Muskoka district.

McDonnell's journal entry provides a detailed description of the arrival of Simcoe's expedition to Matchedash Bay, including Mr. Cowan's trading store but presents no information concerning Cowan's identity:

...at 11 o'clock we entered Matcheatche [sic] Bay - The Indians having been informed (by an express over land from the village on Lake Simcoe) of the Governor's being near at hand, were assembled upon a point a short distance from the last Portage...after the ceremony of shaking hands was over, the Chief presented two dozed of Ducks to the Governor. His Excellency thanked him & told him that he should be happy to see him and his Band in the evening at Mr. Cowan's on the opposite side of the Bay - We then parted & re-imbarking sailed across in little more than an hour...Upon landing, unloaded, & hauled up our Canoes, encamped in the woods a small distance from the Lake, & about half a mile from Mr. Cowan's house, or rather Fort, for it is a regular square enclosed with good pickets; his house is in one, his store opposite to it in another, an out-house for Corn, Potatoes &c in a third, & the gate in the fourth; he does not allow the Indians to get drunk within this Garrison... At 8 o'clock Mr. Cowan who had been out hunting during the day, being returned, came to pay his respects to the Governor - Mr. Cowan is a decent, respectable looking man & much liked by the Indians... (Ibid:18)
McDonnell's journal entry makes no reference to Cowan's French name, but states in a brief biographical sketch that, as a boy, he had been taken prisoner by the French at Fort Pitt in 1759 (ibid). If this account is accurate, it is possible that Cowan may have received a French name during his period of captivity, or as the result of adoption by a French family. Murray (ibid) indicates in a footnote that in addition to operating fur trade stores, he was later appointed as official interpreter for the Mississaugas in 1796, an occupation that was commonly held by persons of mixed European and Indian ancestry in the second half of the 18th century (see Section 4.3 below).

Cowan's biographical information closely parallels that of another individual mentioned in McDonnell's journal entries concerning Simcoe's 1793 expedition, a 'Mr. St. John' described as operating a fur trade post on the Humber River. A footnote by Murray (ibid:17) explains that Mr St. John was:

Jean Baptiste Rousseau (1758-1812) [who] often signed his name Rousseau, and was frequently referred to as Mr. St. John. He was a fur trader long established at the mouth of the Humber River near York, and frequently acted as Indian interpreter. In 1795 he moved to Ancaster where he built a grist mill and became an officer of the militia. (Insert added)

In fact, Mr. St. John, identified as "John Rousseau" is acknowledged as the official interpreter in the negotiations of the 1785 Collin's Purchase, the first land surrender obtained in the Georgian Bay region analysed in Chapter 5 (ibid:97). There is no evidence, as opposed to Cowan, that this individual was English by birth and received a French name by also being captured or adopted by the French during the Seven Years war. Instead, the available evidence suggests that he was French by birth and received an English name following conquest, perhaps as the result of dealing predominantly with English officials following the conquest. The duality of surnames in the 'Cowan / Constant' and 'St. John / Rousseau' cases may also reflect a more subtle social process affecting segments of the colonial population during the second half of the 18th century in which socially marginal individuals, such as Frenchmen involved in the fur trade voluntarily accepted English names in order to facilitate their integration into the middle economic classes of colonial society.

In addition to Cowan's store at Matchedash Bay, two small 'posts' or trading cabins are documented to have existed along the eastern shore of Georgian Bay between Parry Sound and the French River. Landon (1944:140) indicates that members of the 1823 Bigsby survey expedition travelling up the coast of Georgian Bay from Matchedash Bay stopped and visited an abandoned 'post' known as Bourassa situated on an island in Parry Sound. Apart from being described as an 'old' post, there is no additional information provided concerning this establishment. Landon (ibid:141) later mentions that another post by the name of La Ronde was still in operation at the time of the 1823 expedition, situated to the north of the old Bourassa 'post' between Parry Sound and the French River. However, again, no detailed information is presented concerning its ownership and

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23 As indicated in Chapter 6, there may be a family connection between George Cowan and a voyageur at Penetanguishene by the name of William Cowan, who is positively identified as métis.
As mentioned above, only two small trade stores or temporary ‘posts’ appear to have been built in the Owen Sound area in the time period under consideration in this chapter. The closest establishment to present-day Owen Sound was a small ‘post’ built in the mid-1820s near Vail Point, on the northeastern shore of Owen Sound (Davidson 1972:25). In the late 1810s, a trader by the name of Pierre Piché built and operated a small store near the mouth of the Saugeen River (Landon 1944:116). However, according to Landon, Piché was not an independent trader in his own right but an agent for Andrew Mitchell, the métis son of Dr. David Mitchell (an army surgeon with the British Garrison at Mackinac) who ran a fur trade establishment at Mackinac, and who later relocated to Penetanguishene (ibid; Murray 1963:108ff.

As discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6, the town of Penetanguishene was established in the decades following the 1798 Penetanguishene Harbour Purchase, and its existence pre-dates the establishment of the towns of Owen Sound and Parry Sound by decades (Landon 1944:139; Barry 1968:71). During the 19th century at least four fur trade stores were in operation at Penetanguishene (see Chapter 6). However, the journals and account books for these stores have either not survived or are unavailable to the public, so that it is impossible to determine the volume of trade they conducted, or to determine the proportion of trade conducted with European, Indian or métis trappers living in the Penetanguishene region. An article from The Globe (a Toronto newspaper) dated June 12, 1865, reproduced in Murray (1963:327) provides rare financial information on one store (Thompson’s) and discloses that a fur sale held the previous week had generated $14,955.00 in revenue. The newspaper article then adds:

The furs are sold by private contract, and this year competition ran so close that we believe in two estimates amounting to nearly fifteen thousand dollars; only thirty dollars difference was found between the two tenders. (Ibid)

Barry (1968:43) confirms that at least Thompson’s fur trade activities were highly successful by pointing out that until 1881, when the store was finally closed, his fur sales were attended by prospective buyers from Montreal, New York, London (England), Berlin “and even Australia”. Another fur trade store was owned by George Gordon and operated with the help of his métis half-brother named Jean Baptiste Rousseau24* - a different individual from the Jean Baptiste Rousseau (aka Mr. St. John) who ran a fur trade store on the Humber River (Murray 1963:108ff.

Information concerning the ‘Penetanguishene’ Rousseau’s trade activities states that he was “said to have travelled extensively through the wilderness collecting furs from the Indians” (Ibid). A similar statement is given by Landon (1944:116) concerning the nature of Pierre Piché’s trade activities south of Owen Sound, suggesting that some of the fur traders on Georgian Bay in the 19th century conducted their trading in a manner more closely resembling those of the coureurs de bois than those of the large companies such as the NWC and the Hudson’s Bay Company. Nevertheless

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24 This identification is established in Chapter 6.
The Penetanguishene stores also conducted operations by attracting trappers to their location. Some of the Indians coming to Penetanguishene to trade furs in the 19th century were members of the Nipissing band, whose ancestors had been involved in similar trade activities with the Attignawantan Huron tribe more than two centuries earlier. As described by Barry (1968:43):

*The Nipissing Indians came annually to Penetanguishene in a fleet of canoes laden with furs, camped on the shore, and spent several days visiting and being visited by traders, before returning home with their yearly supplies.*

With a few exceptions, the historical sources cited above present little evidence or discussion identifying fur trading activities by métis persons, although it is undisputable that some métis were established, for example, at Penetanguishene by the late 1820s. More generally, other sources of information suggest that a population of mixed European and Indian descent developed in the Georgian Bay region through interactions with French, and later also English fur traders during the 18th century. The probable circumstances concerning their origins, and the factors responsible for the silence of the historical record concerning their activities are the focus of the next section.

### 4.3 THE ORIGINS OF HISTORIC MÉTIS IN GEORGIAN BAY

Several historical publications and documents reviewed for this assignment suggest that métis in southern Ontario and in the Georgian Bay region likely have part of their origins in contacts between French *coureurs de bois*, voyageurs and Indian bands from the first half of the 1700s. Additional generations of persons of mixed Indian and European descent stemmed from later 18th and early 19th century contacts with independent fur traders, and even with middle and upper class members of 18th century colonial society working for the Indian Affairs Department. However, the sources reviewed for this assignment suggest that the development of a métis population was not geographically uniform throughout the Georgian Bay region. Instead, some areas or locales were subject to more intensive contact and intermarriage between Indians and Europeans than others. This, however, should not be interpreted to imply that persons of mixed descent remained at these locales and developed distinct métis communities or enclaves in the 18th century. In fact, the available evidence suggests that persons of mixed descent in the 1700s were involved in relatively high degrees of both geographic and socio-economic mobility.

However, it is important to make explicit that virtually no information was found detailing the development of an 18th century métis population in the Georgian Bay region specifically. The sources discussed below present broad analyses and historical reconstructions of the development of a population of mixed descent in southern Ontario generally. During most of the 18th century, there were likely too few métis for officials to differentiate persons of mixed Indian and European ancestry as a significant population group distinct from Indians and Europeans. Other historical reasons likely contributed to the lack of systematic identification of métis in the 18th century, including colonial attitudes and values concerning the potential for ‘civilization’ of the Indians. This issue is addressed briefly in the following section.
4.3.1 Social Classification in 18th Century Canada

The main difficulty in attempting to document the development of a métis population in the 18th century is that persons living in frontier regions of the colony were differentiated more on the basis of lifestyle, including occupation and socio-economic class, than by race or racial origins (Harrington 1981:35-36). Whiteside and Whiteside (1979:1-3) remark that no systematic distinctions were made in government records between ‘full-blood’ and ‘half-breed’ Indians until the 1830s, when questions of legal status and potential rights of persons of mixed European and Indian descent began to surface as administrative issues.

The general tendency of 18th century document authors to identify population segments by lifestyle as opposed to racial background may in part reflect social and cultural characteristics of the colonial population of New France in the first half of the century (Harrington 1981:35-36). By the early 1700s the French population had become increasingly segmented into two main groups living distinct lifestyles: the habitants, settled in the colony proper who lived a sedentary existence largely from agriculture, formed one segment that was ‘colony oriented’ while another segment, comprised of adventurers, explorers, traders, couriers de bois and later voyageurs, was oriented to the Indian trade in furs. The cultural context of the times, as evidenced from repeated attempts at the ‘Frenchification’ of Indians, seems to have placed little emphasis on race or racial origins in ordering social relations between individuals and instead focused on the idea that individuals could change their lifestyles with relative ease. In other words, 18th century colonial society placed little emphasis on the racial background of individuals as an important social characteristic.

While the designation of the French word ‘métis’ to persons of mixed racial descent dates to 1615 (Robert 1972:1080), the term only came into common popular usage in the 20th century. The appearance of terms such as chicot and bois brulés in the 18th century suggests a gradual awareness of the existence of a population of mixed Indian and French origin among French authors and officials. However, these terms at first referred to a specific sub-group of couriers de bois who had developed a habit of taking up land in order to cut timber for sale instead of cultivating it (Peterson 1981:45), and did not designate all persons of mixed French and Indian descent. Interestingly, Redbird (1978:1) indicates that the Ojibwa also developed a term, wissakodewimm, having a similar meaning to chicot (“burnt sticks”). The terms métis, chicot and bois brulés appear only sporadically in French documents from the 1700s, and it is only by the 19th century that official records (then English) begin to systematically identify métis (as “half-breeds”) as a social group distinct from Indians and Europeans.

As the number of individuals of mixed French and Indian ancestry increased during the 18th century, and more of them began to gain employment in occupations oriented towards the Indian trade in furs, that there developed a notion that these persons could act as cultural intermediaries between Indians and Europeans. Over time, some persons of mixed descent came to live in the colony as small businessmen, clerks, and even farmers, while others gained employment as couriers de bois, voyageurs, and traders; others still, attached to Indian bands, became their spokesmen, leaders and in some cases even chiefs (DIAND 1980:6). The occupational tendency of persons of mixed descent
towards roles that involved cultural brokerage between Indians and Europeans led to their gradual classification as distinct social group by the 19th century. As stated in a report prepared for DIAND (ibid:7), during the 18th century, when individual persons of mixed descent were still rarely explicitly identified in terms of their racial background, a practice had developed whereby "whenever Whites and Indians met, each naturally, turned to the mixed bloods in their communities to conduct the trade, negotiation, or alliance".

There is evidence suggesting that this process cultural brokerage intensified following the English conquest. Whiteside (1980:1-3), for example, demonstrated through genealogical research that in the early years of Indian administration (mid-to-late 18th century), male members of the Johnson and Claus families had developed relatively extensive ties of marriage to Indian women. Some of these individuals held positions in the Indian Department, and at one point prior to 1800, six of the eighteen highest ranking administrators were married to Indian women, while another five were partly of Indian descent. As stated in a DIAND (1980:11) report:

*The Johnson and Claus families practically controlled the Indian Department and were themselves responsible for several hundred mixed blood children. Many Department officials were half or quarter bloods and played critical roles in executing policy.*

While there is strong evidence that individuals of mixed descent increasingly played roles as cultural intermediaries during the 18th century, there is virtually no evidence enabling a determination as to whether these métis were developing a sense of social and cultural community. At a general level of analysis, the large range of occupations and social contexts in which métis lived (Indian bands, fur trade industry, European settlements and government), coupled with the relatively short time span in which this population had emerged, likely precludes the possibility of social and cultural cohesiveness.

4.3.2 Ethnogenesis in the Georgian Bay Region

The sources reviewed for this assignment agree that at a general level of analysis, the nature of the French fur trade, dependent on *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* developing close contacts with Indian bands, fostered a social context in Indian territories that implicitly encouraged sexual relations and intermarriage between Frenchmen and Indian women than the English trade system, which depended upon attracting (male) Indian trappers and trading parties to large, centralized posts (Schmalz 1991:36-37; Peterson 1981:31; Barry 1968:23-25; DIAND 1980:5-7).

From an Aboriginal perspective, social integration by developing kinship (family) relationships formed the key to developing long-term economic ties between strangers (DIAND 1980:5), and as Peterson (1981:46) points out, *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* generally understood that marrying Indian women according to local customs created the kinship links that would help secure their regular access to furs. As Schmalz (1991:36-37) states concerning the Ojibwa perception of the social dimension of the fur trade:
...the Ojibwa expected the Europeans to respect and attempt to understand their culture... In this context the French Canadians had a definite advantage over the English. The Ojibwa had gained a strong attachment to the free-spirited French fur traders, the coureurs de bois, by the beginning of the eighteenth century and this relationship continued to be entrenched throughout the period under consideration. A century of contact and especially intermarriage fused an alliance between many of the Ojibwa bands and the French, who often lived in the Indian villages. Unlike the English, it was a common practice for a French fur trader to take an Indian wife, thus establishing a vested interest in the native community.

Barry (1968:23) makes the following remark concerning French-Indian relations in the 18th century:

Traders who despised the missionaries dealt easily with the Indians. The coureurs de bois lived among them, and with their women, and in many ways came to think like them. There was more rapport between white men and red during the French time than ever afterwards.

Considering that the Toronto Carrying Place formed the main fur trade route in the Georgian Bay region during the French period, it is likely that most contacts between coureurs de bois and voyageurs and Indian bands were normally delimited within the transportation corridor. However, there are grounds to consider that by the 18th century, some coureurs de bois and voyageurs were themselves of mixed French and Indian descent, resulting from unions and marriages between Frenchmen and Indian women living in more easterly regions and settlements of the colony. A report by DIAND (1980:6-7) indicates that during the 1700s many of the adult children from these unions spread out from French settlements and trade depots into hinterland regions in order to make a living from the fur trade.

No statistics were compiled during the 18th century enabling an assessment of the size of this apparently growing population of mixed French and Indian descent, and the few fur trade records available for the French period do not document the ethnic or racial descent of individual voyageurs. In this context it is impossible to determine how many persons of mixed French and Indian descent were born in the Georgian Bay region from contacts along the Toronto Carrying Place route, or how many voyageurs travelling this route were themselves of mixed descent. This dearth of information is largely due to 18th century French and English colonial cultures, which underplayed racial characteristics and differences and instead emphasized occupational and class statuses of individuals.

As was the case in the 17th century, it is most probable that children of French coureurs de bois and voyageurs and Ojibwa women along the Toronto Carrying Place corridor were raised by mothers who continued to live with their bands. Most likely these persons of mixed descent were raised as Ojibwa and for the most part remained in the Georgian Bay region, although some may have changed their band membership over the course of their lives as this was an established practice in
Ojibwa society (cf. *Praxis* Research Associates 1998:6-7). Although Redbird (1978:1) indicates that Ojibwa developed a word comparable in meaning to the French *bols brûlés*, it is unclear as to whether this term later came to designate all individuals of mixed European and Indian ancestry. In other words, there is no evidence enabling a determination as to whether persons of mixed Indian and European ancestry living in Ojibwa bands came to be generally recognized or classified as a distinct sub-group of these bands.

The dearth of information concerning the activities of independent French and English traders who set up temporary stores in the Penetanguishene and Parry Sound areas in the late 18th and early 19th centuries presents similar analytical problems concerning any determination of métis community formation in that time period. No direct data was found pertaining to these traders’ social relations to Georgian Bay Ojibwa, other than the fact that the ‘Humber River’ Jean Baptiste Rousseau acted as interpreter in the 1785 Collins Purchase, and that ‘Mr. Cowan’ at Matchedash Bay seemingly had developed a good rapport with local Ojibwa.

Several sources, either dating from or referring to the early to mid-19th century period in Georgian Bay state that it was common practice for traders on and inland from the eastern shore of Georgian Bay to take up Indian wives in that period (Landon 1944:112; Murray 1963; Barry 1968:41-42; Whiteside and Whiteside 1979:9). These sources in fact agree that traders were the only Europeans following this practice in this time period, despite the fact that the town of Penetanguishene was expanding demographically and diversifying economically by the end of the second and third decades of the 19th century (see Chapter 6).

Of the three areas under consideration in this study, Penetanguishene appears to be the only locale at which any significant number of persons of mixed Indian and European ancestry may have settled in the early 19th century. During this time period, in the Parry Sound and Owen Sound areas, persons of mixed ancestry were either raised as ‘Indians’ and accepted as full band members, or those who removed to European settlements integrated themselves in the Euro-Canadian communities. Two anthropological studies of the Parry Island Band reviewed for this assignment, specifically an ethnography by Jenness (1935), and an ethnography by Rogers and Tobobundung (1975) focusing on the 19th century, make no mention of any métis membership in that band. As Whiteside and Whiteside (1979:51) concluded:

*The half-breed Indians who, for one reason or another, did not live in the settlements or reserves in Ontario and were not connected to the Band Councils in some way are difficult to locate or find evidence of cohesive group action. One would guess that in southern Ontario most of these half-breed Indians were assimilated into the*

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23 That some individuals change their band membership at some point in their lives is a general phenomenon found in all band societies. Anthropologists have developed the term ‘flux’ to refer to this process (*ibid*).

26 Redbird (*ibid*7) claims that métis were in fact being identified as a group as early as 1670, but cites no source of information nor presents any data to support this broad assertion.
Interestingly, Annual reports by the Department of Indian Affairs for the Cape Croker and Saugeen Agencies, the Parry Sound Agency, and the Penetanguishène Agency collectively dating from 1864 to 1891 make no mention of 'half-breeds' living (or formerly having lived) within these respective bands. Yet, annual reports of Indian Affairs for other reserves and communities, for example at Michipicoten and Couchiching, clearly identify and distinguish 'half-breed' members from Indian members in the 1880s and 1890s (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a; 1999b).

It is reasonable to assume that some individuals of mixed Indian and European ancestry were almost certainly included as band members, while others lived in the general, predominantly European population of the region. However, the prevalence of negative evidence concerning specific métis identification in the range of historical records and publications for the Georgian Bay area in the 18th and early 19th centuries (prior to the migration of voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene) indicates that this biological population group lacked systematic identification by others. This negative evidence also suggests that most individuals of mixed ancestry prior to 1828 likely did not self-identify as métis. The following chapter examines the nature and extent of involvement of persons of mixed descent in the land surrenders and treaties historically negotiated in the Georgian Bay region.
5. LAND SURRENDERS AND TREATIES

This chapter presents an overview of the major land surrenders and treaties negotiated in the Georgian Bay region, between 1785 and 1923. Historical documents and analyses were examined for potential involvement by métis in four land surrenders and three treaties pertaining to the region. The land surrenders include: the Collins Purchase (1785), the Penetanguishene Harbour Purchase (1798), the Lake Simcoe Purchase (1815), the Lake Simcoe - Nottawasaga Purchase (1818), and the Bond Head Agreement (1836). More comprehensive legal agreements involving land surrenders in the region include the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850), and the Williams Treaty (1923)27.

No evidence was found that any self-identifying group of mixed European and Indian ancestry in the Georgian Bay region was recognized as participants or beneficiaries to any of these land surrenders and treaties. Furthermore, no evidence was found that any self-identifying group of mixed European and Indian descent in Georgian Bay attempted to have any formal claims presented to government authorities in the context of negotiations pertaining to these surrenders and treaties. As the discussion in the following sections will demonstrate, the lack of involvement in the negotiations of these surrenders and treaties by self-identifying métis appears to be complete. Although historical sources generally acknowledge that it was common for persons of mixed ancestry to act as interpreters in negotiations between Indian bands and government authorities, the land surrenders and treaties negotiated in the Georgian Bay region do not generally fit this pattern.

5.1 THE EARLY LAND SURRENDERS (1785-1836)

In the late 18th century the British colonial government developed an interest in acquiring title to several tracts of land in what are now southern and central Ontario, that had been declared as forming part of an Indian territory under the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (Surtees 1986:3). Of specific relevance to this assignment, by the 1780s the government became interested in obtaining title to lands defining and adjacent to the Toronto Carrying Place route in order to develop it as an alternative transportation route for military personnel and traders involved with western trade posts. As summarized by Surtees (1984:35):

...Governor Haldimand was very anxious about the security of the western posts and

27 The classification of these negotiated agreements as 'land surrenders' and 'treaties' in this Chapter is somewhat arbitrary, since all of the negotiations involved surrenders of Indian title to lands and all of the conditions pertaining to the surrenders were written into treaty documents. The criteria used in classifying some agreements as 'surrenders' while others as 'treaties' rest with the nature and scope of provisions specified in the documents as defining mutual obligations and rights of the Crown and Indian signatories. Treaties are labelled as 'land surrenders' if the treaty document specifies few rights other than title acquisition by the Crown and a lump sum compensation given to Indian signatories. The Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850) and the Williams Treaty (1923) are clearly more comprehensive types of legal agreements between the Crown and Indian signatories than the earlier treaties reviewed in this chapter and are subject to review in a separate section.
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their lines of supply. With that in mind he sent a party of soldiers to investigate the communication route known as the “Toronto Carrying Place” which might be used as an alternative route between Niagara and Michilimackinac. No purchase resulted from the subsequent report, but in 1785 Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor at Quebec, was still interested in the possibility of a second route to Georgian Bay, and he despatched John Collins, the Deputy Surveyor General, to survey the route and report on what lands it [sic] might be necessary to purchase from the Indians in the region.

All of the main records and documents concerning Collins’ expedition have been lost, preventing a definitive reconstruction of his dealings with the Ojibwa. According to Surtees (ibid), the “scant evidence” that has survived on the matter suggests that he exceeded his authority and actually negotiated a land surrender with the Ojibwa at Lake Simcoe. That Collins negotiated an agreement of some kind is certain from a memorandum written at Lake Simcoe dated August 9, 1785, in which he states:

At a conference held by John Collins and William R. Crawford Esqr. with the principal Chiefs of the Mississauga Nation Mr. John Rousseau Interpreter… it was unanimously agreed, that the King shall have a right to make roads through the Mississauga [sic] Country, That the Navigation of the Rivers and Lakes, shall be open and free for his Vessels and those of his Subjects, that the Kings Subjects shall carry on a free trade unmolested, in and through the Country, That the King shall erect Forts, Ridouts, Batteries, and Storehouses & ca. in all such places as shall be judged proper for that purpose - respecting Payment for the above right, the Chiefs observed they were poor and Naked, they wanted Clothing [sic] and left it to their good Father to be a judge of the quantity. (Murray 1963:97)

As noted in Chapter 4, the interpreter in these negotiations identified as ‘John Rousseau’ in this text, was actually Jean Baptiste Rousseau, a French trader who operated a post on the Humber River. Although Collins’ memorandum does not specify the extent of land acquired by the Crown, a letter by Rousseau indicates that the government obtained titled to “one mile on each side of the foot path from the Narrows at Lake Simcoe to Matchedash Bay with three miles and a half square at each end, and one mile on each side of the Severn River” (ibid:99). Neither Collins nor Rousseau suggest that any individuals self-identifying as being from mixed European and Indian ancestry were involved in these negotiations.

By the early 1790s the colonial government, still fearing American attacks on Upper Great Lakes posts and garrisons, began to examine the possibility of establishing a naval military base on Lake Huron. To that effect John Graves Simcoe, then Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada travelled with a survey expedition to the Penetanguishene Peninsula in 1793, in order to determine the feasibility of establishing a military base with harbour facilities. Receiving a favourable opinion

28 The location is actually identified as Lake le Cie, a common 18th century name for Lake Simcoe.
on the potential for developing harbour facilities by his surveyor, Simcoe made arrangements to hold a formal council in 1794 to obtain a land surrender. The English fur trader operating a store on Matchedash Bay (Mr. George Cowan, also known as Jean Baptiste Constant), was intended to act as official interpreter for these negotiations (Murray 1963:97). However, administrative issues delayed these negotiations, which were eventually held at York (Toronto) in 1795 (Surtees 1984:56). A formal Treaty confirming the surrender of a tract of land and harbour on the Penetanguishene Peninsula was eventually signed on May 22, 1798 (ibid:57).

The text of this Treaty identifies the sole Aboriginal participants as the “chiefs, warriors and people of the Chippewa tribe or Nation of Indians” (Canada 1992:15). Five Aboriginal signatories appear on the Treaty document, who clearly self-identified as Indians, as evidenced by their use of totem signatures\(^\text{29}\) (representing Chiefs and/or principal men named Chabondashea, Aasance, Wabenenguan, Ningawson, Omassahsqutawah). The name “Geo. Cowen”[sic], followed by the initials “I.D.” also appears on the list of signatories. Despite an apparent typographical error, this clearly indicates that George Cowan acted as the official interpreter for the negotiations\(^\text{30}\).

Two additional surrenders were negotiated in 1815 and 1818 which included significant amounts of land partly bounded by sections of the eastern and southern shores of Nottawasaga Bay. The 1815 surrender, also known as the Lake Simcoe purchase, covered about 250,000 acres between the western shore of Lake Simcoe and the Penetanguishene Peninsula. According to Surtees (1984:64) the surrender was negotiated following complaints by the Northwest Company that its fur trade operations from the Penetanguishene Peninsula were subject to harassment and seizures by American customs. Securing title to the entire Peninsula would allow for an expanded military presence and settlement\(^\text{31}\). The Company later assisted the economic development and settlement of the Peninsula by helping finance the construction of a road that would connect establishments at Penetanguishene to the growing town at Toronto (Barry 1968:27-28).

William Claus, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, began negotiations of the Lake Simcoe purchase in 1811 but were delayed with the outbreak of the War of 1812 (Surtees 1984:65). A formal council aimed at concluding these negotiations was eventually convened at Lake Simcoe following the end of the war, which had in part served to convince the government of the strategic military value of the Lake Simcoe - Penetanguishene Peninsula region. On November 18, 1815, a government delegation met a council of Chippewas at Kempenfelt Bay, on Lake Simcoe and the surrender was officially ratified. The text of this treaty identifies the only Aboriginal participants as the “Principal Chiefs of the Chippawa Nation of Indians”, named as Kinaybicoinini, Aisaince, and Misquickkey, who signed the document by drawing their totems. William Gruet is identified as the official interpreter of the negotiations (Canada 1992:43-44).

\(^{29}\) The historic métis are not a clan-based society.

\(^{30}\) His identification as an employee of the Indian Department (by the initials I.D.) by 1798 is consistent with Murray’s (1963:18ff.) assertion that was appointed as official interpreter in 1796.

\(^{31}\) A naval establishment was being built at Penetanguishene during the winter of 1815.

The 1818 surrender known as the Lake Simcoe-Nottawasaga purchase was one of three separate land surrenders negotiated that year in what is now central Ontario. The Lake Simcoe-Nottawasaga surrender was intended to provide lands for new settlers and secured two river systems considered to have military importance as communication and transportation routes (Surtees 1984:74). Formal negotiations were held on October 17, 1818, involving William Claus, John Givins (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) and Alex McDonell (Assistant Secretary), and five Chiefs of the Chippewa Nation of Indians, identified as Musquake (Yellow Head), Kaquetieum (Snake), Muskagonce (Swamp), Manitobine (Male Devil), and Manitobinnce (Devil’s Bird). John Claus acted as official interpreter of the negotiations (Canada 1992:47).

The land surrenders negotiated between 1798 and 1818 covered a land mass that included most of the southern Georgian Bay region, from the Penetanguishene Peninsula to the southern shore of Owen’s Sound. In 1836 Lieutenant Governor Francis Bond Head obtained a surrender of title to lands south of the Bruce Peninsula by the Saugeen Indians (Surtees 1984:91-92). The negotiations for this surrender were actually held at Manitouwaning on Manitoulin Island, immediately following an agreement reached with the Ottawa and Ojibwa residents of Manitoulin Island. The Saugeen Ojibwa had come to Manitouwaning to receive annual presents (ibid:90). The specific circumstances and conditions of the negotiations Bond Head initiated at Manitouwaning have been the subject of several controversies that are beyond the scope of this assignment.

Bond Head appears to have relied on different interpreters in his separate addresses to the Manitoulin and Saugeen Indians. J.B. (Jean Baptiste) Assekinack, identified as an Ottawa war chief (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1998a:67) interpreted Bond Head’s address to the Ottawa and Ojibwa from Manitoulin, and his name appears on the text of that treaty immediately below the Lieutenant Governor’s name (Canada 1992:113). Assekinack’s name does not appear in the list of signatories to the Saugeen surrender, and several persons appear to have assisted in interpreting his address to the Saugeen Indians: T.G. Anderson (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) and three Methodist missionaries (Joseph Stinson, Adam Elliot and James Evans), who signed as witnesses to the treaty (Canada 1992:113).

The text of the Saugeen surrender names the “Sauking Indians” [sic] as the only Aboriginal party to the surrender and provisions specified in the treaty. A comprehensive review of the context in which Bond Head negotiated this surrender uncovered no evidence that he considered individuals of mixed European and Indian ancestry as potential parties to this treaty, and his addresses at Manitoulin in 1836 apparently made no references to such a population (PRAXIS Research Associates 1997).

It is virtually certain that some of the band members involved in the surrenders negotiated between 1785 and 1836 were biologically of mixed European and Indian descent. However, a search of archival documents pertaining to these surrenders revealed no evidence that individuals or groups of mixed European and Indian descent, self-identifying as such, either took part in the negotiations of the surrenders, or attempted to be included in the surrenders. No petitions from individuals claiming to represent métis or ‘half-breed’ populations in the Georgian Bay region appear to have...
been submitted to colonial government authorities in this time period, requesting inclusion as beneficiaries to these surrenders.

Considering that the government only began to consider ‘half-breeds’ as an administrative issue in the 1830s (Whiteside and Whiteside 1979:3), it is highly unlikely that Simcoe, Claus and even Bond Head gave any consideration to including persons of mixed ancestry as potential participants or beneficiaries of the treaties. No evidence was found suggesting that persons of mixed ancestry were recognized as a separate group from the Chippewa Nation, either by government negotiators or by the different Chiefs and Principal Men representing the signatory bands.

5.2 THE ROBINSON-HURON TREATY AND WILLIAMS TREATY

An earlier report submitted to the Ministry (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a) presented evidence to the effect that métis had both attended the negotiations of the Robinson Treaties of 1850 and participated as interpreters. That report also suggested that most métis in attendance at the negotiations, who attempted to have claims recognized by Commissioner William Robinson, were likely from the Lake Huron region. The research undertaken for this assignment generally confirms these findings and attempts to specify the regional origins of Lake Huron métis participants. Of the different land surrenders and treaties examined in this chapter, the Robinson-Huron Treaty presents the only case in which any significant métis participation can be demonstrated.

5.2.1 Métis Involvement in the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850)

As opposed to the early land surrenders, there is clear evidence that métis were involved in the negotiations of the Robinson Treaties of 1850. However, an analysis of this involvement recently submitted to Ministry (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:72-84) indicates that métis representation at the negotiations was basically limited to the Sault Ste. Marie area. An armed insurrection at Mica Bay in 1849, directly linked to growing conflicts over resource development along the eastern shore of Lake Superior, included some individuals identified as Métis in several historical reconstructions of this incident (Surtees 1986:8; Wightman and Wightman 1991:200; Morrison 1996:67). These historical sources, however, present different descriptions regarding the nationality of these métis: Wightman and Wightman (1991:200) described them as “Michigan Métis”, while Surtees (1986) and Morrison (1996) simply describe them as residents of Sault Ste. Marie.

The Robinson-Huron Treaty was one of two treaties negotiated at Sault Ste. Marie in September 1850 by William Robinson with the Chiefs and principal men of Ojibwa bands from Lakes Superior and Huron. The Robinson-Huron treaty specifically covered an area delimited to and

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32 Sault Ste. Marie continues to have two settled communities on each side of the Canadian border with the United States. The nationality of the métis who took part in the Mica Bay incident, and who were later present at the negotiations of the Robinson Treaties may have legal implications that are beyond the scope of analysis in this study. The historical reconstructions of these negotiations cited in this report describing métis involvement do not clearly or systematically distinguish métis participants by nationality.

including:

...Penetanguishene to Sault Ste. Marie, and thence to Batchewanaung [sic] Bay, on the northern shores of Lake Superior, together with the Islands of the said Lakes, opposite to the shores thereof, and inland to the height of land which separates the territory covered by the charter of the Honourable Hudson’s Bay Company from Canada... (Morris 1991:305)

As part of the prelude to the negotiations of the treaties, Robinson had commissioned a census of the Aboriginal population living in the geographic areas to be covered by each treaty. In the official report Robinson filed following the signing of the treaties, he revealed that his census of the Lake Huron treaty region indicated a total Aboriginal population of ‘about fourteen hundred and twenty-two, including probably two hundred half-breeds’ (Morris 1991:19; emphasis added). Robinson’s report indicated, that while he considered his census of both treaty regions to be ‘very correct’ he qualified the Lake Superior census as more accurate than the Lake Huron census (ibid).

The distinction in Robinson’s census between Indians and ‘half-breeds’ reflected two facts concerning the impending treaty negotiations. First, the government was aware that métis from the Sault Ste. Marie area were attempting to have ‘half-breed’ rights recognized by treaty, as evidenced from previous activities of the Sault Ste. Marie area métis. Second, Robinson’s instructions had limited his commission “to negotiate with the tribes of Indians inhabiting the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior” (Morris 1991:17; emphasis added).

Robinson’s report clearly indicates that a contingent of métis, accompanied by otherwise unidentified ‘advisers’, was present during his negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie and attempted to be recognized by treaty provisions and included as treaty beneficiaries. Robinson’s report does not identify any métis leaders or representatives by name and does not explicitly state the geographic origin(s) of individuals comprising the métis group. One portion of his report, however, suggests that most self-identifying métis attending the negotiations were likely from the Sault Ste. Marie area, as discussed below.

Three persons identified either as ‘Indian Chiefs’ or ‘principal men’ of Indian bands in the Lake Huron treaty area, both by self-identification and according to government officials, were in fact biologically of mixed European and Indian descent. This was the case with Batchewana Band Chief Nebenaigooching, who was reportedly Indian only on his father’s side (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:78-80). Michel Doko, Chief of the Nipissing Band, was described as having a white father and an Indian mother, although he reportedly always considered himself anishnabe, i.e. Ojibwa (ibid:79). John Bell, listed as a principal man of Garden River Chief Shingwakonce’s band, was one of four métis from Sault Ste. Marie who had joined that Band through a deliberate recruiting effort by Shingwakonce in the late 1840s (ibid).

Chief Shingwakonce and Nebenaigooching had developed close political and economic ties with each other for several years prior to the treaty negotiations and both of them, along with métis
from Sault Ste. Marie had taken part in the armed conflict at Mica Bay in 1849. Shingwakonce had also attempted to recruit métis from the Sault Ste. Marie area into his band prior to treaty negotiations in order to increase its membership and strengthen his political power vis-a-vis government officials. An oral historical account by Sault Ste. Marie métis Joshua Biron in 1893 described Shingwakonce’s meeting with local métis:

...a few years before the treaty, the chief had called a council at Garden River to which the half-breeds of Sault Ste. Marie were all invited. Shingwakonce told them, that if they would “join his Band and be his men or soldiers”, that he would work for them, that “some day he might sell his land, and that if so, his claim should be our claim - and that we half-breeds would have a right to a share of what he, the Chief, might get for it”. Only four of them, however, - Joshua and his brother Alexis Biron, John Bell and Louison Cadotte - agreed to join his band. “All the other half-breeds” Joshua remembered, “said that they were already Indians enough without binding themselves to be under an Indian Chief, and they all left the council room. (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:76)

One of the four métis who joined Shingwakonce’s band, Louison Cadotte, served as one of the interpreters for the Robinson-Huron treaty negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie. His name appears as “Louis Cadott” in the list of signatures on the treaty document (Morris 1991:309).

During the Robinson-Huron treaty negotiations, after Robinson had explicitly rejected direct métis demands for inclusion in treaty provisions, Shingwakonce and Nebensagooshing pressed him further to grant land to “some sixty half-breeds”. As his treaty report states, this demand was made after Robinson had obtained an agreement from the Lake Superior Chiefs and another agreement ‘in principle’ from the majority of Lake Huron chiefs, and had accordingly drawn up the text of the Robinson-Huron treaty:

The chiefs from Lake Superior desired to treat separately for their territory and said at once in council that they accepted my offer. I told them that I would have the treaty ready on the following morning...and, as agreed upon, they signed it cheerfully at the time appointed.

I then told the chiefs from Lake Huron (who were all present when the others signed) that I should have a similar treaty ready for their signature, the next morning, when those who signed it would receive their money; and that as a large majority of them had agreed to my terms I should abide by them.

I accordingly prepared the treaty and proceeded on the morning of the ninth instant to the council-room to have it formally executed in the presence of proper witnesses - all the chiefs and others were present. I told them I was ready to receive their signatures; the two chiefs, Shingwacouise [sic] and Nebensgoebing [sic], repeated their demand of ten dollars a head by way of annuity, and also insisted that I should
Consider that Shingwakoncé and Nebenaigoosching had developed ties to Sault Ste. Marie area métis it is likely that the ‘sixty half-breeds’ they attempted to represent were from that area. No evidence was found that these chiefs had developed ties with métis outside the Sault Ste. Marie area. This interpretation, however, must remain speculative since the geographic location of self-identifying métis attending the negotiations is not specifically stated in Robinson’s report.

Another portion of that report proves Robinson knew that there was a significant métis population at Sault Ste. Marie, which is the only métis locale identified in that document. That same text, however, alludes to half-breed groups living in ‘other places’, so it is nevertheless possible that some of the métis at Sault Ste. Marie had travelled from other areas. The relevant portion of the report states:

As the half-breeds at Sault Ste. Marie and other places may seek to be recognized by the Government in future payments, it may be well that I should state here the answer that I gave to their demands on the present occasion. I told them I came to treat with the chiefs who were present, that the money would be paid to them - and their receipt was sufficient for me - that when in their possession they might give as much or as little to that class of claimants as they pleased. This no one, not even their advisers, could object, and I heard no more on the subject. At the earnest request of the chiefs themselves I undertook the distribution of the money among their respective bands, and all parties expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with my division of their fund. (Morris 1991:20)

According to Morrison (1996:16-19), in 1850 there were only four settlements in the Lake Huron area with significant populations of persons of mixed European and Indian ancestry: Sault Ste. Marie, St. Joseph’s Island, Killarney and Penetanguishene. Morrison’s brief discussion of these locales is prefaced with a qualifying statement to the effect that the extent to which these persons self-identified as métis is unclear and subject to conflicting opinions:

The extent to which the great lakes métis formed a self-conscious entity independent of either their aboriginal or European ancestors - like their more famous kin from the Red River and Canadian Northwest - is still a matter of debate. Many prominent individuals on the upper lakes who were of mixed descent - such as the Manitoulin Island Superintendent George Ironside (Shawnee and Huron on his mother’s side) - clearly thought of themselves as white men. By contrast, Lake Nipissing Chief Michel Dokis - a signatory to the Robinson-Huron Treaty - always considered himself
anishnabe, even though one of his parents was French-Canadian. (Ibid:16)

Morrison considers that “self-identification was a matter of culture, not race, and the métis should be seen as an incipient ethnic group, not a racial category" (Ibid:17). The four settlements at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Joseph’s Island, Killarney, and Penetanguishene can be classed as “actually - or incipiently - métis” depending on the extent to which residents used the French and anishnabe languages, and had kinship and cultural ties to aboriginal societies, although the communities were “individualistic, rather than tribal, in their socio-political structure" (Ibid). Morrison’s analysis of the St. Joseph’s Island métis indicates that they were closely linked to the larger métis population at Sault Ste. Marie (Ibid:18-19). By contrast, the métis families at Killarney and Penetanguishene apparently had few ties to the Sault Ste. Marie population (Ibid:17-18), and appear to have formed distinct population groups. While not presenting definitive evidence, Morrison’s analysis suggests that the main métis presence at the negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie involved individuals of local origin. It seems doubtful in this context that any significant numbers of métis from the Georgian Bay region attended the treaty negotiations.

While at Sault Ste. Marie, Robinson was informed that some Indian Chiefs and principal men of bands in the Georgian Bay region were not in attendance and had communicated their desire to be included in the Robinson-Huron treaty. Following the completion of treaty signing and distribution of monies at Sault Ste. Marie, Robinson travelled to Penetanguishene, where Thomas Anderson (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) had arranged for a meeting with these Chiefs at the military establishment in operation there since 1815.

Robinson met a total of five Chiefs and three principal men who presented claims for inclusion in the treaty. Robinson, along with Anderson, accepted the claims of two of these Chiefs and rejected the others. The negotiations at Penetanguishene, held on September 16, were formally interpreted by Anderson (who was fluent in Ojibwa) and William Solomon, a métis resident of Penetanguishene (Morrison 1996:86). Solomon was of Jewish and Ojibway descent and had previous experience as government interpreter on Drummond Island, prior to its cession to the United States in the 1820s. Solomon took part in the 1828 voyageurs migration to Penetanguishene from Drummond Island described in detail in Chapter 6.

The Penetanguishene negotiations resulted in the additional signing of “Muckatamishaquet, Mekis, Mishquetto, Asa Waswanay, and Pawiss” to the Robinson-Huron Treaty (Morrison 1991:309). According to Morrison (1996:104) Muckatamishaquet was Chief of what is now the Shawanaga First Nation, and along with principal man Pawiss he obtained a tract of land “three miles square” near Pointe aux Barils along with another tract of the same size at Washauwenega Bay, which was occupied by his band at the time of the treaty signing (Morrison 1991:308). Mekis, and principal men Mishquetto and Asa waswanay represented what is now the Parry Island First Nation, but at the time of the treaty were granted a tract of land “four miles square” on the main shore opposite Sandy Island (Ibid:307).

Robinson’s treaty report indicates that while at Penetanguishene he also met with three Chiefs
who presented claims for inclusion in the treaty that he and Anderson rejected. The relevant portion of the report describing this meeting and the reasons for rejecting these Chiefs’ claims states:

*On my arrival at Penetanguishene I found the Chiefs Yellowhead and Snake, from Lake Simcoe, and Aissance, from Beausoleil’s Island, waiting to see me, to prefer their claim to a small tract of land between Penetanguishene and the vicinity of the River Severn. I was aware of their intending to make such a claim and took the precaution of asking the chiefs assembled in council at the Sault whether it was well founded, they emphatically declared that those chiefs had no claim on Lake Huron, that they had long since ceded their lands and were in receipt of a large annuity, this I believe to be the case, and Captain Anderson, whom I met there, is of the same opinion; but I promised to inquire into it and give them an answer, I will therefore thank you to cause the necessary information from your office to be furnished to me on the subject. Should it appear that these chiefs have any claim I think I could get their surrender of it for a small amount, and there remain sufficient funds at my disposal for the purpose.* (Morris 1991:20)

Yellowhead, Snake and Aissance had in fact taken part in earlier land surrenders. Aissance, written as “Aassance”, was a signatory to the 1798 Penetanguishene Harbour Purchase, and was also listed as a signatory to the 1815 Lake Simcoe Purchase (Canada 1992:15, 45). Yellowhead and Snake were identified as signatories to the 1818 Lake Simcoe - Nottawasaga Purchase (*ibid:*47). No action concerning their claims to Robinson was taken at the time by the government, and according to Surtees (1986:19) these Chiefs:

*...did not press their claims sufficiently to draw attention. Thus nothing was done at the time regarding their claims for over a half century.*

In sum, it is clear that Robinson dealt with métis claims at Sault Ste. Marie, and that métis individuals participated as interpreters during the negotiations at both Sault Ste. Marie and Penetanguishene in 1850. However, none of the sources reviewed for this assignment present any evidence that métis from the Georgian Bay region attempted to have claims recognized during the negotiations of the Robinson-Huron treaty. This is despite the fact that by 1850, Penetanguishene had become the site of settlement of a significant métis population following the migration of Drummond Island voyageurs in the 1828 (see Chapter 6).

5.2.2 The Williams Treaty (1923)

Investigations in the early 20th century concerning a number of claims by Chippewa bands in central Ontario to the effect that their title to lands had never been properly ceded to the Crown, as well as issues concerning the eastern boundary of the Robinson-Huron Treaty led to the formation of a government commission chaired by A.S. Williams in September 1923. The Commission’s report confirmed the validity of Chippewa claims, prompting the Federal and Ontario governments to obtain a new surrender of title to lands in central Ontario by treaty (Surtees 1986:20-21).
As with the earlier negotiation of Treaty 9 in northern Ontario in 1905-1906, rather than attempting to assemble treaty participants in one central location, the Williams Treaties were negotiated at the different reserves and locales occupied by potential treaty beneficiaries. A total of seven different bands were involved in these negotiations: three ‘Chippewa’ bands and four ‘Mississauga’ bands. Two treaty documents resulted from these negotiations. One treaty, dated October 31, 1923 included the different ‘Chippewa’ participants, located at Christian Island, Georgina Island and Rama. The second treaty, dated November 15, 1923 included the different ‘Mississauga’ bands of Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Scugog Lake and Alderville (Surtees 1986:39-52). Only the treaty document involving the Chippewa bands is geographically relevant to this assignment. Furthermore, only one of the three bands (Christian Island) is actually located in Georgian Bay proper, although the Rama, and to a lesser extent, the Georgina Bands were descendants of historic Ojibwa living in the general region of Georgian Bay covered in this report.

The only Aboriginal treaty participants mentioned in both Williams Treaties documents are described as Indians belonging either to the Chippewa or Mississauga Tribes (ibid:39-40, 47-48). Neither the Williams Commission report of 1923 that preceded the treaty negotiations, nor an earlier commission of inquiry held in 1916 (the Sinclair Commission) concerning some of the Indian claims from central Ontario, made any reference to métis claims from the areas concerned in their investigations (ibid:21-25, 32-38). Finally, no petitions written by self-identifying métis from Georgian Bay presenting claims on behalf of métis communities in the region were found in relation to the negotiations of the Williams Treaties.
6. MÉTIS IN THE PENETANGUISHENE AREA: 19TH CENTURY

Within the Georgian Bay region the most abundant and direct evidence of the development of an historic métis population is found in and around Penetanguishene. This is due primarily to the migration of the voyageur community from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in the late 1820s, in association with the removal of the British military base after the surrender of Drummond Island to the United States in 1828. Evidence indicates that many of the voyageur families were of mixed Aboriginal/European ancestry who had been involved in the fur trade centered at Drummond Island, and who along with Aboriginal families and military personnel, chose to re-settle at Penetanguishene or nearby within the townships of Tiny and Tay. A few of these voyageur families can be traced to the Owen Sound and Parry Sound districts, although the nucleus of the voyageur group appears to have remained in the Penetanguishene area.

Substantial secondary published material is available on this group of voyageur families, providing a solid data-base of genealogical and socio-cultural information. The seminal work on this subject is A.C. Osborne's, *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* published in 1901 (complete copy included in the Document Set, Doc.#46). Not only does Osborne record oral historical accounts of the migration and the early years of re-settlement in Penetanguishene, but he also provides a list of names of these families. From this and subsequent lists compiled by later researchers (Gidley and Patterson 1991), it has been possible to positively identify and to trace the movements of members of this voyageur population. In particular, these lists have allowed a more productive search and analysis of primary materials found at Ontario Archives and the National Archives of Canada, for example Surveyor Paylists, Band Annuity Paylists, and official correspondence regarding the status of "non-treaty" Indians in the study area.

As Chapters 8 and 9 indicate, almost no data were found on métis populations original to the Owen Sound or Parry Sound regions. Consequently, the research conducted for this present assignment rested in large part on what was known about the mixed population in Penetanguishene, and their activities and movements within the Georgian Bay area. Hence it is necessary to report on the Penetanguishene findings first, and to follow this discussion with what little direct evidence has been found about populations of mixed ancestry in Parry Sound (Chapter 8) and Owen Sound (Chapter 9).

This chapter begins with an historical background to the migration of voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. This is followed by descriptions of the fur trade in the Penetanguishene area after the migration, and of data collected regarding resource harvesting. A detailed discussion of evidence related to the development of a métis population and indicators of community follows. The next sections provide accounts of positive identification of métis individuals and families in the years following the migration, and the extent to which these can be linked to the "Half-breed" population enumerated in the 1901 Census (Canada 1901). A full analysis of 1901
Census data and other evidence of métis in the Penetanguishene area during the 20th century, is presented in Chapter 7.

6.1 THE MIGRATION FROM DRUMMOND ISLAND TO PENETANGUISHENE

The migration of the voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in the late 1820s was actually the last of several moves this group had made since 1796 (Doc.#46). In that year, the British military post at Michilimackinac (Mackinac Island) was transferred to the United States by mutual agreement, and the British forces relocated to St. Joseph Island. According to Osborne (ibid.:125), the British military posts became centres towards which voyageurs gravitated:

...voyageurs... [were] the descendants of French-Canadians, born principally in Quebec, many of whom were British soldiers, or came up with the North-West Company, and who married Indian women, their progeny also becoming British soldiers or 'attaches' of the fur company in various capacities. Their fervent loyalty to the British Government [was] simple hearted, genuine, unobtrusive and practical. (Ibid.:124, inserts added)

In the first year of the war of 1812, a “volunteer contingent of one hundred and sixty Canadian voyageurs” joined approximately 30 British regulars under Captain Roberts to recapture Mackinac (Mackinaw) for the British (Ibid.:123). In a subsequent attack by the Americans to take back the post, the voyageurs again assisted in its defence. However, in 1815, Mackinac Island was restored to the Americans after the International Boundary Commission set the boundaries between Canada and the United States, and the British military post was subsequently relocated to Drummond Island.

According to Gidley and Patterson (1991:i), the Drummond Islanders consisted of:

...British military forces, War of 1812 veterans and their families, civilian support personnel and their families, Indian guides and their families, fur traders and their families and Indian Department employees and their families. Over the next 13 years, this group of English, French and Indian nationals constructed a viable community of value to military and civil authorities and fur traders.

The British occupation of Drummond Island, along with its fur trade with local Indians, prevented the American monopoly of the fur trade in that area of the Great Lakes. Gidley and Patterson suggest that prominent American trader John Jacob Astor used his political influence to have the International Boundary Commission establish a border that would draw Drummond Island within United States boundaries (Ibid.). Astor was successful and the effectiveness of the Drummond Island fur trade as competition to the Americans was eliminated. The order to evacuate was issued in Autumn of 1828.
The British detachment of the 68th Regiment on Drummond Island moved to the naval station\(^3\) at Penetanguishene in November 1828. Between this time and the spring of 1829, many of the \textit{voyageur}, Aboriginal and other families followed, providing "the initial social, racial, linguistic, history and heritage of Penetanguishene and Tiny Township" (\textit{ibid.}).

Williams (Doc.#63:12) lists "\textit{voyageurs, fishermen, trappers, traders and Indians}" among those who traversed the length of Georgian Bay in the wake of the soldiers. Father Castex (Doc.#57:9) indicates that in the decade 1818 to 1828, "all of the British soldiers, many of the fur traders and quite a number of the half-breeds and Indians landed at the Penetanguishene naval station." The fact that \textit{voyageurs} were not the only class of families to have migrated from Drummond Island to the Penetanguishene area is evident in accounts of Aboriginal families also making the move. A "History of Chief Okanahwahyowu\(^4\) and His Family" recorded by Henry Jackson, Secretary to the Treaty Indians in 1911, indicates that Indian Bands loyal to the British in the War of 1812 also migrated:

\textit{Okanahwahyowu... commanded the Indian warriors - a thousand in number, and fought and won the Battle of Mackina [sic] Island. [...] By reason of this our forefathers were promised and guaranteed by the British Government that from generation to generation they and their children's children should enjoy the protection of the Government. [...] Chief Okanahwahyowu and his people came across the Border with the United States set by the British Government and were directed over to Penetanguishene where the British military post used to be. There Chief Okanahwahyowu and his people received their first annuity on Canadian soil, and enjoyed the benefits as before stated by the British Government, and settled at Coldwater where Chief Assance lived, who later on admitted Chief Okanahwahyowu and his people into his band.} (Doc.#48)

Jury and Jury (1959:50) describe early Penetanguishene as a "diversified scene" including "the native Chippewas under their chief, John Assance."

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\(^3\) This naval station was first established in the winter of 1814-1815, although it was not until 1818-1819 that the military post was made permanent (Jury and Jury 1959:12-13). Apparently the naval station remained in rather "isolated" and "pioneer conditions" and it was not until the regiment from Drummond Island relocated to Penetanguishene, that the post took on a more "established" character.

\(^4\) The exact spelling of Okanahwahyowu is unclear in this document. However, at some point the family took the Christian name "King", and Chief Okanahwahyowu is reportedly the father of Thomas King, Chief of the Christian Island Band in 1911 (Doc.#48). It should also be noted that at one point in Jackson's account of this group, he mistakenly locates them at Parry Island, rather than Christian Island.
It should be noted that the staff of the Indian Department under Captain T.G. Anderson\textsuperscript{35}—assisted by his métis interpreter William Solomon\textsuperscript{36}—also relocated and, “for some years Indians from great distances gathered at Penetanguishene for trade, and to receive their annual presents” (Jury and Jury 1959:32). Although Penetanguishene was initially intended as the location of the Indian headquarters, this plan was dropped when Sir John Colborne developed his project for the Indians at Coldwater.\textsuperscript{37} In July 1832 a letter was sent to Rev. O’Grady at York from John Batist Tauginena and Louis Tebasikeaugh—apparently principal men of the Coldwater Ojibwa—stating that “there is Indians coming every day from Drummond Island and from the six st marys [sic] still enquiring of me when we expect a Clergyman” (Doc.#4).

According to Jury and Jury (1959:32), the official move from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828 was only a part of the overall voyageur “Migration”:

\begin{quote}
Fur traders had already moved into the area, and all through the spring and summer of 1829 an unknown numbers of traders, bateaux-men, and voyageurs, in some manner connected with the garrison or with Canadian fur-trading interests, followed with their families, in sail-boats, bateaux, and canoes, camping on the various islands along the way.
\end{quote}

Osborne (Doc.#46:124) states that about seventy-five voyageur families moved from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Most of these families settled in the neighbourhood of the new post, where, in lieu of their abandoned homes and in reward for their military service, they were granted liberal Crown patents of land on the borders of Penetanguishene Bay. It should be noted that while the majority of families moved to Penetanguishene in the aftermath of the 1828 transfer of Drummond Island to the United States, several voyageurs and fur traders had preceded the migration, in anticipation of the British withdrawal. The state of the fur trade at Penetanguishene is the subject of the next section.

6.2 THE FUR TRADE AT PENETANGUISHENE, 1820s-1850s

Osborne states that “voyageurs are known to have been at Penetanguishene as early as 1816,

\textsuperscript{35} Thomas Gummersal Anderson began his career as a fur trader among the Indians in present day Wisconsin. After the War of 1812, he was appointed Clerk of the Indian Department at Mackinac and later Drummond Island and, after 1828, Penetanguishene. He was Superintendent of the Indian Department at Coldwater, Orillia and Manitoulin Island from 1830 to 1845, after which he became Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs (Doc.#58:42, Endnote #2). Anderson’s wife was Betsey Hamilton, mixed-blood daughter of James Matthew Hamilton and his first wife Louisa Mitchell, a half-breed woman (\textit{ibid.}:40; cf. Doc.#46:148). Anderson was related by marriage to both the Andrew Mitchell and W.B. Hamilton fur trading establishments at Penetanguishene (see Section 6.2).

\textsuperscript{36} The Solomon family will be discussed at length in Section 6.5.

\textsuperscript{37} According to Stewart (Doc.#62:4), three bands of Indians under their tribal chiefs moved into government constructed houses on the Coldwater Reserve in 1830. In 1848, the Ojibwa under Chief Assance moved to Beausoleil Island.

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but only as transient traders” (Doc.#46:125). For example, the narrative by Jean Baptiste Sylvestre—whose mother, “Angelique McKay, a half-breed woman of Scotch descent” died when he was age two—describes his father’s fur trade activity in the area from 1816 onward:

My father’s name was Jean Baptiste Sylvestre, who went up with the North-West Company, became a soldier in the British army and fought at Mackinaw. He received his discharge, moved to Drummond Island with the troops, and started business as a fur trader. [...] After moving to Drummond Island in 1816, my father brought me to Nottawasaga River in a large birch-bark canoe, with some Indians, on our way to Montreal, to leave me with my grandfather. [...] My father came to Newmarket with his furs. He met tribes of Indians in the west clothed in deer and rabbit skins, and who had no axes, knives or iron instruments. He traded among the Muskoka lakes and at Sylvestre’s Lake in Parry Sound. [...] My father traded with Gordon, who settled on Penetanguishene Bay long before the troops moved from Drummond Island. (Ibid.:142–143)

Apparently in the same year of the official move to Penetanguishene from Drummond Island, a branch of the well-known De La Ronde fur trading family also arrived in Penetanguishene. While little is known about their role in the local fur trade, there is some suggestion that Charles de La Ronde and his wife Magdeleine Pewadjjwonokwe and their family settled in Penetanguishene in 1828 (Doc.#63:18). Belanger (1988:6) indicates that Charles Francois Denys de La Ronde was the son of a French Canadian soldier at Detroit who later went to Drummond Island as a voyageur, following the British military to Penetanguishene. Osborne (Doc.#46:156) states that “Charles lived at Penetanguishene, Beausoleil Island and Coldwater.” While it appears that the LaRonde family did not establish any permanent fur trade post in the Penetanguishene area, Belanger (1988:6) documents that there was a “Laronde Post” twenty miles to the northeast of Parry Sound, near the mouth of the Shebeshkong River (see Chapter 8). Louie Solomon’s narrative mentions a half-breed by the name of Pierre Laronde, an assistant on a snow-shoe expedition to Manitoulin Island (Doc.#46:133).

Jury and Jury (1959:44) indicate that while many of the French Canadian migrants were employed in various capacities with the military Establishment at Penetanguishene, others continued to be active in the fur trade. They add that as along as the fur trade remained a factor in Penetanguishene’s economy, the town attracted “visiting [Indian] tribes who came from great distances in gaily decorated war canoes” (ibid.:50, insert added).

A newspaper article by W.R. Williams—first published in the Midland Free Press in 1946—describes the pioneer fur traders in Penetanguishene as the “Big Four”: George Gordon, Dede Revolte (Revol; Reval), Andrew Mitchell, and William Simpson (Doc.#63:4). A report ca. 1844 by the Deputy Provincial Surveyor noted what likely represented the establishments of these four independent traders:

In this village [Penetanguishene] there are four merchant’s stores; but their trade is chiefly with the Indians for fur... The inhabitants, in all, are probably about one


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hundred, and are chiefly composed of French Roman Catholic Canadians, a good deal intermixed with half-caste Indians, and are principally dependent on the fur trading and fishing for their support. (Doc.#15:1).

The first permanent fur trade post at Penetanguishene was established in 1824 by an independent Scotch trader and merchant named George Gordon who moved from Drummond Island in anticipation of the military withdrawal. 34 Gordon began his fur trade career in 1807 as an apprentice in the North West Company when he was still a minor under the age of 21 (Doc.#60:7-9). Born in Montreal, Gordon traversed the wilderness to Fort William as early as 1811 where later he was imprisoned by Lord Selkirk in connection with the troubles between the HBC and NWC. Prior to 1822, Gordon moved to Drummond Island from Michilimackinac, and then migrated to Penetanguishene; “Gordon’s Point” is named after him (ibid.).

Gordon’s goal was to establish a community “destined to rival the fur posts on Lake Superior” (Doc.#63:12). Apparently Gordon carried on a “considerable business” at his bayside location in association with his half-brothers Jean-Baptiste and Charles Rousseau, who ranged the Muskoka and Parry Sound districts collecting furs – especially beaver – from the Indians (ibid.; cf. Doc.#46:163). A letter to Gordon from William Simpson, a fellow trader still at Drummond Island in January 1827, indicates that the fur trade in the area at the time may have been fairly good:

*I hope the hunt has been as good with you as here, Robette and Mitchell have now about 5 Packs furs which is a good deal at this time of the year.* (Doc.#1)

Patterson claims that Gordon’s trading post helped to create “a home in 1828 for the Drummond Islanders, and an economic base for the suppliers to the Establishments for the next 25 years” (Doc.#60:9). Gordon carried on in the fur trade until his death in 1852 (Doc.#63:11).

George Gordon and Denis Revolte are credited with building the first houses in Penetanguishene in 1824-1825. Revolte was an associate of Gordon’s at Drummond Island, and apparently they continued to conduct business together in Penetanguishene (Doc.#60:4). In the summer of 1827 Revolte assisted Gordon in building the latter’s cedar log fur post. Revolte chose a site for his own post not far away, and Gordon assisted him in building his log house. Other than the fact that Revolte became the “perfect example” of a Lay Clergy (Apostolate), little is known about his fur-trading ventures at Penetanguishene (Doc.#57:11; Doc.#46:163). However, it appears he eventually abandoned his commercial interests and returned to Quebec for further religious training (Doc.#57:11).

The third “pioneer” fur trader at Penetanguishene was Andrew Mitchell, the métis son of Dr. David Mitchell employed by the Indian Department at Drummond Island (Marchand 1989). The

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34 A collection of incoming correspondence to Gordon is held at the Archives of Ontario (MU1146). It is known that Gordon was fluent in both English and French, as the correspondence is in both languages. Unfortunately, this collection contains no direct data regarding a métis population at Penetanguishene.
Mitchell family "came with the British troops and the other inhabitants to settle at Penetanguishene [and who] set up a store and fur trading establishments" (Doc.#58:27). There is some discrepancy in the historical literature as to whether Andrew Mitchell or his father Dr. David Mitchell originally established the store at Penetanguishene. David Mitchell had been a merchant and fur trader at Mackinaw and Drummond Island (ibid.:42, Endnote #3; Murray 1968:108). While David Mitchell may have first set up the store in Penetanguishene, it is known that Andrew soon took over the post and came to be acknowledged as one of the first fur traders in the new settlement. Little else is known about Mitchell's fur trade establishment, except that his sister's half-brother, W.B. Hamilton seemingly took over the business at some point (see below). Apparently Andrew Mitchell had two sons, Andrew and David, to whom Hamilton passed the fur trade business in the 1850s (Doc.#58:38).

William Simpson was the last of the "Big Four" to establish himself at Penetanguishene, where he moved following the close of the fur trade season of 1828-1829. In November 1828 Simpson wrote to his friend George Gordon requesting some preparations in anticipation Simpson's arrival at Penetanguishene the following spring:

...in Consequence of the lateness of the Season for Boats and no Conveyance in vessels, I cannot have the pleasure of Seeing you this fall but I Hope I will early this Spring, with the help of providence, in that Case will you enquire if I can procure Some Kind of Store house to put my traps untill I can build one for myself. (Transcription in Doc.#63:10)

In the summer of 1829, Simpson and his Ojibwa wife Marguerite (who had owned a store on Drummond Island), built a small log store and independent fur trade post (Doc.#63:4). Apparently Simpson was "conspicuously wealthier than the other fur traders", although the number of traders in the vicinity "precluded the possibility of any one gaining ascendancy" (ibid.:5). In part his shrewd business skills may have been due to his college education which also qualified him as a notary public and conveyancer both while at Drummond Island and later at Penetanguishene.

In the late 1820s, William Basil Hamilton began his career in the "Indian trade" as a clerk for Mitchell, "a brother of my father's first wife" (Doc.#58:27). Hamilton left Penetanguishene for several years, but returned in 1846 to enter into partnership with his brother-in law James Darling, "with whom I... carried on the Indian trade and other business" (ibid.:33). Hamilton became a well-established fur trader in the area, and in 1853 expanded his business interests into the lumber trade, securing a large tract of "Pine Land" on the Muskoka River, and building a mill "a short way up from the lake shore of Georgian Bay and about 18 miles from Penetanguishene" (ibid.:38). This venture was not as successful as he had hoped, and in 1855 Hamilton sold his business to his nephews, Andrew and David Mitchell, and moved his family to Collingwood. The Mitchell brothers apparently carried on the fur trade aspect of the business in Penetanguishene.

39 Hamilton's father's first wife, Louisa, was the half-breed sister of Andrew Mitchell. This first marriage produced Hamilton's oldest sister Betty, who was married to T.G. Anderson at Drummond Island in 1820. W.B. Hamilton was born of his father's second wife, a British woman from London (Doc.#58:40-41).
Elmes Henderson’s recollection of a visit to Penetanguishene in 1856 includes his description of the fur trade as a “profitable enterprise”:

The village of Penetanguishene, at this time [1856], was very small and primitive, with two main stores of the Thompson Brothers, whose chief business was to supply the wants of the Indian and half-breed trappers, who in canoes brought their furs for sale and took their outfit for the next season. This was a large and most profitable enterprise at that time. (Doc.#52:30, insert added)

Penetanguishene traders received furs from such areas as Shawanaga, Muskoka, La Cloche and Nipigon, and possibly further north. Furs were collected by agents for independent traders, including métis men such as Michael Labatte and Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre, and other men such as William Simpson and James Anderson (Doc.#60:9; Doc.#46:140, 142, 164-165). Mason (1974:2) states that there was “certainly” a trading post belonging to Alexander Bailey, of Penetanguishene on the Muskoka River below Bracebridge. Mason suggests that such posts in the Muskokas were winter outposts, and not permanent trading posts as found in centres such as Penetanguishene. After the 1850 Robinson-Huron Treaty annual presents were distributed at Penetanguishene and it is possible that Aboriginal trappers from the region brought furs to the local posts at the time, or that local traders established contacts with trappers from whom they could collect furs later in the year (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000).

In 1860, an article was published in The Northern Advance (Barrie) about Alfred A. Thompson⁴⁰, Penetanguishene fur trade merchant:

[A.A. Thompson] does a fair business in the Fur Trade of the North. He has an annual sale, the 1st of June, and the largest merchants on the continent attend it. The furs are valued in one lot by the merchants and the sale is by sealed tender and the lot goes to the highest bidder without further competition. The sale this year amounted to the handsome sum of Ten Thousand three hundred and fifty two dollars, seventy cents and the purchasers were J.C. Mayers and Son, New York. [...] Mr. Thompson’s sale last year amounted to about $8,000.00 an evidence that that gentleman’s trade is on the increase. Mr. Mayers informed us that a better lot of furs never was sold in Penetanguishene. (Doc.#60:12).

Sales records show that the majority of the fur lot traded by Thompson was made up of beaver and muskrat, but also included substantial numbers of martin, mink, otter, and fisher, plus several skins of bear, fox (red, cross and silver), raccoon, lynx, and wolf (ibid.). The source of these various furs is not indicated except for the description of Thompson’s business as the fur trade “of the North”, indicating that the furs were not harvested locally in the mid-1800s.

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⁴⁰ Little else is known about Thompson except that, like W.B. Hamilton, he also began his career as a clerk for Andrew Mitchell (Doc.#46:131).

In addition to the data collected about the fur trade in the Penetanguishene vicinity, there is evidence also of other resources being harvested in the area. The following section provides what little data has been found in this regard.

6.3 RESOURCE HARVESTING IN THE REGION

Only a small amount of data about subsistence and commercial resource harvesting in the Penetanguishene area have been found in the course of data collection for this study. Hence, this section provides only a mere glimpse of hunting, trapping, fishing and lumbering activity by residents in and around Penetanguishene.

Hunting and Trapping

When William Basil Hamilton’s father was appointed postmaster and collector of customs at Penetanguishene (ca. early 1830s), Hamilton went to live on his land in the Township of Matchedash on the North River emptying into Matchedash Bay. Hamilton’s autobiography (which employs little punctuation) provides an account of the large and small game in the area at this time, indicating that which he and his brother harvested:

...our company consisted of wolves, Bears, deers and foxes, we caught a few foxes, minks martins and muskrats, the larger animals we let alone being quite satisfied with a distant sight or howl, partridges and ducks on the river were very plentiful before the winter fairly set in, we could shoot ducks on the river without any trouble and partridges among the clumps of thorn trees on the prairie [sic]. (Doc.#58:31)

Michael Labatte, a métis voyageur who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene, described several occasions on which he was hired as a hunting guide, covering a wide area of southwestern Ontario:

I often went with the late Alfred Thompson, of Penetang. [sic], to the Blue Mountains hunting. I was with Captain Strochan at Balloon, on Lake St. Clair, shooting ducks. I went up the Nottawasaga and over the Portage to Lake Simcoe, when there were no white settlers there – nothing but Indians. (Doc.#46:139)

In the “iron canoe” voyage in 1842 (see below), Louis Solomon recalled that members of the party “fished and hunted at various points along the way” (Jury and Jury 1959:45). However, this harvesting activity appears to have been recreational as much as it was subsistence-oriented, a sport eagerly engaged in by certain British noblemen. The Penetanguishene district itself was “from the early days... famed for fishing and hunting, and so the [military] base came to be known as somewhat of a sportsman’s paradise” (ibid.:50, insert added).
Fishing

Fishing appears to have been an important subsistence and commercial activity in the Penetanguishene area. Apparently when the Drummond Islanders arrived at Penetanguishene, they found the present town site "dotted with log shacks of fishermen and a number of Indian wigwams" indicating that "the bay's best fishing ground was at the end of Penetanguishene Bay" (Doc.#63:12, insert added; cf. Doc.#46:129). Antoine Lecourse and Tontine Martin are identified as two of the "fishermen from Penetanguishene" whose "fisherman's cabins" were present in the area when the Drummond Islands arrived at Penetanguishene in 1828 (Doc.#46:145). Marchand (1989:41) documents that from the 1830s to the 1870s, many voyageurs and their descendants were occupied as fishermen, some at the commercial level; at least eight voyageur descendants collectively owned thirteen boats of which six were used for fishing.

According to Barry (1968:105), although commercial fishing in the Georgian Bay did not begin until white settlement during the 19th century, fishing for domestic use and trade on a small scale was an important activity prior to commercial development:

> The Bay fishermen at first were mainly voyageurs from Penetanguishene and Indians, and the catch was for local consumption or was salted and sold to fish dealers who came around in small vessels.

A report by the Deputy Provincial Surveyor ca. 1844 indicated that: "Great quantities of fish, salmon, trout, herring, &c. &c.; are, at certain seasons of the year, caught in the Bay, at the north end of [Tiny] Township" (Doc.#15:2).

In August 1856, W.H.E. Napier was instructed by R.T. Pennefather, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to examine the islands on the North Shore of Georgian Bay. Napier's report, dated 1 December 1856 provides one of the best accounts of the natural resources and harvesting activities for the Georgian Bay study area during the mid-19th century period (Doc.#23). Napier travelled from Toronto to Penetanguishene where he "completed my complement of men and provisions", and while it is possible that he hired métis guides and boat-men, this is not specified. Napier spent approximately a month surveying the islands in Georgian Bay, and his report provides detailed descriptions of each island he surveyed, many of which were established fishing stations. Napier noted fisheries at the following locations in the Penetanguishene vicinity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Species of Fish Harvested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giant's Tomb</td>
<td>Trout (&quot;in some quantity&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Beausoleil Island | Bass and Pike ("in great quantities by the Indians")

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41 In 1856, the Beausoleil Band was reported to have "cured 150 barrels of fish caught at the fisheries near the Island which abound in bass and pike" (Doc.#21).
Location | Species of Fish Harvested
---|---
Potatoe Islands | White Fish ("an excellent fishery"; "white fish are caught in great quantities late in the season by fishermen from Penetanguishene and that neighborhood")
Shawenagan Islands | Trout and White Fish ("the centre of the finest trout fishery upon Lake Huron")

Although the Shawenagan Islands are in the Parry Sound region, Napier notes that Penetanguishene fishermen regularly harvested there:

...in the month of October every year numbers of fishermen from Penetanguishene and other points congregate upon these Islands to fish for salmon trout... The fish are caught in nets, are of a superior quality, while later in the autumn the white fish is taken in great quantities... These fisheries then are very valuable and if protected and divided into stations which could be leased to companies or private parties would form a source of revenue to the Indians. (Doc.#23:36-37)

Maple Sugar

There are occasional references which indicate that sugar-making was an important subsistence activity among the Indians in the area. In a letter dated 8 April 1834, John Bell wrote from Penetanguishene informing Bishop MacDonell that:

...all the Catholic Indians have left the Cold Water, and are at present on an Island about five miles from that place making Sugar, and intends as soon as the navigation opens to proceed to their Lands near to St. Josephs. (Doc.#11)\(^\text{42}\)

In 1856, the Beausoleil Band was reported to have produced "about 5000 pounds of sugar" (Doc.#21).

There is evidence that métis families also harvested maple sugar; Rosette Boucher (nee Larammee) whose mother was "a half-breed woman" recalled that just before her family left Drummond Island in April 1828, they had been "in the sugar camp" (Doc.#46:140-141). Louis

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\(^{42}\) This letter was written to inform Bishop MacDonell that the Indians had left Coldwater because a missionary, Rev. William Elliot, told them they must return to the religion (Methodism) of the "great father" at York or lose all gifts from the government.

Chevrette had a sugar camp where Main Street now stands in Penetanguishene (ibid.:151).

Lumber

Penetanguishene was a major lumbering town in the region. Although Marchand (1989:37) states that lumbering was important in Penetanguishene only around 1870, a sawmill had already been built on a stream running “from near the centre of the Township [of Tiny] until it enters the southern extremity of Gloucester Bay” by 1844 (Doc.#15:2). In the 1850s, W.B. Hamilton became involved in what he described as “quite a boom” in the lumber business in the Georgian Bay area, stating that “many mills were built on the North Shore of Lake Huron and in the County Simcoe (Doc.#58:38). As mentioned earlier, Hamilton secured a large tract of Pine Land on the Muskoka River and built a mill at the mouth about 18 miles from Penetanguishene. Indeed, “the pine, in the Penetanguishene country” wrote Sir Richard Bonnycastle around 1815, “has a strange fancy to start out of the earth in three, five, or more trunks, all joined at the base, and each trunk an enormous tree... all the masts of some ‘great Admiral’ might be truly provided out of a single tree” (Jury and Jury 1959:7-8). In 1864 a lumber mill was built in Penetanguishene by D.J. Mitchell (Penetanguishene 1975:24).

The village of Midland also started out as a lumber settlement. Between 1875 and 1877 there were two sawmills in Midland. From 1879-1890, James Dollar operated a lumber mill known as the Ontario Lumber Co. Since 1872 Dollar had established eight lumber camps in the Muskoka district as well as a camp on one of the islands in Georgian Bay (Shushan 1967:8). Murdoch (1999:34) states that the timber on Beausoleil Island attracted business interests for over half a century: between 1864 and 1921 several timber licenses for hemlock, white pine, and cedar were issued. The first license following the Surrender of the island by the Ojibwa was granted to A.A. Thompson of Penetanguishene in 1864.

Napier’s 1856 report also describes the types of tree growth on the various islands in Georgian Bay, as well as the various lumber companies engaged in commercial harvests of those trees (Doc.#23). On Grande Isle (between Matchedash Bay and the Muskoka River), Napier remarks on Hamilton’s lumber enterprise, noting that:

...the interior is... timbered with pine and hardwood. The best of the pine has already been removed. There remains however some valuable pine but so scattered that it is impossible to make any accurate estimate of the quantity... There is a saw mill on the Muskoka River about one mile from this island owned by W.B. Hamilton Esqr. of

43 Louis Chevrette, from St. Hubert, Quebec, joined the North West Company in 1801 “to trade with the Indians”, and later lived at Sault Ste. Marie, Drummond Island and subsequently Penetanguishene. While Osborne records that Chevrette had two sons, the identity of his wife is unknown, although considering the early date at which he joined the NWC, it is possible, if not probable, that his family was métis.

44 D.J. Mitchell is possibly the son of Andrew Mitchell, prominent fur trader at Penetanguishene (see above). David was also the half-nephew of W.B. Hamilton (Doc.#58). The Penetanguishene 1975 publication identifies D.J. Mitchell as the half-brother to post-master J.S. Darling, the husband of Hamilton’s sister.
Collingwood. (Ibid.:35)

Opposite Snow Island, Napier reported that Messrs McQuot and Co. were “extensively engaged in the lumber trade and own all the coast adjacent to Snow Island” (Ibid.:31). McQuot & Co. had built a sawmill at a small stream a mile inland, and were seeking to buy Snow Island in order to “improve their wharf and extend a pier into deeper water to form a shelter for their vessels while loading” (Ibid.).

The 1901 Census indicates that the primary occupation of métis men in the Penetanguishene vicinity at the time, particularly in Tay township, was working at a sawmill or in lumber camps (see Section 6.6.1).

Wild Hay

Reporting on Quarry Island, Napier noted that, “The north west shore of the Island is low and marshy with about 8 acres of marsh meadow producing wild hay cut annually by the Indians” (Ibid.33). Napier recorded similar harvesting activity on the Potatoes Islands: “...on the marshes wild hay is still cut annually by the Indians” (Ibid.)

6.4 EVIDENCE OF MÉTIS COMMUNITY IN TINY AND TAY TOWNSHIPS

There exists positive evidence that some of the families and individuals who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene were of mixed European/Aboriginal ancestry (see Section 6.5, below). There are also social indicators that a sense of “community” was shared by this group of voyageur families, many of whom did not settle in the actual town site of Penetanguishene, but who were granted lots of land nearby within the townships of Tiny and Tay. This is particularly evident with regard to patterns of intermarriage among these families, indicating a degree of what Brown (1980:70) describes as “fur trade endogamy”. The following sections focus on these issues beginning with a discussion of data relating to marriage patterns and customs. This is followed by an analysis of other social and cultural indicators of “community” among métis in Tiny and Tay. Finally, evidence of some métis families being incorporated into Aboriginal bands is presented.

6.4.1 Marriage Customs

In what was then known as the northwest (Rupertsland, now northwestern Ontario, and beyond), British and European wives were virtually unknown until at least the 1830s and remained uncommon for several decades afterwards (See PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:26; Brown 1980:xv). However, in the Georgian Bay area there is evidence of British women following their military husbands to remote posts as early as 1815. Jury and Jury (1959:14) report that white women arrived shortly after the first naval station was established at Penetanguishene:

Dismal and isolated as the post was, the wives of the officers and men took up
residence in the rude log buildings. [...] The usual round of births, deaths and marriages took place... As magistrate, Captain [Samuel] Roberts performed the marriage ceremony for Mary Moore of Waterford, Ireland, and John Madden, 68th Regiment, also of Ireland. (inserts added)

From 1840 onward, European women were settling in the area as members of immigrant groups who had arrived in Toronto in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and who were granted homesteads further north in the Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay regions.

According to Osborne (Doc.#46:125), the marriage customs of the Drummond Island voyageurs were “of the most primitive character, simply a mutual agreement, and, usually, one or two witnesses.” This is consistent with what is known about fur trade marriage customs elsewhere in the Great Lakes at the time, in which unions between Indian women and European men involved commitments to and reciprocities with Indian kin and neighbours, earning the descriptive term à la façon du pays – “according to the custom of the country” (Brown 1987:138, cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:27-28). Other sources indicate that “local tradition, and the lack of any conclusive evidence, states that there were no Church marriages performed on Drummond Island between 1815 and 1828” (Doc.#61:3). In the absence of visits by any priests to the Island, some civilian marriages were supposedly performed by the Commanding Officer at the British post, a practice confirmed by correspondence found in the MacDonell Papers (AO F963). For example, in 1833, James Farling wrote to Bishop MacDonell for clarification on the legality of his first marriage in 1815 – performed by a Justice of the Peace – to a woman who later abandoned Farling (Doc.#89).

Once in Penetanguishene, many “country marriage” and “civilian marriage” couples – the majority of whom were Roman Catholic – took the first opportunity to have a “proper marriage ceremony” performed when Bishop MacDonell visited in 1832 (Doc.#46:125). Perhaps in part because of the “fidelity” which Osborne (ibid.) describes as “a marked characteristic” among these marriages, Father Castex reports that the Church considered marriage à la façon du pays as a binding union:

It was in 1832 in the month of February that the Catholics of Penetanguishene rejoiced on the arrival of Bishop MacDonell accompanied by Father Crevier... As usual on such occasions a short series of instructions were imparted; children of various ages baptized; marriages already entered into given the official blessing of the Church and others hastened their wedding day in order to have the Bishop perform the ceremony... A singular thing is noticed in the entry of some marriages of a later date: “It is a practice of the Church to accept the mutual consent of the parties as a binding and valid marriage and since this consent constituted a natural contract the ceremony is not repeated nor the consent renewed.” However we find in some instances it was thought the proper and decent thing to have the marriage ceremony repeated in the presence of a priest... Possibly this practice of renewing the consent before an official witness was to prevent the parties from separating and attempting other unions on the plea that the first marriage was
invalid because not solemnized regularly. (Doc.#57:13, emphasis added)

According to Gwen Patterson, couples who decided to renew their vows did so not because they were uncertain of the legality of their union, but because they desired the ceremonial blessing of the Catholic church. Census records which indicate the date of marriage show that Drummond Islander couples who renewed their vows in Penetanguishene in 1835, did not report this latter year as their marriage date, rather they reported the year they began their à la façon du pays union (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000). Nevertheless, the issue of some individuals claiming that their country marriages were invalid was apparently real, as indicated by the Farling marriage mentioned above, in which James Farling hoped that his first union was not legal because he was now in a second union with another woman whom he wished to legally marry (Doc.#9).

In June 1833, John Bell⁴⁵ wrote to Bishop MacDonell requesting that a Priest be sent to Penetanguishene as soon as possible in part because the traders were home for a few weeks and there were a number of marriages and baptisms to be performed. Bell’s letter suggests that in several cases; “Canadian” couples preferred to begin their union à la façon du pays, to be later confirmed by a representative of the Catholic Church, rather than enter into a civilian marriage:

_The greater part of the traders who has been out for twelve months is returned to stop a short time making ready [sic]their outfits for another year, and no doubt has many marriages as well as christenings to perform. [...] There are several marriages to be performed among the Canadians at this place who sooner than be married by a magistrate entered into bands to be married by the first priest arrived at this place. This is a sad state to see our fellow creature placed in living in a state of adultery for the want of means to go such a distance to obtain the legal rights of their church... (Doc.#8)_

It has been suggested that this complex legal and religious situation created a need to reaffirm many of the Island marriages when the Parish of St. Ann’s in Penetanguishene was established in 1835 (Doc.#61:3; Doc.#57:13-14).

In January 1839, the Penetanguishene Parish Priest was sent a questionnaire asking, “How many mixed couples have you married since past January”, to which Father Charrest noted, “None of them” (Doc.#13)⁴⁶. While this document clearly states that no mixed marriages had taken place in Penetanguishene during the year 1838, and while the meaning of “mixed couples” is not defined, the specificity of the question suggests that couples of mixed ancestry (eg., European and Aboriginal or métis) had been married there in the past, and implies that mixed marriages continued as a common

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⁴⁵ Osborne (Doc.#46:143) states that Bell was “a genuine French half-breed with an English name, and married to a half-breed woman. I have been unable to ascertain the origin of his name.”

⁴⁶ This document is undated, but it accompanies a statistical report on the Church at Penetanguishene signed by Father Charrest and dated January 31, 1839 (Doc.#13).
There is evidence also of métis "endogamy", that is of métis men marrying métis women, although this may be as much a case of occupational endogamy ("fur trade endogamy") as it was racial endogamy, as suggested by Brown (1980:70) and Gorham (1987:48; cf. PRAKIS Research Associates 1999a:26, 28). These marriages helped to create and maintain networks among fur trading centres throughout the Great Lakes area, including Drummond Island and by extension, Penetanguishene as well. John Bell, a French half-breed with an English name, is recorded to have married a half-breed woman (Doc.#46:149). Their son married a sister of Charles Ermatinger of the North West Company, a well established fur trade/métis family at Sault Ste. Marie, where Bell and his family eventually returned sometime after their move to Penetanguishene (ibid.:130). Connections to the early métis trading families at Michilimackinac/Mackinaw and Green Bay (Labaye) are also evident. The Langlade fur-trading family had branches at both Penetanguishene and Green Bay (ibid.:148-149; Gorham 1987:47; cf. Peterson 1978). Drummond Islander Félicité Beausoleil married Antoine Recollet of Green Bay; Félicité died in Penetanguishene, and at the time of Osborne's publication, their daughter was still living in Tiny (Doc.#46:150). Louis Chevalier's father was "well-versed in Green Bay incidents" (ibid.:151).

Marchand (1989:61) provides additional evidence of voyageur endogamy. Marchand's analysis of marriage records from 1835 to 1900 show that prior to 1870, thirty-two of fifty-five voyageur sons, (60%) married voyageur daughters. Another 30% (sixteen men) married French women from outside the Penetanguishene area. However, by the turn of the century, this trend had reversed: of sixty-eight marriages, twenty-five were between voyageur descendants (37%), and thirty-seven (55%) were between voyageurs and French from outside the area.

Another example of métis/métis marriage is William Solomon, the half-breed government interpreter at Drummond Island, who with his half-breed wife ("Miss Johnston") migrated to Penetanguishene in 1828. At least five of their children married fellow Drummond Island voyageurs, and three of these marriages can positively be identified as métis/métis marriages. In the case of Jessie Solomon, both her first and second husbands were métis (Doc.#46:163-164). Additional examples will be discussed in Section 6.5.

6.4.2 Social and Cultural Indicators of Métis Community

The Drummond Island voyageurs are described prior to the migration as a group who shared a common language, or more accurately, a common combination of the "Indian" and French languages. 47 Michael Labatte states in his narrative that "nothing but French and Indian was spoken at Drummond Island" (Doc.#46:138). Fur trader William Simpson acquired the ability to speak the Ojibwa language while at Drummond Island:

47 Apparently most of the voyageurs were actually trilingual and tri-national: Indian, French and English (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000).
[Simpson learned] to speak the highly inflected Ojibway language, and also to read and write it. There were about seventy-five French voyageurs living with their wives and families on Drummond Island and they all spoke the Ojibway language well [sic] enough to barter with the Indians for their furs. (Doc.#63:4, inserts added)

Simpson was already fluent in French before his move to Drummond Island and Penetanguishene, and a working knowledge of these two languages served him well in his chosen profession. That Simpson was married to an Ojibwa woman will have no doubt increased his fluency in that language, as well as his connections with Ojibwa trappers.

Observers such as William Sanders noted that aside from the French Canadians and métis who all spoke “either French or Indian”, and in fact “very seldom do I hear the English language except two men on my own [Land Survey] staff. Even the Eng. speak French in common” (Doc.#56:9). In the two years that W.B. Hamilton worked as a clerk for fur trader Andrew Mitchell in Penetanguishene, he also “learnt to speak French and a little Indian, and could manage the trading pretty well” (Doc.#58:27-28). In the 1850s, the Parish of St. Ann’s required a French-speaking priest “to visit Penetanguishene to attend to those who spoke that language only” (Doc.#57:17).

Henderson’s account of the Indian and half-breed trappers who visited the Thompson Brothers’ store in 1836 includes a description of a “French Settlement” situated west of Penetanguishene:

At a little distance to the west, but still at the head of the Bay, was another little village called “the French Settlement”, inhabited by French-Canadians and half-breeds, who supplied guides, trappers, boat-men and canoe-men for the various tourists and surveyors engaged in opening up the then unknown back country, and when not so occupied, built boats and canoes and did some fishing on their own account. (Doc.#52:31)

Father Castex also describes a “French Settlement” which he locates at the present town of Lafontaine. There is some indication that Henderson and Castex are referring to two different locations, although both are situated west of Penetanguishene. The French settlement described by Henderson is located “still at the head of the Bay”, presumably referring to Penetanguishene Bay, and as such this settlement may have been a neighbourhood or suburb near the town site proper. The geographic location described by Henderson indicates that he was probably referring to the Military Reserve, a strip of land along western shoreline of Penetanguishene Bay where voyageurs were granted lots by the military as part of a strategy to secure and defend the Bay in case of attack (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000). Although it appears that the voyageurs did not initiate the development of a distinct geographic locale within the greater Penetanguishene settlement, it appears that this locale soon became associated with a French Canadian voyageur/métis community in social, cultural, linguistic and occupational terms.

The French settlement described by Father Castex is definitely a reference to Lafontaine.
(formerly Ste. Croix), “a very fertile valley” located inland approximately 10 kilometres west of Penetanguishene (Doc.#57:17). According to Father Castex this settlement was originally established by habitant settlers from Lower Canada (Quebec) who came to farm this “very fertile valley”:

There was a large advent of French Canadians to Penetanguishene and into Tiny, making what is called the French Settlement, now Lafontaine... The immigration occurred in 1841 and continued until about twenty-five years ago [ca. 1925]. The French Canadians from Penetanguishene retrace their origin mostly to Batiscan, Ste. Anne de la Parada, Joliette, St. Anicet, Huntington County and St. Polycarpe in the County of Soulange, with a sprinkling from Gaspe, Quebec. (Ibid.:16, 46, insert added)

Narratives recorded by Osborne show that Drummond Island voyageurs established homes and farms in the Thunder Bay / Lafontaine area before the Quebec habitants emigrated into the area. Michael Labatte's narrative indicates that when his father built a house at Thunder Bay shortly after the migration, “there was no house at Lafontaine when I first saw it” (Doc.#46:139). Labatte's narrative goes on to say that Louis Deschêneau built the first house and established the first farm at Lafontaine ca. 1830, and where he was also buried (ibid.:139,153). Another voyageur, Louis Vasseur, is said to have owned the lot on which the Lafontaine church stood (ibid.:153, 161, 166). However, with the arrival of numerous settlers from Quebec in the 1840s, Lafontaine came to be associated exclusively with the French habitant farming community.

Marchand (1989:61) provides strong argument that the habitant and voyageur groups remained separate and distinct. Marchand's analysis of marriage records from 1835 to 1900 shows a pattern in which the sons of voyageurs seldom married daughters of the Lafontaine habitants. Of fifty-five sons of voyageurs who married before 1870, only four married women from Lafontaine despite the fact that this was the closest French town to Penetanguishene. As indicated above, voyageur men found wives within their own community or from among French women who lived outside the Penetanguishene area. This avoidance pattern continued to 1900 when from sixty-eight voyageur marriages, only two included Lafontaine women. Apparently this avoidance was mutual, and Marchand describes a reluctance on the part of the habitant group to associate with the voyageur group. Marchand’s answer to the puzzling question of why so little intermarriage occurred between voyageur-men and Lafontaine women—both of whom were French-speaking—is that the cultural backgrounds and lifestyles of the fur-trading voyageurs and their descendants (many of whom were métis) differed dramatically from the Quebec habitant farming community, to the point of being incompatible. The habitant lived very much as an insular agricultural community, even developing distinctive internal social groupings associated with the various waves of immigration from Quebec (ibid.:88-89). Marchand documents evidence of hostility, mistrust and prejudice between the habitant and voyageur groups as recently as 1955, and according to Patterson a sharp cultural distinction continues to separate the two groups into the present (personal communication, 14 February 2000).

Although Osborne's collection of narratives and attached list of Drummond Island voyageurs contain frequent references to Lafontaine as the place at which voyageurs were buried, Patterson
explains that this was because many *voyageur* families found themselves geographically within the Léfontaine Parish, and consequently were instructed by the Diocese to be buried at the Léfontaine cemetery (personal communication, 14 February 2000).  

Henderson’s (Doc.#52:31) recollection of this group’s occupational niche as “guides, trappers, boat-men and canoe-men” is consistent with Jury and Jury’s (1959:44) account of the “French Canadians” at Penetanguishene whose “heritage of life in the wilderness and along the lakes and rivers of the north and west” made them “invaluable as guides for the officers and visitors at the post” (cf. Barry 1968:41-42; Marchand 1989:40). Several of the narratives recorded by Osborne provide first-hand accounts by métis and *voyageur* men who were employed as guides in a variety of capacities, both as individuals and as a group. Marchand (1989:42) refers to this groups as *des hommes à tout faire* or “jack-of-all-trades”, adding that the 1861 Census listed 25 *voyageurs* as general labourers.

Louie Solomon, Michael Labatte and Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre each provide narratives of their experiences as guides and boatmen after the move to Penetanguishene. The fact that Penetanguishene was an established civilian town at least a decade before immigration and settlement occurred elsewhere in the region, meant that the Penetanguishene *voyageurs* had a virtual monopoly as guides in the area. As well, the fact that Penetanguishene was at the end of the overland Toronto Carrying Place route, becoming the launching point for water travel via Lake Huron and points west, meant that the Penetanguishene *voyageurs* were strategically located to successfully market their skills as experts on snow-shoes, boats and canoes.

Although he does not provide dates, Louie Solomon acted as chief guide for many “notables” — including the Earl of Northumberland — to a variety of destinations throughout Georgian Bay and Lake Huron (Doc.#46:132-134). Solomon and his fellow métis *voyageurs* (eg., Aleck McKay, Pierre Lalonde, Joseph Laramonde) annually provided passage to Manitoulin Island for Indian Department officials to distribute presents to the Indians gathered there (cf. Doc.#58:36). During one such trip in 1837, passenger Anna Jameson noted aspects of material culture distinctive to the “half-breed” *voyageur*, including the characteristic sash:

> The *voyageurs* were disposed on low wooden seats, suspended to the ribs of the canoe, except our Indian steersman, Martin, who, in a cotton shirt, arms bared to the shoulder, loose trousers, a scarlet sash round his waist, richly embroidered with beads, and his long black hair waving, took his place in the stern, with a paddle.

48 The following Drummond Islanders were buried at Lafontaine: Charles Coté; Rosette Cloutier; Louis Deschenaux; Louis Dessulniens; Joseph Giroux; Marguerite Greverot; Louis George Labatte and his half-breed wife Julia Frances Grouette (Goroite); Dominique Labatte; Jacques Adam Laramonde; Antoine and Amable Lafreniere; Therese Lacroix; Joseph Lagoa; Thérèse Loriot; Louise Locruy; Louis Legum; Augustin Precourt; Sophie Parent; Cyril Pombert; Madeline St. Onge; Lisette Solomon; Marguerite Soullier (Doc.#46:149-166). Patterson suggests that these individuals were not buried at Lafontaine by choice, but rather by rule of the Diocese. After a time the Parish boundaries were changed to encompass most of the *voyageur* families within the St. Ann’s Parish at Penetanguishene (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000).
twice as long as the others. The other men were all picked men, Canadian half-breeds, young, well-looking, full of glee and good-nature, with untiring arms and more untiring lungs and spirits; a handkerchief twisted around the head, a shirt and pair of trousers, with a gay sash, formed the prevalent costume. (Jury and Jury 1959:45)

In 1842, a “typical and perhaps the most famous of such trips” was made in an “iron” canoe and three bark canoes – manned by fifty-six voyageurs from Penetanguishene – following a route to Sault Ste. Marie, down through Lakes Huron and Erie and via the Welland Canal to Toronto (ibid.). Louis Solomon, Michael Labatte and Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre each provide accounts of this famous trip as members of the voyageur crew (Doc.#46). A number of dignitaries were passengers on this voyage, including Colonel Jarvis of the Indian Department, acting as host to Lord Morpeth and Lord Lennox.

During the mid-1800s, several of the métis men who had moved from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene were hired as Axe Men and Chain Bearers by Provincial Land Surveyors. A Paylist for the surveying party employed on the survey of the Town of Penetanguishene in August 1855 includes the names of two such métis men: Michael Labatte and Pierre Blette (Doc.#20). Names of Penetanguishene voyageurs also appear on paylists for surveys in the Owen Sound and Parry Sound regions, but these will be discussed in subsequent chapters which deal specifically with those districts.

Osborne (Doc.#46:126) concluded that the descendants of the early voyageurs “retain many of the characteristics... taking naturally to hunting, fishing, guiding tourists and campers and kindred adventure, though gradually drifting into other and more permanent occupations.” Jury and Jury also claim that the voyageurs and their descendants:

...kept alive the old boating songs, so that the dances that spun through the winter nights at distant trading posts, and the garrisons of Michillimaquinac and Drummond Island, and even at Prairie du Chien, were soon mingling with the pipes and reels of the Scottish regiments, and the traditional song and dance of the English. Josephette Legaë was the most popular musician... she continued to provide music at Penetanguishene until her husband, a Mr. Dechenaux, rebelled, we are told, and “demolished the violin by placing his foot on it violently.” (Jury and Jury 1959:44; cf. Doc.#46:159)

References to fiddle music and voyageur songs also have some reflection in métis culture. On his trip with Anna Jamesson in 1832, Louis Solomon was asked “to sing those beautiful songs of the French voyageurs, which she seemed to think so nice, and I often sang them for her” (Doc.#46:136). Although fiddle music cannot be used as an indicator exclusive to métis culture, it is a feature that was and continues to be part of métis social life, the rendezvous (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999b:29-30, Footnote #15). Instances of fiddle music are found only occasionally in the data collected for this assignment. When Jean Baptiste Sylvestre worked as a driver for Mr. Roe, a merchant at Newmarket, he “met a party of young people in Georgina and played the fiddle all night
for them while they danced" (Doc.#46:142). Osborne also notes that another Drummond Island voyageur, François Goulet, "was a noted violinist" (ibid.:155). In his diary of a trip from Toronto to Penetanguishene in the spring of 1849, Samuel Jarvis recorded several instances of fiddle music and dances:

**Wednesday, 4th April**  About 9 o’c a Frenchman brot in a fiddle & began to play - immediately it was proposed by Capt. Peck to have a dance - a young Lady (Miss Lovering) had arrived that day from Coldwater, and she with Miss Martin, a relative, & the Hostess, Mrs. Fuller, formed the female part of the assembly.

**Thursday, 5th April**  In the evening Capt. Peck’s French boy commenced playing the fiddle in an adjoining room - and soon after the girls of the house & the workmen from the boat were dancing with all their might...

**Saturday, 7th April**  About 8 o’c the fiddles again sounded & the workmen & the two helps kept up the dance until past 10 o’c. (Doc.#16)

It should be noted that at no time does Jarvis mention métis (half-breeds) in his diary, nor can it be stated with certainty that he was at Penetanguishene when describing the fiddle music and dances.⁴⁹

George Gordon’s vision of a permanent community at Penetanguishene was a reality once the migration from Drummond Island was complete. By 1860, a total of 234 households were enumerated, 54 of which were métis (Marchand 1989:59). Gordon’s métis family established itself prominently within that community for at least two generations. On the death of Miss Catherine Gordon in 1916, the local newspaper featured an article on the “Death of One of Penetanguishene’s Oldest Residents” and provided a full account of her father’s career and the importance of his role as a pioneer of the town.⁵⁰ Gordon’s signature on numerous letters and petitions to Bishop MacDonell in the years 1831 to 1839 indicate that Gordon became a leading member of the new village, including active involvement in establishing a school and in acquiring a Priest and constructing a church along with other French-Catholic families known to be métis (MacDonell Papers, AO F963).

Other Drummond Islanders were also key figures in establishing a civilian community around the military base at Penetanguishene. For example, William Simpson is described as a “wheel-horse” in the political, economic, social, religious and educational life of Penetanguishene (Doc.#63:5).

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49 Jarvis never identifies the exact location of the Inn at which he stayed. However, his remark about a visit to the mill with “Thompson” may refer to one of the Thompson brothers, merchants in Penetanguishene. Jarvis also states that he walked to “Wau-ba-shine” to see if the River was open of ice, returning to the Inn after only an hour and a half’s absence. From these remarks it can be concluded that Jarvis was at least in the vicinity of Penetanguishene, if not in the town itself (Doc.#16).

50 See AO MU1146, F433-0-0-3; research notes were taken on this file, but photocopies are not included in the Document Set. See also Doc.#60:7-9.
Father Castex (Doc.#57:11-12) offers high praise for individuals such as Gordon, as well as Dedine Revol (Revolte) for establishing and maintaining “spiritual services” to the new Catholic Parish. As catechist and lay clergy, Revol secured final permission and funds from MacDonell to build a church, the construction of which Revol organized and supervised (ibid.:13; Doc.#61:4). Land was donated by Pierre Giroux (who received a land grant at Penetanguishene in lieu of his losses at Drummond Island), and métis men such as Michael Labatte helped build that first log church (Doc.#7; Doc.#57:13). By 1835, the size and strength of the Catholic community in Penetanguishene resulted in its establishment as a missionary centre:

...from this date forward Penetanguishene was the point of departure for the priests who worked in Simcoe and the surrounding counties. [...] From Manitoulin Island along the east coast of Georgian Bay to Severn, from Orillia through to Barrie, through Owen Sound along the shoreline to Waubaushene we see the steady traces of their labours. (Doc.#57:15)

Marchand (1989:62) describes a sense of community among the voyageur group as evidenced by numerous occurrences of helping each other out, for example in petitioning the government or the Roman Catholic Church, and supporting each others’ petitions with letters of support and certification (see the MacDonell Papers, AO F963).

Osborne also indicates that about twenty Drummond Island voyageur families were granted land and/or settled in Tay Township, around Midland, Old Fort Ste. Marie (on the Wye River), Victoria Harbour, Waubaushene, and Coldwater:

Midland:
Boyer, Gottfried (m. Louise Perrault)- son living in Midland
Frechette, Michael - settled near Lake Tyndall (or Semple), Midland

Victoria Harbour:
Berger, Joseph - son Charles at Victoria Harbour
Labatte, Michael - lived on island in Victoria Harbour
Messier, Joseph - grandson (Joseph Messier) living at Victoria Harbour
Solomon, Lewis (Louie) - died at Victoria Harbour, buried in Midland

Old Fort Ste. Marie:
Bruneau, Baptiste - settled at Old Fort Ste. Marie; descendants live at Victoria Harbour
Bareille, Louis - descendants living at Old Fort Ste. Marie
Bellval, Baptiste - settled at old Fort Ste. Marie (but died at Bruce Mines)
Martin, Tontine - settled at Old Fort Ste Marie on the Wye
Oreille, Benjamin - settled at Old Fort Ste. Marie (but later moved to the Sault and St. Ignace)
Quebec, M. - settled at Old Fort Ste. Marie (but died at Bruce Mines)
Rondeau, Louis - settled at Old Fort Ste Marie (but buried at Penetanguishene)
St. Amand, Pierre - settled at Old Fort Ste. Marie, where his descendants were still living
Thibault, Pierre - settled at Old Fort Ste. Marie; moved to Penetanguishene, then to the Sault

Waubashene:
Barbou, Pierre - went to Waubaushene
Deschambault, Pierre - went to Waubaushene
Lemaire, Philip - descendants live in Waubaushene and Coldwater
Parisien, Jacques - went to Waubaushene
Prouse, Francis - went to Waubaushene

Coldwater:
Lepine, Francois (m. William Rawson); descendants living at Coldwater and Girard
Pardis, Joseph - moved to Coldwater

According to family historian Gwen Patterson, there exists a strong continuity of residence in the Penetanguishene vicinity from its settlement days after the migration from Drummond Island. Patterson has traced families now in living Penetanguishene back eight generations to the voyageur-group (personal communication, 14 February 2000).

6.4.3 Incorporation of Metis into First Nations

The 1871 Census enumerated the Christian and Beausoleil Islands Band residents as a self-contained group, and the enumerator recorded specific details regarding origin, religion, occupation and land holdings of each family (Doc.#59:6). For those families or individuals who were not of Indian origin, their European origin was recorded. The enumeration lists six families of mixed European/Aboriginal origin, and includes some of the same surnames of Metis voyageur families who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Of the latter, the surname Solomon is most recognizable. Andrew Solomon, his wife and their four children were Band residents, but as no alternate origin is recorded, it is assumed they self-identified as Indian (ibid.:7). However, indication that this Solomon family belonged to the Methodist religion is consistent with the history of Henry Solomon who was the interpreter for the Band in the 1830s and who is known to have been a Methodist influence among residents. It is possible that after Henry left Coldwater, a son (Andrew) stayed and moved with the Band to Beausoleil and then Christian Islands. A second Metis surname present on the 1871 enumeration is "Cown" (Cowan), the same as that of William Cowan identified in Louie Solomon's narrative as a Scottish half-breed (Doc.#46:131, see above). However, the couple listed in the 1871 Census (Joseph and Catherine Cowan) apparently self-identified as Indian band members (Doc.#59:6).

The six families with mixed ancestry and/or mixed marriage enumerated in the 1871 Census include the following: John Cupogog, a Scottish carpenter, and his wife Margaret and six children; Samuel Essons, French, and his wife Ann Mary and seven children; George McGregor, Scottish and Indian, his wife Sarah and two sons; John Manage, French boat-builder, his wife Sophia and two daughters; John Monague, French, his wife Mary and seven children, and; George Monague, French trader, his wife Sarah and two daughters. It should be noted that in the 1901 Census, the enumeration
of the Christian Island Indian Reserve did not record a single métis family.\footnote{Canada 1901:113 / 'n' - Polling Division 7 [Reel T-6496]. Research notes were taken on this file but photocopies are not included in the Document Set.}

Osborne (Doc.#46:151) also indicates that at the time of his research, the sons of Louis Chevalier were living on the Dokis Reserve, Nipissing. Chevalier was a Drummond Island voyageur who moved to Penetanguishene where he remained until his death. In 1855, Louis Chevalier was the "Second Chain Bearer" employed on the survey of the town plot of Penetanguishene (Doc.#20). Osborne lists no other Chevalier family members, and it is possible that all of Louise's descendants were accepted as members of Indian Bands in the area (which may imply that Louis' wife was Aboriginal). For example, a Robinson Treaty Annuities Paylist dated July 1881, lists a Josette Chevalier as a member of the Shawanaga Band who was paid at Penetanguishene (Doc.#31).

Finally, an Indian Affairs report dated 1899 indicates that William Solomon Jr. (a son of William Solomon, métis interpreter at Penetanguishene) had joined the Spanish River Band sometime after the Solomon family's move to Killarney, ca. 1855. This information was reported by J.T. Macrae in the context of doubtful claims to Robinson Treaty Annuities by Henry Solomon (also a son of William Solomon Sr.) and his descendants:

...the claims of Henry Solomon, Senior, though not consort ing with Indians, as an Indian, may have been looked upon favourably, as his brother William (No.36 Spanish River, No.1) lived in such association with Indians as had led me at this date to regard him as having become one. (Doc.#35:B5; parentheses original)

6.5 IDENTIFICATION OF MÉTIS FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

Of the seventy-five voyageur families claimed by Osborne to have migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene, approximately thirty-five can be positively identified as having mixed Aboriginal/European ancestry. This is consistent with Patterson's estimate that 40% of the original Drummond Island voyageur men were métis. The 1860–1861 Census indicates that many of the original voyageur men were French-Canadians born in Montreal, although their wives would have been Aboriginal or métis women, and their children would have all been métis (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000). By triangulating data from a variety of primary and secondary sources which name half-breed individuals and which make specific references to European men marrying Aboriginal or half-breed women, a fairly substantial data-base of positive identifications of métis families can be created. Section 6.5.1 discusses issues and problems related to making a positive identification of a métis population at Penetanguishene. This is followed in Section 6.5.2 by detailed accounts of those voyageur families and individuals who can be positively identified as métis.
6.5.1 Problems of Identification of a Métis Population

Osborne (Doc.#46:124) assumes at one point that all of the seventy-five *voyageur* families who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene were métis, stating that, “These hardy *voyageurs* or half-breeds are descendants of French-Canadians.” However, other historians who have published accounts of the migration, as well as several accounts recorded by early settlers to the area, do not necessarily employ the terms “*voyageur*” and “half-breed” synonymously. As in previous studies of historic métis in Ontario, the term “Canadian” or “French-Canadian” is also somewhat ambiguous in identifying individuals and groups of mixed ancestry (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a; 1999b).

In his autobiography, W.B. Hamilton distinguished between *voyageur* as an occupational designation, and half breed as a racial designation, although in many cases these terms referred to the same individual (Doc.#58). As a young man Hamilton recalled meeting a group of *voyageurs* from Sault Ste. Marie who were composed of “french Canadians and half-breeds” (ibid.:25). While Hamilton worked as a clerk at Andrew Mitchell’s fur trade post in Penetanguishene, he described the population there as comprised of only a few “english speaking inhabitants the others were French Canadians and half-breeds” (ibid.:27). However, in his account of a journey with Colonel Jarvis in the 1840s, Hamilton describes the steersman of the canoe as “a half breed... the only real *voyageur* we had for our Crew the others french Canadians though good for paddling had not much experience otherwise” (ibid.:37).

Father Castex describes the “one hundred or more families then in the vicinity of Penetanguishene” (ca. 1830s) as consisting of “three classes of society:"

...the Indians who were for the most part utter savages; ...Frenchmen who were most illiterate and ignorant of the Faith of their fathers; ...British soldiers in no way better than the average morally speaking... (Doc.#57:11)

It should be noted that Father Castex is the only author of the events surrounding the establishment of Penetanguishene to use the term, “métis”: in describing “Gordon’s Point”, Father Castex states that “here the métis and émigrés built wigwams covered with cedar bark and awaited the pleasure of the British Government to give them lands” (ibid.:12).

In October 1832, a petition was sent to Major Wmriot at York from former Drummond Islanders requesting land grants at Penetanguishene. The petitioners address themselves as “We the Canadian Inhabitants of Penetanguishene, lately from Drummond Island...” (Doc.#5). Unfortunately this petition does not have a list of names attached and the significance of the self ascription, “Canadian Inhabitants”, is unknown. A similar petition for land grants sent to Sir John Colborne 5 months earlier (May 1832) includes names of individuals who are known to be métis (eg., Charles Langlade), French-Canadian’s born in Lower Canada but married to Indian or métis women (eg., L.G. Labatte), and Scotch/British men also married to Indian or métis women (eg., George Gordon) (Doc.#3). It is possible that this group—intimately tied to Aboriginal and/or métis families and whose
children would all certainly be métis – considered themselves as “the Canadian Inhabitants” of Penetangushene.\footnote{The petition dated October 1832 and addressed from “the Canadian Inhabitants of Penetangushene” is signed by “Francis Topico” at the request of “the Inhabitants of Penetangushene” (Doc.#5). There is no signature of a Francis Topico on the May 1832 petition (Doc.#3) which includes many names of known métis and voyageur Drummond Islanders. Hence it cannot be definitively determined that the two petitions represent requests from the same group of individuals.} There is also a possibility that this sector of the population is the class of “Frenchmen” to whom Father Castex refers (see quote above), as distinct from the Indian class and from British class. However, the fact that after 1841 the French Canadian population in the Penetangushene area consisted of two groups – Drummond Islanders and Quebecers – further complicates the positive identification of métis within the population labelled as “French Canadians” or “Canadians.”

A letter from William Sanders, Ontario Land Surveyor, describes the Penetangushene population as it was in 1855:

\begin{quote}
[Penetangushene] is said to contain 600 inhabitants (where they hide themselves I do not know) One Eng. and one Popish Church - two Inns and no school of any kind english or french. We have four Stores (one kept by Coln. Thompson’s two Sons) and another by an Englishman. With these two exceptions and few pensioners somewhere out in the woods & the parson & doctor, all the rest are either french, french canadians, or half-breeds. [...] We have... the half-breeds - that is half french and half indien. French men have married squaws, and Indians have married french women, all mixed up in glorious confusion, and all speaking either french or indian. (Doc.#56:9)
\end{quote}

Despite the lack of conformity in the use of terms such as “voyageur”, “French-Canadian”, “Canadian”, “Indian” and “Half-breed”, the evidence is conclusive that a métis population did comprise a noticeable sector of the population at Penetangushene.

\subsection{6.5.2 Positive Identification of Métis Families}

This section accounts for those families and individuals for whom positive evidence exists of métis ancestry. Surnames (underlined for easy identification) and family histories discussed here should not be taken as an exhaustive list of métis families, nor should the discussion be construed as genealogically accurate. Rather, the analysis is sociological, drawing on qualitative data that demonstrate links between individuals and families, and which provide positive (versus probable) indication of métis ancestry. It should be noted that because Osborne’s publication and the 1901 Census are coincident in terms of date, there is some overlap of discussion contained in this section, with that presented in Chapter 7.

At least three of the “Big Four” pioneer fur traders in Penetangushene had métis families, including George Gordon, Andrew Mitchell, and William Simpson (cf. Doc.#63:4). While Decline
Revolte may also have been métis or had a métis family, no evidence to prove either has been found.\textsuperscript{53}

Although George Gordon is described as a “Scotch fur trader”, it is certain that his family was métis. Gordon’s first wife – Agatha or Agate Landry – was a French-Ojibwa woman born on Drummond Island, but who died in Penetanguishene not long after the move (Doc.#61:3; cf. Doc.#46:156; Doc.#57:12). Gordon’s second wife, Marguerite Langlade, was also of mixed blood ancestry. Angelique Langlade – whose narrative was recorded by Osborne – was a sister to Marguerite along with six other siblings. Their father, Charles Langlade, was a Drummond Islander, a French half-breed voyageur who moved to Penetanguishene during the 1828 migration (Doc.#51:3; Doc.#46:125, 148, 160). Their mother was Josephine Ah-queah-dah, a Chippewa woman. Signatures of both “Chars Langlade Pére” and “Geo. Gordon” are present on the 1832 petition representing a group of original Drummond Islanders to Sir John Colborne regarding land grants at Penetanguishene (Doc.#34). The Gordons had several children who remained in the Penetanguishene area, although neither of their sons survived to adulthood and hence the Gordon name is absent from the 1901 Census. However, Patterson states that the family line has been continued in Penetanguishene through the Gordon daughters (personal communication, 14 February 2000). There are three Langlade (Longlad; Langlois) families listed as French Breeds in Baxter and Tiny Townships (Doc.#38 & #43). A list of Penetanguishene men who died in World War I includes “Xavier Longlade” (Doc.#57:49).

Andrew Mitchell was almost certainly a half-breed son of Dr. David Mitchell – Surgeon General to the Indian Department at Michilimackinac and later Drummond Island (Doc.#46:148; cf. Jury and Jury 1959:50). Angelique Langlade’s narrative in Osborne (Doc.#46:148) indicates that Dr. Mitchell married a “Chippewa squaw”. Andrew Mitchell’s mother was Elizabeth Bertrand (or Bertraud), a French/Ojibwa woman who operated an independent fur trade company at Michilimackinac beginning around 1780 (Marchand 1989:30). French (Doc.#58:42, Endnote #4) states that she and Dr. Mitchell were married in Montreal in 1776. Osborne does not record any members of the Mitchell family in his “List of the Drummond Island Voyageurs”, but Andrew Mitchell’s signature is on the petition to Sir John Colborne in 1832 (Doc.#34). It is known that Andrew Mitchell had two sons, Andrew and David, to whom his fur trade business in Penetanguishene was passed in the 1850s (Doc.#58:38).

William Simpson’s first wife, Marguerite, was an Ojibwa woman who operated a store on Drummond Island, and whom Simpson married in 1829, shortly before he moved to Penetanguishene (Doc.#63:4; cf. Doc.#46:130, 148, 163; Doc.#57:10). Marguerite died shortly after they migrated to Penetanguishene, but soon after Simpson married a métis woman, Catherine (Katrine) Craddock, sister to Joseph Craddock of Coldwater (Doc.#46:130, 151). Rosette Boucher’s narrative states that “Joseph Craddock... and his sister, Mrs. Simpson, came from Drummond Island. Their mother was a half-breed” (ibid.:141). According to Osborne, Catherine’s descendants lived in Montreal.

\textsuperscript{53} The fact that Revolte “returned to Montreal” to study as a catechist suggests that he was from Quebec originally (Doc.#46:163). References to Revolte never mentions any wife or family and suggest that he was unmarried. Descriptions of his trip to Quebec imply that he was travelling alone (Doc.#57).

Joseph Craddock's family however, remained in the Coldwater (Tay Township) and Craddocks enumerated as "half-breed" can be traced to Medonte and Tay in 1901 (Docs.#42 & #44). Joseph Craddock was the half breed son of Lieut. John Craddock, an officer in the 42nd regiment who returned to England where he died in 1815, when Joseph was still a young child (Doc.#62:22). Craddock migrated with the garrison from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene where he was subsequently employed by the government helping to build houses for Indians at Coldwater, where he also received a grant of land (in Medonte) and resided until his death in 1900. Osborne describes Craddock as having such "marked" Aboriginal physical features, that he received treaty annuities:

*His aboriginal descent was so very marked, and the Indian so predominant in his character, that he received a government annuity with the other members of the Indian bands. He was scrupulously honest and upright in his dealings, highly respected, and a pattern to the community in which he lived over sixty years. He died at Coldwater on the 13th April, 1900. He has numerous descendants.* (Doc.#46:151)

Probable direct descendants are a Joseph Craddock (b.1834) family, and a Joseph Craddock Jr. family (b.1874) listed as Chippewa B ("Breed") in the Tay enumeration (Doc.#44, Polling Division 6:12).

A prominent métis family in the early years after the move to Penetanguishene was that of William Solomon, the Indian Department interpreter at Drummond Island. William Solomon's father Ezekial was of German Jewish origin, and a "civilian trader" at Michilimackinac in the mid-1700s (Doc.#46:126). William entered the fur trade with the North West Company, and as an expert in "the use of the Indian tongue", he was engaged by the British government as Indian interpreter at Mackinaw during the War of 1812. Here he married a half-breed woman, the daughter of John Johnston, a métis marriage which produced eleven children. When the British forces were transferred to Drummond Island and then to Penetanguishene, Interpreter William Solomon and his family also moved. A document dated 1899 indicates that after leaving the government service at Penetanguishene, ca. 1855, William Solomon settled on Beausoleil Island, then moved to Killarney where he died sometime around 1875 (Doc.#35:B4). However, Osborne states that "the majority of his family" lie buried at Penetanguishene.

The narrative of Lewis (Louie) Solomon contained in Osborne 1901, is told by William's youngest son, the only surviving member of that immediate family at the time Osborne collected the oral histories. In Osborne's opinion, Louie's "Indian nature appeared to predominate" (Doc.#46:126). Louie died at Victoria Harbour in 1900 and was buried at Midland. According to Osborne (ibid.:164), Louie's son was still living in Tiny, although there are no Solomons enumerated as half-breeds in the 1901 Census for Tiny Township.

Two older brothers of Louie, Ezekiel and Henry, are also mentioned in the narrative. Ezekiel

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54 The 1901 Census shows a birth date of 1834, but a genealogy of the Joseph Craddock family published in Ancestry (Doc.#62) states that a son Joseph was baptised at St. Anns Jan 11, 1837 at 19 days.
accompanied Louie as one of the voyageurs on the “iron canoe” trip in 1842 (Doc.#46:135). Henry arrived in Penetanguishene in 1828 with a wife and family of eight children (ibid.:129). From at least 1832, Henry Solomon was the interpreter at the Indian Mission at Coldwater-Penetanguishene, although this position may have been terminated early in 1836, as the Catholic Indians were unhappy with Henry’s proselytising efforts on behalf of Methodism. On 28 January 1836, Chief John Esso55 and John Etist Taugina (Tauginena), on behalf of the “The Indians of Penetanguishene” requested that Bishop MacDonell to secure them a new interpreter:

[We] have to inform you that the priest we have at present totally turned against the indians by means of our interpreter which he is to blame. [H]is name is [H]enry Solomon which we do not want him no more. [W]e have nothing to say to the priest but what is good. [I]f we had an interpreter of our own choosing their would be a greater deal of the methodist indians that would have turned. [T]here is two of indians which your lordship married has turned methodist by means of our interpreter... [W]e hope to have a greater deal of the wild indians in the spring which we will do our utmost to have them all Catholiks if it is in our power. -

(Doc.#12)

At some point Henry must have moved his family to Killarney on the north shore of Lake Huron, as this is where he apparently died (see below).

Six of Louie’s seven sisters married voyageur men known to have migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene, several of whom can be positively identified as métis (Doc.#46:164):

Métis daughters of William Solomon who married voyageur and/or métis men

Sophie: m. Benjamin Dusanque [Dusang], voyageur (Osborne states that their descendants were living in Tiny at the time of his publication, but no métis family of this name is enumerated in the 1901 Census for Tiny township, see Doc.#45.)

Lisette: m. Louis Desaulniers, voyageur (Both were buried at Lafontaine.)

Rosette: m. Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre, métis fur trader (Sylvestre’s father was a fur trader, his mother was Angelique McKay, a Scottish half-breed; Rosette was buried at Penetanguishene; At least one of their daughters still lived in Penetanguishene at the time of Osborne’s publication.)

Angelique: m. Thomas Landigan, employed by the Navy (However, Angelique later eloped with James Murphy and went to Bruce Mines. Two Landigan families are enumerated as French Breed in Tiny township in the 1901 Census, see Doc.#45.)

55 The 1871 Census indicates that “John Esso” was Chief of the Christian and Beausoleil Island Band (Doc.#59:6-7). There were six other “Esson” families who belonged to the Band; Samuel Esso is listed as French in origin; David Esso is listed as Band Interpreter. This surname is likely an alternate spelling for “Assence.”
Marguerite: m. Joseph Leramonde, métis voyageur (Leramonde assisted Louie as a guide for Captain West to Manitoulin Island on snow-shoes; Osborne lists this man as “James” Leramonde, coast pilot, and apparently they had a son Ouillette.)

Jessie: m. Charles Rousseau, métis voyageur (Charles was a half-brother to George Gordon, for whom he worked as a clerk. He later kept a store and post-office on St. Joseph Island, but returned to Montreal where he died.) Jessie’s second husband, Colbert Amyot, was also métis. Jessie died at St. Joseph Island where a son was still living at the time of Osborne’s publication; another son was living at St. Ignace, Michigan.)

Of interest here is evidence that a granddaughter of William Solomon, “Mrs. Tranch” – the daughter of Henry Solomon who lived in Killarney – also married a métis man: Joseph Tranch was the half breed son of a French Hudson’s Bay company man and his Aboriginal wife from Fort William (Doc.#35:B4).

As indicated above, Henry Solomon died at Killarney, and there exists a recorded history of a branch of the Solomon family in the Killarney area. In August 1878, Charles Skene, Indian Agent at Parry Sound informed his superiors at the Indian Department of the history of this family, in order to garner advice on numerous applications he received from the “Family of Solomon – Henvy Inlet Band” for arrears on Robinson Treaty annuities. From his own researches, Skene learned that the Solomons were considered off-reserve band members:

I enquired whether [the Solomons] were considered to belong to the Band – the Henvy Inlet Band – the Chief – Wachawachin [sp?] – said Yes they belonged to the Band – and at the same time said that his father had (?) difficulty in getting them (?) on the list as although their mother was Indian their Father was French. (Doc.#30)

As Skene had never seen any of the Solomons, and as he knew they had not been at Henvy Inlet for many years, he asked “Mr. Lamorandiere”, the paymaster at Killarney to report on the family. While the specific identity of the paymaster is not provided, it is possible that he belonged to a branch of the métis family of Charles Lamorandiere who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Osborne states that two sons of Alixe Lamorandiere (son of Charles) later became “prominent business men at Killarney” (Doc.#46:158-159). In part, the paymaster’s report relies on information he acquired from his father, who seems to have known the history of the Solomon family from personal experience:

As to the Solomons... they are not Indians for I know that in the village they are regarded as white people. It is true they have some Indian Blood but they are more French than Indian. My father who knows all about the matter tells me that they were put on the list after having adopted an Indian name. [...] My father has just informed me that the late Mr. Henry Solomon, Xavier and James’s father, never received any Annuity – His sons are on the Pay List with their mother who was an Indian woman from French River or somewhere down there. (Doc.#30)
The surnames Solomon and Lamorandiere appear in several Indian Affairs files dating from 1881 to 1938, which deal with issues of “non-transmissible” annuities for “non-Indians” living off-reserve (e.g., in Killarney) but receiving Robinson Treaty annuities due to family connections with both the Henry Inlet and Nipissing Bands. The surname Solomon is also found on Indian paylists for the Chippewas of Saugeen, 1856-1899, and on paylists for the Chippewas of Cape Croker.\footnote{See NAC RG10, Vol.2143, File 25,703; RG10 Vol.2832, File 170,073-1; RG10, Vol.9670 & 9671; RG10,Vol.2530, File 109,644. Research notes were taken from these files and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.}

The family of Louis George Labatte can also be positively identified as métis. Labatte was a French Canadian born in Lower Canada who worked for the North West Company, and later joined the British army, working also as a blacksmith at Sault Ste. Marie and later on Drummond Island (Doc.#46:137-138,144). His first wife was Louisa Cadotte, whose Chippewa name was Oh-ge-ke-qua. The narrative of their son Michael Labatte states that his mother was Chippewa (“from whom I learned the Indian language”), although the surname Cadotte is a well-known métis name from the Sault Ste. Marie area (cf. \textit{PRAZIS} Research Associates 1999a:80). Osborne (Doc.#46:157) describes Michael’s “aboriginal descent” as “most unmistakably marked.” Michael married Archange Bergé, whose father also came from Drummond Island; Osborne (\textit{ibid.}:150) lists a Joseph “Berger” and adds that his son Charles and other descendants were still living in the area at the time of publication. Five “Burgie[-er]” families were enumerated as “French Breeds” in the 1901 Census for Tay Township (Doc.#44). Louise Labatte was a daughter of Louis George’s first marriage; she married Pierre Blette dit Sorelle, also a Drummond Island \textit{voyageur}. Louis and Francois Blette also appear in Osborne’s (Doc.#46:151) list of Drummond Island \textit{voyageurs}, and while indication of relationship to Pierre is provided, it is possible that they were members of the same family. The signature of “Louis Blette dit Sorel” appears on the 1832 petition to Sir John Colborne, as does the signature of “L.G. Labatte” (Doc.#3).

Louis George Labatte’s first wife Louisa died in Penetanguishene, and he was remarried to Julia Frances Grouette, a “half breed” woman, both of whom were buried in Lafontaine. Antoine, Ambrose, Dominique and Katrine Labatte were children of this second marriage. The Labatte’s are reported to “have nombreux descendants”, many of whom stayed in the region. Four Labatte families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for Tay (Doc.#44).

Antoine Labatte married Mary [Marie] Coté, from the family of Charles Coté who had formerly been a servant of the HBC (Doc.#46:147,152). Charles was born in Montreal, but as a young fur trader married Marie Marguerite Greverot on Drummond Island. Upon moving to Penetanguishene in 1830, he was awarded a lot in Tiny Township. Apparently each of their eleven children were born in Tiny and fifth and sixth generation descendants of this Coté family still reside in Simcoe County (Doc.#62:22-23; Doc.#46:152). Only two Coté families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census, one in Tiny (but in which the father self-identified as White of French origin) and the other in Tiny (Docs.#44 & #45).
The last voyageur métis families to be discussed here are the Larammee, Boucher, and Cloutier families. Rosette Boucher's narrative is recorded by Osborne; her father was Jacques Adam Larammee, a French Canadian born in Lower Canada, her mother a half-breed woman by the name of Rosette Cloutier (Doc.#46:140-141; cf. Doc.#62:23-24). Married in Mackinaw, the Larammee's moved to Drummond Island with the British military, and migrated to Penetanguishene in 1828 with their two sons and two daughters. The signature of "Jaque Adam dit Laramee" appears on the 1832 petition to Sir John Colborne (Doc.#3). Jacques Adam and Rosette Larammee settled in Tiny township and both were buried at Lafontaine (Doc.#46:153,156). All of the Larammee children also settled in the Tiny/Tay region. Rosette (Larammee) married Jean Baptiste Boucher whom she described as "also a native of Drummond Island", but whom Osborne identifies as born in Quebec (ibid.:140,149). Narcisse Boucher is the only son of Rosette and Jean Baptiste identified in Osborne, although Michael Labatte's narrative states that a "Toussaint Boucher built the Iron Canoe... in Penetanguishene" (ibid.:139). One Boucher family is enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Baxter Township; the surnames Larammee and Cloutier are not listed as métis in the Census for any of the Georgian Bay area (Doc.#38). However, a Joseph and Wm. B. Cloutier are included on a list of Penetanguishene men who died in World War II (Doc.#57:49).

Positive identifications are also possible for several métis individuals about whose families little else is known. For completion sake, the list below includes surnames of Drummond Islanders who moved to Penetanguishene, as well as other Penetanguishene area residents at the time, who are known to be métis or have métis families, but are not identified in the preceding discussion:

Beausoleil: It is apparently for Louis Beausoleil that Beausoleil Island is named, because this is where he first settled after leaving Drummond Island in 1819. He later moved to Beausoleil Point on Penetanguishene Bay. His wife was "full blooded Chippewa". They had two sons and one daughter. Alice lived and died in Penetanguishene, and several of his descendants still lived in Tiny at the time of Osborne's writing. Antoine moved to Trenton, Ontario. Felicite married Antoine Recollect from Green Bay, but it appears they lived in Penetanguishene as this is where she died. Felicite's daughter, Cecelia married Antoine Trudeau (see below). Descendants of the Beausoleil family were still living in Tiny township at the time of Osborne's writing (Doc.#46:150). Three Beausoleil families are enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Tiny township (Doc.#45).

Borland: John Borland married Celeste Lavallee, the daughter of Drummond Island voyageur Dennis Lavallee (Doc.#46:156-157). While it appears that John Borland was not of mixed ancestry, it is possible that his wife was métis. John Borland helped his father, Captain

57 A "Toussaint Boucher" is listed as a labourer at the Michipicoten HBC Post in 1833, and is also included on lists of half-breeds receiving Robinson Superior Treaty annuities in the 1850s (Praxis Research Associates 1999a:60,66). The surname "Boucher" was encountered frequently in research related to métis in the Wawa area. It is not known if these individuals were related to the Boucher family who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene. Whether Toussaint Boucher who built the "iron canoe" used at Penetanguishene in 1842 is the same individual as the person having the same name at Michipicoten in the 1830s and 1850s, also is not known. Marchand (1989:46) also identifies Toussaint Boucher as the blacksmith among the voyageur group, and that he built the "iron canoe."

Borland, build the houses for the Indians on Beausoleil Island under contract from the Government. An Indian trader by the name of Andrew Borland offered to buy the Severn sawmill from Chief John Assance in 1837 (Angus 1990:37). It is unknown if there was any family connection between these men, but it is certainly possible. The 1901 Census for Tay township lists two Borland families as “Chippewa English Breed” (Doc.#44).

Brissette: Hippolyte Brissette is identified as a half-breed in Osborne (Doc.#46:149). Louis Solomon’s narrative indicated that he married an Indian woman of the Cree tribe (ibid.:131). Osborne does not include the Brissette name in his list of Drummond Island voyageurs. However, five Brissette (Brassette) families were enumerated as “French Breed” in the 1901 Census for Baxter and Tay townships (Docs.# 38 & #44).

Corbiere: Louis Corbiere and his wife were living in Penetanguishene by 1829, and were awarded land in Tay township (Doc.#62:23). It seems that Corbiere took an active role in building the civilian community at Penetanguishene. In 1831, he signed a petition for land on which to build a church (Doc.#2), and again in 1833 he was one of three petitioners requesting support for a Catholic school and recommending the appointment of Anthony Lacourse as teacher (Doc.#10). Little is known about this family except that Louis’ daughter Marguerite was buried at St. Ann’s in 1838. Although no direct evidence has been found to positively identify this family as métis, the Corbiere name is included here because of the appearance of the family name among students at the Indian School in Honey Harbour in the 1940s (see Chapter 7). No Corbiere families are identified as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay area.

Cowan: Louis Solomon identifies William Cowan as a “half-breed whose grandfather was a Scotch trader and interpreter” who settled opposite Waubashene (Doc.#46:131). Marchand (1989:24) identifies a George Cowan, whose French name was Jean Baptiste Constant, as operating a fur trade store at Matchedash in the 1790s. Osborne does not include this name in his list of Drummond Island voyageurs, and there is no other Cowan listed.

Dusseaume: Louie Solomon’s narrative indicates that Louis Dusseaume “married a woman of the Wild Rice Tribe” possibly a Lake of the Woods Ojibwa woman whom he met while with the North West Company at Red River (Doc.#46:131). Again, Osborne does not include this name in his list of Drummond Island voyageurs, and there is no other Dusseaume listed. The 1901 Census lists six “Dusome” families, one in Tay and five in Tiny townships (Docs.#44 & #45). George and Carl Dusome are on the list of Penetanguishene men who died in World War I (Doc.#57:49).

Farling: Before his move to Penetanguishene, James Farling was the blacksmith in the Indian Department at Drummond Island (Doc.#6). Osborne (Doc.#46:154) lists his name as “Farlinger” and indicates that he was of German origin, but he spoke French and was married to a “half-breed” woman. Osborne lists Farling as one of the original Drummond Island voyageurs. In 1831, he signed a petition for land on which to build a church (Doc.#2), and
in 1833 he was one of the three petitioners who requested support for a Catholic school (Doc.#10). However, no such name is enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay study area.

Fleury: Joseph Fleury was said to be a Spaniard, but according to Osborne (Doc.#46:154), he spoke French, and was married to a half-breed woman. Osborne lists Fleury as one of the original Drummond Island voyageurs. No such name is enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay study area.

Giroux: According to Antoine Labatte’s narrative, Pierre Giroux “took a squaw for his wife from Moose Point and settled on Penetanguishene Bay” (Doc.#46:146-147). No children survived this first marriage, but Pierre must have remarried, as Osborne (ibid.:155) records that his descendants were still living in Tiny township. The signature of “Pierre Giroux” appears on the 1832 petition to Sir John Colborne (Doc.#3), and in 1833 “Pierre Giroux Sr.” submitted a petition for a land grant on his own behalf (Doc.#7). Pierre’s brother Joseph raised a family at Penetanguishene, and according to Osborne in 1901, one son was still living there. Joseph was buried at Lafontaine. No Giroux families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay area.

Laronde (De La Ronde): Charles de la Ronde and his wife Magdeleine Pewadjiwonokwe and their family settled in Penetanguishene in 1828 (Doc.#63:18). Louie Solomon’s narrative mentions a half-breed by the name of Pierre Laronde, an assistant on a snow-shoe expedition to Manitoulin Island (Doc.#46:133). The only other mention of the De La Ronde family is found in Osborne (Doc.#46:155), who states that “Charles lived at Penetanguishene, Beausoleil Island and Coldwater.” No Laronde or De la Ronde families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay area although this is a well known métis name in the northern Lake Superior area (cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:42).

McKay: Aleck McKay was a half-breed assistant to Louie Solomon when guiding Captain West to Manitoulin Island on snow-shoes (Doc.#46:133). Osborne does not include this name in his list of Drummond Island voyageurs, and there is no other McKay listed. However, it known that Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre’s mother was Angeline McKay, a Scottish half-breed. (ibid.:42). John Amable McKay is listed as a métis guide at the Michipicoten HBC Post in the 1830s, but it is not known if he had any relation to Angeline (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:60).

Rousseau: Jean-Baptiste and Charles Rousseau were the métis half-brothers to George Gordon, the sons of Gordon’s mother after her second marriage. Jean-Baptiste was a clerk for Gordon and ranged the wilderness collecting furs from the Indians, and there is evidence that Lake Rousseau in Muskoka is named after him (Doc.#63:11). Charles also worked as a clerk for Gordon and afterwards kept a store and post-office on St. Joseph Island (Doc.#46:163). Although Osborne lists both these men as original Drummond Island voyageurs who migrated to Penetanguishene, it seems that neither stayed in that area and left.
no descendants. No Rousseau families are enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census.

Rushleau: Osborne lists George Rushleau as one of the original Drummond Island voyageurs. Like Fleury, he was said to be a Spaniard married to a half-breed (Doc.#46:163). No Rushleau families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay area.

Trudeau: Jean Baptiste Trudeau, a blacksmith in the navy, migrated to Penetanguishene from Drummond Island and settled in Tiny, giving the name to "Trudeau Point" (Doc.#46:165). His son Antoine married Cecelia, the granddaughter of Louis Beausoleil (see above), and they also lived in Tiny. Another son, Eustaché lived at Byng Inlet (Wallbridge Township, Parry Sound District). A daughter married and moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin. Descendants of the Trudeau family were still living in Tiny at the time of Osborne's writing (Doc.#46:165). Two Trudeau families are enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Tiny township (Doc.#45).

Vasseur: It appears that the Vasseur family was already-established at Drummond Island, and Osborne (Doc.#46:166) indicates that all six Vasseur brothers (Charles, Andre, Louis, Jacques, Joseph and Baptiste) followed the British to Penetanguishene. However, Osborne indicates that Charles Vasseur was born in Quebec, served the HBC at Mackinaw where he married a half-breed woman named Marguerite Lenglade, a cousin of the Lenglade family into which George Gordon married. There is some indication that the Vasseur family had relatives in Green Bay, as Vasseur's mother reportedly visited Penetanguishene from Green Bay. Charles' wife and at least one young son moved to Ontonagon, Michigan after his death. At least two sons, Charles Jr. and Paul, continued to live in the Penetanguishene/Tiny area where Osborne states that descendants still lived. Louis Vasseur, a brother to Charles, is said to have owned the lot on which Lafontaine Church stood. Three Vasseur families are enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census; one in Baxter township, and two in the town of Penetanguishene (Docs.#38 & #43). The list by Father Castex (Doc.#57:49) of those from Penetanguishene who died in World War I includes two Vasseur men.

The following chapter attempts to trace the métis families introduced above, into the 20th century by analysing enumeration data from the 1901 Census in conjunction with what is known about the subsequent settlement and development of the Penetanguishene area.
7. PENETANGUISHENE, MIDLAND & HONEY HARBOUR: MÉTIS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Consistent with research on métis in Ontario completed for other regions (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a; 1999b), there is a shortage of data about métis in the Georgian Bay area during the 20th century. While data from the 1901 Census provides a valuable picture of the métis population at the beginning of the 20th century, almost no other information exists for the decades following. The data which have been found are separated by large gaps of time and are extremely limited or of indirect relevance. Consequently, the history of métis in the Penetanguishene vicinity after 1901, is speculative at best. An analysis of the métis population as enumerated in the 1901 Census is presented in Section 7.1. This is followed by an overview of settlement and development in the Penetanguishene, Midland and Victoria Harbour, as well as Honey Harbour beginning in the mid-1800s and continuing throughout the 20th century (Section 7.2).

7.1 MÉTIS POPULATION AS ENUMERATED IN THE 1901 CENSUS

A breakdown of the métis population enumerated in the 1901 Census in the district of Simcoe East (including Penetanguishene, Tiny, Tay, and Medonte) and in the township of Baxter (where Honey Harbour is located) is provided in Table 7.1 below (see Map A.11).

The largest percentage of métis residents within a total population was in Baxter Township, where 25% of the population self-identified as "French Breed." Another 55% are enumerated as French, some of whom intermarried with métis, and whose children were subsequently coded as "FB" (French Breed). Within the combined districts of Muskoka and Parry Sound, 28% of the total métis population lived in Baxter. Honey Harbour is located in Baxter Township, but the Census does not provide any way to verify that this is where the métis population was enumerated. However, the fact that several of these families are also listed by Murdoch (1999) as among the early pioneers of the Honey Harbour community, strongly suggests that this is the case (see Section 7.2.3, below). Of the twenty-five households enumerated as métis, nine have surnames belonging to Drummond Island voyageurs, including: Brissette (3); Boucher (2); Lamoureux (2); Langlais (1), and; Vasseur (1). Occupationally, the majority of métis families in this township were involved in farming and lumbering; two were boat-builders and another two were fishermen.

Within Simcoe County as a whole, virtually all métis lived in Simcoe East, which then included Penetanguishene and Midland. The largest concentration of métis in this area lived in Tay and Tiny Townships, of which the 304 residents who were enumerated as "Breeds" (the majority "French Breed"), represented 90% of the métis population in Simcoe County.
Table 7.1
1901 Census: Simcoe East District and Baxter Township
(Source: Canada 1901; 1902 [see Docs.#38, #42-45, #47])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District/SubDistrict</th>
<th>Table XI: # of “Half-Breeds”</th>
<th>Table VII: Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91. MUSKOKA AND PARRY SOUND</td>
<td>(337)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Baxter Township</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113. SIMCOE EAST</td>
<td>(199) [336]</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Medonte</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Orillia</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Penetanguishene, Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Tay</td>
<td></td>
<td>43 [180]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Tiny</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r)3. Christian Island Indian Reserve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the town of Penetanguishene, only 22 individuals (5 households) were enumerated as “French Breed”, including two Vasseur families, and one Boucher family. However, it should be noted that a large percentage (47%) of the Penetanguishene population identified as White/French, some of whom may have had métis ancestry, but who in 1901 self-identified as French. Drummond Island voyageur surnames such as Brissette, Cadieux, Dusome, Gendron, Langlade and Priske [Prisque] coded as “W” (White) of “French” origin suggest that an identity shift may have occurred among some descendants of métis families, particularly those who married members of the European settler groups.\(^{59}\)

\(^{58}\) The figures in round parentheses is the number of “Half-breeds / Métis” recorded for Simcoe East and Tiny township in “Table XI: Origins of the People” (Doc.#47). However, an actual count of individuals coded as “FB” (French Breed), or “OB” (Other Breed) on the enumeration sheets results in a total of 180 métis. As the enumeration sheets clearly indicate the “FB” or “OB” codes, it would appear that the number recorded in Table XI is an error. This means that the figure of 199 métis total in Simcoe East is also incorrect, and should be at least 336. Consequently, these larger figures (in square brackets) are used in the analysis in this report.

\(^{59}\) For example, J.P. Dusome — coded “W”, French origin, born 1859 in urban Ontario, possibly Penetanguishene — married a woman of German origin born in the USA. Their first child is recorded to have been born in the US also, but their next six children were born in Ontario, suggesting that J.P. Dusome lived in the USA for a time, returning to Penetanguishene sometime before May 1885 (when his second child was born). It is not known if J.P. Dusome was related to métis voyageur Dusome families, and there is no way to determine if he considered himself métis before his move to the USA. However, despite the odds of either of these latter scenarios being the case, he decided in 1901 to identify himself and his family as “White” (Doc.#43, Polling Division 1, p.12).
The enumeration of the town of Midland recorded no métis individuals, although a margin note by the enumerator identifies Polling Division No.1 of Tay Township as “Dollartown”. The eastern section of Midland where James Dollar’s lumber mill was located was known as “Dollartown” (Shushan 1967:8). Five métis households were enumerated in Dollartown: three Gaudette families, one Labatt and one Burgie family (Doc.#44, Polling Division 1).

Within the township of Tiny, almost all (97%) of métis were enumerated within a single polling division (No.5), suggesting a community or neighbourhood consisting of about 35 métis households. Of these, 17 households have surnames of Drummond Island voyageurs: Beausoleil (3); Coaty [Côté] (1); Dusome (5); Lamoureaux (1); Landragan (2); Langlade/Longlade (2); Laramee (1), and; Trudeau (2). Unfortunately, information regarding the geographic boundaries of Polling Divisions employed for the 1901 Census has been lost. A review of Schedule 2 (Buildings and Lands, Churches and Schools) shows that the “Military Reserve” was enumerated within polling division No.5, suggesting a location very near the town of Penetanguishene, and around which métis settled (Doc.#45, Polling Division 5). An 1844 report by the Deputy Provincial Surveyor on the Township of Tiny describes the proximity of the military reserve and the village of Penetanguishene:

_About two miles further north or up the Bay [from the village of Penetanguishene], on the Township of Tay Side, there are Government Barracks and a military establishment._ (Doc.#15:1)

Marchand (1989:40) states that voyageurs were employed at the military establishment, and that métis in this polling division are also listed as tourist guides and fishermen (see below) indicates that the location was near or on the bay’s shoreline, rather than inland (no métis are enumerated as engaged in farming in polling division No.5).

Tay township enumerated a total of 124 métis, composed of approximately 30 households grouped in three different polling divisions, each with distinct métis origins (see Table.7.2 below). The majority of métis households in Tay (19, or 63%) were located in polling division No.4, and all except one family is coded as “French Breed.” Several families had surnames belonging to Drummond Island voyageurs, including: Brassette [Brissette] (2); Burgie [Bergé] (5); Craddock (2); Dusome (1), and; Labatt (4). Two Borland families enumerated as “Chippewa EB” (English Breed) are listed in polling division No.6, where the métis families are of Scotch Breed or English Breed origin, except for the two Craddock families who were enumerated as “Other Breed.” In polling division No.1, all except one individual identified their Aboriginal origin as “Huron.”

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60 That there is, at present, no means by which to determine the location of Polling Divisions was confirmed by archivists in the Genealogical Research section, National Archives of Canada (personal communication, February 10, 2000).
### Table 7.2
1901 Census: Métis Groupings in Tay Polling Divisions
(Source: Canada 1901 [see Doc.#44])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tay Polling Division</th>
<th>Origin*</th>
<th># of Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1</td>
<td>Huron OB</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huron FB</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iroquois OB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4</td>
<td>FB</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SB</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OB</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>Chippewa SB</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chippewa EB</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chippewa OB</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* EB = English Breed; FB = French Breed; OB = Other Breed; SB = Scotch Breed

Occupationally, the majority (53%) of métis men in Tay and Tiny townships were employed in the lumber industry as shanty men, choppers, and mill workers. Almost all (at least 75%) of the métis men in Tay were sawmill labourers as occupations held by métis in Tay were seemingly limited in scope (2 métis men were tradesmen – e.g., carpenter – and 6 others were unspecified “labourers”, who may also have been engaged in the lumber industry). In Tiny, a greater range of occupations was engaged in by métis men, the most striking being that of “Tourist Guide” which ten métis men listed as their primary occupation. Four métis men in Tiny were fishermen, plus there were several métis tradesmen (e.g., cooper, carpenter, harbour master).

Marchand (1989) provides a unique analysis of the cultural demise of the Drummond Island voyageurs, concluding that once the fur trade died in the Penetanguishene vicinity in the late 1860s, they lost their economic niche and with it their occupational, social and cultural distinctiveness. Marchand argues that in the face of economic change and increasing immigrant settlement, many métis and voyageur descendants became sedentary and progressively integrated into white society. Unfortunately Marchand provides no historical evidence to support the conclusion that this group was completely assimilated into mainstream Canadian culture. Marchand’s argument does not accord with 1901 Census data which shows that métis were employed as sawmill labourers, lumber camp foremen, fishermen and tourist guides, nor is it consistent with evidence of growing lumber, fishing and tourism industries in the area during the 20th century. Unfortunately there is next to no written evidence about what happened to these métis families in subsequent generations, a gap which only genealogical and oral historical research would begin to fill.

7.2 SETTLEMENT AND TOWNSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The history of settlement and development in the Townships of Tiny and Tay, and in the towns of Penetanguishene, Midland and Honey Harbour, is one primarily connected with the lumber industry which began in the mid-1800s, and which eventually superseded in importance to the declining fur trade in the area. Port facilities and commercial fishing were also important in maintaining the economic viability of settlement in the area, and while agriculture drew some settlers, the sandy soil and rocky terrain in much of the area precluded this as a major development factor. Indeed, Marchand (1989:41) states that agriculture did not allow sufficient subsistence for the voyageurs who migrated to Penetanguishene from Drummond Island, although a few families did attempt full-time farming. The 1861 Census listed only ten farmers of voyageur origin (ibid.).

The following sections provide what specific information was found in relation to Penetanguishene, Midland and Victoria Harbour, and Honey Harbour. The majority of information is taken from publications by local historians and historical societies, and generally reflect the non-Aboriginal settler perspective of development. Only the history of Honey Harbour openly acknowledges the existence of pioneers with Aboriginal ancestry.

7.2.1 Penetanguishene

The population of Tiny Township in 1842 was about 266 people; the population of the village of Penetanguishene numbered about 100 (Doc.#15). At this time, a sawmill was already built on a stream running “from near the centre of the Township [of Tiny] until it enters the southern extremity of Gloucester Bay”, near the Penetanguishene village, and a grist mill was in the course of construction (ibid.2). Penetanguishene was incorporated as its own municipality in 1875; at that time the town had a population of 841 (Penetanguishene 1975:2). At the turn of the century, at least four major lumber mills were in operation in the town of Penetanguishene (ibid.:23).

According to Barry (1968:105), commercial fishing in the Georgian Bay began with white settlement during the 19th century. Prior to this time, however, fishing for domestic use and trade on a small scale was an important activity prior to commercial development. Father Castex (Doc.#57:47) indicates that this activity remained important well into the 20th century as well, reporting that in the 1920s Father Brunelle helped many in need, including assisting people to “set them up in their work” by, for example, buying “nets for the fisher-folk.”

7.2.2 Midland and Victoria Harbour

Midland in 1859 was a “small collection of settlers around a sawmill” (Shushan 1967:7). Although several farms extended some miles around, Shushan (ibid.) states that “the settlers would only eke out a meagre subsistence from the rocky land, so they did odd jobs as well as hunting and fishing.” In 1878 the population of Midland was 836, supported economically by a port to which grain was shipped from Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William, and the construction and operation grain elevators. Midland Railway was completed in 1879. During the WWI, the grain trade greatly
increased (ibid. : 23).

In 1882, the Yates brothers started the first commercial fish business in Midland; they had a fleet of 35 fishing boats capable of handling 25 to 35 tons of fish a week, shipped all over Canada and to New York and Buffalo. Shushan (1967: 9) speculates that, "their prowess as fishermen did much to enhance Midland’s reputation as a fishing paradise."

The original town plot of Midland was surveyed in 1872-1873, but an older survey done in 1853 was preferred and this was finally implemented in 1898. Midland was incorporated as a town in 1890, at which time there were five major lumber mills plus a diversification into other manufacturing industries.

Historically, there is minimal indication of a concentration of métis/voyageur families at Victoria Harbour, just south of Midland and nearby to Port McNicoll. Osborne 1901 (Doc. #46) refers to a few Drummond Island voyageurs having settled at Victoria Harbour, and where he reported descendants were still living:

Berger, Joseph: Joseph’s son Charles lived at Victoria Harbour; Charles Burzie Sr. is included on a list of Freehold Residents in 1880 (Boyer and Boyer 1989: 99).

Bruneau, Baptiste: His descendants lived in Victoria Harbour and Tay.

Labatte, Michael: Lived on island in Victoria Harbour, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, a Henry Labatt worked at the Victoria Harbour Lumber Company and was later employed as a lumberjack; Henry built a home in Victoria Harbour (ibid.: 109)

Messier, Joseph: Grandson (Joseph Messier) was living at Victoria Harbour

Solomon, Lewis: Died at Victoria Harbour and buried in Midland

The list of Freehold Residents in 1880 also includes two Bressette [Brissette] freeholders: Paul and Theopole Bressette (Boyer and Boyer 1989: 99).

7.2.3 Honey Harbour

Murdoch (1999: 48) states that "of all the families with roots in the Honey Harbour area, none are so deep as those of Indian ancestry." In 1819, a French Canadian fur trader and fisherman, William Beausoleil, arrived from Drummond island and settled on the southern tip of Pamidonegeog, which the traders, settlers and military personnel at Penetanguishene soon began to call Beausoleil Island. Residents of Beausoleil were mostly Ojibwa, but also included French Canadian voyageurs, Scottish immigrants and Potawatomi Indians from the United States also resided on the Island. After
the surrender of the Island in 1856, many left Beausoleil, but several stayed and became economically and socially connected to the mainland village of Honey Harbour, directly across the inlet.

The Potawatomi family of John (Tobasson) Tobey was one of the oldest families in the Honey Harbour area (Murdoch 1999:48). John Tobey belonged to one of the groups of Potawatomi who joined the band on Beausoleil Island sometime after the mass movement of Ottawas, Chipewyas and Potawatomies from Wisconsin in 1835 (cf. Davidson 1972:5). This Potawatomi group eventually moved north and established a settlement on Moose Deer Point (ONAS 1992:144).61

Tobey’s oldest son Peter – who was enumerated as “French Breed” in the 1901 Census – married a métis woman, Delia Boucher, the daughter of Jean Baptiste and Lucy Boucher, a Penetanguishene voyageur family (Murdoch 1999:49). This connection is significant for two reasons: 1) it was Peter Tobey who started proceedings to establish a school in the Honey Harbour area, and; 2) the names of several children who attended the school in the 1940s are names which belonged to Drummond Island voyageurs, but who are identified as Potawatomi in the school records. The evidence suggests that some voyageur descendants married into and/or joined the Potawatomi group and by the 1940s, were considered by outsiders (e.g., school teachers) to be Indians. However, this group does not appear to have been regarded as members of any established band (i.e. “status” Indians), and there is a sense that they remained somewhere between the Indian and white worlds. Murdoch (1999:51-59) documents numerous instances of endogamous marriages among these families as a group apart from the mainstream Honey Harbour/Baxter population. In several instances it is possible to positively identify families as métis by triangulating evidence from Murdoch’s account with the 1901 Census. For example, the three first mid-wives in the Honey Harbour area (when the nearest doctor was in Midland or Coldwater) were Annie Cousineau, Catherine Prisque and Delina Tobey; Catherine and Delia were both enumerated as “French Breed” in the 1901 Census.

The Honey Harbour Combined School, also referred to as the Honey Harbour Indian School or the Baxter Combined School, appears to have been a public school with students of Aboriginal ancestry, but who did not reside on a Reserve. According to Murdoch (1999:50), the lack of school facilities in the Honey Harbour area motivated Peter Tobey to start proceedings to establish a school in the area. Tobey was successful, and apparently the school was at least partly funded by the Indian Department. By 1929, the school was fully operational, as evidenced in an Inspectors report of that year. Comments made by Separate School Inspector J.M. Bennett who reported on the Honey Harbour Day School in June 1929 leave some confusion as to the status of the school:

61 In 1914, a faction of the Christian Island Chippewa – 94 signatures on a petition dated 14 September 1914 – sought to distance themselves from the “non-treaty” Potawatomi (approximately fifty individuals who moved from the USA in the 1830 to Coldwater, then to Beausoleil Island, then to Christian Island). The Potawatomies were accused of disturbing the peace of the Band and of having threatened to divide the Band into factions. This factionalism seems to have already taken hold, as other members of the Christian Island Band supported the admission of the Potawatomies as treaty Indians and Band members. On 1 June 1916 a vote was held and the Potawatomies were admitted by a majority of 54 to 10 (NAC RG10 Volume 2963, File 206,745 [research notes were taken from this file and photocopies are not included in the Document Set]).


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[The students] are certainly Indian. One half glance is sufficient & if these Indians are non-treaty then they should never have been allowed to become such to be a charge on a community for they will pay nothing to the support of this school and the Government grant of $525 will not pay teachers salary. (Doc.#50)

Of particular interest is that students with the surnames, "Corbiere", "Lamouroux" and "Vasseur" are listed in the Honey Harbour School returns in the 1943 to 1948 period (Docs.#53, #54 & #55). These are surnames listed by Osborne as belonging to Drummond Island voyageur families (see above). In September 1929, Inspector Bennett described the pupils in this school as "prominently Indian as any I saw in the Indian schools of Northern Ontario" and the 1940s returns identify these students as "Pottawotamie" (Docs.#51 & #53-55). Toby is also a common name in the school records, as is Cousineau, Lizotte, Macey, Moreau and Nicholson.

Joe Corbiere was a prominent resident of Beausoleil Island (Murdoch 1999:34-37). Osborne (Doc.#46:153) indicates that descendants of Louis Corbiere - a Drummond Island voyageur - lived on Beausoleil Island. Apparently Joe Corbiere was the adopted son of Louis and his Ojibwa wife. In the 1890s, Joe married Susan Otter, "the daughter of an Indian family living on Beausoleil Island" (Murdoch 1999:35). The Corbiere's raised their family on the Island; a son, David, pursued a career as a hunting and fishing guide from the 1920s onward. It should be noted that the Corbiere name is not listed in the 1871 Census returns for Beausoleil and Christian Islands, and no Corbiere families are identified as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay area. Although Joe's adopted parents were French and Ojibwa, there is no evidence as to how Joe and his family self-identified. It is possible that they identified as "Indian", but there is evidence to suggest that they did not belong to the Beausoleil Island band which moved to Christian Island. In the 1940s, the Corbiere name appears prominently on the list of students at the Honey Harbour Combined School in the 1940s, indicating that the family stayed on Beausoleil, unconnected with any band.

Osborne (Doc.#46:158) also states that Drummond Islander, Prisque Legris, whose descendants came to be known by the surname Prisque, had numerous descendants living on Beausoleil Island. Murdoch (1999:37) documents that John Baptiste Prisque farmed land at Tonch Point, and later married Louise Tonch, an Ojibwa woman. Possibly their son, Joseph and his wife Catherine are recorded as members of the early Honey Harbour community; they and their family are enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Baxter township (Doc.#38), and two Prisque (Presque) children are listed as students in the Honey Harbour School, 1943-1945 (Docs.#53 & #54). The names Corbiere and Prisque are both present in the Red Oak Cemetery on Beausoleil Island (Murdoch 1999:41).

It should be noted that there were two Lamoureaux [Lamoureur] families enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Baxter Township (Doc.#38). Other surnames present on both the 1901 Census and the Honey Harbour School returns are Tobey, Moreau, and Macey. The 1901 Census for Baxter identifies two Tobey families in which the fathers are both Chippewa but their wives and daughters are identified as "French Breeds"; the 1940s school returns identify Tobey children as "Potawatomi." One Moreau family was enumerated in Baxter in 1901, the father identified
as French, his wife and children identified as "French Breed"; several Moreau children attended the Honey Harbour school in the 1940s, listed as "Pottawatomie." Several Macey [Masey] families are enumerated as "French Breed" in the 1901 Census for Tay and Tiny (Docs.#44 & #45); two Macey children are listed as Pottawatomie in the 1940s school returns.

7.3 MÉTIS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PENETANGUISHENE VICINITY

In the Penetanguishene vicinity, only Port McNicoll was selected as representative of the métis population for the OMNSIA survey in 1979 (Ontario 1980:13). The results of this survey showed that within OMNSIA Region 5 (Simcoe, Renfrew, Nipissing and Parry Sound), there were 184 métis/non-status households. Of these, a total of 56 métis/non-status households, or 30% of regional total, were located in Port McNicoll (ibid.:29). However, Peters et al (1991) indicate that both Port McNicoll (Region V - Local 15) and Honey Harbour (Region V - Local 10) had OMNSIA local offices in 1985. Simcoe County is shown to be within the 2.0 - 3.9% category of the Ontario métis/non-status population in 1981 (Peters et al. 1991). The Métis Nation of Ontario website indicates that both the Women's Representative and a Community Development Officer are located in Midland. The Canadian Métis Council website lists local councils in Penetanguishene and Port McNicoll.

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62 The Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association (OMAA) website was not accessible during the time of research for this assignment.

8. MÉTIS IN THE PARRY SOUND DISTRICT

Little data were found on métis populations original to the Parry Sound district, and the research conducted regarding métis in this area relied in large part on what was known about the mixed population in Penetanguishene, and their activities and movements within the Georgian Bay area. The history of métis individuals and families whose movements can be traced, demonstrates a fairly high degree of mobility among métis in the Georgian Bay area. For example, several of the Drummond Island voyageur families who migrated to Penetanguishene in 1828, can be traced to the Parry Sound District, some to First Nation Bands such as Shawanagan and Henvy Inlet. A discussion of these and other métis families is presented in Section 8.2. This chapter begins with a discussion of data related to the fur trade and to other resource harvesting, as collected in the course of searching for data on métis in the Parry Sound district.

8.1 FUR TRADE AND HARVESTING IN THE PARRY SOUND DISTRICT

8.1.1 Fur Trading

As indicated in the previous chapters, by the early 19th century several of these traders were métis men who had migrated from Drummond Island, and who traded in association with independent fur trade posts newly located in Penetanguishene, as well as in Newmarket. Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre, for example, characterized his father’s fur trade activity in the Parry Sound and Muskoka regions from 1816 onward:

My father came to Newmarket with his furs. He met tribes of Indians in the west clothed in deer and rabbit skins, and who had no axes, knives or iron instruments. He traded among the Muskoka lakes and at Sylvestre’s Lake in Parry Sound.
(Doc.#46:142-143; emphasis added)

Out of Penetanguishene, George Gordon carried on a “considerable business” at his bayside location in association with his half-brothers Jean-Baptiste and Charles Rousseau, who ranged the Muskoka and Parry Sound districts collecting furs — especially beaver — from the Indians (Doc.#63:12; Doc.#46:163).

According to Wing (1967:3), the mouths of the rivers entering the Georgian Bay were natural meeting places for fur traders and the fur hunting Indians:

[I]n 1823, Dr. John Bigby, a surveyor travelling north among the 30,000 Islands noted such a post on an island on the Big Sound, operated by M. Bourassa and another near the mouth of the Shawanaga, the property of M. LaRonde. Most of the early white trappers were likely French “coureur de bois.” (Ibid.)
Belanger (1988:6) adds that the Bourassa post consisted of two long low barn-like huts standing on an island in Parry Sound. Belanger also documents the existence of the “Laronde Post” twenty miles to the northeast of Parry Sound, but she locates the post near the mouth of the Shebeshkong River. Belanger concludes that the LaRonde post was seasonal:

*I assume that the post was only opened seasonally and supplies must have been paddled by canoe from Penetang. [sic] This can be verified [sic] by the birth dates of his children. We also knew that the post burned and was in ruins by the time the area was surveyed by D.F. MacDonald in the 1880s. (Ibid.)*

As a final note, in 1856, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pennefather who commissioned W.H.E. Napier to report on the islands in Georgian Bay, was informed that Parry Island possessed “rich beaver meadows” (Doc.#23:35).

8.1.2 Resource Harvesting

Subsistence Hunting and Fishing

According to Brownlie (1994), First Nations in the Parry Sound area during the early 20th century depended to a large degree on hunting, fishing and gardening to supplement their diet. This subsistence resource harvesting was part of a mixed economy in which cash income was earned through seasonal wage labour, guiding, basket selling, and domestic work. By the 1930s, this mixed economy collapsed as wage labour practically disappeared and the poverty of local non-Aboriginal settlers led to unprecedented competition for the region’s game resources which had remained an important component of First Nation’s livelihood (Ibid.).

Fishing

Napier’s survey of the Georgian Bay islands in 1856 provides descriptions of fishing stations and grounds at the following locations in the Parry Sound area (Doc.#23):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Species of Fish Harvested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shawenagan Islands</td>
<td>Trout and White Fish (“the centre of the finest trout fishery upon Lake Huron... in the autumn the white fish is taken in great quantities.”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Islands</td>
<td>“A good fishery”, south west of Shawenaga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastard Islands</td>
<td>“A good fishery”, opposite the mouth of the French River.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lumber

After the Robinson Treaties were signed in 1850, the Free Grant and Homesteaders Act brought in the first group of white settlers and trappers into the district. However, according to Wing (1967:5), it was timber which was the real drawing card. In 1856 Napier reported that Parry Island was “well timbered” with:

...much fine open hardwood land with occasional tamarac spruce and black ash swales. there are many excellent flats of open hardwood, beech, maple, elm, ironwood birch and ash interspersed with occasional groves of large pine of good quality. (Doc.#23:35)

Napier added that these stands of fine timber had not gone unnoticed, and that opposite to Parry Island, “on a small River named the Seguin is now in course of erection a saw mill of great power owned by Mr. Gibson of Toronto” (ibid.:36). Belanger (1988:7) confirms that W.M. Gibson was granted a timber limit and mill location in 1856.

By the spring of 1860, it was observed that “at Parry Sound there were three or four small houses and a small sawmill but no road thereto, nor were there any farms of settlers in that vicinity” (ibid.) In 1873 the Guelph Lumber Company began operations nearby at Parry Harbour (Wing 1967:6). Brownlie (1994) states that the lumber industry was an important source of income to Aboriginal men in the Parry Sound area engaged in the mixed economy based on seasonal labour. According to Patterson, as the timber industry developed in the Georgian Bay regions, there occurred a gradual movement of voyageur families from Penetanguishene north along the coast of Georgian Bay toward Parry Sound and beyond as métis men found work in lumber camps and sawmills in the Muskoka and Parry Sound districts (Patterson, personal communication, 14 February 2000)

8.2 DRUMMOND ISLAND FAMILIES IN THE PARRY SOUND DISTRICT

Survey records dated 1850 to 1860 contain several references to métis and voyageur men who travelled in the Parry Sound region and further north as axe and pack men and chain-bearers. Following the 1850 Robinson Treaties, Indian Affairs sent surveyors to the Lake Huron districts to survey Reserve lands. As the Toronto Carrying Place or Yonge Street was one of the main routes north to Lake Huron from York, it is not surprising to find the names of Penetanguishene men on survey paylists. In 1851, J. Stoughton Dennis hired several métis as part of a team to survey Indian Reserves on the north shore of Lake Huron (Doc.#17). The following Drummond Island voyageurs are on Dennis’ paylist: Michel Rastoul (Restoul); John (Jean) Brisette; Andrew (André) Cadieux; Gabriel Presque (Frisque); Louis Chevalier, and; Baptiste Boyer. Dennis was again surveying Indian Reserve lands on the north shore of Lake Huron in 1852. Rastoul is the only name repeated from the year before, but other voyageurs hired include: Jaque (Jacques) Parissien; Charles Coté; Joseph Berger, and; Henri LeFrenier (Doc.#18). In 1860, Dennis returned to the area to survey “the Muskoka Road North to the Falls, and the Exploration line from the District line out to the Mouth
of the Muskoka River” (Doc.#25). This survey team included men who were likely sons of the original Drummond Islanders: Francis Demaris (Desmarais), Peter Sylvestre, William Farling, and Isidore Cadieux.

Osborne 1901 (Doc.#46) indicates that the following Drummond Island voyageur families were living in the Parry Sound area, particularly at Byng Inlet:

Laramee, Zoe (m. Pierre Gendron) - living at Byng Inlet
Latard, Toussaint - a son Philip living at Byng Inlet
Sylvestre, Jean Baptiste - was living in Byng Inlet
Trudeau, Jean Baptiste - son Eustache living at Byng Inlet
Vassuer, Charles Jr. - daughter living at Byng Inlet

Byng Inlet is very near (~ 3 km) to present-day Magnetawan First Nation (cf. ONAS 1992:122-123), and while no additional data have been found about this particular group of voyageur families, it is possible that they were incorporated into the Magnetawan Band (however, see also the discussion of métis enumerated in the Wallbridge township, Section 8.3 below). It should be noted that the 1901 Census enumerated three Gendron families as “French Breed” in Baxter Township; one Laramee family is listed as French Breed in Tiny township (Docs.#38 & #45). Osborne (Doc.#46:151) also states that, at the time of his research, descendants of Francois Blette were living in Parry Sound, but no Blette families were enumerated as métis in the 1901 Census for the Georgian Bay study area.

It is also known that a loose connection existed between Penetanguishene voyageur families and the Shawanaga Band. An Indian Pay Sheet for Robinson Treaty Annuities 1881 specifies the location at which band members were paid (Doc.#31). While thirty of the thirty-four members were paid at Shawanaga, four members were paid at Penetanguishene. Indian Agent Skene’s remarks about these payments at Penetanguishene are as follows: “Money sent to H.H. Thompson & paid by him” (ibid.). As mentioned in the previous chapter, at least one of these band members paid at Penetanguishene also had a Drummond Island voyageur surname: Josette Chevalier (cf. Doc.#46:151). Although in 1875 the Indian Agent in charge of Parry Sound Agency, Charles Skene, believed that Josette Chevalier was “pure French”, her Band connections suggest that she had some Aboriginal ancestry (Doc.#29). In that same letter from Skene in 1875, the Indian Agent expresses concern about another “non-Indian” receiving annuities: Baptiste Precour, a “half-breed” who was then dead, but whose wife and child continued to draw pay. Osborne (Doc.#46:162) lists a Baptiste Precourt as one of the Drummond Island voyageurs.

As discussed in Chapter 6, there is evidence of a branch of the Solomon family who lived in the Killarney area, but who claimed membership in the Henvy Inlet Band and who repeatedly submitted applications for arrears on Robinson Treaty annuities.63 Indian Agent Charles Skene

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63 Several applications from members of the Solomon family are held at the National Archives; see NAC RG10 Volume 1966, File 5113; RG10 Volume 2026, File 8706; RG10 Volume 2065, File 10,235; RG10 Volume 2283, File 50,741; RG10 Volume 2345, File 69,226; RG10 Volume 2761, File 151,396; RG10 Volume 3228, File 555,292.
seemed particularly determined to remove the Solomons from the Band Pay List, convinced that they were not Indians and pointing out that they lived off the reserve and outside the Parry Sound Agency, in Killarney. In July 1875, Skene reported that according to the Interpreter Mr. Elliot\(^4\), Henry and James Solomon’s families were not Indian:

Mr. Elliot – the Interpreter – tells me that their father was a French Man – that he knew him some years ago of Owen’s Sound and that their mother was only a half-breed Indian. (Doc.#28)

Later that same year, Skene questioned the Chief of the Hevy Inlet Band, who also said “that the Solomons were not Indians – that he called them Frenchmen and they were always considered such by the Band” (Doc.#29). This was confirmed by H.H. Thompson of Penetanguishene, “as he knows about the Indians”:

I had been informed that the Solomons had lived there [Penetanguishene]. In Answer [Thompson] says, “I know the Solomons you refer to – They are not pure Indians – Their father was a white man and mother a Squaw. The Father was an Indian Interpreter and I suppose by that means his family were put on the list. (Ibid.)

Several of Skene’s informants were mistaken about the Solomon’s father being a white French man, as it is known that “Interpreter” William Solomon was métis (see Chapter 5). In 1878, the Chief of Hevy Inlet revised his statement to Skene in defence of the Solomons as band members, although his motive for doing so appears somewhat ulterior:

...the Chief – Waichawachin [sp?] – said Yes [the Solomons] belonged to the Band...
It was evident however that he wished to make the Band appear as numerous as possible and had no objections to these parties being considered members of the Band in so far as drawing the annuity went and thus make the Band appear stronger. (Doc.#30)

The matter of “non-Indians” as Treaty annuitants remained a topic of dispute among both department officials and band members. In September 1885, a set of Hevy Inlet Council resolutions was sent to Dr. Walton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Parry Sound, regarding the inclusion of métis as band members. Apparently a new Chief had unilaterally decided to exclude métis, a decision to which other council members did not agree:

We the residents of this Reserve in council assembled, make known to you that what the chief, Isaac Wakemakkay, wrote to you in reference to the excluding of half breeds from our Band, was not done in council. We agree in council that the nonresidents of this Reserve, but members of this Band be entitled to receive the

\(^4\) Mr. Elliott was “a half breed Indian and employed by the Methodist Society”; in the absence of a full-time interpreter at Skene’s disposal, Elliot was temporarily hired on a per diem basis from 1874 onward (Doc.#27).
Disclosed

Annuity money as heretofore only. We agree in council, that the residents of this Reserve only, receive both the Annuity money and the Interest money. We agree in council that, Kisheyahmuquodoqua [sp?], a member of this Band, but married to a French half breed who gets no Annuity, be entitled to receive both Annuity and Interest money. (Doc.#32)

In response, Skene was instructed to report on the nature of the half breed population of the Henvy Inlet Band:

I beg to report that I have today received the enclosed resolutions or minutes of a Henvy Inlet Council meeting. The question relating to the half breeds is left in exactly the position in which the chiefs letter above referred to place it except that the terms “half breeds” and “non-resident” are used as if they were synonymous which of course they are not. In this connection I would draw attention to the fact that a very considerable portion of the Henvy Inlet Band are Half-breeds who have not apparently the slightest interest in the Band or Reserve and who are rarely if ever present even on pay day. (Doc.#33, emphasis added)

Skene includes a list of certain Annuitants who had been absent on pay days in previous years. This list includes seven members of the Solomon family, all of whom were absent from the Reserve from 1879 through to 1885, with the exception of Henry, James, George and Dominic who showed up once in 1883 (ibid). The Solomon surname appears in several Indian Affairs files dating from 1881 to 1938, which deal with issues of “non-transmissible” annuities for “non-Indians” living off-reserve but receiving Robinson Treaty annuities due to family connections with both the Henvy Inlet and Nipissing Bands.

It was not until 1899 that a comprehensive review of band members with a “doubtful right to the Robinson Annuity in Parry Sound” was conducted by J.T. Macrae for Indian Affairs. Macrae’s report lists and provides full descriptions of individuals with reasons why such persons should have their title to annuities either declared non-transmissible or terminated entirely (Doc.#35 – Summary & Memorandum B). These descriptions provide a glimpse into the history of several métis families and demonstrate the degree of mobility by métis in the Georgian Bay study area. These family histories are summarized below, listed alphabetically by surname:

King: (Parry Island Band) The right of Mary Jane King’s three children was doubtful because their father, John King was “a half breed born near Midland, Michigan, whose father was a mixed blood of Chicago, Illinois” (ibid:B1). Macrae reports that King’s

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See NAC RG10, Vol.2143, File 29,703; RG10 Vol.2832, File 170,073-1. An explanation of the “non-transmissible” principle is provided in NAC RG10, Vol.2832/File 170,073-2. Basically this principle referred to annuities not paid to children born since 1895, who were not descended from Indian fathers (e.g., mixed blood children of Indian mothers and non-Indian fathers). Research notes were taken from these files and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.

family came to Canada “with other migrants and went to Coldwater where its members hunted and planted with the Indians now at Christian Island” (ibid.). This would place the King family in the Penetanguishene area in the early 1830s, suggesting that this family migrated during the Drummond Island migration period in following the establishment of new boundary lines between American and British territories. In 1871, John King married Mary Jane Pegmagabow a full member of the Parry Island Band, which he joined and with whom he drew interest shares.

Lamorandiere: (Henvey Inlet Band) Philomene and Joseph Lamorandiere were the daughter and son of Alex Lamorandiere (Sr.) and Angelique Hughes — “a mixed blood” — of Drummond Island (ibid.:5). Alex is identified as the son of a French trader who had a post at present-day Killarney; according to Osborne (Doc.#46:158-159), this will have been Charles Lamorandiere, one of the original Drummond Island métis voyageurs. Osborne’s comment that two of “Alexe” Lamorandier’s sons were prominent businessmen in Killarney is consistent with Macrae’s account. Philomene and Joseph were on the Henvey Inlet pay list as a result of their connections to Aboriginal grandparents and great-grandparents, but Macrae reported that neither had “ever lived in association with Indians” (Doc.#33). Another brother, Alex Jr., married a member of the Point Grondine Band, but lived and worked in Killarney his entire life.

Goulais: (Nippissing Band) Charles Goulais Sr. was formerly a trader at the HBC post on Sturgeon River. His wife was the daughter of “one Laronde” who Macrae describes as “almost pure Indian”, and it was because of this connection, Goulais was put on the Band pay list. Charles Goulais and his métis descendants claimed annuities for thirty persons, all of whom Macrae believed were not entitled.

Laronde: (Nippissing Band) [Obejageeshick] Paul Laronde was a “French half-breed” of Pembroke; his brothers were Toussiant, Bustache, Louison and Denis Laronde (ibid.:15). Paul received annuities through his mother who was the daughter of a Nipissing Chief. Paul’s wife was Elizabeth Gagnier, “a French half-breed of Allumette Island near Pembroke, whose mother was Wabussim an Algonquin of Lake of Two Mountains” (ibid.). Paul, Elizabeth and their children were admitted to the Nippissing Band ca. 1883. Macrae concluded that “these people have, since they moved to the reserve, lived in association with the Indians thereon, and have as far as the Indians could cause them to do so, become members of the tribe” (ibid.).

Salt: (Parry Island Band) Charles Salt was the son of the Reverend Alan Salt, a missionary on the Parry Island reserve whose band membership was transferred from the Alnwick

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Charles Lamorandier’s father was an HBC employee who married an Ojibwa woman (Doc.#46:158-159).

Band in 1897. Charles had lived on Parry Island since his father was appointed missionary there, and his primary occupation is described as “a guide and fisherman in the summer and a labourer in winter” (ibid.:B2). Although Charles’ title is doubted on the grounds that children of a member transferred from a band outside the surrendered tract could not inherit Treaty rights, it should be noted that Alan Salt was also métis, and he was nominated and accepted by the band as Secretary-Interpreter in 1886 (Rogers and Tobobondung 1975:266, 302). Reverend Alan Salt is listed as receiving payment as Interpreter (at times on an “as needed” basis) on the Parry Island paylists of salaries in the years 1887, 1891-1893.67 (In 1896, a petition by a band member was certified by “Reverend Alan Salt, missionary at Parry Island.”68)

Solomon: (Henvy Inlet Band) Apparently the Indian name for ‘Solomon’, as listed on the Pay Sheets was “Peshikence”, and Macrea reported that in 1898, forty-seven persons received annuity under this name (including Mrs. Tranch, below). As the history of the Solomon family has been described elsewhere in this report (see above, and Chapter 6), it will not be repeated here, although Macrea attempts to thoroughly trace this family’s genealogy. Macrea concludes that the Solomons “have for many years been inhabitants of Killarney and other white settlements. They have not lived in association with Indians at a place of common residence nor maintained any tribal relations. […] [Their] associations have always been with the white people of the Killarney settlement” (Doc.#35:B9-10). For example, Dominic Solomon (grandson of William Sr.) is described as “a half-breed, [who] lives and works as a white man and is, I believe, too proud to trouble himself much about his rights as an Indian except, as in this case [for a large sum of arrears], it pays very well” (ibid.:B11). Xavier Solomon (also a grandson of William Sr.), lived in Sault Ste Marie where “his associations are entirely with the white community” (ibid.:B12).

Tranch: (Henvy Inlet Band) Mrs. Tranch was the daughter of Henry Solomon, granddaughter of William Solomon, “Government Interpreter at Penetanguishene” (ibid.:B4). She and her husband Joseph were residents of Killarney, and their title to Annuities was questioned because Mrs. Tranch’s “connection with Indians of the surrendered tract is a very remote one” (ibid.). Joseph Tranch is described as a Hudson’s Bay Company employee, also a half-breed, the son of a French father and an Aboriginal woman from Fort William. According to Macrea, Mrs. Tranch and her son did not live in “tribal relationship or residence with a band of the surrendered tract” (ibid.:B5).

67 See NAC RG10, Volume 2340, File 68,629; RG10 Volume 2591, File 119,584; RG10 Volume 2646, File 130,672. Research notes were taken from these files and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.

68 See, NAC RG10 Volume 2340, File 68,629; RG10 Volume 2591, File 119,584; RG10 Volume 2646, File 130,672; RG10 Volume 2849, File 175,823. Research notes were taken from these files and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.

In 1907, the names Lamorandiere and Solomon still appeared on paylists for the Henvy Inlet Band.69

Macrae's account of family histories involving ambiguous Aboriginal identity and band membership suggest that these individuals and families of mixed descent were not concerned with a distinct métis identity. Rather, the evidence indicates that they shifted between 'White' and 'Indian' identities depending on the advantages offered by one over the other, and self-ascription was a matter of expediency. This is consistent with other cases of "situational ethnicity" among métis, for example that of Billy Caldwell (Clifton 1978) and Charles Langlade (Peterson 1981:158; cf. PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:22-23).

'It is significant to add that the Robinson Treaty Paylists for the Parry Sound Agency from 1856 to 1892 did not list any "Half Breeds" as a separate category of band member, as did other paylists, for example, those from Michipicoten (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a:83). As well, Indian Affairs Annual Reports on bands in the Parry Sound Agency do not make any special reference to a "halfbreed" population on these reserves. This contrasts with reports from the same time period for bands in areas with a history of identifiable métis populations, for example, at Michipicoten and Couchiching (PRAXIS Research Associates 1999a & 1999b).

8.3 MÉTIS IN THE 1901 CENSUS: MUSKOKA AND PARRY SOUND

A breakdown of the métis population enumerated in the 1901 Census in the districts of Muskoka and Parry Sound (enumerated as a single distri x) is provided in Table 8.1 (see Map A.11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District/SubDistrict</th>
<th>Table XI: # of &quot;Half-Breeds&quot;</th>
<th>Table VII: Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91. MUSKOKA AND PARRY SOUND</td>
<td>(337)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. Gibson &amp; Freeman Twp.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Mowat &amp; Blair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Parry Sound, Town</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Wallbridge &amp; Brown</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. Parry Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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69 See NAC RG10, Vol.2832, File 170,073-1. Research notes were taken from this file and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.

Muskoka and Parry Sound were combined as a single enumeration district for 1901 Census purposes. Within this combined district, the métis population resided in three distinct locations. Almost one-third (28%) lived in Baxter, a township close to the Penetanguishene area, and discussed in Section 6.6.1 within the context of that area. Another third (35%) lived in Freeman, the Muskoka township in which the present-day town of MacTier is situated. Finally, about one-third (30%) of the métis population lived much further north in the Parry Sound district, in the townships of Wallbridge and Brown where Byng Inlet is located, just south of H Hevy Inlet. Within the town of Parry Sound itself, only two men originally from Manitoba were enumerated as métis. On Parry Island, only 16 métis were enumerated (Doc.#41). Of these, the two “French Breed” families headed by Joseph and Oliver Lafreniere (both of whom were married to Chippewa women) may be descendants of the Lafreniere voyageur family which migrated from Penetanguishene; Osborne (Doc.#46:157) lists an Oliver Lafreniere as one of the original Drummond Islanders.

The métis population in Freeman is significant as it comprised over 90% of the total population for the combined townships of Gibson and Freeman in 1901. This métis population appears to be unrelated to the Penetanguishene voyageur group. The majority are listed as “Half-breed Iroquois”, “Half-breed Indian” or “Indian OB (Other Breed)”, and as Wahta is nearby, it is probable that this group either originated from or belonged to the Mohawk Reserve population on Gibson Lake. This probability is strengthened by the fact that the enumerator was “Chief Francis Décaire” (Doc.#39). Surnames include: Commandant, Daveneau, Decaire, Franks, Lafleche, Laforce, Martin, Montour, Roots, Sahonatin, Stock, Strength, Thompson and White. Occupationally, almost all households were engaged in farming.

Further north in Wallbridge and Brown townships, however, the métis population again bears some resemblance in surname composition to the Penetanguishene voyageur group. All of the métis enumerated here are coded as “French Breed” and households with surnames such as Bushey [Boucher?] (5), Gedeux [Cadieux?] (1), Gendron (1), LaBatt [Labatte] (1), Larondiere [Lamorandiere] (3), Longlad [Langlede] (1) and Prisque (2) suggest some collective connection to the voyageurs from Drummond Island listed in Osborne 1901. However, it should be noted that except for the Gendron household, these surnames do not match Osborne’s identifications of voyageur descendants who moved to Byng Inlet (see Section 8.2 above). It is not known exactly where in Wallbridge or Brown townships this métis population lived, although it did amount to 12% of the total population of these townships. It is possible (as suggested above) that this métis population was related to the Magnetawan Reserve population, situated in Wallbridge township. The fact that métis men were engaged as fishermen (3) and sawmill labourers (11) also suggests that they were likely near at or the Georgian Bay shoreline, in Wallbridge township. Three métis men are listed as gardeners; three other are listed as general labourers.

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70 See Canada 1901, District 91, sub-district 2 (Parry Sound, Town). Research notes were taken from this census record and photocopies are not included in the Document Set.

71 Alternative spellings of the French surnames [as shown in square brackets] cannot be verified. However, it is possible that the enumerator Edward B. Boron was anglophone and in cases where he was unfamiliar with French spellings, he may have recorded names phonetically.

8.4 SETTLEMENT AROUND PARRY SOUND INTO THE 20TH CENTURY

Until the road connecting Parry Sound to the south via Bracebridge in 1869, white settlement in the Parry Sound area was minimal (Belanger 1988:7; Wing 1967:6). In 1868, the “Free Grant and Homestead Act” was passed, and in 1869 the town was surveyed and subdivided. By 1870, Parry Sound had a church, store, sawmill and a few dwelling houses (Belanger 1988:7). Between the years 1870 - 1877, there was a large influx of settlers, the peak period of settlement occurring in 1874 (ibid.:17; cf. Wing 1967:5). A missionary report of the Wesleyan Methodist Church dated 1869 describes the rapid settlement process:

_Five years ago Parry Sound was known only as the hunting ground of the Indians; it is now a thriving village in the very heart of the Free Grant Districts. Parry Sound quickly became a lumber centre. (Barry 1968:71)_

The village at Parry Harbour (formerly Carrington) and the Parry Sound village were joined and incorporated as a single town in 1887 (Wing 1967:6). According to Wing (ibid.:14), the 1887 incorporation was a “union fraught with tension, for rivalry between the villages was rife.” Although the villages were of equal economic importance, their social and cultural characters differed noticeably. Parry Harbour was “wide open” predominantly Roman Catholic community, while Parry Sound was a “staid, quiet community” composed of mainly Protestant villagers.

In the first decade of the 20th century, Parry Sound was still a lumbering town, although the tourist trade was beginning to have some importance (ibid.:47). Richar (1987:11) indicates that Aboriginal men in the area – particularly those living on Parry Island – acted as guides for tourists. Also important was copper mining, and in 1913 a blast smelter was constructed at Parry Sound, as well as new docks, an explosives factory, and armories (Wing 1967:51). However, with the discovery of vast copper finds in the north, all of the copper mines in the Parry Sound district closed soon after.

In 1897 Parry Sound was connected by rail to the outside world (Parry Sound to Portland, Maine line) and in 1899, it was part of the Canada-Atlantic Rail network, which was later sold to Grand Trunk and then Canadian National Railway (Barry 1968:139). The Grand Trunk Railway acquired the Canada Atlantic Railway in 1904 and possessed a fine Georgian Bay port at Depot Harbour near Parry Sound (Fleming 1984:21). Beginning in 1900, the Sault Ste. Marie Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway surveyed and began to build a route from Toronto to Sudbury through Parry Sound, although the first CPR train apparently did not arrive at Parry Sound until 1908 (Wing (1967:43-45).

With respect to Parry Island, Richar (1987:8-9) states that population in 1911 was 600, later growing to 1,500 (no date given). Apparently work was plentiful in the grain elevator with a capacity of one million tons, and in the large freight sheds across the inlet. Richar reports that many of the Aboriginal residents of Parry Island found employment, adding that “they and their children mingled more freely with numerous ethnic groups that came to settle in the bustling, progressive shipping port.” In describing the relations between Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian settlers in the area, Richar
makes no reference to intermarriage between the two groups; nor does he mention any métis population.

Among communities selected for a survey of métis and non-status Indian populations in Ontario in 1979, MacTier was the only town selected as a representative métis community in Region 5 which included Simcoe, Renfrew, Nipissing and Parry Sound (Ontario 1980:13). Within OMNSIA Region 5, of a total of 184 métis/non-status households, MacTier was reported to have 10 households, or 5% of métis households in that region (ibid.:29). However, another survey in 1985 reported OMNSIA (Zone 4) locals in Britt on Byng Inlet, and in Nobel near the town of Parry Sound (Peters et al. 1991:15). According to a Canadian Census of Native Peoples in 1981, the Parry Sound district fell within the 0-1.9% category regarding the location of the métis population in Ontario (ibid., Figure 2). Information acquired from the Métis Nation of Ontario website shows that one representative of Region 7 is located at MacTier, and the next nearest office to Parry Sound is located at North Bay, MNO Region 5: The Canadian Métis Council website lists local councils at Britt and at Parry Sound/Nobel.
9. MÉTIS IN THE OWEN SOUND AREA

Almost no data were found on métis populations in the Owen Sound region. Data which are available suggest that individuals of mixed Aboriginal / European descent either joined the Saugeen or Cape Croker Bands, or identified with the local European settler populations which began to arrive in the 1840s. The almost complete lack of historical evidence strongly suggest that no métis community developed in that area.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of data about the fur trade and resource harvesting in the Owen Sound area. This is followed by an account of the few Drummond Island voyageur families who first migrated to Penetanguishene in 1828, and who subsequently can be traced to the Owen Sound area in later years. The next section presents an analysis of 1901 Census data for Grey County and North Bruce. The chapter concludes with a description of settlement and development of Owen Sound and environs in the 20th century.

9.1 FUR TRADING AND RESOURCE HARVESTING AROUND OWEN SOUND

It should be noted that in the course of searching for historical data on métis in the Owen Sound area for this present assignment, only a few scattered references to fur trading or resource harvesting were found.

There is some indication that small trading posts operated on the shores of Owen Sound in the 1820s. According to local historian T.A. Davidson (1972:25), a man named John Vail travelled along the bay to the Owen Sound site, “trading at the French trading post then still at Leith.” Vail is credited as one of the first white men to settle in the county of Grey, having built a cabin in 1825-1826 at Vail Point (on Georgian Bay at the eastern entrance to Owen Sound). Croft (1980:28) also reports that “Indian tales support the theory that French fur traders lived in the area prior to this time [1841]” and that “there have been many rumours of a French trading post at early Leith” (insert added).

Davidson (1972:2) indicates that central Grey county was used as a hunting ground by Aboriginal people when “game was scarce in the north” (but he provides no date). Apparently Chief Charles Keagedong Jones of Cape Croker reported that as a youth, he spent the winters on the Indian hunting grounds in Artemisia, Euphrasia and Holland (inland townships in Grey County through which the Beaver River flows). Keagedong Jones recalled that his father and others shipped venison and deer hides to Toronto, after they had stored their own supplies of dried and smoked meat for summer use in the Cape Croker-Sarawak area where there were no deer (ibid:8). Apparently during the 1840s when game was scarce and the government was sending the Indians oxen and milk cows in the interest of encouraging farming, the Indians “feasted on beef” (ibid:311).
Davidson (ibid. 8) adds that there was abundance of fish along the shores of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, while "great flocks of passenger pigeons were easy game until 1892." An impression of Owen Sound in the 1850s also mentions the number of pigeons in the area:

*For two or three season wild pigeons were very numerous, especially in 1853 and 1854... I remember the pigeons so numerous that they almost darkened the sun with the immense flocks. Large rookeries of them were in the neighbourhood, and they supplied the family pot of many an early settler.* (Crichton 1920:10).

Maple Sugar was also harvested in the area. When surveying the Garafraxa road in October 1840, the men found shelter in an "Indian sugar camp" about two miles from Owen Sound bay (Stephens 1897:5). Croft (1980:31) suggests that in 1841, Indians offered maple sugar to settlers' children, and that during those first years of settlement, the sugar harvest was important among the settlers as well.

9.2 DRUMMOND ISLAND VOYAGEURS IN THE OWEN SOUND DISTRICT

Osborne's list of Drummond Island voyageurs indicates that the following individuals and families were living in the Owen Sound area (Doc.#46):

- Blette dit Sorelle, Pierre (m. Louise Labatte) - died in Owen Sound
- Couture, William - died at Owen Sound
- Desjardins, Charles - settled in Penetanguishene, but died in Owen Sound
- Fortin, Henri - went to Owen Sound where he died
- Lamarandiere, Joseph - a son of his is Indian interpreter at Cape Crroke
- Payette, Eas (m. Karine Lavallee) - died in Owen Sound

In 1901, no métis were enumerated by census-takers in Owen Sound, and if descendants of the above continued to live in the area, they did not self-identify as métis.

Métis may have worked temporarily in the Owen Sound in the mid-1800s as members of survey parties. Surveyor C. Rankin's payroll of能找到men and packmen for the survey of Sydenham Township in 1842 includes several surnames that might be traced to voyageurs named in Osborne 1901: Auge [Auger], Beausoleil [Beausoleil?], Boyer, Cowan, LeGris, Paissie, and Precor [Precourt] (Doc.#14). That these men were paid at Penetanguishene (Rankin signed the pay sheet: "Penetanguishene Nov. 2d 1842") increases the likelihood that they originated from the Drummond Islander métis group who migrated there. A survey of the Township of Grey in 1852 includes only one potentially métis surname, "Pierre Roy" (Doc.#19; cf. Doc.#46:163). All of the other survey party members on the 1852 pay sheet have Anglophone surnames, and it is likely that these men were hired from among the settler population which had been moving into the Owen Sound area since the early 1840s.
It is known that a group of the Caughnawaga Band of Iroquois lived on the Saugeen Peninsula near the town of Sydenham (Owen Sound) in the mid-19th century. In 1856, a payroll was compiled to record those land occupants who were eligible for compensation regarding improvements to land which they then abandoned in light of land surrenders and increasing white settlement (Doc.#22). Of the list of members of the Caughnawaga Band of Iroquois Indians, only the name "Michel LaRonde" has any connection to the Penetanguishene voyageurs.

9.3 MIXED DESCENT POPULATION ORIGINAL TO OWEN SOUND

Aside from the examples mentioned above, references to individuals and families of mixed ancestry in the Owen Sound area are rare. One well-known mixed marriage was that between William Sutton, a English born preacher who married Princess Nahneedahwequay (Catherine Senegal) sometime in the 1840s. Nahneedahwequay was the daughter of Chief Senegal, head man of the Nawash tribe in the 1830s (Davidson 1972:14,19). The Sutton's had several children, and although the family became known as defenders of Ojibway rights in the Saugeen Peninsula, there is no indication that they considered themselves métis.

Another well-known individual of mixed descent was William McGregor, a Chief of the Cape Croker band in the late 19th century. Sometime in the 1840s, A.M. Stephens was a crew member on the schooner Ffyl which was delivering supplies to Captain Borland who was in charge of building the house for the Indians at Cape Croker. Stephens relates an account of the rescue of young McGregor, indicating in the telling of the story, that McGregor was of mixed European/Indian parentage:

[The cook] had been on shore and was returning, bringing with him a young Indian, when, as he was handing the boy onto the deck of the schooner, the boat in which he was standing slipped from under him, upon which he dropped his charge into the water. [...] Boyd had caught the boy by the hair and had landed him into the skiff... The mother of the young Indian, hearing of the accident came down, furious as a she-bear, with a number of her tribe at her heels... The father of the child (a white man) followed, attracted by all the commotion, but he took a more philosophical view, and the matter was settled without further trouble. That young Indian is now Chief McGregor of the Cape Croker band of Indians. (Doc.#34:12)

Although McGregor was biologically of mixed descent, it is apparent that he and his mother's family lived at Cape Croker as Indian band members. McGregor apparently did not self-identify as métis — in fact he became an Ojibwa Chief — and Stephens does not ascribe to him a métis identity. It should be noted that Schmalz (1991:205) identifies William McGregor as a "progressive" Métis chief at Cape Croker. However, Schmalz provides no evidence of this identity as either self-ascribed or other-ascribed, nor does Schmalz provide reasons for assigning a métis identity to McGregor except to

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Despite an agreement between Nawash and the Caughnawaga families in 1857, Indian Affairs correspondence from 1872 and 1916 indicate that this compensation dispute remained unresolved well into the 20th century (Docs.#24, #26, #49).
highlight factionalism among the Grand Indian Council of the District of Algoma. At no point is McGregor attributed with leadership of a métis group or with representing métis interests. On the contrary, and as Schmalz himself points out, McGregor represented Cape Croker band and Reserve interests.

In conjunction with the Bagot Commission in 1842, the colonial government distributed a questionnaire to Indian Affairs officials, missionaries and others concerning issues of “half-breed Indians” (Whiteside 1980:7). The questionnaire was sent to Rev. T. Williams at Saugeen, and to Rev. J. Neelands at Owen’s Sound. Their replies to questions about intermarriage between Indians and whites, and about the number of half-breeds in their area provide further evidence that a métis community did not develop within the Owen Sound area. At Saugeen, Williams reported that intermarriage was “very infrequent among them now” (ibid.:27). At Owen Sound, when asked if intermarriage occurred, Neelands replied, “Not at this mission” (ibid.). Probably because intermarriage was almost non-existent in their mission areas, neither Minister provided an answer to the question about the proportion of half-breeds under their supervision.

However, in the late 1850s, there is some evidence of intermarriage taking place between Cape Croker women and French Canadian men. After the surrender of 1857, the government moved quickly to erect houses at Cape Croker. According to Davidson (1972:17), French carpenters and axemen were brought in from Lower Canada with tools and lumber, and many of these Catholic men married Indian women, “adopting the Indian-way of life” and apparently remaining with the band at Cape Croker. As well, Schmalz (1977:226) documents the existence of what he terms a “United Church-Métis [Ojibway] family” at Cape Croker in the centre of a dispute caused primarily by “the question of Métis’ rights to band funds” but also involving tribal-religious factionalism (insert original). Unfortunately, Schmalz provides no further information on the question or métis rights at Cape Croker, nor does he indicate what percentage of band members were considered métis.

In 1841, a man of mixed “Negro” and Indian parentage by the name of John Hall came to Sydenham with his English wife, and their descendants were still living in Owen Sound a century later (Croft 1980:26). Several reports indicate that the daughter of a French Canadian, Moses Mosett and his Indian wife was the first child of white blood born in Owen Sound, in 1842 (ibid.:27,29; Davidson 1972:308). However, the identity of the first white child remains a matter of dispute among local historians in the area.

9.4 MÉTIS ENUMERATED IN THE 1901 CENSUS

The town of Owen Sound and the township of Sydenham were enumerated as part of Grey, North (District 65), and no métis were enumerated in this district. Only a handful of métis individuals were enumerated in the Bruce Peninsula region. Of the dozen métis individuals who were enumerated in Bruce North and West, all were children of mixed marriages. None of these enumerations represent full métis households such as those indicated in the Census returns for Penetanguishene and Parry Sound. Overall, the returns of the 1901 Census do not support a proposition that any métis
community existed in or around Owen Sound.

A breakdown of the métis population enumerated in the 1901 Census in the districts of Bruce North and Bruce West is provided in Table 9.1 below (see Map A.11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District/SubDistrict No.</th>
<th>Table XI: # of “Half-Breeds”</th>
<th>Table VII: Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. BRUCE NORTH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Albermarle (a[6])</td>
<td>(8)³³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cape Croker Indian Reserve (a[6])</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,577⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Amabel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Saugeen Indian Reserve (b[6])</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. BRUCE WEST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Saugeen</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.5 SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT AT OWEN SOUND

A number of local histories, published diaries and letters, and scholarly publications provide a fairly consistent picture of the settlement and economic development of Owen Sound and the surrounding townships. Similar to findings in previous studies of métis in Ontario (Praxis Research Associates 1999a & 1999b), these publications seldom make reference to Aboriginal or métis groups.

³³ A French man and an Indian woman had three children who were enumerated as "French", but who technically should have been coded as "French Breed." The District total should show at least 11 métis.

⁴⁴ The population of Albermarle and Cape Croker which were enumerated as a single unit in 1901, totalled 1,962. The population for Albermarle shown in Figure 9.1 (1,577) is that total population (1,962) minus (385), the number of persons enumerated on the Cape Croker Reserve.

⁵⁵ The enumeration for Cape Croker Indian Reserve lists a "Peter Jones" (age 89), his wife "Margaret" (?) and two sons. However, this does not refer to the métis Wesleyan Methodist missionary Rev. Peter Jones, but rather to Potawatomi Chief Mesquid Kegedoo who adopted that Christian name after he was baptized by Rev. Jones (Davidson 1972:8; Schmalz 1977:23-24; 1991:203).

⁷⁶ The population of Amabel and Saugeen Indian Reserve which were enumerated as a single unit in 1901, totalled 2,587. The population for Amabel shown in Figure 9.1 (2,090) is that total population (2,587) minus (497), the number of persons enumerated on the Saugeen Reserve.
who may be living near or among the settler populations. In the case of histories of Owen Sound, the complete lack of reference to métis is understandable, if not justified, in that the pre-settlement historical data provides no evidence of an identifiable métis population having developed in the Owen Sound area. Hence, the brief history of Owen Sound provided below is a history of Euro-Canadian settlement and commercialization.

Davidson (1972:307) considers the “first official Anglo-Saxon visit” to Owen Sound as the brief survey made by Captain William Fitzwilliam Owen in 1815. However, in Davidson’s words, “white man’s history” of the area did not begin until 1840 (ibid.). This is despite a brief start at opening the northern portions of Grey county for settlement around 1835, which the Rebellion of 1837 interrupted (ibid.:25). In 1837 Charles Rankin surveyed part of the town plot of Owen Sound, a concession or two in Sydenham and Derby, but it was not until 1840 that he began to survey the Garafraxa road (present-day Highway 6, north from Arthur). When A.M. Stephens arrived at Owen Sound as a member of the survey team in 1840, he reported “only one white settler named Travers, who squatted on the East side of Owen Sound bay” (Doc.#34:3-4). The road allowed settlers to travel by land north to Sydenham (re-named Owen Sound in 1851).

The land agent, John Telfer, arrived in the spring of 1841 accompanied by his 16-year-old daughter who apparently was “the first white woman [the Newash Indians] had seen” (Davidson 1972:308, insert added). In 1841 the Crown Lands Department distributed hand bills across Ontario announcing grants of land of 50 acres, free to settlers, with an adjoining 50 acres reserved for their purchase (Croft 1980:25). At first, only a handful of settlers moved into the area, which according to Croft was still occupied by Indians:

Perhaps two hundred Indians were scattered in permanent wigwams across the Bay, and throughout the vicinity. It is known there were missionaries of all denominations trudging from wigwam to cabin across the wastes. [...] The Town now consisted of two clearings... about one hundred acres, dotted with wigwams, a small log house, and above, on the hill, the beginnings of the lovely spired church. (Ibid:26)

Croft adds that between 1841 and 1857 “the people of the Indian tribes worshipped with white people in this lively little church” (ibid.:28). According to Stephens (Doc.#34:21), the Catholic community at Sydenham was served occasionally by the priest from Penetanguishene, and it was not until about 1854 that a permanent Catholic mission was established in the Owen Sound vicinity. By May 1841 it was reported that over three hundred newcomers had settled at the new village, and Croft suggests that festivities in the settlement would have included “perhaps two hundred and fifty to three whites, perhaps five black people, and many of the Indians living at Newash” (Croft 1980:31).

A more extensive survey of the village of Sydenham was conducted in 1842, and as reported by Stephens (Doc.#34:7), “land seekers continued to arrive throughout the entire summer and till late in the fall.” Stephens added that by the summer of 1843, “all the lots on the Garafraxa road fit for settlement were taken up, and also those on the 10th concession of Sydenham” (ibid.:8).
In 1852 the Grey County was formed and in 1856 Owen Sound was incorporated as a town. The population in 1857 was 1,985, and by 1861, Owen Sound's population had grown to 3,021 residents. About two-thirds of this population were settlers from other parts of Canada, the remainder being immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland and the USA (Davidson 1972:290, 315).

Economically, the Owen Sound area developed as an agricultural, manufacturing and port centre. Many immigrant settlers established farms and in 1853 the Sydenham township agricultural society was formed (ibid:294). A flour mill was built in 1857, followed in the next decades by sawmills, cabinet factory, tanneries, machine works and iron works. A "reminiscence" by one of the first settlers of Owen Sound explains how entrepreneurs came to establish these first businesses:

Among the early important enterprises established were the Inglis Grist and Woolen Mills at Inglis Falls in Derby about two miles south of the town. A number of skilled carpenters, millwrights, iron workers and others were brought here from Toronto and established themselves in business when the mill was completed. (Kilburn 1920:7).

Water travel was important to the development of Owen Sound, and as early as 1845 the Gore was running weekly between Owen Sound, Collingwood, Penetanguishene and Sault Ste. Marie (Fleming 1984:3). With the arrival of the first through train from Toronto in 1873, residents of Owen Sound no longer had to travel to Collingwood to secure rail passage south. As well freight deliveries which previously took one to four weeks, were replaced by one-day service. In 1884 the Canadian Pacific Railway located it Upper Lakes steamship terminal at Owen Sound, making the town a major shipping centre until 1912 when the CPR terminal was moved to Port McNicoll (Davidson 1972:333). Grain elevators were erected in the 1890s, and ships of grain from Manitoba unloaded at Owen Sound well into the 1930s. Apparently at the turn of the century, few ports of the upper lakes were served as thoroughly as Owen Sound, with steamers owned by CPR; the Northern Navigation Company, Algoma Central Railway, Georgian Bay Navigation Company and other smaller companies making scheduled trips to the port. The Dominion Fish Company's steamer which served Manitoulin Island also used the Owen Sound port (Fleming 1984:17).

During its almost three decades as the eastern terminus, Owen Sound experienced dramatic commercial and industrial advances. In 1881 the town boasted about 173 commercial establishments (Fleming 1984:25). Owen Sound became a city in 1920, and by 1930 the population was 12,500. The 1960s were "industrial boom years completing Owen Sound's transformation from a wood and lumber processing, furniture making community to one of diversified industries" (Davidson 1972:333; cf. Fleming 1984:25).

There are no Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA) locals nor Métis Nation of Ontario (MNO) local councils nor Canadian Métis Council locals in the Owen Sound area (Ontario 1983; MNO website; CMC website; Peters et al 1991:15). According to a Canadian Census of Native Peoples in 1981, both the Owen Sound and Saugeen / Bruce Peninsula regions fell within the 0-1.9% percentage category of the total métis population of Ontario (Peters et. al. 1991).
10. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter highlights the general findings established from the historical and ethnohistorical data and interpretations regarding the development of populations of mixed Aboriginal and European ancestry in the Georgian Bay region. Separate sets of conclusions are outlined specific to the Penetanguishene, Parry Sound, and Owen Sound areas. Methodological issues which affect the relative strength or weakness of findings are presented within the context of conclusions where such issues are relevant.

10.1 ABORIGINAL OCCUPANTS IN THE EARLY-CONTACT PERIOD

The Georgian Bay region during the early-contact period was occupied by two very distinct Aboriginal cultural groups. Iroquoian-speaking Hurons and Petuns lived in the southeastern portion of Georgian Bay: the Hurons occupied the Penetanguishene Peninsula and an area inland up to Lakes Couchiching and Simcoe; the Petuns lived on the southeastern shore of Nottawasaga Bay along the Niagara escarpment. The Algonquian speaking bands, mainly proto-Ottawa groups, lived along the eastern shore of Georgian between the Huron and Nipissing and also likely occupied the Owen Sound area and the Bruce Peninsula.

- The early-contact period for the region is defined as the first half of the 17th century. The first European generally acknowledged to have visited Georgian Bay is Etienne Brulé, who in 1610 acquired training as a truchement (fur trade interpreter) by spending one winter in a Huron village. The early-contact period ends in 1650 with the forced removal and migration of the original Aboriginal occupants of Georgian Bay in the context of the fur trade wars with the Five Nations Iroquois confederacy.

- The Algonquian proto-Ottawa groups lived in semi-nomadic, politically autonomous and economically self-sufficient bands. Some evidence suggests that many of these bands practised a limited form of agriculture, but obtained most of their food supplies from hunting and fishing. They also traded both meat, fish and furs with their respective Iroquoian neighbours, in exchange for corn, tobacco and (later) European manufactured goods.

  • The limited agriculture (horticulture) practised by proto-Ottawa bands was both much smaller in scale and involved significantly less effort than the agricultural practices of the Iroquoians; in essence, women in proto-Ottawa bands cleared gardens and planted seeds in the spring, and only returned to the gardens in late summer to harvest those crops that had survived the summer season.
Renewable resource harvesting activities were conducted in terms of a seasonal cycle in which fishing provided the main subsistence food from spring until fall, while hunting provided the main food during the winter months.

Prior to the direct involvement of the Huron in the French fur trade, trading practices between proto-Ottawa bands and their Iroquoian neighbours were essentially symbiotic, allowing each major group to diversify their respective food base.

As the Huron increased their participation in the French fur trade and took on a key middleman role, the proto-Ottawa became increasingly involved in supplying the Huron with furs in order to obtain European manufactured goods.

The Huron and Petun lived, by contrast, in sedentary villages linked politically into geographically demarcated tribal territories. The tribes of each society were politically unified into confederacies. Agricultural production formed the basis of subsistence of Huron and Petun societies, although the Petun were important tobacco growers, and relied on trading this product with the Huron and Algonquians in exchange for corn and European manufactured goods (from the Huron) and meat and furs (from the Algonquians).

Agricultural production provided about 80% of the food supply in Huronia, while fishing contributed about 10%, and meat only 5% (the remaining 5% was obtained by gathering a variety of wild foods).

Although the Petun are relatively less well known that the Huron, historians assume, on the basis of known shared cultural characteristics, that they lived a generally similar way of life as the Huron.

The involvement of Huron trading parties in the French fur trade and their assistance in military raids on the Iroquois led to the development of a strong political and economic alliance by the second decade of the century that was to last until the final destruction of Huronia in 1650. The year 1615 marks the beginning of a small but continuous French presence in Huronia through this period. By the 1620s, the Hurons became the main Aboriginal middlemen in the French fur trade, replacing the Ottawa valley Algonquins.

The French presence in Huronia between 1615 and 1650 is limited to missionaries (originally Récollets, followed by Jesuits after 1633) and fur trade employees (truchements and coureurs de bois).

No trade posts were established in Georgian Bay during this period, and the coureurs de bois lived in Huronia mainly to encourage and to help organize large annual trading expeditions to French posts on the St. Lawrence.
The Huron attempted to secure their middleman position during this time by severely limiting direct French contacts with the Petun.

The *truchements* and *coureurs de bois* developed close personal ties to the Huron by becoming integrated within families, learning the Huron language and cultural values and adopting (while in Huronia) an Aboriginal lifestyle.

The close relationship between *truchements*, *coureurs de bois* and the Huron resulted in frequent sexual unions between the male fur trade employees and Huron women, and even some marriages according to Huron customs. Although not described by missionaries, it is certain that these unions resulted in the birth of children of mixed French and Huron descent. Furthermore, occasional travels by *coureurs de bois* to neighbouring Aboriginal groups in the Georgian Bay region in this period likely resulted in further sexual unions with Aboriginal women and additional births of children of mixed descent. However, the forced removal of original Aboriginal groups from the region by 1650 indicates that only one complete generation of persons of mixed descent had enough time to reach adulthood. Other evidence suggests this population was very limited in size.

No more than 20-25 *truchements* and *coureurs de bois* were present in Huronia in any given year, and some *truchements* were young boys likely too immature to either engage in sexual relations or produce children.

The majority of sexual unions and marriages *à la façon du pays* between *coureurs de bois* and Aboriginal women took place prior to the permanent arrival of Jesuits in 1634, who proceeded to remove those *truchements* and *coureurs de bois* considered to be of immoral character and to replace them with their indentured workers.

Although very difficult to estimate, it is doubtful that more than 300 children of mixed descent were born in the Georgian Bay region in the early contact period.

The absence of any data concerning persons of mixed descent in the region precludes any definitive determination of their self-perception and identity. The dismal failure of official French policies aimed at the *frrenchification* of Aboriginal groups in this period, involving their religious conversion and permanent relocation to the colony along the St. Lawrence, suggests that children of mixed descent in Georgian Bay remained with their mothers and were raised as members of their respective Indian societies. The lack of time and small demographic size of this mixed population prevented the development of a distinct self-identification.

A series of intense attacks by the Five Nations Iroquois in the late 1640s led to the destruction of the Huron and Petun confederacies and the forced migration of survivors, who, along with neighbouring Algonquians, deserted the Georgian Bay region after 1650. In a context of expanding Iroquois raids and warfare, little is known about the region during much of the
second half of the 17th century. Historians agree that no single group occupied Georgian Bay until the last decade of the century. The region was likely utilized only as a hunting ground for the Iroquois, who established several villages in southern Ontario and along the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

- Intermittent periods of peace permitted French explorers and coureurs de bois to travel through Lake Ontario and map the inland region between that lake and Lakes Erie and Huron. The official French discovery of a transportation route later known and the Toronto Carrying Place, linking Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay near the Penetanguishene Peninsula dates from this period.

- In the last two decades of the 17th century, Ojibwa began to move into the Georgian Bay region and eventually forcibly removed the Iroquois. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Ojibwa were permanently established throughout the region.

10.2 THE REGION IN THE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURIES

A permanent peace with the Iroquois in 1701 allowed the French to establish trade posts in Lake Ontario until 1750, and develop the Toronto Carrying Place route as a transportation corridor linking that lake to Michilimackinac and other western Great Lakes posts. Following the capitulation of France, the Northwest Company eventually took over trade operations but continued to rely on the coureurs de bois and voyageurs-based trading system used by the French. Throughout this time period, no major trade posts were established in the Georgian Bay region, although by the end of the 18th century a few independent traders operated small stores on the Penetanguishene Peninsula and in eastern Georgian Bay. The Owen Sound area was devoid of any local trade stores until the early 19th century.

- The Ojibwa who now occupied the Georgian Bay region lived in semi-nomadic bands, following a common seasonal cycle of resource harvesting. Large summer bands lived in sedentary villages established near the coast and at mouths of rivers and subsisted chiefly from fishing, and the collection of wild foods. After the fall fishing season the bands would break into smaller social units and moved inland for the winter, living primarily from hunting for food and furs, supplemented by ice fishing. By early spring the smaller winter bands often moved to maple sugar groves, until rejoining with other groups to return to coastal areas.

- Overall, apart from the Toronto Carrying Place transportation corridor, the Georgian Bay region remained a hinterland during the 18th and early 19th centuries. It is likely that Ojibwa near the Toronto Carrying place came into frequent contact with voyageurs and it is likely that these contacts produced a small population of mixed European and Indian descent. Virtually nothing is known about this population due to the absence of fur trade records and a general tendency to avoid racial classification of individuals in this time period.
General data for the Great Lakes region indicates that by the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century the \textit{voyageurs} occupational class included a number of individuals of mixed French and Indian descent.

Some terms designating persons of mixed descent were coming into use, in French and also in the Ojibwa language.

No evidence permits a determination of the extent to which persons of mixed descent self-identified as a distinct group from Indians and Europeans in the Georgian Bay region into the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

A few available sources suggest that most persons of mixed descent were either raised as Indians in bands, while other assimilated into European settlements in southern Ontario.

Beginning in the last decade of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, small independent fur trade stores were established in the Penetanguishene, Muskoka and Parry Sound areas. Records pertaining to these stores indicate that a few traders in eastern Georgian Bay were of mixed descent in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century, although no information exists concerning their self-perception and identification.

10.3 LAND SURRENDERS AND TREATIES

Five land surrenders were negotiated with the Ojibwa of Georgian Bay between 1785 and 1836, and two major treaties were concluded, in 1850 and 1923. An examination of written texts of these surrenders and treaties and documentation pertaining to their negotiations indicates that none of these agreements explicitly included self-identifying métis as beneficiaries.

The land surrenders negotiated between 1785 and 1836 make no reference to persons of mixed descent, either as beneficiaries or participants. While it was increasingly common for métis to act as interpreters in treaty negotiations in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, no persons of mixed European and Indian descent could be positively identified as having interpreted any of the pre-1850 land surrenders. On the contrary, interpreters whose ethnicity could be identified were determined to be European.

The Robinson-Huron Treaty negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie clearly involved a contingent of self-identifying métis who attempted to be formally recognized and included as treaty beneficiaries. Available evidence, however, suggests that the majority of these métis were of local origin and it is unlikely that any originated from the Georgian Bay region.

Robinson’s instructions permitted him to negotiate only with Indians, and he left the matter of métis inclusion on band lists to the discretion of individual band chiefs.
Analysis of an internal ‘adhesion’ to the Robinson Huron treaty negotiated at Penetanguishene following the main negotiations at Sault Ste. Marie indicates that a local métis acted as interpreter.

However, as opposed to the situation at Sault Ste. Marie, no evidence was found that local Georgian Bay métis attempted to negotiate with Robinson during the Penetanguishene adhesion.

- The 1923 William Treaties were intended to complete the process of acquisition of title to lands in central Ontario from Indian bands. No evidence was found suggesting that self-identifying métis participated in the negotiations of the Williams Treaties, or attempted to be recognized as treaty beneficiaries.

### 10.4 EVIDENCE OF MÉTIS COMMUNITY AT PENETANGUISHENE, 19TH CENTURY

- The historical evidence indicates that voyageurs families composed of both French Canadians and métis were members of a distinct community at Penetanguishene. The establishment of this community was in direct consequence of the en masse migration of voyageur families from Drummond Island, in conjunction with the relocation of the 68th British regiment in 1828. Many of the descendants of this voyageur group – the majority of whom were of mixed Aboriginal / European ancestry – stayed in the Penetanguishene area into the 20th century, demonstrating a continuity of residence. Marriage and occupational patterns provide strong social indicators that this group remained distinct from other groups who later settled in Tiny and Tay townships.

- This finding is based on behavioural data which indicates that this group of voyageur families acted as a community. The finding is qualified by the complete absence of data on the extent to which this group self-identified as a métis community.

- Several historical and genealogical sources demonstrate that the voyageurs who migrated from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene were the descendants of French Canadian men and Aboriginal women. The Drummond Islanders consisted of British military forces and the families of veterans; reserve personnel, Indian guides, fur traders and Indian Department employees.

- Marriage records, narratives which reveal parentage, and several direct references to “half-breeds” have provided a wealth of data by which numerous positive identifications have been made, demonstrating that a large number of the voyageur group was of mixed Aboriginal and European descent. This is despite some problems in the positive identification of voyageurs as biologically métis (for example, the terminology in use at the time of the migration and for several decades after, did not indicate racial origin, but rather categorized individuals by occupation or language).
Historical data on marriage customs of the Drummond Islanders and subsequent generations of the Penetanguishene voyageur community demonstrate a high degree of endogamy, or métis marrying métis. Before a priest was available, couples were united in "country marriages" (à la façon du pays) which they considered permanent and which the Roman Catholic church considered legal. Marriage records from 1835 to 1900 show that prior to 1870, 60% of marriages were between voyageur sons and daughters. Another 30% were between voyageur men and French women from outside the Penetanguishene area. By the turn of the century, this trend had reversed: 37% were between voyageur descendants and 55% were between voyageurs and French from outside the area.

Although a sizeable French settlement composed of habitant farmers from Quebec developed at Lafontaine beginning in the early 1840s, it is significant to note that the voyageur and habitant communities did not mix. Marriage records are the strongest sociological evidence of this separation; throughout the 1835-1900 period, only 6 of 123 voyageur marriages (less than 5%) involved a habitant partner despite the fact that Lafontaine was the nearest French community.

This separation between the voyageur and the habitant groups is explained by the incompatible cultural and lifestyle differences between them. In contrast to the agricultural, sedentary and insular lifestyle of the habitants, the voyageurs tended toward a more public and highly mobile lifestyle in keeping with fur trading, guiding, fishing, and lumbering. There is evidence that the social and cultural distinctions remain in the present.

Drummond Islanders and their métis families were key figures in establishing the civilian community around the military/naval base at Penetanguishene, developing the political, economic, social, religious (Roman Catholic) and educational life in the town and its surrounding area.

There is very little historical evidence that métis children of voyageurs were incorporated into First Nations in the vicinity. It is possible that Aboriginal mothers were not necessarily from the bands local to the Penetanguishene area, precluding a "natural" adoption into these bands. Some voyageur sons married women from Beausoleil and Christian Island bands (as well from Shawanaga and Heavy Inlet further north in the Parry Sound area), and family names can be traced to these bands. However, the general sense is that the voyageur group did not identify with the band communities, and that most voyageurs associated with their community established at Penetanguishene. No "French Breeds" were enumerated at Christian Island Indian Reserve in the 1901 Census.
10.5 MÉTIS IN TINY, TAY AND BAXTER TOWNSHIPS, 20TH CENTURY

Three centres of métis population in the Penetanguishene area are evident from the 1901 Census returns (enumerated mainly as “French Breed”). Of approximately 430 métis in the area, 94 (22%) lived in Baxter where Honey Harbour is located. Another 124 (29%) lived in Tay where Midland, Port McNicoll and Victoria Harbour are now situated. Finally, 180 (42%) of métis lived in Tiny which included Penetanguishene and the Military Reserve. The 1901 Census provides the strongest evidence available that self-identifying métis communities existed in the Penetanguishene area at this time.

Researchers today cannot know what motivated individuals to self-identify as “French Breed”, and there is some suggestion that enumerators insisted that household heads reveal their parentage, and then coded individuals as “Breeds” accordingly (although not always consistently). Whatever the context in which the information was provided, the 1901 Census nevertheless is presumed to record instances of self-identification.

A number of the “French Breeds” enumerated in these areas possess surnames that can be traced to the voyageurs. This indicates that at the turn of the century, at least, there remained significant continuity in the métis population in these townships where Drummond Islanders originally settled.

Local historical accounts of the settlement and development of Penetanguishene, Midland, Port McNicoll and Victoria Harbour do not provide any information about the métis population in the 20th century. However, for Honey Harbour there exist school records from the 1940s and a published local history which acknowledges its beginnings with families of Aboriginal descent. More recent data on métis organizations in the area is sparse, and does not allow for any conclusive statements.

There is evidence that a métis community developed at Honey Harbour, with its roots at Beausoleil Island where Ojibwa, Ottawa and Potawatomi lived together with several voyageurs who migrated from Drummond Island. Evidence suggests that at least several families of mixed descent did not join the band when it moved to Christian Island, but stayed on Beausoleil Island and across the inlet at Honey Harbour. Members of these métis families were instrumental in starting a school at Honey Harbour, where in the 1940s students with voyageur names were identified by the teacher as “Pottawatomi.” Whether this is an instance of self-identification or other-ascension is not known.

The following information has been gathered about métis organizations in the Penetanguishene vicinity in recent years: Port McNicoll (Region V - Local 15) and Honey Harbour (Region V - Local 10) had Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA) local offices in 1985; the Women’s Representative and a
Community Development Officer of the Métis Nation of Ontario (MNO) are located in Midland; the Canadian Métis Council (CMC) lists local councils in Penetanguishene and Port McNicoll.

10.6 EVIDENCE OF MÉTIS IN PARRY SOUND, 19TH - 20TH CENTURIES

- There exists only a small amount of historical data about a population of mixed descent in and around Parry Sound, and there is insufficient evidence to conclude that a métis community existed at Parry Sound. The best evidence is that of several voyageur individuals and families from Penetanguishene who moved northward into the Parry Sound area, possibly in order to participate in mining or lumbering developments in the region.

  - A thorough search of the Robinson-Huron Treaty Annuity pay lists for bands in the Parry Sound Agency in the years 1850-1899 do not show any separate list of "half-breeds". This is in contrast to other paylists, at Michipicoten, for example, which do include such lists and indicate a recognized métis subgroup within that band.

  - A few voyageur surnames are evident on paylists and in related Indian Affairs correspondence. Descendants of the "Solomon" family, for example, which traced its voyageur and métis roots to the Drummond Islanders, were living in Killarney and claimed membership in the Heavy Inlet Band.

  - An 1899 Indian Affairs report on band members with a "doubtful right to the Robinson Annuity in Parry Sound" provides evidence of several métis families in the area, demonstrating a high degree of mobility. Some of these families had direct connections to the Penetanguishene voyageur group.

- Two centres of métis population existed in the Muskoka / Parry Sound region at the turn of the century. The first is south of Parry Sound in Freeman township where MacTier is now located; the second is north of Parry Sound in Wallbridge township.

  - In Freeman township, 120 individuals identified as métis, mainly of "Iroquois" and French descent. There is no apparent connection to the Penetanguishene voyageur community, and it is probable that this group was related to the Mohawk community at Gibson Lake. Significantly, however, the métis population in Freeman at this time represented over 90% of the total township population.

  - In Wallbridge, the métis population bears a surname resemblance to the Penetanguishene voyageur group. The 100 métis enumerated in 1901 were mainly "French Breed", and it is significant to note evidence of Drummond Island voyageurs having left Penetanguishene to live at Byng Inlet (in Wallbridge). It is possible that this métis population was related to the Magnetawan Reserve population also situated
in Wallbridge.

- Local historical accounts of the settlement and development of Parry Sound and the surrounding region provide no information about a métis population in the 20th century. More recent information about métis organizations in the area is sparse, and does not allow for any conclusive statements.

- In a 1979 survey MacTier was selected as a representative métis community in OMNSIA Region 5. In 1985, OMNSIA had locals in Britt on Byng Inlet, and in Nobel near the town of Parry Sound. One representative of MNO is currently located at MacTier, and the next nearest office to Parry Sound is located at North Bay. The CMC presently has local councils at Britt and at Parry Sound/Nobel.

10.7 LACK OF EVIDENCE OF A MÉTIS POPULATION AT OWEN SOUND

- There is an almost complete lack of historical data regarding the development of a population of mixed Aboriginal and European descent in the Owen Sound area. This is despite a relatively large body of data on the Aboriginal history of the Saugeen Peninsula. There is rare mention of voyageurs from Penetanguishene having moved to the Owen Sound area, but no indication that any community of métis developed as a result. Data which were collected suggest that individuals of mixed descent either joined the Saugeen or Cape Croker Bands, or identified with the local European settler populations which began to arrive in the 1840s. The negative evidence strongly suggests that no métis community developed at Owen Sound.

- Although about half a dozen individual voyageurs are reported to have died in Owen Sound, this is the extent of evidence of any connection to the voyageur community.

- There is some evidence of a métis population original to the Cape Croker area after the Surrender of 1857, when French Canadian carpenters and axemen who were employed to build houses, married local Aboriginal women. However, evidence suggests that these families remained at Cape Croker, and that the children of mixed descent were incorporated into the band.

- No métis were enumerated by Census takers in Owen Sound in 1901. In all of Bruce North and Bruce West, only about a dozen individuals self-identified as "Half breeds."

- None of the organizations representing métis in Ontario have had, or currently have local offices or councils in the Owen Sound area.
10.8 MÉTIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE FUR TRADE AND RESOURCE HARVESTING, 19TH - 20TH CENTURY GEORGIAN BAY REGION

- Métis in the Georgian Bay region, particularly around Penetanguishene and in the Muskoka and Parry Sound Districts, were active participants in the fur trade and other forms of resource harvesting, particularly fishing and in the developing lumber industry.

- The independent fur traders who first established posts at Penetanguishene were either métis themselves, or were married to Indian or métis women with whom they raised "country" families. The fur trade continued to be a major factor in Penetanguishene's economy until at least 1880, and the historical evidence indicates that this sector was maintained by descendants and relatives of the original fur traders.

- It appears that furs were not being trapped in the Penetanguishene vicinity, but rather were being collected from regions east and north, in the Muskoka and Parry Sound districts. Hence, the fur trade at Penetanguishene was characterized by local stores operated by owners such as George Gordon, but supplied by partners such as his métis half-brothers Jean-Baptiste and Charles Rousseau who spent much of the year travelling and collecting furs from Indians living further north. After the Robinson-Huron Treaty in 1850, contacts with different Aboriginal groups may have been established when they came to collect their annual presents in Penetanguishene.

- Records show that large quantities of furs were still being sold at Penetanguishene in 1860, indicating that the trade had not yet begun to decline. However, some sources suggest that the fur trade was no longer viable in the 1870s, and that it was the collapse of this sector that marked the beginning of assimilation processes among métis voyageur families. However, census and other data from the late 19th and early 20th centuries continue to present a portrait of this community as distinct (see above).

- There is little data regarding resource harvesting by métis individuals or families. Historical narratives demonstrate that in many cases, métis acted as guides for Europeans hunting expeditions, or who hunted and fished for expedition parties as part of their voyageur duties.

- Fishing was a livelihood engaged in by several men from Penetanguishene. When the voyageurs arrived in 1828, they found several fisherman's cabins, indicating that Penetanguishene Bay was used for fishing prior to the migration. One source documents that from the 1830s-1870s, many voyageurs and their descendants were occupied as fishermen, some at the commercial level. In the 1850s, an Indian Affairs report stated that men from Penetanguishene went as far as Shawanaga Islands (north of Parry Sound) to harvest seasonal catches of trout. The 1901 Census lists métis men whose occupation was as fishermen.
The lumber industry also employed men from Penetanguishene and the surrounding region from as early as the 1850s. There is some evidence that as the timber industry developed in the Georgian Bay regions, there occurred a gradual movement of voyageur families from Penetanguishene north along the coast of Georgian Bay toward Parry Sound and beyond as métis men found work in lumber camps and sawmills in the Muskoka and Parry Sound districts. Hence, some records show voyageur names in these regions in later years. The 1901 Census also lists many métis employed in the saw mills in Tiny and Tay townships, as well as in Wallbridge township.
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   Penetanguishene Agency - Paylists of Salaries and Pensions to Members of the Chippewas of Beausoleil for the September and December Quarters of 1891 and for the Quarter Ending the 31st of March 1892

Volume 2618, File 124,928 [Reel C-11250]
   Parry Sound - Correspondence Regarding the Payment of the Arrears of the Robinson Treaty Annuities to Different Bands (1892-1898)

Volume 2620, File 125,472 [Reel C-12788]
   Saugeen Agency - Paylists for Distribution of the Interest Money to the Chippewas of Saugeen for the Quarter Ending the 31st of March 1892.

Volume 2623, File 125,900 [Reel C-12788]
   Parry Sound - Paylists for Distribution of the Interest Money to the Bands in the District (1892)

Volume 2629, File 127,763 [Reel C-12788]
   Parry Sound - Payment of the Robinson Treaty Money in the Superintendency for the Year 1892. Payment of the Arrears of Annuities to Individuals in Different Band (1892-1897)

Volume 2646, File 130,610 [Reel C-11256]
   Parry Sound - Paylist of Salaries to Certain Members of Different Bands in the Superintendency (1892-1893)

Volume 2668, File 133,848 [Reel C-12789]
   Penetanguishene Agency - Correspondence Regarding Interest Distribution to the Chippewas of Snake Island and Beausoleil; Paylists (1892-1893)

Volume 2668, File 133,853 [Reel C-12789]
   Saugeen Agency - Correspondence Regarding Interest Distribution to the Chippewas of Saugeen; Paylists (1893)
NAC RG10 (continued)
Volume 2701, File 142,250 [Reel C-12790]
Penetanguishene Agency - Correspondence Regarding the Eligibility of William Ernest Nashekwa, A Seven Year Old Boy, to Be Placed on the Paylist of the Chippewas of Beausoleil Island (1893-1895)

Volume 2750, File 147,969 [Reel C-12792]
Correspondence and Paylists of the Chippewas of Beausoleil Residing At Christian Island, Parry Island and Manitoulin Island (1894)

Volume 2754, File 148,724 [Reel C-12792]
Northern Superintendent - 2nd Division - Parry Sound - Paylists of Interest Distribution of the Parry Island, Nipissing, and Henvey Inlet Bands (1894-1895)

Volume 2759, File 150,611 [Reel C-11275]
Cape Croker Agency - Correspondence Requesting Information on Lots Along the Shore of Owen Sound Bay in Sarawak Township (1894)

Volume 2793, File 157,375 [Reel C-12793]
Penetanguishene Agency - Interest Paylists to the Various Bands (1894-1896)

Volume 2803, File 161,269 [Reel C-9659]
Saugeen Agency - Paylists of Interest Distribution (1895)

Volume 2810, File 163,952 [Reel C-9659]
Parry Sound Superintendent - Paylists of Interest Distribution for the Parry Island and Shawanaga Bands (1895)

Volume 2833, File 170,197 [Reel C-9660]
Parry Sound Superintendent - Annuity Interest Payments to Parry Island Band (1896)

Volume 2833, File 170,198 [Reel C-9660]
Parry Sound Superintendent - Annuity Interest Payments to Christian Island and Beausoleil Island Bands (1896)

Volume 2837, File 171,385 [Reel C-11284]
Penetanguishene Agency - Correspondence Regarding the Surrender No. 5 Dated 22 May 1798 and Known As the Penetanguishene Purchase, Surrender No. 16 Dated 16 November 1815 and the Robinson Huron Treaty of 9 September 1850 (Plan) (1896-1900)

Volume 2866, File 176,296-102 [Reel C-11289]
Penetanguishene Agency - Sale of Island No. 76 in Georgian Bay to F.H. Corbeau in the Name of His Daughter Mary Ann Corbeau (1899-1909)

Volume 2871, File 176,296-198 [Reel C-11290]
Penetanguishene Agency - Application of W. Finlayson of Midland for Rights to Remove Gravel From Little Tomb Island Adjacent to Giant's Tomb Island in Georgian Bay (1913)

Volume 2945, File 198,880 [Reel C-9663]
Penetanguishene Agency - Resolution of the Chippewas of Beausoleil to Admit Certain Persons to the Band (1898-1899)
PRIMARY SOURCES CONSULTED, continued...

NAC RG10 (continued)
Volume 3082, File 272,444 [Reel C-11321]
Parry Sound Superintendency - Correspondence Regarding Certain Indians Reported by Chief Paadash As Living in the Vicinity of Moose Deer Point, Georgian Bay. It Was Learned That the John King Family, Non-treaty Indians, Came Under the Control of this Agency (1904)

Volume 7753, File 27022 [Reel C-12046]
Parry Sound Agency - Surveys of the Boundaries on the Gibson Reserve (1902-1921)

Volume 7753, File 27022-3 [Reel C-12046]
Parry Sound Agency - Survey of the Lands of the French River Reserve (1880-1931)

Volume 9497 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1850-1859)

Volume 9498 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1850-1893)

Volume 9500 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167]
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Volume 9502 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1850-1893)

Volume 9503 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1850-1893)

Volume 9504 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7167; C-7168]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1850-1869)

Volume 9505 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7168]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1870-1879)

Volume 9506 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7168]
Treaty annuity and interest paylists - Robinson Treaty (1868-1874)

Volume 9507 (Series B-8-d) [Reel C-7168]
Treaty annuity paylists - Robinson Treaty (1880-1892)

Volume 9686 (Series B-8-e) [Reel C-7192]
Interest distribution paylists - Chippewas of Beausoleil (1875, 1895-1899)

Volume 11206, File 5
Report of SGIA L. Oliphant to Lord Elgin, Governor-General, 1854 and Correspondence relating to Surrender of Saugene Reserve, 1854 - Report of SGIA Lord Bury to Edmund Head, Governor-General, 1855

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Whiteside, Don (sin-a-paw)
APPENDIX A: MAPS

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A.2 Champlain's Expedition, 1615 (Jones 1909)
A.3 Huronia, 1655 (Coyne 1903).
A.4 Petun Territory, Early 17th Century (Trigger 1976, Vol.II)
A.5 Tribal Areas of Huronia, 1615-1650 (Heidenreich 1978)
A.6 Huron Settlement and Trade, ca. 1615 Onward (Trigger 1976, Vol.I)
A.7 Huron Confederacy, ca. 1634 (Trigger 1976, Vol.I)
A.9 Jesuit Missions in Huronia, 1639-1648 (Trigger 1976, Vol.II)
A.11 Geographical Townships in Ontario (Ontario Department of Lands & Forests, 1959)
PORTION OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP

The Huronia portion of Champlain's 1632 map shows the Penetanguishine Peninsula, which Champlain has marked with the figures "86". No land body representing the Bruce Peninsula is indicated. The "Gens de petun" is placed south-west of the Nottawasaga River, which may be seen below the figures "86", and ten villages are shown. From this point west, the southern Georgian Bay shore appears entirely hypothesised.

Map A.1
Champlain's Map of Huronia, 1632
(Garrad 1970)
Map A.2
Champlain's Expedition, 1615
(Jones 1909)
Map A.3
Huronia, 1656
(Coyne 1903)
Map A.4
Petun Territory, Early 17th Century
(Trigger 1976, Vol.II)
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Tribal Areas of Huronia, 1615-1650
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Map A.8
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<td>AO</td>
<td>Archives of Ontario</td>
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<td>INAC</td>
<td>Indian and Northern Affairs (Library)</td>
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<td>NAC</td>
<td>National Archives of Canada</td>
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<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Library of Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>SGIA</td>
<td>Superintendent General of Indian Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>VSIA</td>
<td>Visiting Superintendent of Indian Affairs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<th>Doc. #</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1      | 1827     | Letter
From: W. Simpson, Drummond Island
To: George Gordon, Penetanguishene
Re: State of the fur trade at Drummond Island | AO MU1146, F433-0-0-1 (George Gordon Papers) |
|        | January 9|                                                                                   |                 |
| 2      | 1831     | Petition
From: Roman Catholics at Penetanguishene
To: Sir John Colborne, Lt. Governor of Upper Canada
Re: Land on which to build a church | AO F963, AC1410 |
|        | June 7   |                                                                                   |                 |
| 3      | 1832     | Petition (French)
From: 22 former Drummond Islanders
To: Sir John Colborne, Lt. Governor of Upper Canada
Re: Land grants at Penetanguishene | AO F963, AC1703 |
|        | May 10   |                                                                                   |                 |
| 4      | 1832     | Letter
From: John Baptiste Tauginena & Louis Tebaskeough
To: Rev. O'Grady, York
Re: That a Priest be sent to Coldwater | AO F963, AC0710 |
|        | July 10  |                                                                                   |                 |
| 5      | 1832     | Petition
From: Former Drummond Islanders
To: Major Win loot, York
Re: Deeds to land grants at Penetanguishene | AO F963, AC1704 |
|        | October 20|                                                                                   |                 |
| 6      | 1832     | Petition (undated)
From: James Farling
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Re: Land grants at Penetanguishene | AO F963, AC1705 |
|        | ca. 1832 |                                                                                   |                 |
| 7      | 1833     | Petition and Letter of Certification
From: Pierre Geroux Sr. (Certified by Andrew Mitchell)
To: Sir John Colborne, Lt. Governor of Upper Canada
Re: Land grant to replace losses at Drummond Island | AO F963, AC1707; AC1708 |
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<td>Letter From: John Bell To: Bishop Alexander MacDonell, Bishop of Upper Canada Re: That a Priest be sent to Penetanguishene</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Petition From: Chief John Esous &amp; John Batist Taugina (on behalf of the Indians of Penetanguishene) To: Bishop Alexander MacDonell, Bishop of Upper Canada Re: To replace interpreter Henry Solomon</td>
<td>AO F963, AC0708</td>
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<td>Descriptive Report upon the Township of Tiny Author: F.L. Walsh (?)</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>Pay List - Survey Party</td>
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<td>August 14</td>
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<td>By: W.H.E. Napier</td>
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<td>Submitted to: R.T. Pennefather, SGIA</td>
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<td>From: Wm. Spragge, Deputy SGIA</td>
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<td>Re: Contentions between certain Iroquois families formerly of Caughnawaga who emigrated to the Saugeen Peninsula and the Chippewa Indians of Nawash</td>
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<td>Docket No. 2947</td>
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<td>February 11</td>
<td>Re: Appointment of Mr. Elliot, Missionary and &quot;half-breed&quot; as interpreter for Parry Sound Indian Agency</td>
<td>RG10, Vol. 1922, File 2947</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Attached: Extract of letter from Charles Skene, VSIA, dated 5 February 1874</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>Letter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>July 31</td>
<td>From: Charles Skene, VSIA Parry Sound</td>
<td>RG10, Vol. 1966, File 5113</td>
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<td>To: E.A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior</td>
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<td>Re: Members of Solomon family are on Heavy Inlet Band list, but live in Killarney</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>From: Charles Skene, VSIA Parry Sound</td>
<td>RG10, Vol. 1966, File 5113</td>
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<td>To: E.A. Meredith, Deputy Minister of the Interior</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Re: Solomon family are not Indians and should be removed from Robinson Treaty annuity pay-list</td>
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<td>Doc. #</td>
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<td>1878</td>
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<td>NAC RG10, Vol.2065, File 10,235</td>
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<tr>
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<td>August 13</td>
<td>Re: History of the Solomon Family, Henny Inlet Band</td>
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<td>Signed by C. Skene, VSIA Parry Sound</td>
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<td>Petition From: Henny Inlet Indian Band</td>
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<td></td>
<td>September 9</td>
<td>To: Dr. Walton, VSIA Parry Sound</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Re: Exclusion of half-breeds from the band list was not authorized by council</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>Report By: Dr. Walton, VSIA Parry Sound</td>
<td>NAC RG10, Vol. 2308, File 61,003</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>September 25</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(Includes list of names)</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Publication from the Owen Sound &quot;Sun&quot;</td>
<td>NLC</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Author: A.M. Stephens</td>
<td>Owen Sound: C.J. Pratt, Book and Job Printer</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Early Days of Owen Sound&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>February 6</td>
<td>Re: Summary of recommendations as to persons having a doubtful right to the</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robinson annuity in Parry Sound Superintendency who are now paid</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Albermarie &amp; Cape Croker Indian Reserve District 49 (Bruce</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6461</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>North), Sub-District 'a' (Polling Division 4, 6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - (Amabel &amp; r) Saugan Indian Reserve District 49 (Bruce North),</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6461</td>
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<td>Sub-District 'b' (Polling Division 4)</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Baxter Twp. District 91 (Muskoka &amp; Parry Sound), Sub-District</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6482</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>'b'</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Gibson &amp; Freeman Twps. District 91 (Muskoka &amp; Parry Sound),</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6482</td>
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<td>Sub-District 'q'</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Wallbridge &amp; Brown District 91 (Muskoka &amp; Parry Sound), Sub-</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6483</td>
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<td>District 'v'</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Parry Island District 91 (Muskoka &amp; Parry Sound), Sub-District</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6483</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Madocota District 113 (Simcoe East), Sub-District 'c' (Polling</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6495</td>
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<td>Division 6)</td>
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<td>Doc. #</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Penetanguishene, Town District 113 (Simcoe East), Sub-District &quot;k&quot; (Polling Divisions 1, 3)</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6496</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Tay District 113 (Simcoe East), Sub-District &quot;m&quot; (Polling Divisions 1, 4, 6)</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901 Census - Tiny District 113 (Simcoe East), Sub-District &quot;a&quot; (Polling Divisions 3, 5)</td>
<td>NAC Reel T-6496</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>1916 May 18</td>
<td>Letter: From: [signature illegible], London, Ontario To: Secretary IA, Ottawa Re: Claim of Caughnawaga families for compensation for improvements on lands near Nawash</td>
<td>NAC RG10, Vol. 3173, File 425,602</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Publication Author: Elmes Henderson &quot;Some Notes on a Visit to Penetanguishene and the Georgian Bay in 1855&quot;</td>
<td>Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records Vol. 28, pp.30-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1943 March 31</td>
<td>Day School Return Honey Harbour Combined School Teacher: John F. Johnston</td>
<td>NAC RG10, Vol.6136, File 399-2, Pt.1</td>
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