A Historical Profile of Mixed European-Indian Communities in the Outaouais Region

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Executive summary

This report presents research done for a study of the historical profile of mixed-ancestry groups in the Outaouais region. It includes the study’s findings, a description of the sources and methodology used, as well as discussion of the findings and strategies for refining them. It also contains a bibliography of primary sources and secondary references used for the study in addition to a series of annexes containing copies of archival documents on which some of the findings were based. The report is divided into three main sections: an introduction, a presentation of the study findings in the form of a chronological and thematic history, and a section synthesizing the findings and discussing possible avenues for future research.

The introduction is divided into three main parts. The first part is a glossary of ethnic nomenclature, or ethnonyms, used in the study. This glossary gives the precise meaning of the terms used to designate the individuals and communities discussed in this study. It is essential to read the report with a precise understanding of the specific meaning of all the nomenclature given in the glossary. This is why the glossary has been placed at the beginning of the introduction. The second part presents the sources and methods used to analyse the research questions investigated in this study. This part of the introduction is further divided into two subsections, each looking at a different aspect of the political, administrative, religious, genealogical and cultural issues. One of these subsections discusses the sources and methods used to research Euro-Canadian control over the region, including the development of infrastructures for Euro-Canadian control over the region (surveying, establishment of missions, law and order, and so on). The study refers to these infrastructures as “indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the region.” The other subsection covers the sources and methods used to examine issues relating to ethnogenesis and distinct culture (identifying mixed-ancestry people in the region, determining their position within or outside of Euro-Canadian and Indian communities, and so on). Each of the sources and methods used is described briefly in relation to the research theme in question. The last part of the introduction gives an outline of the historical summary provided in this report.

The next section constitutes the body of the report and contains a chronological and thematic presentation of the research findings, in the form of a documented account of the region’s history. This section is subdivided into two main parts dealing with the two issues addressed by the study. More specifically, the first part looks at the historical development of indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the Gatineau valley. This part is called “Indicators of effective Euro-Canada control over the region.” The second part covers the history of contacts between Euro-Canadian and Indian people as well as the cultural and biological
mixing resulting from those contacts. This part relates directly to the issues of ethnogenesis and distinct culture with respect to the mixed-ancestry people examined by this research project. This section is entitled “Population, biological mixing and cultural mixing.” Each of these two main parts is further divided into a number of subsections corresponding to specific themes and time periods. For example, the section on indicators of effective European Canadian control is subdivided into discussions of the fur trade, logging, the establishment of missions and, later, churches, and so forth. Similarly, the section on population, biological mixing and cultural mixing is divided into subsections on biological intermingling of population groups, descriptions of the culture of local communities and so on.

The third section of the report represents a synthesis and discussion of the research findings. Up to this point, the results of the research are presented as a factual narrative, organized chronologically and thematically. The objective of the last section is to offer guidelines for integrating and examining these findings from a broad historical perspective. It suggests approaches to understanding historical events occurring over a long period with a view to gaining a global view of the region’s history. This synthesis of the study’s findings is divided in two. First, it summarizes the findings on indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control and second, it offers a summary of the findings with respect to population, biological mixing and cultural mixing. This discussion is not intended to give legal conclusions or opinions, but rather to present historical considerations pertaining to the overall findings of the research. This part concludes the report with a look at questions that remain with respect to some areas of the research, as well as possible strategies for future research.

The report is followed by a bibliography containing a detailed list of the archival sources used and secondary references pertaining to this study. The appended documents contain copies of archival materials on which the research was based. Throughout the report, references to these materials are included wherever research findings are presented.

Overview of sources and research methodology

Questions pertaining to effective Euro-Canadian control over the region were primarily handled by cross-referencing secondary sources with primary administrative, religious and commercial sources. First, the principal secondary references (described in the report) on the historical development of Euro-Canadian infrastructures were consulted to determine the current state of knowledge about these infrastructures. This information was cross-referenced with other information drawn directly from the sources. These sources include the
memoirs of Philemon Wright, entitled “An account of the first settlement of the township of Hull” and published in 1825, a document that was used extensively for this study. In it, Wright tells of his arrival in the region, the first work done to clear the land and the beginnings of the logging industry. In addition, every available document on the colonization of the Gatineau valley, including those reporting on it and those promoting it, helped to provide an excellent basis for the research. The oldest account is undoubtedly the 1832 topographical dictionary by Joseph Bouchette, which contains a very detailed entry on the town of Hull. However, the books written by Stanislas Drapeau (1863) and Hormidas Magnan (1925) are the most helpful for studying colonization of the Gatineau area in general. The first is a study of colonization in Lower Canada from 1851 to 1861, in which colonization agent Stanislas Drapeau describes the progress of colonization, township by township, with details on soil quality, population, lots surveyed, roads, churches, and so forth. The second is an abridged history of all the parishes and municipalities in the Province of Quebec in 1925, which also gives details on the administrative development of the parishes, municipalities and villages. Religious writings also give considerable detail on the area’s occupation by settlers and the development of infrastructures. Among these, the book by Alexis de Barbezieux, *Histoire de la province ecclésiastique d’Ottawa et de la colonisation dans la vallée de l’Ottawa* (1897), is probably the most detailed. Finally, the analysis drew on various documents describing the colonial settlement and its Euro-Canadian infrastructures, such as schools, roads, means of communication, and so forth. By cross-referencing these documents, it was possible to portray the historical development of colonial control and the infrastructures that supported it in the study area and, above all, to determine the impact of this control on the people living there.

Questions related to population, biological mixing and cultural mixing were handled principally by cross-referencing two types of sources: demographic data and descriptions of local population groups. The Canadian censuses conducted every ten years since 1850 represent the best source for a snapshot of a region’s population. They provide various types of information on all people living in a given place. The use of censuses is not limited to determining the number of people in a given area. They also provide information that can be used to identify mixed couples and/or mixed-ancestry individuals. For example, the nominal census can be used to identify the head of a household whose origin is “French” while his wife’s origin is “Indian.” Their children can then be identified as biologically mixed. This information may also be cross-referenced with another type of demographic source: the acts of civil status or parish registers. These records contain the acts of birth, marriage and death for a population group covered by a mission or parish. They are available in manuscript form for the study area. Going through these records is time-consuming, however, because of the very nature of the source. They consist of information written down at
different times and places, with little consistency or continuity.\(^1\) They were nevertheless used to identify some specific cases of biological mixing.

As well, missionaries in the Outaouais, and the Gatineau valley in particular, left many accounts, mission reports and other documents containing an abundance of information on the local population groups, a substantial proportion of which was used for this study. The writings used were primarily those of the Oblates, who were the most active missionaries in the region from the mid-19th century on. Very few religious documents dealing with the Gatineau valley were found for the period preceding the arrival of the Oblates. The Jesuit Relations were examined to no avail. The only Jesuit who passed through the Gatineau was Father Dominique du Ranquet, who described his voyage through the upper Outaouais in 1843. He travelled down the Gatineau River on his return to Bytown (Ottawa).

The originals of the documents produced by the Oblates in the Outaouais are kept at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa, but the Maniwaki collection is kept at the Oblates’ provincial house in Montreal. This collection contains various administrative documents and an abundance of correspondence concerning the religious life of the Gatineau valley, with Maniwaki as the focal point, beginning in the 1850s. An examination of all the documents in this collection from 1850 to 1932 revealed some that were useful for this study. These are analysed in greater detail in the text and reproduced in the appendix. As well as these archival documents, the Oblate fathers published numerous mission reports and sometimes even their correspondence. These documents are found in the *Rapports sur les missions du diocèse de Québec* (1845-1874) and the *Annales de la propagation de la foi pour la province de Québec* (1877-1923), both published by the Society for the Propagation of Faith. These documents were examined thoroughly. Finally, the Hudson’s Bay Company maintained posts in the Outaouais, around the mouth of the Gatineau, on a sporadic basis only, and few documents were produced. These include an account book for the Cawassieamica post (1846-1849), located on the shores of Baskatong Lake, and correspondence from other posts, specifically Buckingham (1857-1870), Chats (1828-1837), Fort Coulonge (1827-1843) and Grand Lake Victoria (1825). These documents were also reviewed for this study. This is only an overview of the sources used, which are discussed elsewhere in the report.

In general terms, these accounts all share the feature of presenting, with varying levels of detail, their authors’ impressions of the local people, especially their

\(^1\) There are genealogical registers for a number of regions in Quebec, but none were found for the Outaouais.
practices and lifestyles. Some even deal with relations among the communities in the area. The research involved identifying passages in these documents that referred to individuals of mixed ancestry or mixed unions, to determine whether they gave direct or indirect signs of the formation of a local community with a distinct culture. More specifically, the objective was to determine whether these sources tended to present people of mixed ancestry as Euro-Canadians or Indians in the same way as other members of these groups, or whether they were collectively characterized as sharing distinctive cultural or identifying traits (such as religious practices, means of subsistence or relations with surrounding groups).

Overview of the research findings

The following overview of the research findings is structured in the same way as the report. More specifically, there are two parts, presenting, first, the study’s findings on indicators of Euro-Canadian control over the region, and second, the findings on population, biological mixing and cultural mixing.

With respect to indicators of control, it is possible to distinguish two very different phases in the history of Euro-Canadian occupancy of the Outaouais region. The first phase is characterized by occasional use of this vast region and an absence of documentary evidence of their presence in the Gatineau valley specifically. This phase extends from 1608, when the first contact between Euro-Canadians and Indians occurred in the region, to 1800, when Euro-Canadians began settling in the area permanently. During this period, the fur trade was primarily conducted at the trading posts in Quebec City, Trois-Rivières, Tadoussac and Montreal, and the Indians used the Ottawa River to transport their furs to these posts. The Ottawa River served as the main transportation route between these trading posts and the territories in the far northern and western reaches of the colony. The Gatineau River, in this context, seems to have served as a connecting route \[lieu de passage\], although there is no documentary evidence of its precise usage. The only Euro-Canadians in the Outaouais region were a few isolated individuals temporarily visiting or passing through the area in order to explore it or to learn an Indian language for the purposes of trade or evangelization.

In the mid-17th century, the Iroquois wars drove the Algonquins out of the region. They dispersed, abandoning their original territory and, in some cases, taking refuge in Quebec City, Trois-Rivières and Montreal. After 1654, the authorities decided to reorganize the fur trade, since the Indians who supplied the French posts were no longer able to bring as many pelts as before. The French therefore entered the region to establish trading posts. These posts were located along the Ottawa River, the region’s main transportation route (at the mouths of the Petite-
Nation, Coulonge, Lièvre and other rivers), but no evidence of a trading post on the Gatineau River or at its mouth was found in the sources. Missionaries also entered the Outaouais region in the mid-17th century. However, there is no documentary evidence of a mission located on the Gatineau River specifically. The Gatineau remained a connecting route for both Indians and pioneers, and no long-term settlement was established on its banks by either group. The situation remained the same throughout the end of the French regime and the start of the English regime. The Outaouais region was used during this period by the Algonquins who had taken refuge at the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission. There is no documentary evidence, in either the primary or secondary sources, attesting to the presence of settlers on the banks of the Gatineau during this period.

The second phase in the history of the Gatineau valley, which began at the turn of the 19th century, was characterized by massive deforestation, a growing Euro-Canadian presence and construction of the first pioneer villages in the region. In the late 18th century, the policy of the British authorities was to open up new lands for colonization in North America. Philemon Wright, an American businessman who wanted to establish a pioneer settlement in Canada, was sent to the Outaouais with a group of about twenty settlers in 1800. He settled at the mouth of the Gatineau River, where he systematically developed a settlement (logging, clearing farmland, building houses, and so on). Logging operations began at the mouth of the Gatineau in 1806 and intensified during the years that followed as timbermen moved into the Outaouais region. The economic activity generated by the logging industry was such that it led to a massive influx of workers and the establishment of the first Euro-Canadian villages in the Outaouais.

In comparison with the rest of the region, however, colonization of the Gatineau valley lagged behind. This area came under the yoke of the Gatineau Privilege, a document issued by the Crown Timber Office, which guaranteed exclusive logging rights to a handful of timber merchants from 1832 to 1843. The Gatineau valley was therefore closed to competition and new timber operators for those years. The end of the Gatineau Privilege in 1843 marked the official opening of the region to competition among logging companies and the official establishment of township boundaries and villages in the Gatineau. In successive waves, from south to north, the entire region was surveyed and divided up into timber limits, townships and villages. In 1845-46, the Maniwaki region was divided into timber limits. The Oblate missionaries also moved into the region quickly, preaching to both Euro-Canadians and Indians (who still came to the region from the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission). In 1851, the Oblates opened a mission for Indians at Maniwaki, which was made into a reserve in 1853. The objective of this reserve was to encourage the Indians to adopt a sedentary way of life because of the extensive logging taking place in the forest that had represented their means of subsistence. The second half of the 19th century was marked by rapid
development of Euro-Canadian infrastructures in the Outaouais (roads, churches, public schools and government offices).

The second objective of the study was to determine whether ethnogenesis from a new mixed-ancestry community to a distinct culture resulted historically from contacts between Euro-Canadians and Indians in the Gatineau valley. The specific findings in this regard were principally arrived at through sources produced in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the Gatineau valley. These are the oldest extant sources produced locally that are available for research. The research found that people of mixed-ancestry were undeniably present in the Gatineau valley during the 19th century, and that they were mainly concentrated in the Maniwaki reserve. Some mixed-ancestry individuals lived outside this area, in Euro-Canadian settlements that had appeared in the region. However, documentary sources referring to these people tend to indicate that they did not form a distinct community, but rather, were integrated into the Indian or Euro-Canadian communities in which they lived. These conclusions were reached through two lines of inquiry, one demographic and the other cultural.

First, the study’s authors conducted demographic research to identify the location of mixed-ancestry individuals in the Gatineau valley. This identified a relatively small number of mixed-ancestry people in the Gatineau valley in 1901, most of whom were concentrated in the Maniwaki area. These individuals were distributed among the Euro-Canadian and Indian communities in which they were found. They do not seem to have formed groups geographically apart from these communities. However, it is difficult to determine the exact location of mixed-ancestry people since certain constraints and gaps in the primary sources present obstacles to achieving this. Other strategies for identifying mixed-ancestry groups were explored and are described in the report. To date, no notable concentration of mixed-ancestry people outside the Maniwaki area has been identified for the 19th century in the Gatineau valley.

Second, the authors of this study systematically identified all uses of “Métis” or equivalent terms to designate people of mixed ancestry in the corpus of narrative sources. The object of this exercise was to find evidence of the existence of cultural characteristics peculiar to mixed-ancestry people, confirming that they formed a community distinct from the Euro-Canadian and Indian communities. The corpus of narrative resources, again, is composed of early documents written by figures in the history of the Gatineau valley in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The papers left by these historical figures give their impressions of the local population groups. They include reports from the Oblate missions, archives of their correspondence and personal notes from the Maniwaki collection, archives from the mother house of the Oblates in Montreal, memoirs written by local historical figures (mainly priests and missionaries), documents from trading
posts in the study area and reports by Indian affairs officials regarding the Gatineau region.

In the entire corpus of sources, use of the term “Métis” (or other equivalent terms) occurred relatively few times: 18 in total. Each use is reproduced in full in Section 2.2 of the report together with an explanation of the context surrounding it. Overall, none of these uses indicates the existence of a distinct community formed of mixed-ancestry individuals in the study area. Rather, they indicate that these individuals were integrated into the local Indian or Euro-Canadian communities. The many approaches taken for this research all converge on the same findings, specifically that the biological mixing that took place historically in the Gatineau valley was culturally absorbed by these two communities.
Introduction

This report presents the results of research on the historical profile of mixed European-Indian ancestry communities in the Outaouais region, specifically the Gatineau valley. The first objective was to identify information in primary and secondary sources relating to indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the region. The second objective was to document the existence of a community of mixed-ancestry people that was culturally distinct from the Euro-Canadian and Indian groups living in the same area.

This first part of the study presents information required for examining these subjects. It explains the vocabulary used, the type of sources examined and the analytic framework. First it contains a glossary of ethnic nomenclature used throughout the study. This glossary is important because it gives the exact meaning of the terms used to designate the people and communities that are the subject of this study. Use of these terms in the study has been standardized in accordance with the meanings given in the glossary.

Next comes a discussion of the sources and how they were used to answer the different research questions. These sources have been divided into two main corpuses, based on the two types of questions: those relating to indicators of Euro-Canadian control over the region and those relating to ethnogenesis and development of a distinct culture among mixed-ancestry people in the region. Each of these corpuses also includes subcategories of sources, which correspond to specific aspects of these questions. It was sometimes preferable to discuss the sources only briefly in this introduction, since they are analyzed in greater detail in the body of the text.

A. Glossary of ethnic nomenclature used in the study

For the purposes of this study, the terms used to designate the population groups and, more specifically, the individuals, families and communities have been standardized in accordance with precise definitions.

Colonial groups
Euro-Canadian: This ethnonym goes beyond its purely biological meaning to include a cultural dimension. It therefore designates people identifying with the communities formed by Euro-Canadian immigration. The term Euro-Canadian refers to people whose ancestry is strictly Euro-Canadian and to people of mixed or other ancestry who are culturally attached to a Euro-Canadian community.

Whites: This term is used only in quotations from primary or secondary sources. Like the term “Euro-Canadian,” it may be used to designate people of mixed ancestry attached to Euro-Canadian communities.

Indian groups

Indians: This term refers to people who identify culturally with the Indian communities even though, biologically speaking, their ancestry may be mixed.

Savages: This term is used only in reporting the words of certain writers. It was used by Euro-Canadian (and European) writers of the day to refer to the Indians.

Mixed-ancestry groups

Métis: The term “Métis,” with or without a capital, will not be used in this study except when quoting writers who used it. Historically, this term has had many uses in Canada and the meanings attributed to it vary greatly according to the context and language in which it is used. To avoid the problems of interpretation that may result from its polysemic nature, the term “Métis” has been replaced by other terms with more precise meanings. The meaning (or lack of precise meaning) associated with this term in each quotation has been noted.

Mixing: This term is generally as polysemic as “Métis,” since it may be used in a biological or cultural sense. For this reason, it is always accompanied by an adjective to clarify its meaning.
Biological mixing: This expression is used to refer to the mingling of Euro-Canadian and Indian population groups in a strictly biological sense. It therefore designates the emergence of mixed-ancestry groups in a given region, without suggesting any distinct cultural cohesion among these people. “Biological mixing” may therefore occur in a region where the people issuing from this process were absorbed into the culture of the Indian or Euro-Canadian groups.

Cultural mixing: This expression is used to refer to the mingling of Euro-Canadian and Indian population groups in a strictly cultural sense. It therefore designates the emergence of a cultural group whose practices have both Euro-Canadian and Indian origins. Cultural mixing is not necessarily associated only with mixed-ancestry groups and individuals. It may also be associated with individuals and communities of exclusively Euro-Canadian or Indian ancestry. “Cultural mixing” may therefore be demonstrated within a Euro-Canadian community, whose way of life comprises elements borrowed from both Euro-Canadian and Indian practices.

Mixed-ancestry people: This expression refers to people whose origins are both Euro-Canadian and Indian, regardless of the proportion of each.

Mixed-ancestry community: This expression designates communities formed by mixed-ancestry people that demonstrate a culture and cohesive identity distinct from those of the Euro-Canadian and Indian communities. It may therefore be used to refer to a group which, through ethnogenesis, has developed a distinct culture. It should be noted that this expression is not used in a legal sense, but strictly in terms of culture and identity. It does not specify whether ethnogenesis occurred with respect to the community in question, leading it to develop its own culture, before or after the establishment of Euro-Canadian control over the land occupied by that community.

B. Sources and methodologies

B.1 Questions on effective Euro-Canadian control over the region

The research regarding effective Euro-Canadian control over the Gatineau valley was based on highly diverse documentation that will be discussed here in general,
together with the methods used to examine it. The sources and analysis methods chosen varied depending on the nature of the specific questions considered. The questions on the establishment of this control involve a series of specific aspects of the region’s history (such as establishment of the first trading posts and missions for Indians and settlers, local development of infrastructures, and so on) and required analysis of various sources. The bulk of the research process consisted in identifying archival records attesting to the establishment of these different indicators of Euro-Canadian control in order to gain an overview of the increasing colonial presence in the region. Cross-referencing information from these sources makes it possible to situate the political, commercial, religious and economic aspects of the Euro-Canadian presence in time. The sources used for this purpose cover a very long period, stretching from the 17th to the 20th century. The 19th century, during which the Gatineau valley was first settled by pioneers and gradually equipped with religious, government and economic infrastructure, represents the main focus of the research, however.

This study made use of books published on various aspects of the region’s history. One of the principal works, which served as a springboard for the research, is the collaborative History of the Outaouais, directed by Chad Gaffield and published in 1994 by the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC). This book covers, in the form of a historical synthesis based on primary sources, the economic, social, cultural and political development of the entire Outaouais region as well as the evolution of the population groups in the area. The information obtained from this book was expanded upon by examining thematic studies focussing on a precise research objective or a narrower period of time. Of these, there are very few that deal with use of the region by Euro-Canadian communities, except for the book Hurling Down the Pine by John W. Hughson and Courtney C. J. Bond, in which the authors describe the development of the logging industry in the Hull and Ottawa regions and in the Gatineau valley. However, this gap is largely filled by the numerous primary sources on colonization of the area and the establishment of missions and parishes. In contrast, the Indian groups, principally the Algonquins, have been the subject of more extensive research. Among others, the work of Maurice Ratelle and Jacques Frenette constituted an excellent starting point for this study.

For an overview of the region’s history based on descriptions of the development of colonial, religious and economic infrastructures in the Gatineau valley, the secondary sources are limited. Some parts of the region and some themes have not been the subject of any specific research, and there have been no exhaustive studies of certain aspects of the history of the Gatineau, such as the development of public education or road infrastructure. Consequently, primary sources of an administrative, religious, commercial or narrative nature, produced by various colonial figures, had to be consulted.
The first of these sources is a text by Philemon Wright entitled “An account of the first settlement of the township of Hull,” which was published in 1825 and was particularly useful for this study. It describes Wright’s arrival in the region, the first clearing operations and the beginnings of the logging industry. In addition, every document on the colonization of the Gatineau valley, including those reporting on it and those promoting it, helped to provide a basis for the research. The oldest account is undoubtedly the 1832 topographical dictionary by Joseph Bouchette, which contains a very detailed entry on the town of Hull. However, the books written by Stanislas Drapeau (1863) and Hormidas Magnan (1925) provide a more extensive and detailed look at the colonization of the Gatineau. The first is a study of colonization in Lower Canada from 1851 to 1861, in which colonization agent Stanislas Drapeau describes the progress of colonization, township by township, with details on soil quality, population, lots surveyed, road, churches and so on. The second is an abridged history of all the parishes and municipalities in the Province of Quebec in 1925. For each of these, it provides details on:

1. Parish organization, settlement of first pioneers, opening of registers, and so forth;
2. Date of the parish’s canonical erection by the bishop;
3. Civil recognition of the canonical decree;
4. Municipal organization;
5. Origin of parish or village name.

Religious writings also give considerable detail on the area’s occupation by settlers and infrastructure development. Among these, Alexis de Barbezieux’s *Histoire de la province ecclésiastique d’Ottawa et de la colonisation dans la vallée de l’Ottawa* (1897) is probably the most detailed. Another important source is the memoirs of Father Joseph-Étienne Guinard, O.M.I., who describes, among other things, missions among the “savages” and logging shanties of the Upper Gatineau.

Lastly, this study makes use of certain documents describing the state of colonial development and the region’s Euro-Canadian infrastructure, such as schools, roads, means of communication and so on. These sources include reports by school inspectors and surveyors, lists of telegraph offices, maps showing existing and proposed roads, and so on. By cross-referencing these documents it was possible to portray the historical development of colonial control and the infrastructure that supported it in the study area, and, above all, to determine the impact of this control on the people living there.
B.2 Questions on ethnogenesis and distinct culture

One of the objectives of this study was to determine whether, historically, biological mixing in the Gatineau valley created a process of ethnogenesis leading to the emergence of a mixed-ancestry community with a distinct culture. To achieve this, it was first necessary to identify groups of mixed-ancestry people through demographic and narrative sources. These same sources were likely to provide ethnological information attesting to the ethnogenesis of such a community. These sources are described below.

B.2.1 Demographic sources

The Canadian censuses conducted every ten years since 1850 represent the best source for a snapshot of a region’s population. They provide various types of information on all people living in a given place. The type of information varies from one census to another. For example, a person’s ancestry was not given in the 1891 census, but was in those preceding it. Only the censuses from 1851 to 1901 are currently available to researchers. This is not the case, however, for the statistical censuses resulting from analysis of the data from the nominal censuses. Since they do not contain any personal information, even the most recent ones are accessible today.

The use of censuses is not limited to determining the number of people in a given area. They also provide information that can be used to identify mixed couples and/or mixed-ancestry individuals. For example, the nominal census can be used to identify the head of a household whose ancestry is “French,” while his wife’s ancestry is “Indian.” Their children can then be identified as biologically mixed.

This information may also be cross-referenced with another type of demographic source: the acts of civil status or parish registers. These records contain the acts of birth, marriage and death for a population group covered by a mission or parish. They are available in manuscript form for the study area. Going through these records is time-consuming, however, because of the very nature of the source. They consist of information written down at different times and places, with little consistency or continuity.2 They were nevertheless used to identify some specific cases of biological mixing.

2 There are genealogical registers for a number of regions in Quebec, but none were found for the Outaouais.
B.2.2 Narrative sources

Accounts produced by the mixed-ancestry community

There is no known historical document produced by any member of a mixed-ancestry community in the Gatineau valley, unlike those found in other parts of North America, particularly the Red River area (Louis Riel’s papers, for example). Historical and political accounts written by members of mixed-ancestry communities would have been the best sources for analysing the cultural traits that characterized such a community and its relations with the Euro-Canadians and Indians.

Missionary accounts

Historians researching mixed-ancestry groups make considerable use of missionary accounts when studying questions pertaining to the ethnogenesis and distinct culture of these groups. These sources are invaluable for such research because the historical formation of mixed-ancestry groups is generally coupled with the presence of missionaries in Canada. The missionaries considered these groups to be the spearhead in their effort to acculturate and convert the Indians, since they represented a step toward the gradual, and hoped-for, disappearance of the Indians as they were before their contact with Euro-Canadians.

It is a mistake to think that missionary sources are not likely to deal with the presence of a distinct community because of their inherent ethnocentrism. There is no question that the missionaries approached the population groups from a biased viewpoint, and that they sought to modify the practices of the communities they encountered. However, study of mixed-ancestry cultural groups in Canada (particularly in the West) has shown that, though they may not have approved of it, the missionaries talked extensively about a culture peculiar to these communities in their writings. It is precisely because of their ethnocentric religious ideology that the missionaries tried to fight the signs of cultural mixing in these communities, signs that were perceived as an undesirable product of contact between the peoples, with a view to moulding them into communities similar to those of the Euro-Canadians.

The research therefore showed that the missionaries sought to describe the practices of the mixed-ancestry communities precisely so that they would be in a better position to shape the congregation in keeping with their goal of
acculturation. The cultural practices of these communities were the target of open efforts at acculturation on the part of the missionaries, an objective that is explicitly stated in their writings. For example, in the mixed-ancestry communities in Western Canada where Michif (a hybrid language stemming from contact between French, Ojibwa and Cree) was spoken, the missionaries established educational facilities explicitly intended to “correct” what was perceived as poor French. Signs of cultural mixing were given particular attention by the missionaries who saw them as a stage in the process of “civilizing” the “savages.” The missionary accounts therefore represent valuable sources for research on mixed communities in Canada. Although often ethnocentric, they give explicit information on the cultural characteristics of mixed-ancestry communities.

Missionaries in the Outaouais, and the Gatineau valley in particular, left many accounts, mission reports and other documents containing an abundance of information on the local population groups, a substantial proportion of which was used for this study. The writings used were primarily those of the Oblates, who were the most active missionaries in the region, from the mid-19th century on. Very few religious documents dealing with the Gatineau valley were found for the period preceding the arrival of the Oblates. The Jesuit Relations were examined to no avail. The only Jesuit who passed through the Gatineau was Father Dominique du Ranquet, who described his voyage through the upper Outaouais in 1843. He travelled down the Gatineau River on his return to Bytown (Ottawa).

The originals of the documents produced by the Oblates in the Outaouais are kept at the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa, but the Maniwaki collection is kept at the Oblates’ provincial house in Montreal. This collection contains various administrative documents and an abundance of correspondence concerning the religious life of the Gatineau valley, with Maniwaki as the focal point, beginning in the 1850s. An examination of all the documents in this collection from 1850 to 1932 revealed some that were useful for this study. These are analysed in greater detail in the text and are reproduced in the appendix.

Correspondence, which includes brief mission reports, proved to be the most useful kind of document. It chronicles the missionaries’ efforts at conversion and the religious services conducted for the region’s inhabitants, both Euro-Canadian settlers and Indians. These papers sometimes offer descriptions of the inhabitants’ daily activities, lifestyles and relations with the various local communities. They

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3 These are not mission reports published by the Society for the Propagation of Faith, but rather letters of which only a few pages written by missionaries reporting on such and such a mission to the Reverend Father Provincial were published.
also contain the missionary’s reflections on a variety of subjects, including his duties, the region’s inhabitants, travelling conditions during a mission, and the climate. These writers were very familiar with the land and its inhabitants, which makes their testimony especially valuable.

As well as these archival documents, the Oblate fathers published numerous mission reports and sometimes even their correspondence. These documents are found in the Rapports sur les missions du diocèse de Québec (1845-1874) and the Annales de la propagation de la foi pour la province de Québec (1877-1923), both published by the Society for the Propagation of Faith. However, these documents, which were examined thoroughly, have limited value for a study of the Gatineau valley. The missionaries, based in Maniwaki, described little or nothing about the region from which they departed on their missions and focused instead on the places visited and people encountered. These partly corresponded to the northern Gatineau valley, but primarily included the upper Saint-Maurice valley and Témiscamingue regions.

Travel and exploration accounts and accounts by inhabitants

The oldest travel accounts focus on the Ottawa River and very rarely, almost never, mention the Gatineau, except for reference to its mouth. Among others, there are the accounts of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1790?), Alexander Henry (1760; 1776), Alexander Mackenzie (1807) and Robert Michael Ballantyne (1848). Although they do not deal specifically with the study area, these accounts do include descriptions of the Outaouais region essential to the understanding of certain facts related to the development of the Gatineau in the 19th century. For example, Bougainville wrote with respect to the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission:

[Translation]

Lac des Deux Montagnes, a mission established on the lake of the same name formed by the Ottawa River and located twelve leagues from Montreal, and served by the Sulpicians. There may be 250 Nipissing, Algonquin and Iroquois savages; there is no French commander or garrison . . . .

The history of this mission is closely associated with the establishment of the Maniwaki reserve, making this type of source useful.

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For a study such as this, it is common to use accounts by inhabitants of the region, such as journals that were kept on a fairly regular basis and give details of the daily life of their community. This type of source generally provides a substantial amount of information on the population groups in the area or on aspects of local and regional development. For the Gatineau valley, such accounts are rather rare, if not almost non-existent. The papers of Anastase Roy represent the only such source identified. Anastase Roy was a resident of Maniwaki who, in 1933, published notes he had made during part of his life. An interesting, although incomplete, source, it gives considerable specific information on various details of the history of Maniwaki and the small surrounding villages. What makes the document most interesting is that Roy knew some of those who had been pioneers in the area. He says in his introduction:

[Translation]

Living in Maniwaki for over 40 years [since 1890], I have had the advantage of meeting and talking with pioneers who have been in the region since 1848. The desire to share the notes and memoirs I have compiled over the past quarter of a century with my countrymen has prompted me to publish this book.3

Hudson’s Bay Company archives

The Hudson’s Bay Company maintained posts in the Outaouais around the mouth of the Gatineau River on a sporadic basis only, and few documents were produced. These include an account book for the Cawassieamica post (1846-1849) located on the shores of Baskatong Lake and correspondence from other posts, specifically Buckingham (1857-1870), Chats (1828-1837), Fort Coulouge (1827-1843) and Grand Lake Victoria (1825) (see Map 1). The account book contains, in addition to bookkeeping entries, the names of Indians trading at the post. Virtually all of the correspondence involves administrative details. The archives for the Desert post contain only one letter dated 1875.

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3 Anastase Roy, Maniwaki et la vallée de la Gatineau, (Ottawa: Impr. du Droit, 1933: 3).
Map 1: Location of Hudson’s Bay Company posts in the Gatineau Valley and surrounding regions


This source does not contain much information about a distinct way of life on the part of mixed-ancestry people. Information about specific events and people in these archives is very limited. At best, it gives evidence of some people already known to be of mixed ancestry, something that is not usually the case until after specific genealogical research has been done on each individual.

Archives of the Department of Energy and Natural Resources, Hydro-Québec and the Department of Lands and Forests

Portions of some archival collections, such as those of Quebec’s Department of Energy and Natural Resources, the Gatineau Power Company collection kept in the Hydro-Québec archives and the Department of Lands and Forests, were examined with regard to certain specific aspects of the research. The first collection was reviewed in order to find legal documents on the granting of timber limits in the Gatineau valley. Kept in the Archives nationales du Québec, this
collection contains records such as a register of timber licences prepared by the Department in 1987. Knowing the dates on which limits were granted made it possible to determine the chronology of the logging industry’s development in the study area.

The archives of the Gatineau Power Company and some of the Department of Lands and Forests archives were examined with a view to finding information about the communities living at Baskatong during construction of the Mercier dam in 1927 and their displacement because of the flooding. Because of the large numbers of Indians and Euro-Canadians living there, the Baskatong mission was conducive to biological mixing. This research was virtually fruitless since only a few relevant documents were found. These are appended.6

Annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs

All of the annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs dealing with Maniwaki were examined. These reports generally consist of a introduction outlining the year’s accomplishments, reports drawn up by the different officials for each of the reserves, and tables giving information and sometimes statistics on various subjects: number of students in the schools, number of cows, names of officials and their salaries, and so on. The year’s revenues and expenditures are also presented in the form of tables.

After 1875, the Indian Affairs reports systematically provided information on the past year for each of the reserves, including the Maniwaki reserve (events, improvements or deterioration of the situation in terms of sanitation, the economy, and so on). These short reports became quite repetitive and primarily gave information on the slow process of switching the Indians over to farming, the number of people living on the reserve, school attendance and the general health of the reserve’s residents. In addition, there is little information not related to the Maniwaki reserve. The officials’ reports for the period 1925-1935 were removed so that there is no longer a section relating only to Maniwaki. The only information on the reserve pertains to road and bridge repairs and so forth. All other information consists of the statistics presented in the tables.

6 See Annexes B-23, B-24 and B-25.
C. Overview of sources and the research approach with respect to ethnogenesis and distinct culture

While the first contacts between Europeans and Indians in the Outaouais date back to the 17th century, the Euro-Canadian efforts at colonization that led to the establishment of villages on the banks of the Gatineau occurred primarily in the first quarter of the 19th century. This has considerable impact on the availability of archival materials on this region, since there was very little, in fact virtually no documentation produced from the 17th century to the 19th century, but considerably more produced in association with the colonial, administrative and religious advances made by Euro-Canadians from the 19th century on.

This temporal imbalance with respect to the region’s archival sources is particularly evident with respect to sources that might shed light on issues relating to ethnogenesis and distinct culture. More specifically, the demographic and genealogical sources that might help to determine the existence and distribution of biological mixing in the region are very fragmentary up to the 19th century, when the Gatineau valley was still a peripheral region with a small population and little was written about it. In the late 19th century, Benjamin Sulte lamented the fact that for two centuries Champlain’s successors had not named the Gatineau. Even more serious is the lack of sources describing the way of life of people living in the region before the 19th century. For the most part, these accounts, on which research into matters of distinct culture is greatly dependent, were written in the 19th century, the period during which most documents by missionaries and government officials were produced in the Gatineau.

This explains why the research findings presented in this study tend to become more specific and substantial as they move forward in history. Because the nature of the sources available changed over the time period studied, the study’s findings on ethnogenesis and distinct culture are more general with respect to the 17th and 18th centuries, and become more specific after the start of the 19th century, because more extensive documentation about the latter period was available.

D. The historical summary

This report is divided into two parts, one of which examines questions related to effective Euro-Canadian control over the region, while the other looks at the ethnogenesis of a mixed-ancestry community. The first takes the form of a history of events in the region, which presents the findings of the research done for this study. This history, presented in chronological order, begins with the period from the 17th century to the end of the 18th century, when there may have been Euro-Canadians in the Gatineau valley, although they primarily used the Ottawa River as a transportation route for the fur trade. The next section is devoted to the development of the Gatineau valley after 1800 and after the first pioneers settled in the Hull region. These sections deal with various historical facts related to indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the region (establishment of trading posts, first surveys, establishment of missions, and so forth) pertaining to the specific questions the study is required to answer.

The second part addresses the research questions on ethnogenesis and distinctive culture. It focuses first on the groups living in the region and includes census data, among other things, but also shows historical evidence of biological mixing among these different groups. Next, it presents findings with respect to ethnogenesis and the culture of the local communities (means of contact, biological mixing, cultural mixing, development or absence of distinctive cultural traits specific to people of mixed ancestry and so on).

1. Indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the region

1.1 First contacts to late 18th century

Before 1800, the entire Outaouais region was the land of the Indians and fur traders. The great Ottawa River, as the main transportation route for those travelling west and north from Montreal, served as a magnet for all participants in and activities related to that trade. The Gatineau River, while not a main route, was used by Indian groups and Euro-Canadian traders to reach the trading centres as part of a series of waterways and portages.

The following section will begin with a discussion of the Indian groups occupying the valley of the Gatineau River at the time of the first contacts with the Europeans. Next, the first Euro-Canadians to settle the region will be discussed in a historical review of events that disrupted the region from the 17th to 19th centuries. Lastly, the population groups living in the Gatineau valley at the turn of the 19th century will be described. An attempt will be made here to identify and enumerate these communities, and to analyse the nature of the contacts between them.
1.1.1 Indian groups in the region at the time of the first contacts

At the time of the first contacts with the Europeans, the vast region now known as the Outaouais was the territory of several Indian nations, distributed as follows (see Map 2):
Map 2: Location of Algonquin Groups and their Neighbours in the Early 17th century

More specifically, the Gatineau valley was the territory of various bands belonging to the Algonquin family, known as the Lower Algonquins. Champlain identified six of these bands when he travelled up the Ottawa River in 1613. These bands were distributed as follows (see Map 3):

**Map 3: Distribution of Bands over Algonquin Territory**

![Map 3: Distribution of Bands over Algonquin Territory](image)


The size of the region and the nomadic lifestyle of the Indians in the region make it difficult to estimate their numbers, at least for the period prior to contact with the Europeans. According to estimates by several researchers, these bands totalled
some 2,000 to 5,000 people at the time of the first contacts. These figures are still very uncertain due to the lack of data in this regard.\textsuperscript{8} The Algonquin groups included the Kichesipirinis, who used the land to the west of the Gatineau River as well as the north shore and islands of the Ottawa River (Morrison and Allumette islands). Champlain encountered them hunting on the Gatineau in 1613.\textsuperscript{9} According to Maurice Ratelle, the Kichesipirinis hunted in the Gatineau and Coulange valleys and travelled to the Saint-Laurent and Tadoussac posts to trade. Champlain also met them there.\textsuperscript{10} According to Roland Viau, they used the Gatineau River to get to Lake Saint-Jean.\textsuperscript{11}

To the east of the Gatineau River was another Algonquin band, the Weskarinis, who occupied the basins of the Lièvre, Petite Nation and Rouge rivers. In the north, the Gatineau River has its source in the territory of the ancient Attikameks, which included the entire upper Saint-Maurice valley. It will be seen below that this initial occupancy of the region by the different Indian groups was quickly disrupted by a period of upheaval.

1.1.2 The early fur trade and the first Europeans in the Outaouais

The Algonquin bands and the Europeans came into contact as part of the fur trade in the early 17th century. The Europeans soon discovered that the different Indian groups in America were already organized into networks for trading, and they joined in these networks for the purposes of their own trading activities, based on fur. The fur trade was originally organized as follows. According to Harold A. Innis, the French did not travel to the hunting grounds.\textsuperscript{12} Instead, they operated trading posts at Tadoussac, Quebec City, Trois-Rivières and Montreal, where the

\textsuperscript{8} See the critique of the estimates by a number of researchers in Maurice Ratelle. “La localisation des Algonquins de 1534 à 1650,” (Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, vol. 23, nos 2-3 (1993) : 35-36).

\textsuperscript{9} The author Benjamin Sulte was able to identify the Gatineau River based on descriptions by Champlain. Benjamin Sulte, 20.


\textsuperscript{11} Roland Viau, “Les dieux de la terre : contribution à l’ethnohistoire des Algonquins de l’Outaouais, 1600-1650,” (Hull: Ministère des affaires culturelles (manuscript), p. 18), used by André Cellard, 78.

Indians who were their allies supplied them with pelts. Since the pelts could not be sold except at these posts, the Ottawa River, which was one of the primary routes between these trading posts and the hunting grounds, was heavily used for a long time.\textsuperscript{13} For example, the Indians used the Ottawa River to travel to outlying areas of the colony, the pays d’en-haut, such as Hudson’s Bay, James Bay and the Great Lakes. They were accompanied by employees of the companies responsible for the colony’s development, who were sent to live among the Indians in order to encourage trade. Some employees, known as “interpreters,” were also sent to learn their language and customs. Étienne Brûlé was one of these. He was apparently the first white man to enter the Outaouais region in 1608 and may have wintered in the Ottawa River valley. Some time later, he asked Champlain for permission to go live with the Indians in order to learn their language.\textsuperscript{14} These people accompanied merchants from different Indian groups, including the Hurons, Nipissings and Algonquins, on their trips to French trading posts in the St. Lawrence valley and, because they had rifles, protected them from Iroquois attacks. According to historian Bruce Trigger, the European escorts “also ensured that the Algonkins did not charge the Hurons and Nipissings extortionately for using the Ottawa River.”\textsuperscript{15} Jean Nicolet was one of the Europeans who went to live with the Indians; he spent two years on Allumette Island.\textsuperscript{16} There was no actual European settlement in the Outaouais during this period, since the Indians welcomed the European fur traders wintering in their territory into their homes. Among these were also the first Recollet and Jesuit missionaries to enter the Indian lands, particularly the Huron territory on the shores of the Great Lakes. The Indians of Allumette Island were even converted to Christianity.\textsuperscript{17} There is no documentary evidence that they travelled on the Gatineau River.

The Indians quickly became dependent on the products distributed at the trading posts,\textsuperscript{18} which they received in exchange for their furs, and soon reorganized their

\textsuperscript{13} See the detailed portrait of this main route by Eric W. Morse in chapter 5 of Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada: Then and Now, (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1969: 51-74). This route made it possible to travel from Lachine (a few leagues east of Montreal) to the Great Lakes by first passing through the Ottawa River, taking the Mattawa River, then the French River to Lake Superior.


\textsuperscript{17} Le Nord de l’Outaouais ..., 151.

activities around this trade. The Kichesipirinis—or “Island Algonquins”—played a key role, since they controlled the main trade route between the hunting lands and the French trading posts in the St. Lawrence valley, because of the strategic position of their home on the banks and especially the islands in the middle of the Ottawa River. They imposed a toll on all traffic using the river, as mentioned above.19

In this context, the Gatineau River, although peripheral to the main Montreal-Great Lakes route, had considerable importance as a connecting route. No settlement has been identified on its banks, or on those of the other rivers in the Outaouais region, which leads Roger Marois to conclude that it must have been used solely for transportation.20 In fact, accounts suggest that it was used by the Algonquin bands to reach Tadoussac while avoiding the enemy Iroquois groups who controlled certain parts of the St. Lawrence River.21 The Iroquois nations, allies of the Dutch settlers in New York State, carried out raids in the St. Lawrence and Outaouais valleys and controlled the section of the St. Lawrence between Trois-Rivières and Montreal. The Algonquins had to avoid them by using northern routes to reach the French trading posts. They therefore travelled along the Gatineau and Saint-Maurice rivers, reaching Tadoussac via Lake Saint-Jean.22 Roger Marois, who studied Indian settlement patterns in the Outaouais, explains that the Gatineau River must have been a neutral route, used by several groups to travel from one territory to another:

[Translation]

Unrestricted access to the Gatineau River must have come about through a tacit agreement among the bands that was in everybody’s interest since it made travel easier. Bands located at the far northern end of the Gatineau River could visit other bands and travel to the mouth of the river without paying numerous tolls. This agreement contributed to peaceful cohabitation and promoted matrimonial


21 Champlain had this to say, when he noted in 1613 as he passed by the mouth of a river that according to Benjamin Sulte was the Gatineau: [translation] “These peoples take this river to avoid encounters with their enemies, knowing that they would not look for them in places that are so difficult to access.” Quoted in Benjamin Sulte, 20.

In conjunction with the development of the fur trade with the Europeans and the conflicts with the Iroquois to which this contributed, the Algonquin groups fell victim to severe epidemics that began decimating them in the early 17th century. Between 1630 and 1640, when the Iroquois, seeking to expand their hunting territory, took advantage of this to launch fierce attacks on the Ottawa valley, the Algonquin groups were already extremely weak. They were obliged to winter with allied nations and at French trading posts to avoid these attacks. By the middle of the 17th century, the Algonquins had fled their territory, dispersed and taken refuge, primarily at Quebec City, Trois-Rivières and Montreal. The same was true of the Hurons who occupied the main hunting lands west of the Outaouais and north-east of the Great Lakes. In 1648-1649, the Iroquois completely wiped out Huronia, and the Hurons had to take refuge at Quebec City. The original organization of the fur trade was severely disrupted as a result.

1.1.3 Reorganization of the fur trade

The combination of the fall of Huronia, the principal hunting territory, attacks on the primary trade route, the Ottawa River, and the dispersal of the Algonquin groups struck a fatal blow to the economy of New France. The French were obliged to organize a new system quickly, since the very survival of the colony depended on it.

In 1654, Indian groups coming directly from the Great Lakes hunting lands, the Ottawa Indians, arrived at Quebec City to barter their pelts. But since their visits were too infrequent to provide a regular supply, Frenchmen were sent into their territories to collect the furs directly, creating the new basis for the reorganized fur trade. The system of congés de traite or trading permits was instituted in 1654, when Chouart des Groseilliers and one of his companions were granted

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23 Roger Marois, 10.
24 However, the Iroquois would later attack them at their places of refuge. Many of the Kichesipirinis were massacred near Trois-Rivières in the winter of 1647. André Cellard, 83.
25 André Cellard, 84.
permission to accompany the Indians who came to Quebec City back to their lands around the Great Lakes. Des Groseillers and Radisson took the same route in 1659 as far as Lake Superior. These expeditions right into the hunting lands by the coureurs de bois for the purpose of accompanying the Indians and obtaining furs became more frequent (legally and illegally) and were common by the 1670s, ousting the Ottawa Indians from their role as middlemen. The raccompagnateurs differed from the first European “interpreters” who went to live with the Indians at the start of the century in two main respects: first, they did not live with the Indian groups to learn their language and culture, but only stayed in their territories long enough to collect the pelts. Second, since their only motive was trade, their role was limited to escorting the delegations responsible for carrying the merchandise to the French posts.

It was during this time that fortified posts guarded by garrisons of soldiers began appearing along the Ottawa River from Lake Timiskaming to the St. Lawrence. These were the first European settlements in the region. Between these forts, located at the mouths of the Ottawa River’s main tributaries, were intermediate posts that were used only for trade; these were the posts on the Petite-Nation, Lièvre, Coulonge, Dumoine and Mattawa rivers and the post at Joachims Falls. On his travels through the Outaouais, the trader Alexander Henry noticed a trading post at the mouth of the Lièvre river, probably constructed and operated under the French regime. He did not mention anything at the mouth of the Gatineau River. Each of these posts was permanently occupied by a clerk (or bourgeois), who was responsible for exchanging the pelts brought in by Indians and voyageurs for European goods. The bourgeois were the first Euro-Canadians settlers to inhabit their own infrastructures in the Ottawa valley. The trading posts served to link a mobile population: the voyageurs that brought supplies from Montreal, the coureurs des bois and the traders. These details pertain only to the Ottawa valley, since there is no documentary evidence of a trading post on the Gatineau at the time. It may be assumed that even at this time, people of Euro-Canadian origin participating in the fur trade and inhabiting areas around the Gatineau valley had travelled along the Gatineau to reach the territories farther north and even Lake Saint-Jean, as the Indian bands did. The only hypothesis concerning the name of the river, Gatineau, is that it came from an independent fur trader in the Trois-Rivières region, called Nicolas Gatineau dit

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27 André Cellard and Gérard Pelletier, 92. There was a break in the granting of trading permits for the pays d’en-haut from 1673 to 1682. Le Nord de l’Outaouais, 322.
28 Then called Hare-River. Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1776, (St. Clair Shores: Scholarly Press, 1972: 19).
30 Guillaume Dunn, 18-19.
Duplessis. The hypothesis is that he had travelled along the river and gave it his name, but there is no proof of this.  

1.1.4 Missions

It was also during this period that Jesuit missionaries attempted to reach the outlying Indian lands in order to travel to Hudson’s Bay. Once again, there is no documentary evidence that they used the Gatineau River. However, it may be assumed that they knew of its existence and that some of them may have travelled along it, since some accounts from the 17th century report that Jesuit missionaries had travelled throughout the region around the Gatineau valley. Several Jesuits did reach Hudson’s Bay by going up the Saint-Maurice River from Trois-Rivières, and by travelling from Lake Saint-Jean. From there, some of them travelled to the western reaches of the Outaouais region, converting the Indians they encountered at Lake Victoria, Lake Barrière and Lake Timiskaming, northwest of the Gatineau River. Father Buteux went from Trois-Rivières to the sources of the Saint-Maurice and Ottawa rivers in 1651. Father Druillettes travelled through the Outaouais in 1655-56, seeking a route to Hudson’s Bay. Accompanied by Father Dablon, he set off again in 1661, this time from Tadoussac, for Lake Nékouba, which is the ultimate source of the Ottawa, Gatineau, Saint-Maurice, Lièvre and Chamouchouane rivers, and was the “[Translation] place where all the northern savages met and traded.” For these reasons, it is likely that the Gatineau River valley was travelled during this period

31 Benjamin Sulte, 23.


33 Ivanohé Caron, 90.

by missionaries, even though the accounts report events occurring much farther north than the study area. The Jesuit missions in the northern regions apparently ended soon after and did not resume until the 1830s.35

After the Conquest, the English maintained the fur trade as the basis of the colony’s economy. They were already established in the region with the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the creation of the North West Company in 1783 expanded their territory into Western Canada. Many posts in the Outaouais were abandoned, with the exception of the Coulonge, Témiscamingue and Abitibi forts and the Deux-Montagnes fort on the St. Lawrence River. Some new posts were also built, still on the Ottawa River. These included the Mondion post at the base of Chats Falls and the Petites-Allumettes post.36

With respect to the region’s colonization in the 17th and 18th centuries, Raoul Blanchard states that colonization of the Ottawa valley upstream of Montreal was prohibited by an old decree issued by the French regime and that the region’s specialization in the fur trade had diverted settlers to other regions, since the North West Company did not want to share its territory.37 In this connection, Marcel Trudel explains that the “State” was opposed to settlement of the Outaouais region, believing that it might be detrimental to the lucrative fur trade.38

1.1.5 Indian groups present at the turn of the 19th century

By the time the Great Peace of Montreal was signed in 1701, putting an end to the Iroquois wars, the Algonquin population had been reduced by half39 and the remainder inhabited only the following three areas:

1. The Domaine du Roi (or Traite de Tadoussac, an area that included the entire Saguenay-Lake-Saint-Jean valley as far as Sept-Îles at the time);

35 Alexis de Barbezieux, volume 2, 465.
36 Guillaume Dunn, 7-20.
37 Raoul Blanchard, 50.
2. The Trois-Rivières mission;
3. The Montreal missions.\textsuperscript{40}

The Algonquins who had taken refuge at Domaine du Roi included the Montagnais bands occupying the Lake Saint-Jean region, while the others found themselves attached to the missions in which they had taken refuge.\textsuperscript{41} Despite their attachment to missions far from their initial territories, the Algonquins did not abandon their nomadic lifestyle and returned to using their former territories for hunting on occasion. This was especially true of those who sheltered with the Sulpicians in the Montreal area. Initially sheltered by the Montagne and Baie d’Urfé missions (1686-1704), they moved a number of times before settling at the Sulpician mission at Deux-Montagnes in 1721. While the Iroquois living at the same mission farmed as a means of subsistence, the Algonquins continued to hunt in the Ottawa valley, returning to their village at Deux-Montagnes when the hunting season ended.\textsuperscript{42} This was observed in 1760 by the fur trader Alexander Henry, when he travelled from Montreal to the Michillimackinack post. On the Ottawa River, near the Chaudière Falls (a few miles west of the mouth of the Gatineau), he met “several canoes of Indians, returning, from their winter’s hunt, to their village, at the lake Des Deux Montagnes.”\textsuperscript{43} Up until the mid-19th century, the Algonquins continued their hunting life,\textsuperscript{44} returning to the mission “[Translation] to trade or when game was scarce, forced by hunger, or required to perform their religious duties.”\textsuperscript{45} Peter Hessel assumes that some of them may have decided to stay in the Ottawa valley rather than return to the Deux-Montagnes mission.\textsuperscript{46} In this connection, the report on the affairs of the savages in Canada, tabled in the Legislative Assembly on March 20, 1845, states that “[Translation] the Alg.[onquins] and Nip.[issings] are mobile, but spend at least 2 months of the year at Oka.”\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{40} Marie-Pierre Bousquet, 69.

\textsuperscript{41} Marie-Pierre Bousquet, 70.


\textsuperscript{43} Alexander Henry, 22. Having stopped a few days earlier at the Deux-Montagnes mission, Henry estimated that about 100 Algonquins lived in the village (p. 17).

\textsuperscript{44} Serge Laurin, 61-63 and Daniel Francis, A History of the Native Peoples of Quebec 1760-1867, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1983: 3-5).

\textsuperscript{45} Le Nord de l’Outaouais..., 127.

\textsuperscript{46} Peter Hessel, 68.

\textsuperscript{47} Canada (Gov.), “Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada, Sections 1 and 2, laid before the Legislative Assembly, 20th March 1845” (Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1844-45: 18).
It should be remembered that the “Algonquins” who returned to their old lands to hunt are not the same, at least entirely, as those who fled the region during the Iroquois attacks. The original Kichesipirinis who took shelter at Lac des Deux-Montagnes intermingled with a Nipissing group living at the mission. Moreover, Maurice Ratelle states that several non-Algonquin Indian groups, including the Ottawas, Timiskamings, Abitibis and Têtes-de-Boules, also used the old Algonquin hunting lands and significant intermingling of the groups [brassage ethnique] took place, such that it was difficult to identify who was part of the Algonquin group thereafter; this coexistence of several groups led to the emergence of a new Algonquin identity.  

Marie-Pierre Bousquet qualifies Ratelle’s claims on the basis of the research done by Roland Viau, who says instead that reorganization of the fur trade (in the early 18th century) by the French, who established more and more trading posts, would have had an impact on the use of the land by Indian groups, including the Algonquins. According to Viau, the Indian bands gathered around the posts regionally. In any case, the Indians who occupied the Outaouais region, including the Gatineau valley, during the 17th and 18th centuries experienced major migratory movements and significant demographic fluctuations due to epidemics and wars, but the historians all agree that the Algonquins, a mixture of several bands, continued to use their former territory. This means that at the turn of the 19th century, the Indians who occupied the study area were still known as Algonquins.

The documentary evidence for the period before 1800 leads to only one conclusion: the Gatineau valley seems to have been used only as a lieu de passage, both by the Indian groups and people of Euro-Canadian ancestry. A nomadic way of life characterizes all of the population groups in the area: fur trade voyageurs and Algonquins returning to the Deux-Montagnes mission after the hunting season. The importance of the fur trade in the Outaouais began to decline with the rise of the logging industry and colonization. Many logging camps were established and the economy’s focus switched to lumber.

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49 Marie-Pierre Bousquet, 70.
50 Maurice Ratelle states that the definition of what was an “Algonquin” was still evolving in the 17th century. The population movements that followed allowed for the formation of a homogenous group of Algonquins. Maurice Ratelle, 25 and 37.
1.2 The Gatineau valley in the 19th and 20th centuries

1.2.1 Exploitation of resources, colonization and establishment of infrastructures

1.2.1.1 Opening up the land

After the Constitutional Act of 1791, the British authorities, having lost their southern colonies following the American revolution in 1783, wanted to promote the development of certain parts of their last North American colony, particularly those with the best potential for lumber and agriculture. To this end, they established a system of “leaders and associates.” Concessions were granted to a few men who acted as regional socio-economic “leaders.” The first of these leaders, recognized as responsible for establishing the first pioneer settlement in the Outaouais region, was Philemon Wright. The information presented about Philemon Wright is primarily based on his own memoirs.

1.2.1.1.1 Philemon Wright

Philemon Wright, a farmer from Woburn, Massachusetts, led the first group of pioneers to settle in the Outaouais region on the banks of the Gatineau River in 1800. Before that, the few attempts at permanent settlement had been made north of Long Sault on the Ottawa River. Philemon Wright’s initiative represented the true start of the massive process of organized settlement that marked the history of the entire Outaouais region (including the Gatineau valley) in the 19th century.

Philemon Wright was born in Massachusetts in 1760, and lived there for 36 years. In 1796, he decided to look for new lands to settle in Canada. While looking, he

51 Philemon Wright, “Les origines du canton de Hull,” (Asticou, No.5, March 1970: 17-30). This was a published French translation of Philemon Wright’s writings for the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada in 1825. The inset map at the end of John W. Hughson & Courtney C.J. Bond’s Hurling Down the Pine, (Old Chelsea: The Historical Society of the Gatineau, 1964) places the site of Philemon Wright’s first settlement on the Gatineau about 1000 yards from its mouth on the Ottawa River.

52 This was only the case of Joseph Mondeau, also called “Mondion,” who was said to have lived on a farm at Qyon from 1786 to 1800, from a small group settled at Buritt’s Rapids on the Rideau River in 1793, and three pioneers, Nathan Hazard Treadwell, Jacob Marston and Joseph P.Cass, settled in 1798 at the site now known as L’Original. For more information, see Kathleen Mennie-de Varennes, Au Cœur de la Gatineau ou L’histoire de la paroisse de la visitation de Gracefield (Comté de Gatienau), (Ste-Foy, N.p., 1985: 25) and John W. Hughson & Courtney C.J. Bond, 3.
travelled along the Ottawa River for the first time that same year.53 After identifying the junction of the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers as the site of his proposed settlement, he obtained authorization to establish a pioneer settlement there.54 He then recruited a group of people from Massachusetts to make the journey with him in March 1800:

\[ I \text{ immediately hired about twenty-five men, and brought them with my mill irons, axes, scythes, hoes and all other kinds of tools I thought most useful and necessary, including fourteen horses and eight oxen, seven sleighs and five families . . . .} \]

Upon arrival, his group began clearing the land to construct the first houses. Philemon Wright explains in his memoirs that, shortly after the work began, “the chiefs of two tribes of Indians that live at the Lake of the Two Mountains”56 came to visit them and complained about the cutting operations. Philemon Wright had to explain to them that he was authorized to cut down the trees, “[…] by virtue of authority received at Quebec from their Great Father who lived on the other side of the water, and Sir John Johnson . . . .”57

After discussion, the Indians left Philemon Wright and his group to their activities. The settlers then built the first buildings and conducted the first surveys in 1800 and 1801 respectively.58 Also in 1801, Philemon Wright had a sawmill and a grist mill built in the area.59 The pioneer settlement founded by Philemon Wright grew rapidly thanks to several waves of immigration, primarily from Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of Lower Canada. By 1804, Philemon Wright had 75 “engagés” and a village had been established.60

In a few years, Philemon Wright had made a substantial contribution to the region’s economic development, since he was responsible for finding new

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53 Philemon Wright, 17.
54 Philemon Wright briefly described in his memoirs the nature of the administrative procedures followed. See Philemon Wright, 17.
55 Philemon Wright, 18.
56 Philemon Wright, 20.
57 Philemon Wright, 21.
58 Philemon Wright, 24-25.
59 Philemon Wright, 25.
60 Philemon Wright, 26.
opportunities for commercial development of the local resources. He was the first to try to sell the region’s agricultural products, before going into the lumber industry in 1806. In the decades that followed, settlers came in the hundreds to join the Euro-Canadian community in Philemon Wright’s settlement at Hull. Other villages also emerged in the Outaouais region (including the Gatineau valley) with the arrival of pioneers following the model that Philemon Wright had introduced to the area, that of a leader and associates. Attracted by the lumber industry, which drove the region’s colonial development, the pioneer groups settled in clusters in the area, rapidly establishing villages.

1.2.1.1.2 Timber

The first documentary evidence of logging by people of European origin dates from the arrival of Philemon Wright on the banks of the Gatineau River, near its confluence with the Ottawa River. In his memoirs, Wright says that his group began clearing the land upon its arrival in March 1800. This was not done, however, with a view to commerce as such, but was only intended to permit the construction of housing and clear land for farming in the summer.

Commercial logging began in 1806, when, on the initiative of Philemon Wright, the first timber raft went down the Ottawa River to be sold in Quebec City. This initial commercial enterprise launched the history of the logging industry in the Outaouais. This industry expanded with the commercial blockade imposed by Napoleon on Great Britain. This blockade prevented Great Britain from importing wood from the Baltic region, forcing it to turn to Canada for supplies of

61 Philemon Wright, 27.
62 Section 2.1 of the report provides demographic statistics reflecting the development of the Euro-Canadian presence in the region.
63 The development of the villages is described below in section 1.2.1.3.
64 Philemon Wright, 19-20. Secondary sources do not all provide the same information about the number of individuals in Philemon Wright’s group. For example, Bruce S. Elliot’s article “Philemon Wright (1760-1839),” (Pierre-Louis Lapointe dir. L’Outaouais : Actes du colloque…), stated that he was accompanied by 33 employees and five families. The author does not provide accurate sources for this information. For the purposes of this study, we will use the figures presented in Wright’s memoirs.
65 This raft was made up of a series of stripped or undressed logs bound together to be floated to a sales site; also referred to as a cage or cajeux in the sources and secondary studies.
66 Philemon Wright, 26-27.
67 John W. Hughson & Courtney C.J. Bond, 6 and Chad Gaffield, 133.
this resource. Consequently, the lumber industry in Canada began to flourish, and the Outaouais was one of the primary areas supplying lumber to the Quebec City and Montreal markets for export.\(^{68}\) The timber trade developed rapidly and the economic activity it generated changed the face of the region throughout the 19th century.

Logging therefore began in the Outaouais region in 1806, but the interior of the Gatineau valley was affected by this industry later than other parts of the region. It is true that the first commercial logging was done near Philemon Wright’s settlement on the banks of the Gatineau River near its confluence with the Ottawa River. However, the spread of forestry operations was not to the north in the Gatineau Valley, but rather to other areas where access was easier: Chats Falls (in 1814), the Jock River, a tributary of the Rideau (in 1816), the Bonnechere River (in 1819) and the Rideau River (in 1821).\(^{69}\) It was in 1814, when they began establishing logging camps in these areas, that members of Philemon Wright’s family joined forces to form the company *P. Wright & Sons*.\(^{70}\)

While the Wright family expanded its logging operations, new timber operators began establishing logging camps in the Outaouais region as well. In 1832, the Gatineau Privilege was granted to the Wright Family and a few other lumbermen to give them exclusive logging rights in the Gatineau Valley. Perceived as the result of undue political influence, the Gatineau Privilege had the effect of giving this small group of timber operators a monopoly over logging in the Gatineau area, by setting aside an area of land safe from the increasing presence of competing operators:

*In 1832 the so called Gatineau Privilege was granted by the Crown Timber Office, permitting Ruggles, Tiberius and Christopher Columbus Wright each to take out 2,000 pieces of red pine timber yearly on the Gatineau. This wild river had been left untouched until then by lumbermen. In addition, Peter Aylen and Thomas McGoey were permitted to take 2,000 sticks each. George Hamilton and C. A. Law, partners in the operation of the Hawkesbury sawmill, were allowed 12,000 saw-logs per year. In 1835 the Gatineau Privilege was re-negotiated, thenceforth permitting the Hawkesbury men to increase the number of saw-logs at 14,000. Low and Hamilton were also permitted*

\(^{68}\) The lumber industry in the greater Outaouais region really began to expand in 1820. Gaffield dedicates an entire chapter to describing its development, although without providing details pertaining specifically to the Gatineau valley. Chad Gaffield, dir., 158-183.


\(^{70}\) The firm’s creation was officially announced in the *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser* on January 7, 1815, Montreal. See appendix B-1.
The monopoly ended with the passing of the 1843 *Crown Timber Act*, which authorized the issuing of licences for the cutting of timber on ungranted land.\(^{72}\) From the time the Gatineau Privilege ended, timber limits were granted to many different operators in the Gatineau valley.\(^{73}\) This was when the valley was truly opened up to the lumber trade, and the number of companies that could work in the Gatineau forests grew significantly.

For the purpose of this study, the archives relating to these timber limits were examined. Kept at the Archives Nationales du Québec, they consist of a register of timber licences issued for provincial land, a record created by Quebec’s Department of Energy and Natural Resources in 1987. This register consolidated information on logging operations on Quebec land in a single documentary system. It takes the form of a series of numbered folios each corresponding to a timber licence. Each folio gives the administrative history of a timber licence from its creation until 1987. Among other information, these folios indicate the dates the licences were originally issued and sold, their areas, exact geographic locations, boundaries, and any historical modifications, as well as transfers of property affecting them. This register constitutes an invaluable research tool that can be used to obtain precise details on the establishment of logging operations in a given region of the province.

The 750 folios for the “Outaouais Supérieur” region were examined. This is the administrative area comprising the Gatineau valley as well as the northern part of the Ottawa River and surrounding areas. For research purposes, a table summarizing the folios for the Gatineau valley was produced (see Table 1). Every folio dealing with a timber limit in the Gatineau valley and the areas

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\(^{71}\) An excerpt taken from John W. Hughson & Courtney C.J. Bond, 80 and 97. Records referring to the Gatineau Privilege were also found in a compendium of republished sources, Richard Reid (ed.), *The Upper Ottawa Valley, A Collection of Documents*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society / Government of Ontario, 1990: 111 and 133). They are recollections of a lumber sales trip in May and October 1835 [National Archives of Canada, Wright Papers, vol.135, pp.543-89] and a letter from Tancred Bouthillier to James Stevenson written in Quebec City, dated January 14, 1841 [National Archives of Canada, James Stevenson Papers, Vol.1].

\(^{72}\) Kathleen Mennie-de Varennes, *Au Cœur de la Gatineau...*, 32.

\(^{73}\) In 1834, it appears that Philemon Wright’s son Tiberius operated a shanty on the Desert River. It also appears that the Wright Family’s company purchased shanties operated by Burke, Johnson and Pierce on the Gatineau and Eagle rivers in 1833. John W. Hughson & Courtney C.J. Bond, 80 and 97.
geographically adjacent to it (principally the Pickanock, Kazabuzua, Tomasine, Jean de Terre, Piskatoshin, Desert and Baskatonish rivers) was identified and included in the table. This table gives only three pieces of information from the folios, specifically, the folio number, the date on which the licence was issued and its location. The information in the folios is, of course, much more detailed, making it possible to determine the exact location of each limit, its owners and so on. Some of the folios are appended to show the detailed information they contain. The grey boxes in the table correspond to folios found in the appendix,\(^{74}\) which also includes a map so that they can be located.\(^{75}\)

**Table 1: Timber Limits in the Gatineau Valley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Issued</th>
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<th>Date Issued</th>
<th>Place</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 1872</td>
<td>River Gatineau &amp; Piskatoshin</td>
<td>Jan. 31, 1865</td>
<td>River Piskatoshin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 31, 1845</td>
<td>River Picanock, Gatineau</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1865</td>
<td>Island Lake, River Jean de Terre</td>
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<td>River Picanock, Gatineau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 15, 1846</td>
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<td>Feb. 16, 1865</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 7, 1851</td>
<td>Pickanock River</td>
<td>Mar. 28, 1855</td>
<td>River Jean de Terre, Gatineau</td>
</tr>
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</table>

\(^{74}\) Annexes B-3.1, B-3.2 and B-3.3.

\(^{75}\) Annex B-35.
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<td>Sept. 18, 1865</td>
<td>R. Jean de Terre, Gat., Rear Berth South</td>
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Source: Archives Nationales du Québec, Fonds des OTTS – Ottawa supérieur, 2.0, Department of Energy and Natural Resources of Quebec, Timber limits, E21-02 / Loc.: 4M00-9251A

N.B.: Folios omitted from this table concern timber limits located outside of the Gatineau valley, principally in the areas of the Black, Keepawa, Coulonge, Ottawa, Lièvre, St-Sire, Sweyo, Maganicipi and Dumoine rivers and in the townships of Litchfield and Thorne.

The data in this table helps to portray the historical development of the timber industry in the Gatineau valley. Analysis of this data shows that timber licences were issued in successive waves, interspersed with years in which virtually no licences were issued. With each wave, the Crown lands opened up to logging tended to be farther north. The following paragraphs describe this process. Most
of the toponyms used in these explanations may be found on the map appearing in Appendix B-35 of this report.76

In 1843 (the year in which the Gatineau Privilege ended), the first two timber limits in the Gatineau valley were granted in the area of the La Pêche river, which opens out on the current site of Wakefield.77 There were also five the next year on the Gatineau River,78 followed by fifty in 1845 and 1846.79 The latter series of limits were mostly located on the Gatineau, Pickanock, Kazabuzia, Hibou, Eagle and Desert rivers. At the time, timber limits were being granted as far north as Maniwaki. After this wave of licences, none were issued during 1848 and 1849.

Grants resumed in 1850 with two new limits, one of which was on the Baskatong River, located even farther north than the previous limits,80 and then four more in 1851 on the Piskatoshin River.81 Finally, 24 licences were issued from 1852 to 1855 inclusive, some on the Tomasine and Jean de Terre rivers, which were even farther north, well beyond Maniwaki.82 After this second wave, there was another lull. From 1856 to 1864, only four licences were issued, this time in areas where there were already a number of limits, including the township of Wakefield.83

In 1865, there was a third wave of timber limits. There were 32 limits granted, twelve of which were in the area of the Jean de Terre River and 11 in the Ignace Creek and Tomasine River regions.84 This indicates the northward expansion of the timber industry. No licences were issued in 1866, but there were 64 issued

76 Certain toponyms appear with different spellings: Jean de Terre = Cens de Terre, Picanock = Pickanock, Piskatoshin = Piscatasin, Kakebongo = Kakabonga, Branche Est de la Rivière Gatineau = North-Est Branch. Certain toponyms do not appear on the map. For the most part these are Ignace Creek (in the area of the Tomasine River) and the Hibou and Eagle rivers (near Maniwaki).
77 Folios 529-530.
78 Folios 79; 87; 89; 91; 488.
79 Folios 2-4; 6; 7-9; 16-17; 20-24; 43-47; 51-55; 57-65; 68-73; 77; 78; 85-86; 88; 90; 296.
80 Folios 19-92.
81 Folios 5; 56; 66-67.
82 Folios 10; 13-15; 25; 36; 74-76; 80; 102; 117-123; 128-129; 233; 487; 495; 505.
83 Folios 83-84, 124; 232.
84 Folios 18; 26-37; 81-82; 95-96; 104-116; 125-126; 127.
from 1867 to 1872. Most were located near the Gatineau, but 27 were found in the area of the Jean de Terre River, as far as Lake Kakebongo.

After 1873, the number of licences issued each year declined. From 1873 to 1881 inclusive, there were only ten. These were scattered throughout the Gatineau valley, and included four near the point where the Gatineau and Ottawa rivers meet, one on the Piskatoshin River and another near the Jean de Terre River. For the period from 1882 to 1899, only one licence was issued, in 1892.

At the start of the 20th century, granting of limits resumed, this time in areas even farther north. In 1900, there were 11 on the Gatineau River and in 1906, six in the upper Gatineau valley. Finally, in 1926, one last limit was granted farther north on the east branch of the Gatineau River.

1.2.1.1.3 Mining

As well as timber and fur, the Gatineau valley had mineral resources that were exploited with some success between 1886 and 1940. Some deposits were discovered as early as the 1830s:

> The first recorded occurrence of magnetic ore north of Ottawa is probably a brief note on the Hull deposit, in a paper read by Lieut. Baddeley, R.E., before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in the year 1830.

In 1832, Bouchette also mentioned a lead mine, known only to the Indians, as well as the existence of marble along the Gatineau River:

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85 Folios 1; 11-12; 38-42; 156-161; 196-197; 223-225; 243-244; 249-261; 289; 305-326; 453-457; 526-527.
86 Folios 93-94; 98-101; 536; 545; 558-559.
87 Folio 607.
88 Folios 608-611; 613-618; 620 (during this year, four limits previously granted in 1873 were also renegotiated, possibly because they had been abandoned. See folios 98 to 101 inclusive).
89 Folios 703 to 708 inclusive.
90 Folio 745.
92 Fritz Cirkel, Report on the iron ore deposits along the Ottawa (Quebec side) and Gatineau rivers, (Ottawa: Govt. Print. Bureau, 1909: 3).
There is also a lead-mine on the Gatineau River, known only to the Indians, who have brought down quantities of it; but the situation has not been precisely ascertained, owing to the reluctance which the Indians have to communicate discoveries of this nature. Marble of the finest quality is abundant: there is a very fine bed of this mineral on the Gatineau River, near the first rapid . . . .93

A number of mines opened after that, but they proved unsuccessful for the most part. However, the mining industry flourished in the Gatineau region after 1875, with the phosphate and mica mines in the townships of Hull, Templeton and Wakefield. From that time on, Quebec was Canada’s principal producer.94 A map dated 1921, which shows the principal deposits along the Gatineau, has been appended (Annex B-37).

Like timber operations, the mining industry created a demand for labour that encouraged new settlement in the area. This pitch was used by those promoting colonization:

[Translation]

What can we say about the rich mines whose existence we only suspect? It has scarcely been ten years since we began discovering them, and the hardy miners have already been repaid with enormous fortunes. This is just the beginning. Before long, the metallurgy industry in this region will be one of the most successful in the province.95

1.2.1.1.4 Fur

Fur remained a significant economic variable throughout the 19th century. In 1821, the Hudson’s Bay Company amalgamated with the North West Company. Several trading posts were established in the Outaouais region following this merger, including one at Lac des Sables (before 1826), a fort on the Desert River (?) and a few farther north, on Lake Victoria and Lake Barrière.96 The opening of


96 *Le Nord de l’Outaouais…*, 131.
a trading post at the confluence of the Desert and Gatineau rivers (the future site of Maniwaki) prompted the Algonquins from the Lac des Deux-Montagnes mission who hunted in the Ottawa valley to begin gathering there. This post does not seem to have had a clerk in residence, since the only post built on the river was associated with another one, which served as the clerk’s residence. The clerk in charge of the Lac aux Sables post on the Lièvre river was also responsible for an outpost that was established at the confluence of the Desert and Gatineau rivers, not far from the modern town of Maniwaki, but not until 1835, when a post was opened there. This post was a stopping place for Indians travelling to Montreal via the Gatineau River. The Lac aux Sables and Desert River posts were connected by lakes and portages. It may therefore be assumed that the Desert River post was open only temporarily.

1.2.1.2 Division and occupation of the land

1.2.1.2.1 Establishment of Euro-Canadian villages in the Gatineau valley

Rapid development of the Outaouais region beginning in the 1820s “[translation] followed the British government’s growing determination to populate British North America in order to bolster the imperial presence.” There is little documentary evidence of the settlement of the first colonists north of Hull on the banks of the Gatineau River. This is explained by the fact that, until 1843, as discussed above, the Gatineau Privilege gave a few lumbermen a monopoly over use of this region, closing it to official colonial settlement. No administrative documents were left to attest to the arrival of the first pioneers who “[translation] settled on government land, without boundaries, roads or title” before the end of the monopoly. Their status was often straightened out years after their arrival.

Some documents attesting to the presence of these Euro-Canadian families living unofficially in the Gatineau valley were discovered. These documents were produced during the 1840s. From 1840 to 1846, the priest Joseph Desautels, living in Aylmer, was given the responsibility of providing religious services to the inhabitants of the Gatineau valley as well as workers in the logging camps.

97 Yvon H. Couture, 120.
98 Guillaume Dunn, 73.
99 Chad Gaffield, 161.
100 Alexis de Barbezieux, t.1, 433.
During these years, he was the first to visit the Euro-Canadian families who formed the seeds of villages in the Gatineau valley.  

In 1842, he wrote a letter to his superior, the Bishop of Montreal, in which he gave an account of his visit, made in 1841 and 1842, to what he called “the missions,” that is, the first Euro-Canadian settlements in the Gatineau valley. The purpose of this letter was to inform the recipient of the state of the religion in these places. It also gave the writer an opportunity to describe the Euro-Canadian settlements developing at the time. First, he encountered a settlement at Wakefield composed of approximately 150 Catholics and an unknown number of Protestants. Farther north, in the mission of “Saint-Cécile de la rivière à la Pêche” (now known as Sainte-Cécile-de-Masham), he encountered another developing village:

[Translation]

This mission has only 17 families, all Canadians [Francophones], but promises to grow soon, since several of the inhabitants have started farms.

Then, at Lac-Sainte-Marie (near the current site of Gracefield), Joseph Desautels met a group of 14 families that he described as “Canadians,” who had built some houses and subsisted on hunting and fishing:

[Translation]

Most of the people on the lake subsist on the hunting and fishing they do in the large lakes nearby, which are full of fish; they are almost all poor. Since their houses are usually small, I urged them, during my last mission, to cooperate in building a decent house that they could use as a meeting place.

101 Alexis de Barbezieux wrote that Joseph Désautels was the first priest to travel as far as La Pêche, near Wakefield. See Alexis de Barbezieux, t.1, 426. In his correspondence in 1842, Joseph Désautels also wrote that he encountered “Canadians” at Pointe à Deltier, still farther north near Lac Saint-Marie, who had not yet seen a priest. Joseph Désautels, Lettre du 3 mai 1842 de M. Désautels à Mgr. de Montréal, published in Rapport de l’Association de la Propagation de la Foi établie à Montréal en vertu d’un indul du Saint-Siège et annoncée au Diocèse par le mandement du 18 avril 1838, (Montreal: Bureau des mélanges religieux, 1843:61).

103 Joseph Désautels, 60, Annex B-2.
104 Joseph Désautels, 60, Annex B-2.
Farther north in a place called Pointe à Deltier, which he estimates to be about 10 leagues by canoe beyond Lac-Sainte-Marie, Joseph Desautels met another group of “Canadians” made up of 17 families. He met these families for the first time in the summer of 1841:

[Translation]

I cannot tell how happy these poor people were at my first visit . . . . I met big children who had never seen priests. Here is a sign of their ignorance: there was only one person who knew how to read and could therefore teach the catechism.106

Pointe à Deltier is the last place in which Joseph Desautels reports seeing a village of settlers. He then mentions the existence of logging camps, but does not indicate their location or exact number.107 However, he states that the timber workers did not live in the Gatineau valley on a permanent basis. According to the writer, they worked there in the winter and moved down to the township of Templeton for the summer.108

The abolition of the Gatineau Privilege in 1843 opened up the Gatineau valley to an influx of lumbermen and a large increase in the Euro-Canadian population. Kathleen Mennie-De Varennes demonstrates the importance that Monsignor Guigues had in the colonization of this region by recalling his role in straightening out the situation of the first settlers living in La Visitation. In 1849, or about seven years after Father Desautels’ first trip, he made a pastoral visit to Lac-Sainte-Marie, where he met 60 families in a new locality, known as La Visitation (Gracefield). The settlers named him “president of the colonization society” and he agreed to take the “Requête des habitants de la Visitation” [“Petition from the Inhabitants of La Visitation”] to Lord Elgin. The purpose of this document was to petition the government to make them “legal.” The text of this petition makes it clear what the people who had settled on the banks of the Gatineau needed:

106 Joseph Désautels, 61. The authors of this research paper hypothesize that this group had been settled in this isolated spot in the Gatineau valley for a number of years, which would explain why the “grands enfans” (possibly born at this location) had never seen a priest. Another possible interpretation of these words could be that these “grands enfans” were adults who Joseph Desautels found childish due to their lack of formal education. Whatever the case may be, the author’s writings imply that this group had been isolated for some time, which supports the hypothesis that the Gatineau valley had been permanently settled this far north by that time.

107 It is useful to point out here that the Gatineau Privilege restricted logging operations in the Gatineau to a few merchants, without defining the geographic boundaries of the timber limits. This makes it difficult to identify shanties from this period. In all probability, logging was first carried out along the river, making water transportation to the Ottawa River easier.

108 Joseph Désautels, 55-63.
Petition from the Inhabitants of La Visitation to His Excellency Lord Elgin, 1849

This petition by the undersigned, who live on the Gatineau River in the Mission of La Visitation, humbly states that the 60 inhabitants of this place are suffering greatly because the lands have not yet been surveyed:

1° - Every day, there are disputes with people who try to take the land;
2° - Many people are being discouraged from settling here;
3° - Those already living here are losing confidence, because they may lose some of the fruits of their labour when the land is measured.

The undersigned also take the liberty of explaining to Your Excellency that they find themselves in a difficult situation being so far from any inhabited place, because of the rapids on the river and because there are no roads; that the land on which they live is broken up by lakes and rocky places; that the land is mediocre in quality; and that the licences issued by the government to the owners of the logging camps have further decreased the value of their land by removing all the wood that gave it value.

They dare to tell Your Excellency that the freedom originally given to the logging camp operators to cut down as much wood as suits them for their trade, should be restricted and if possible, taken away, because they are depriving the inhabitants of their only means of procuring some of the resources indispensable to establishing a settlement, and this licence has been taken so far that the inhabitants cannot even find the wood to build their houses. Originally, they controlled themselves and only cut down the large trees, but now they even cut down the trees that are eight to ten inches.

The undersigned therefore beg Your Excellency:

1° - to issue orders that their land be surveyed immediately;
2° - to take into consideration the deliberations at Bytown and Rigaud and cede the lands for a shilling an acre, as in the Saguenay;

And finally, that the licences issued to the logging camp operators be withdrawn, at least on the land taken by the settlers, and the undersigned, with duty and affection, will continue to ask this.109

This petition from the inhabitants of La Visitation to survey their lands as proof of formal occupation, as well as the creation of the Diocese of Ottawa colonization

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109 Reproduced in Kathleen Mennie-De Varennes, 395. (The original is kept at the Diocese of Mont-Laurier Archives. Gracefield File).
society that resulted,\textsuperscript{110} shows that there were many settlers in the region before the official division of the region. Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, there was a dramatic increase in Euro-Canadian colonization in the region and since more documentation pertaining to the Gatineau valley was produced, the details of this process can be given.

1.2.1.2.2 Administrative boundaries

Unlike the St. Lawrence valley, the Gatineau valley was not affected by the seigneurial system. Instead, the Crown lands were divided into cantons, or townships. In the Outaouais, the townships of Hull and Eardley along the Ottawa River were, in 1806, the first to be surveyed and divided up. In the first quarter of the 19th century, much of the township of Hull was divided into lots, many of which belonged to Philemon Wright.\textsuperscript{111} Surveying intensified in the middle of the century, however, as a result of the colonization movement supported by, among others, the Diocese of Ottawa and the Oblate fathers. Barbezieux recalls the difficulty the settlers had reaching an agreement with the government on procedures for advancing colonization:

\[\text{[Translation]}\]

The settlers complained bitterly about the delays and how long the surveying was taking. The government claimed that it was not responsible for the cost of the surveying, which was very high, and that it was to be paid by the settlers, since it explicitly confirmed their title. The government agreed to pay advances to the surveyors, on condition that it be reimbursed by the farmers, and required a deposit from them. Such was the difficulty. So the Gatineau settlers assembled and, after deliberating, could not find any solution other than to ask Msgr. Guigues, their priest and the president of the colonization society, to act as their agent with the Government. Msgr. did not refuse them his help, and the Government, accepting his intervention, issued orders to have the official surveys in question carried out promptly (August 10, 1849).\textsuperscript{112}

In the second half of the 19th century, two land agents were responsible for selling lots to settlers, one for the lower Gatineau and the other for the upper part of the region. For the townships of Wakefield, Masham, Low, Denholm, Hincks,

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{110} Kathleen Mennie-de Varennes, 47-49.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{111} See Annex B-38 for maps of the land surveyed in 1808 and 1824.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{112} Barbezieux, t.1, 433-434.}\]
Aylwin and Blake, colonization agent Stanislas Drapeau wrote with respect to the period 1851-61:

[Translation]

These recently surveyed lands constitute an extremely fertile valley, abundantly watered by numerous lakes and rivers, and easily reached by one of several roads. The local agent, Robert Farley, écr. [clerk], lives in Chelsea in the township of Hull, across from the city of Ottawa and arrives at this office in a town car.113

With regard to the upper Gatineau, that is, the townships of Northfield, Wright, Bouchette, Cameron, Kensington, Aumond, Egan, Lytton, Sicotte and Baskatong, Drapeau stated:

[Translation]

All these townships are marked out and located on the two banks of the Gatineau River, with soil generally favourable to agriculture. A few roads are all that is needed for this area to be fully developed. Michael McBean, écr. [clerk], living in Northfield, is the local agent for this part of the county; this office is reached either by the Gatineau River or by the main postal route that runs along this major waterway.114

By 1862, considerable progress had been made in surveying the townships in the Gatineau valley. Analysis of Russels’ map, excluding the township of Maniwaki, most of which was reserved for the Algonquins, shows that approximately 70% of the Gatineau valley, at least up to the township of Baskatong, had been surveyed.115 The lands farther north would not be surveyed until the 20th century.116 The following table shows the status of the surveying in 1862 (see Table 2). It also gives the official proclamation date for each township.

113 Stanislas Drapeau, Études sur le développement de la colonisation du Bas-Canada depuis 10 ans (1851-1861) constatant les progrès des défrichements, de l’ouverture des chemins de colonisation et du développement de la population canadienne française, (Quebec City: Typographie de Léger Brousseau, 1863: 338).
114 Stanislas Drapeau, 339.
116 Hormisdas Magnan, La vallée de la Gatineau..., 6.
Table 2: Townships of the Gatineau Valley: Official Proclamation and Surveying

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Official Proclamation</th>
<th>Status of Surveying in 1862</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eardley</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masham</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deholm</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylwin</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hincks</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>6 ranges surveyed, which corresponds to approximately half of the township.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northfield</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Ranges marked out, but not lots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blake</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Not surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouchette</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>4 ranges surveyed, which corresponds to approximately one third of the township.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniwaki</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Not surveyed[^117]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kensington</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>6 ranges surveyed, which corresponds to approximately two thirds of the township.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egan</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>6 ranges surveyed, which corresponds to approximately two thirds of the township.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aumond</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>The whole township was marked out, but the sixth, seventh, and eighth ranges had not been divided into lots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytton</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>This township did not appear on the map in 1862. It is assumed that the region had not been surveyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicotte</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>6 ranges surveyed, which corresponds to approximately two thirds of the township.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskatong</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Fully surveyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

[^117]: This is land reserved for the Algonquins.


1.2.1.2.3 Electoral boundaries

As well as the administrative division into townships, the region was divided politically into ridings. From 1791 to 1838, the Gatineau valley formed part of the riding of York, which stretched from Saint-Eustache, north of Montreal, to the northern and western limits of the province. 118 This huge riding was divided in 1829, creating the riding of Ottawa. This new electoral boundary constituted one of the first actions on the part of the government “to prevent collective violence and to ensure respect for their authority in all regions.” 119 It encompassed the entire western part of Lower Canada including the Petite-Nation Seigneurie. In 1853, part of this riding was split off to make a new one, the riding of Pontiac. The Gatineau valley remained part of the riding of Ottawa, however.

After Confederation, changes to the boundaries for the riding of Ottawa were different for the federal and provincial jurisdictions. Federally, it was split in 1896 to create the ridings of Wright and Labelle, with the Gatineau valley remaining within the riding of Wright. The 20th century brought further divisions and name changes, including the change from Wright to Gatineau in 1947. At the provincial level, the riding of Ottawa was split off from its eastern part in 1912, changed to the riding of Hull in 1919 and again divided in 1931 to form the ridings of Hull and Gatineau.

The following figure shows the changes to the ridings in which the Gatineau valley is located (see Figure 1):

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118 Chad Gaffield, 843.

119 Chad Gaffield, 221.
1.2.1.2.4 Religious boundaries

At the same time as administrative and electoral boundaries, the land was also divided on a religious basis. For Catholics, the Gatineau valley was part of the Diocese of Quebec City until 1836. After that, it was included in the Diocese of Montreal and, after 1847, the Diocese of Bytown, the name of which was changed
to the Diocese of Ottawa after 1854. At that time, the Diocese of Bytown included the counties of Argenteuil, Labelle and Ottawa. In 1913, the Diocese of Bytown was split off from the northern part of the Gatineau, specifically the Parish of Gracefield, which was attached to the Diocese of Mont-Laurier erected at that date. Anglicans in the region were members of the Diocese of Montreal, although the region was divided in 1850 into the Deanery of Clarendon and, east of Thurso, the Deanery of St. Andrew’s.

The Catholic diocesan region was further divided into parishes that were often elevated to the rank of municipalities. These parishes developed for the most part from small missions established to serve the shanties and first pioneers in the region. This is discussed in greater detail below.

1.2.1.3 Church and State in the Gatineau valley

Both Church – or rather churches, Protestant and Catholic – and state played a decisive role in the development of the Gatineau valley throughout the 19th century. The churches fought for the souls of both Euro-Canadians and Indians, while the state, whether as the prime contractor or simply as legislator, granted resource exploitation rights, promoted road and railway construction, equipped the region with communication infrastructures and so on. The following section gives a chronological outline of key events in the development of religious and administrative institutions in the Gatineau valley and places them in their historical context.

1.2.1.3.1 Protestants

As mentioned above, settlers were attracted to the Outaouais region and, consequently, the Gatineau valley, by the job opportunities offered by the timber industry and by the availability of land. The first settlers to move into the Hull region in the early 19th century came primarily from New England and were mostly Anglican, although other Protestant denominations, including the Presbyterians and Methodists, were also represented. Members of the Diocese

120 Chad Gaffield dir., 228.
121 Hormisdas Magnan, 15.
122 Chad Gaffield dir., 228.
123 Chad Gaffield dir., 228.
of Montreal, Protestants remained in the majority until the early 1840s, when French Canadian and Irish immigration gave the Catholics predominance. The arrival of the Oblates in 1844 also lent impetus to the Catholic Church, which became very active in the Gatineau valley, establishing numerous missions, later to become parishes, visiting the timber shanties and ministering to the Indians.

The Protestants, divided among several denominations, were less active in the Gatineau valley than the Catholics, but their presence was felt nevertheless. In his memoirs, Father Guinard refers briefly to Protestants at Maniwaki in the late 19th century:

[Translation]

The Protestants had an Anglican church and a Presbyterian church in the village. Although there were not many Protestants, their numbers included the wealthy people of Maniwaki. Their pastors did not always live in the village, but it was better that way.

The following map shows the distribution of the Protestant population by the three largest Protestant denominations in the Gatineau valley in 1881 (see Map 4):

Map 4: Distribution of Protestant Population in the Gatineau Valley in 1881

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124 Chad Gaffield dir., 227.

One reason the proportion of Protestants was so low was undoubtedly the effort made by the Catholic Church to counter the spread of Protestantism in the region. Threatened by their presence, the Catholics built chapels and churches throughout the area:

[Translation]

The Bishop of Ottawa’s strategy involves staying one step ahead of colonization, which is still spreading up the rivers: colonists will stop wherever there is a priest and a church, while the Protestant settlers stay away. As a general rule, Protestants will not stop where they cannot predominate.126

It was also feared that any Catholic not served by a priest might ask to be married by a Protestant minister, and thus be led away from the Catholic Church.127

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127 Chad Gaffield dir., 233.
Catholic priests even built a hospital at Maniwaki in 1902 to avoid being outdone by the Protestants:

[Translation]

Our community built the Saint-Joseph hospital in 1902. Even in that area, we had to combat the Protestant influence. In almost all of the poorer regions of the country, the wife of Lord Minto, the Governor General of Canada, was building cottages where nurses could care for the sick. There was a risk that we would have one of these cottages near us.128

Even the priests admitted that this hospital was not necessary:

[Translation]

This hospital was built precisely when it was not needed. As long as Maniwaki was 90 miles away from Ottawa and a car was needed to get there, sick men from the shanties who came here for treatment could not find any place to stay except badly kept hotels; but the Pacific company had just extended its line to Maniwaki, so that instead of staying at our hospital, people who were sick went straight to their parishes or down to the Ottawa hospitals.129

Finally, the Oblate Fathers feared that the Protestants would take advantage of certain situations. They worried, therefore, when the Maniwaki Indians were discontented because of certain projects or regulations, such as the construction of a new church or the regulations regarding the sale of alcohol:

Catherine often told me that she feared that these little difficulties would lead to trouble and that some of them [the Indians on the reserve] would turn Protestant as at Lac des Deux Montagnes. [At Lac des Deux Montagnes], when the savages were alone, they sat in the first rows of the church. Later the whites began to settle there and mingled with the savages and gradually the savages were forced to take the last rows. Add to that the little games played by the Protestants to foment discontent and you can imagine the problems. There, the savages mistakenly believed they ruled the roost. Here in Maniwaki, they truly do rule their reserve, they are in their own home, and that is why they are vulnerable.130

This duality between Catholics and Protestants characterized the region throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, it was the Catholics who

130 Letter from Father Guéguen, Annex C-6.
played a dominant role in the colonization of the Gatineau valley, through the impetus given by the arrival of the Oblates in the region.

1.2.1.3.2 Catholics

Beginning in the next decade, responsibility for the religious organization of the Gatineau valley fell to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The Oblates, who came to Canada in 1844 at the invitation of Monsignor Bourget, then Bishop of Montreal, had three roles: to conduct the “shanty” missions, to minister to the “savages” and to serve as priests for the area’s settlers.\textsuperscript{131} To this end, the idea of establishing a central location for the missionaries was conceived very early on. A letter written by Monsignor Bourget, Bishop of Montreal, to Mr. Desautels, the priest for the parish of Aylmer, in 1845, discusses the proposal to establish the Oblates in the upper Gatineau valley:

[\textit{Translation}]

\begin{quote}
Since you will soon be embarking on your mission in the Gatineau, I think I should inform you that we intend to establish an Oblate post in the upper Gatineau valley to serve the Savages and shanty workers. It would be good to find a central location ahead of time that would put the missionaries in reach of everyone they serve. Mr. Moreau thinks that a post in this area would be enough to serve all the savages in this diocese and many of the shanties in the area. Under this arrangement, two or three missionaries would always have something to do, either with the Savages or with the Canadians and others.\textsuperscript{132}
\end{quote}

The Oblates finally settled permanently at Maniwaki in 1851. From there, they worked as missionaries with the shanty men and “savages.”

\textit{Shanty and “savage” missions}

In 1827, Father Roupe was assigned the mission of visiting the Catholics in the Upper Outaouais, and planted crosses in three places near the mouth of the Gatineau, specifically Allumette Island, Aylmer and the mouth of the Lièvre River at Buckingham. The first baptism recorded in Bytown, located at the mouth

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} L.-H. Gervais, 158 et 161.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
of the Gatineau River, was in 1829. Prêtres ambulants [itinerant priests] travelled throughout the Ottawa River valley in the 1830s, but do not seem to have entered the Gatineau valley during that period. This is probably because the Indians in the region still visited the Sulpician mission at Lac des Deux Montagnes, according to certain authors.

In 1841, while travelling on the Ottawa River, the Bishop of Montreal, Monsignor Bourget, made arrangements with the owners of timber shanties on the river to allow missionaries to visit. The first visit was made by Father Joseph Desautels, the parish priest of Aylmer, in 1841-42. Upon his return, he said that “[translation] we need hardy priests, financed by the [Society for the] Propagation, to visit the shanties in winter and wait for the men at the Chaudière [falls] and the mouth and at the mouth of the Gatineau in the spring.” This idea became a reality in 1845, with the arrival of the Oblates in Canada. Monsignor Mazenod agreed that the priests he led would settle in Bytown and take on this responsibility:

[Translation]
I consent to our Congregation taking on the sanctification of the shanties and the conversion of the savages.

Father Eusèbe Durocher, accompanied by Father Augustin Brunet, set off by sleigh to perform the first mission in January 1845. They began with the Gatineau River, and then travelled along the Desert, Aigle and Joseph rivers, where they stopped at many shanties to minister to the lumberjacks, who were mostly Irish and French Canadian, and the “savages,” visiting “[translation] only the shanties and inhabitants from Lake Sainte-Marie to Desert River.” Father Desautels, who had made the journey first in 1841-42, conducted missions between Hull and Lake Sainte-Marie the same year. The missionaries left Hull and travelled along the rivers, including the Gatineau, to visit the shanties, but also to minister to the few colonists settled in the area as well as the Indians. At

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133 Le Nord de l’Outaouais..., 151-152.
134 Le Nord de l’Outaouais, 151-152.
135 Joseph Désautels, 55-63.
136 Joseph Désautels, 62.
138 Henri Morisseau, 206. Father Durocher would also conduct these missions for 1846 and 1847.
the time, not too much distinction was made between mission work with the Euro-
Canadians and the “savages.” At least, that is what may be deduced from a letter
written by Father Eusèbe Durocher to Monsignor Bourget in 1845, in which he
stated that they had to speak a number of languages, including one Indian
language, while on their missions:

[Translation]

We speak almost every language. Father Brunet is responsible for
speaking English and I speak Algonquin, because we have to carry out
our ministry in those languages.140

In a letter written to the Society for Propagation of the Faith in 1860, the Bishop
of Ottawa, Monsignor Guigues, gave a good summary of the shanty missions:

[Translation]

Allow me to tell you in a few words what we do in the spiritual interest
of the shanties. Two priests are established at a fixed post to minister to
them at all times, and during the winter two others are designated to
bring the comfort of their ministry to them from afar. Since these young
men usually gather in the city of Ottawa, the two missionaries have also
established residence there. They visit them in their shacks when they
are travelling to Quebec City, follow them to the hostelries on their
return, hear their confessions, hold three or four general retreats for
them, care for them in the hospital when they are sick, divert them from
houses that are dangerous to their savings and their virtue, and in
short, give them the most affectionate care, for which they are called
the fathers of the young shanty men. When winter comes, and snow
covers the roads and ice covers the rivers, a new job begins for the
missionary. He heads for the forests, towards those remote solitudes
that should be no more inaccessible to religion than to industry . . . .
This hard winter apostolate lasts nearly three months. At night, the
priest evangelizes and during the day he travels from one shanty to
another. One hundred shanties are visited during that harsh season,
and about five hundred leagues are travelled through places where no
houses are encountered. 141

As Monsignor Guigues points out in this excerpt, the missionaries did not limit
themselves to winter visits to the shanties. They also ministered to the timber
workers whenever they had the opportunity. They invariably visited the
confluence of the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers in the spring and fall, and built a
chapel there (in Hull) in 1845. 142 This chapel represented the centre of the shanty

140 Father Durocher (1845), cited by Alexis de Barbezieux, t.1, 277.
141 Msgr. Guigues (1860), cited by Alexis de Barbezieux, t.1, 279-280.
142 Chad Gaffield, 229.
missions. In this connection, Barbezieux reported the words of the author of *Mgr Guigues, sa vie, ses œuvres*:

[Translation]

*On the riverbank, in the very place where the great church of Hull rises today, there was a shabby wooden building daubed with red, the only one in the area . . . . This was the shanty chapel. This was the place to which, as soon as he returned from the depths of the forests with the last ice of winter and the first rafts of spring, the missionary hastened to celebrate the sacred mysteries . . . .*  

The organization of the shanty missions was to change, however, with the advance of colonization. The growing number of settlers in the region led to permanent establishments for the priests, who now visited the shanties found within the limits of their parishes.  

The remote shanties remained the responsibility of the Oblate Fathers, who had been established in Maniwaki since 1851. These missions continued until the 1930s.  

So far, the shanties discussed have been those associated with the logging camps in the Gatineau valley. However, the missionaries provided religious services to workers in other types of shanties as well. For example, in the early 1900s, Father Guinard visited the surveying shanties for the Transcontinental, the train that crossed the Abitibi region from La Tuque. It seems that many Indians worked on construction of the railroad and asked the government to send a missionary who spoke their language.  

Father Guinard visited these surveying posts, the first of which was “[translation] one hundred and ten miles north of Maniwaki, where the Gatineau forks.” He provided religious services to both Indians and Euro-Canadians there.

At the same time as the shanty missions, the Oblates also did mission work with the Indians, known as “savage missions.” The Témiscamingue and Maniwaki priests divided up the missions in the Diocese of Ottawa and the Vicariate of Pontiac.  

These missions consisted in providing religious services to the Indians.

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144 Barbezieux, t.1, 283.
145 See Annex B-27.
148 Alexis de Barbezieux, t.1, 251.
Every summer, the missionaries spent about three months travelling along the rivers, including the Gatineau, to their meeting places. The missions were usually conducted at the Hudson’s Bay Company trading posts.\textsuperscript{149}

From 1844 to 1849, these missionaries left Ottawa for missions in the Hudson’s Bay and Saint-Maurice regions. Although the shanty missions had already begun at that time, it was not until 1849 that the “savage” missions in the Gatineau valley took a somewhat more organized form.\textsuperscript{150} That is when the Bishop of Bytown, Monsignor Guigues, accompanied by Fathers Clément and Ginguet, travelled up the Gatineau River, visited the few villages along the river and founded the River Desert mission, at the site that would later become Maniwaki.\textsuperscript{151} From then on, the history of the mission merged with that of the Maniwaki Indian reserve.

The Maniwaki Indian reserve

Before discussing the establishment of the Maniwaki reserve, it should be recalled that immediately after the Conquest, the Algonquins and Nipissings from the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission began asking the government to protect their ancestral hunting lands in the Ottawa valley against colonization. This request was based on the Royal Proclamation, which had confirmed the Indians’ possession of the lands they inhabited. In 1783, Loyalist settlers obtained permission to settle on the Ottawa River, after which the claims made by the Indians during the 1790s went unheard.\textsuperscript{152} The government of the province of Quebec ignored these claims until 1850, when the Act for the better protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada was passed. The Oblates, who came to Canada in 1844, took the Indians’ side and supported their claims.

From the time they began their mission work, the Oblate Fathers tried to persuade the Canadian government to set aside an area of land for the Algonquins of the Gatineau, land where “[translation] they could live, learn to cultivate the earth and

\textsuperscript{149} L.-H. Gervais, 286.
\textsuperscript{150} Gaston Carrière, t.4, 76.
\textsuperscript{151} Le Nord de l’Outaouais…, 157.
be introduced to civilized life.” 

In 1844, the Algonquins began clearing land in the Gatineau and asked for 60,000 acres on the Desert River. 

Petitions were sent to Lord Elgin in this regard in 1845 and 1848. In 1849, Monsignor Guigues visited the Gatineau himself and saw the area the Indians wanted. After several more petitions, a positive response came in August 1849; land would be reserved for the Indians in that location.

These Indians, although some cultivated the land for additional income, primarily lived off hunting, trapping and fishing. However, the advance of colonization and, above all, the timber industry, did considerable damage to their way of life. In a mission report published in 1852, Father Clément stated:

[Translation]

The savages in these places are very poor. Knowing almost nothing of agriculture, up to now their principal means of subsistence was hunting. For a long time its profit was sufficient to meet their needs. But, now that their vast forests, invaded on all sides, are rapidly disappearing, these unfortunate children of the woods are reduced to near-indigence.

The Oblates were sensitive to the poverty of these Indians and helped to make their plans a reality by acting as middlemen between the government and the Algonquins.

The Oblate mission in Maniwaki was founded in 1851, and the reserve, comprising 18,530 hectares on the western bank of the Gatineau River, was created in 1853. Some of the Algonquins were sent to River Desert. Establishment of the reserve changed the demographic profile of the region, since

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153 Barbezieux, t. 1, 442.
155 Gaston Carrière, t.4, 85-90.
156 Gaston Carrière, t.4, 87..
158 A number of petitions and letters were sent by the Oblate Fathers and by Msgr. Guigues on behalf of the Algonquins. See Gaston Carrière, t. 4, 86-91.
159 Daniel Francis, 31-32.
160 Others would be sent the following decade, in 1864, to land completely outside the Gatineau valley, south of the Ottawa River, in the Golden Lake Reserve, which was established to accommodate them. Peter Hessel, 72.
the Indians living in the surrounding area joined it, even those who had been living in Euro-Canadian villages on the Gatineau. The reserve was created to resolve the territorial disputes caused by Euro-Canadian occupation of the land, but also with the objective of encouraging the Algonquins to adopt a sedentary way of life and give up their nomadic lifestyle for farming. Since the government considered the Indians to be minors and incapable of owning property and since they were all Catholic, the Bishop asked that the titles of ownership be given to the Diocese of Ottawa, which was done without argument. In addition, many companies and individuals, as well as the Algonquins themselves, asked to be compensated for losses caused by the creation of the reserve and the timber operators’ failure to respect the territory.

Establishment of the reserve does not seem to have been very successful in encouraging the Algonquins to settle down and take up farming. In 1866, it seemed that most of them gathered at Maniwaki only in the summer:

[Translation]

_The very modest residence of our Fathers is built on the property that the government has reserved for the Algonquin savages, who are not very numerous in the winter, but like to camp there in the summer, in order to benefit from religious teaching._

In 1871, the Department of Indian Affairs noted some progress:

[...] the Agent resident in that Township reports that many families, to the heads of which farm lot’s were located, have made fair progress in clearing and cultivation, and that other families are from time to time joining them.

But a few years later, in 1879, it was noted that considerable effort was still needed to persuade the Indians to farm:

_An effort is being made to induce the Algonquins and Tetes de Boule Indians on the reserve at the River Desert, in the Township of Maniwaki, to settle down and cultivate their lands, which are well_

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164 See a series of letters to the Legislative Council written in 1850 and reproduced in Annex B-5.

165 Vanderberghe, O.M.I., 60.

166 Canada (Gov.). _Indian Affairs Annual Report. 1871:_ 36.
adapted for farming purposes; and with that object in view, an agent was appointed during the past year, who, in addition to his other duties, is to instruct those Indians in agriculture.\textsuperscript{167}

In fact, just like the Euro-Canadians, the Indians wanted to benefit from the various industries operating in the region.\textsuperscript{168} It was not unusual, therefore, to see the Algonquins working as guides for the timber companies, or as surveyors or even as lumberjacks, raftsmen and forest rangers.\textsuperscript{169} It was at their request that Father Guinard visited the Transcontinental surveying shanties in the early 1900s.\textsuperscript{170} Most were working on the railway line, but others were involved in supplying provisions:

[Translation]

Between the two posts, dog teams are used for transportation. From this final point, still with dogs, Indian voyageurs supply provisions to the various camps found along the route of the future railway.\textsuperscript{171}

With the creation of the reserve and foundation of the Oblate House, Maniwaki became a gathering place for Indians not only from the Gatineau valley, but also from the Saint-Maurice and Lake Barrière regions. After the reserve was established, Father Clément noted in his report that there were 28 Indian families living there, 15 families from Grand Lake Victoria who visited in the summer and 22 families from Saint-Maurice who wanted to move to the reserve the following year.\textsuperscript{172}

\textbf{From missions to parishes}

The influx of an increasing number of settlers in the region had the effect of encouraging the Church to provide religious services on a regular basis. The Church’s presence evolved over time from the first annual missions, through

\begin{flushright}
  \textsuperscript{168} Normand Fortier, 330.
  \textsuperscript{169} Normand Fortier, 332.
  \textsuperscript{170} Joseph-Étienne Guinard in Serge Bouchard, ed.: 76.
  \textsuperscript{171} Joseph-Étienne Guinard in Serge Bouchard, ed.: 77.
  \textsuperscript{172} Père Clément, 1851 or 1852, cited by Gaston Carrière, t.4, 95.
\end{flushright}
which a single missionary served a huge territory, to weekly visits by the priest of the surrounding parish, and finally a resident priest. The following table (see Table 3) shows the chronology of the establishment of Catholic parishes in the 19th century:

**Table 3: Establishment of Catholic Missions and Parishes in the Gatineau Valley During the 19th Century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Established</th>
<th>Missions/Parishes</th>
<th>Permanent Priest</th>
<th>First Chapels and Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Saint-Paul-d’Aylmer</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Church (1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>St-François-de-Sales-de-Templeton (Pointe-Gatineau)</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Chapel (1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-de-Hull</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>St-Étienne-de-Chelsea</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Church (1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Saint-Nom-de-Marie (Lake Sainte-Marie)</td>
<td>1881 to 1884, Then 1893</td>
<td>Chapel (1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>St-Camille de Farrelltown</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Ste-Cécile-de-Masham</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Chapel (1845)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>La Visitation (Gracefield)</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Chapel (1857)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Saint-Gabriel (Bouchette)</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Chapel (1854)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>L’Assomption-de-Maniwaki(^{173})</td>
<td>1851(^{174})</td>
<td>Church (1868)(^{175}) Anglian church (1882)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{173}\) See the portrait of the mission, Annexes B-13 and B-22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>St-Pierre-de-Wakefield</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Ste-Elisabeth-de-Cantley</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1858</td>
<td>St-Dominique d'Eardley</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Church (1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>St-Martin-de-Tours</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Chapel (1869)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Sainte-Famille (Joseph River)</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Chapel (1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>St-Cajétan (Castor)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Chapel (1879)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Saint-François-Xavier (Baskatong)</td>
<td>Served by Maniwaki</td>
<td>Chapel (1906)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Sainte-Philomène-de-Montcerf</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Church (1888)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Saint-Boniface-d'Egan (Bois-Franc)</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Chapel (1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>St-Jean-Vianney (Grand-Remous)</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Church (1932)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

174 The Superior of the Oblates House in Maniwaki was the one who acted as priest until 1885. Afterward, he was discharged of this duty, which was given to another Oblate father.

175 Regarding the inauguration of the first stone, see the letter of June 14, 1868, from Father Déléage in Annex B-7.

176 See the portrait of the mission, Annex B-10.

177 See the portrait of the mission, Annex B-11.

178 The Baskatong mission was at first an Indian mission. Then the arrival of two logging companies brought lumberjacks to settle in the area, along with stores and hotels to be built (see Father Guinard, Annex B-28. In 1900, Baskatong is [translation] “a mission for the savages as well as for the Whites.” See Joseph Guinard, Annex C-8.

179 In a letter, Father Guinard wrote about land that had just been granted for the construction of a chapel (Annex C-8). Construction of the chapel was also mentioned in another letter from Guinard, this one in 1931, in which the Father recounted a brief history of the Baskatong mission (Annex B-28). Lastly, as the 1906 chapel was constructed on land that would later be flooded in 1927, the Bishop of Mont-Laurier, Msgr. de Limoges, requested that the bishopric be granted another parcel of land so that the chapel and cemetery could be relocated (Annexes B-23, B-24 and B-25).

180 See the portrait of the mission, Annex B-12, and a more detailed reported dated 1885 in Annex B-15.
Almost all of these parishes had English- and French-speaking Euro-Canadian congregations with one exception: that of Assomption-de-Maniwaki. Originally established at the confluence of the Desert and Gatineau rivers to serve the Indians who lived there, the Oblate Fathers had to welcome into their parish increasing numbers of English- and French-speaking settlers moving into the region. From then on, services had to be conducted in three languages: English, French and Algonquin. This caused some problems, and in particular, led to the Indians abandoning the religious services because of the “[translation] invasion of whites.” The Oblate Fathers therefore decided to build a chapel dedicated solely to the Indians. This chapel was built in 1917 and became the seat of the new Indian parish of Notre-Dame-du-Rosaire.

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183 This project was highly unpopular with the Indians, who felt that they were being driven from their home. If there were too many “Whites” for a single church, they thought, all the Oblates had to do was build one for them. For more details, see Annexes B-16 and C-2.

184 The chapel, which was built despite opposition from the Indians and from outside the reserve, appeared to have caused tensions that could still be felt between the Indians and the Oblate Fathers. See Annex B-26.
1.2.1.3.3 Public education

Public education in Quebec dates back to 1841, when Charles Dewey Day proposed a law authorizing the establishment of school districts, providing for the election of school trustees and putting in place a property tax to finance the building of schools. \(^{185}\) At that time, there was fierce debate between the representatives of the state and those of the Catholic and Protestant churches, who were fighting for control of the schools. Finally, they agreed to cooperate: the school system would be a state institution in which the Catholic and Protestant churches would play a leading role. \(^{186}\)

The establishment of schools in the Gatineau valley took place gradually, as the area was settled. As Table 4 shows, in 1864 most schools were located in municipalities in the southern part of the valley, with the exception of Maniwaki:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylmer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eardley</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Étienne (Chelsea)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masham</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Templeton (Pointe-Gatineau)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{185}\) Chad Gaffield, 234.

\(^{186}\) Chad Gaffield, 235.
General statistics on the cost of education reported by the superintendent of public education indicate that nearly the entire Gatineau valley, from the mouth of the river to the township of Baskatong, had schools by the end of the century. The number of schools in a single locality varied considerably throughout the 19th century. The inspectors’ reports show that certain schools were active for a while, but were closed when the inspectors visited. This can be explained by several factors, including the difficulty of finding teachers, especially for the Upper Gatineau valley. As well, there was not always enough money to finance daily operations:

\[\text{Nevertheless the municipality is sufficiently rich and the number of children is sufficiently large to support a good school. It must, however, be stated that the school taxes have never been collected, and the school has been entirely sustained by private subscription. But the richest proprietors eventually, having no further want of a school for their own families, allowed the school to be closed, to the detriment of the others.}\]

Finally, since labour to work in the fields was scarce and relatively expensive, children had to stay home to work with their parents:

\[\ldots\text{boys above the age of 12 and 13 years are rarely found at school, as their parents need their feeble assistance even at this age, to assist them in working their farms. The scarcity of labor, and the high wages}\]

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187 In 1898, there were seven Catholic schools. See the 1898 report from the Maniwaki House, Annex B-18.


190 Aug Gay, 1876-1877.
necessary to obtain it, account for the fact of our superior schools for boys having so few advanced pupils.191

The Indians also attended school. The school in Maniwaki, established in 1853, was attended by the Algonquins from the reserve. They seemed to have their own class in 1873:

[Translation]

After 1873, classes were held on the second floor of the new nuns’ residence, except for the Algonquin class, which was left in the old school.192

In 1888, a school was built specifically for their use by the département des sauvages [Indian Department] at Bitoubi, in the township of Baskatong.193

1.2.1.3.4 Law and order and dispute resolution

In the first third of the 19th century, residents of the Outaouais region, especially the few families living along the Gatineau, had been obliged to travel to Montreal to settle their disputes in court.194 However, the Rebellions of 1837-38 prompted the government to play a more active role in the region. New legal structures were put in place to protect the interests of regional and community leaders, among other things. One example of this government presence was the sending of troops to Bytown in 1849 to quell a riot that had broken out because of public opposition to the Rebellion Losses Bill. This demonstrated the new will of the authorities to limit violence: “Clearly, the state was now willing to intervene to maintain law and order.”195

There was a glaring need for a justice system in the mid-19th century, as the following excerpt shows:

192 Barbezieux, t.2, 243.
193 Barbezieux, t.2, 243.
194 Chad Gaffield, 225.
195 Chad Gaffield, 226.
[Translation]

Another disadvantage, there is still no justice around here today [?] was beaten for requesting payment from a bourgeois [?] [?] [?] which has happened to many [?] is a shame that the governor does not hasten to bring justice to this part of the country by appointing judges and organizing the administration of justice everywhere. The government should be urged to finish the Aylmer prison since that is delaying everything. Until the prison is finished, the administration of justice will not be organized, that is what I was told by the lawyer, B[?] Cherville of Aylmer. 196

In 1849, the Legislature of United Canada created the first permanent judicial institutions for the Outaouais with Aylmer as its seat. 197 A courthouse was built there, as well as a prison, which was transferred to Hull, the new seat of the Outaouais judicial district, in 1890. 198 Such institutions were not found in the northern Gatineau valley until 1932, when the council of ministers of the province of Quebec established Maniwaki as the seat of Gatineau County. 199

The government had a higher profile in the southern part of the Gatineau valley. In remote and isolated areas, it was easy to escape justice. For example, Guinard tells of a man who beat another man with an axe because he had cut down trees on his territory:

[Translation]

In the timber limits, there were squabbles and murders. Old Snoddie told me the story of one Laymay who beat a man to death with the handle of an axe because he had cut down trees on his territory. Laymay’s wife encouraged him to do it. This murderer was himself killed by people seeking vengeance. There is no such thing as justice in this isolated region. 200

196 This excerpt appears on the back of a letter written by Father Clément in 1850 to a certain Mr. Masson, surveyor. However, it is doubtful that Father Clément is the author, given the different handwriting. Even so, this does not detract in any way from its historical value. Annex B-6.


198 Anastase Roy, 46.

199 Anastase Roy, 46.

He also said with respect to the Baskatong mission:

[Translation]

_Baskatong had a bad reputation because of the shanty men and raftsmen who were stationed there, since there was no civil surveillance._

The number of government officials in the region increased throughout the 19th century. This was partly to establish order and partly to oversee the exploitation of resources. For example, the first game and fishing wardens took up their duties in Aylmer in 1889, in Hull in 1897 and in Maniwaki in 1899. This does not mean that there was no police presence until then, since the first police officer to assume that role in Maniwaki was Xavier Labelle in 1905.

### 1.2.1.3.5 Transportation and communication infrastructure

_Means of transportation: roads, trains, bridges_

Roads were gradually built along the Gatineau and played a key role in the region’s colonization. Transportation routes, other than the Gatineau River, were often the catalyst for development of a township. In the first half of the 19th century, most travel along the river was done by canoe in the summer and by snow in the winter.  

Land transportation mainly involved the use of shanty roads. Most were impassable, however, in the fall and spring, and muddy year-round. Many settlers and missionaries complained about the poor condition of the roads. In the early 20th century, according to Father Guinard:

[Translation]

_One of the main concerns at this stage of colonization was the state of the roads. Although Maniwaki was the last community to get the telegraph line, the government did not maintain the roads. The settlers_

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201 See Annex B-28.

202 Anastase Roy, 47. Complete list in Annex B-29.


204 Anastase Roy, 13.


did so after a fashion, as did the timber companies, which cleared snow and resurfaced the roads as needed by their shanties.207

However, still according to Guinard, the timber companies could not be depended on to provide decent roads:

[Translation]

*Logically, the settlers knew very well that they could not count on the companies to maintain the roads. The companies put as little money as possible into these operations and only did what was necessary. The results were pitiful.*208

The government was pushed by the colonization movement into building proper roads during the 19th and 20th centuries.209 Of these, the most important was the road that followed the Gatineau from Hull to Maniwaki, and went on to Baskatong:

[Translation]

*The great Gatineau valley road, which runs along the left bank of the river as far as the confluence of the Desert River and the Gatineau River, crosses to the right bank at that point and more or less follows the river all the way to Lake Baskatong, about 120 miles from Ottawa. The lower part is paved and open from the village of Hull, across from the city of Ottawa, to the Puagan rapids in the township of Low, a distance of approximately 36 miles . . . . The upper part of the road, from the aforementioned rapids to the Desert River, is also open as far as the township of Maniwaki, but is not completely finished.*210

This last section of the road was completed in 1929.211

The construction of roads within the townships would have made a significant contribution to the region’s colonization as well. For the townships along the Ottawa River, such roads had been built quite early in the 19th century. The Britannia Road, the first road built in the region, ran through the township of Hull and also entered the township of Eardley:

*The principal begins at the steam-boat landing, passes through Wright’s Village and running along the front strikes the Chaudière*

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209 A map dated 1862 (Annex B-36) shows the path of existing and planned roads.
210 Stanislas Drapeau, 350.
211 Anastase Roy, 54.
Lake between the 2nd and 3rd ranges; thence it follows the margin of the lake and enters Eardley: this road is very good and on it is the greater portion of the most flourishing settlement of Hull.\footnote{212}

Other roads were also built in the township of Hull and made it possible to travel from one lot to another. A road also connected Hull and Montreal, but was almost impassable in the early 19th century:

\begin{quote}
The road communication from Hull to Montreal is bad and in 1821 was impracticable for any horse or team.\footnote{213}
\end{quote}

The townships farther north also benefited greatly from the construction of roads. For example, for the township of Wakefield:

\begin{quote}
[Translation]
For a long time, colonization has languished for lack of roads in this township; but today [1851-61], thanks to the opening of some roads, we hope that colonists will be encouraged to settle here. . . . A new road runs from Lot No. 17, in the first range of Wakefield, goes through Templeton, and will end at Rivière-aux-Lièvres in the township of Portland . . . . This road goes through one of the best agricultural areas in Lower Canada, and its construction will make it possible to settle the townships of Portland, Denholm, Bowman, Biglow and Wells quickly . . . . The benefits of this road are already so apparent that almost all of the north-eastern part of Wakefield was sold by the local agent 12 months ago.\footnote{214}
\end{quote}

Although these roads were difficult to travel on during some seasons, they represented the only infrastructure for land transportation until the arrival of the railway.

The railway first came to the Outaouais in 1854, when it reached Bytown. Because of financial difficulties, however, it was not until 1877 that Hull could be connected to Montreal, and it was not until 1880 that this railroad crossed the Ottawa River to Ottawa to reach the Canada Central Railway.\footnote{215} In the 1870s and 1880s, there was increasing pressure to build a railroad along the Gatineau River. A delegation of the most influential men in the region was organized in 1881 to

\begin{footnotes}
212 Joseph Bouchette, pages not numbered, under the heading “Hull.”
213 Joseph Bouchette, pages not numbered, under the heading “Hull.”
214 Stanislas Drapeau, 343.
215 Chad Gaffield, 112.
\end{footnotes}
persuade the government authorities to carry out this project. In 1889, the Ottawa and Gatineau Valley Railroad began building the railway that would connect Hull to Maniwaki. This railroad reached Gracefield in 1894 and was of great benefit to the village, because of the influx of lumberjacks heading for the northern shanties. In this connection, Father Guinard recalls:

[Translation]

At that time [1899], we travelled to Maniwaki by the Gatineau railroad which stopped at Gracefield, also called Victory. The voyage continued in the mail car that went the rest of the way to Maniwaki.

In 1903, the railroad was sold to Canadian Pacific, which finished its construction as far as Maniwaki a year later.

Another railroad, the National Transcontinental, played an important role in the Gatineau valley, not because it improved transportation in the region – the railroad only crossed the region from east to west, about one hundred and ten miles (177 km) north of Maniwaki – but rather because of the job opportunities offered by its construction. The following map shows this railway’s route (see Map 5):


Surveying for the Transcontinental began in 1904. Father Guinard was asked to assume a temporary mission ministering to the workers, many of whom were Indians. Since the railway had to go through a region unfamiliar to the Euro-Canadians, the Indians acted as guides, as well as supplying provisions. The National Transcontinental was completed in 1913 and opened in 1915.

The Gatineau River was the main axis of colonization north of Hull, along which several villages formed on either side. Interaction between these villages was

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222 Nick Mika, 135.
steadily growing, leading the government to build bridges, especially during the period 1896-1916. The following table (see Table 5) lists the main bridges built in the Gatineau valley, in chronological order:

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223 Hormisdas Magnan, 12.
Table 5: Gatineau Valley Bridges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year of Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hull – Bytown (Ottawa)</td>
<td>1st: 1828, replaced in 1843, and in the late 1880s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd: 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironside</td>
<td>From 1896-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield (Pont Gendron)</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Camille</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazabazua</td>
<td>From 1896-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint-Gabriel de Bouchette</td>
<td>Before 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniwaki</td>
<td>1883: On the Desert River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1897: On the Gatineau River</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

*Means of communication: mail, telegraph and telephone*

In the first three quarters of the 19th century, the only means of long-distance communication for inhabitants of the Gatineau valley was the mail. Before 1865,

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224 Regarding the blessing of the bridge, see the letter from Father Laporte dated October 1, 1897, in Annex B-17.
this service was provided by the Hudson’s Bay Company, and by the timber merchants for the upper Gatineau. 225 The telegraph made its appearance in the Ottawa region in 1850. 226 However, telegraph service was not available in Maniwaki until 1872. 227 The following table (see Table 6) shows municipalities that had a telegraph office in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. 228

225 Anastase Roy, 13.
227 Anastase Roy, 13.
228 The source is undated, but it is thought to have been produced in the late 19th century.
Table 6: List of Telegraph Offices - Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1870 Montreal Telegraph Company 229</th>
<th>After 1880 Great North-Western Telegraph Company 230</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>Hull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylmer</td>
<td>Aylmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau Point</td>
<td>Gatineau Mills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelsea</td>
<td>Chelsea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>North Wakefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Farrellton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kazubazua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aylwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gracefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Maniwaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
- Great North Western Telegraph Company of Canada. *List of offices, rates & connections*. N.P., undated;

229 Complete list of company offices, Annex B-8.
The telephone followed the telegraph by a few years. In Maniwaki, for example, this technology provided a means of communication between the three stores of Charles Logue in 1899.\textsuperscript{231} The first public telephone in this locality dates from 1905.\textsuperscript{232}

\textsuperscript{231} Anastase Roy, 86.
\textsuperscript{232} Anastase Roy, 86.
2. Population, biological mixing and cultural mixing

The Gatineau valley was frequented by Euro-Canadians even before there was a colonial or religious authority in the region and before the production of any official demographic data. Although there are discernible traces of the first European incursions into the area, as was seen in the historical section of this report, no formal enumeration of the first Euro-Canadians or Indians frequenting or living in the Gatineau valley was produced before official structures were established. This section outlines the evolution of the population of the Gatineau valley from the available official demographic sources.

The Gatineau valley was gradually populated with Euro-Canadians beginning in the 1800s. In the first half of the century, most development occurred in the southern parts of the valley. Attracted by jobs, primarily in the timber industry, and the resulting opportunities (farms, businesses, and so on), the colonists gradually settled farther north beginning in the 1850s. This second phase of population coincided with the arrival of the Oblates in the Gatineau, who also acted as promoters of colonization. The following table (see Table 7) shows the evolution of the region’s population after 1851:
Table 7: Population of the Gatineau Valley (1851-1901)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Sub-district</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hull</td>
<td>3,980</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eardley</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masham</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>9.27</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denholm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylwin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hincks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northfield</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>530</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blake</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouchette</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

233 In 1881, the census sub-district was named Wakefield & Denholm.
234 In 1891, the census sub-district also included Bigelow, Wells and McGill townships.
235 In 1901, the census sub-district also included Bigelow Township.
In theory, this table includes all of the region’s population groups, including those of Indian or mixed ancestry. With respect to the latter, however, the statistical censuses do not seem to be very reliable. The following section begins with a detailed analysis of the information about Indian and mixed-ancestry population.

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236 In 1861, the census sub-district also included McGill Township.

237 In 1881, the census sub-district was named Egan, Maniwaki.

238 In 1861, the census sub-district was named Killaly and Sicotte.

239 In 1891, the census sub-district included Sicotte, Lytton and Baskatong townships.

240 In 1901, the census sub-district included Sicotte, Lytton and Baskatong townships.

241 In 1871, the census mentioned only Baskatong, not “Sicotte, Lytton & Baskatong.” Moreover, the 113 individuals enumerated were all of “savage” ancestry.
groups found in demographic sources such as censuses and acts of civil status. It then looks at mixed-ancestry population groups according to narrative sources.

2.1 Indian or mixed-ancestry population according to demographic sources

The first stage of the research consisted in identifying mixed-ancestry individuals who lived in the region, as well as the localities and times in which they lived. By examining the available sources, particularly the 1901 nominal census of Canada, it was possible to obtain an overall picture of the distribution of mixed-ancestry people in the Gatineau valley.

It was also important to distinguish between data from the statistical censuses (which present global data on local population groups, compiled from information on each individual enumerated) and from the nominal censuses (which present information on each individual directly enumerated by the census officers in the field). By cross-referencing the two types of data, statistical and nominal, it is possible to obtain a portrait of the population of the Gatineau valley from the 1901 census and to identify the place occupied by mixed-ancestry individuals in the region’s demographic landscape.

2.1.1 Statistical and nominal censuses

The statistical censuses enumerate the entire population and classify its members by, among other things, origin or ancestry.\(^{242}\) In theory, therefore, Indians should be included. However, very few were identified (see Table 8):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Indian Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{242}\) Only the 1891 Census does not include references to ancestry.
It is doubtful that this data accurately reflects the Indian population of the Gatineau valley in the second half of the 19th century, at least in the case of the censuses before 1901. The nominal censuses, although still incomplete, may give more realistic figures. For example, the seven Indians enumerated in 1861 lived in the township of Bouchette. In the nominal census, however, 57 people in the Maniwaki sub-district were identified as Indian.244

In view of this disparity, detailed analysis of the statistical and nominal censuses was required to obtain a more realistic portrait. The 1901 censuses were used for this study because they are the most complete and give an overview of the second half of the 19th century. The data for townships in which Indian or mixed-ancestry individuals were identified was compared and analysed.

2.1.1.1 General portrait in 1901

Under the provisions of the Act respecting Census and Statistics passed in 1879 (42 Victoria, Chapter 21) and the 1886 Revised Statutes of Canada (Chapter 58), the fourth official census of Canada was to be conducted in 1901. On January 19, 1901, the Canada Gazette published a proclamation from the Governor in Council stating that this census was to ascertain with the utmost possible accuracy the population classified by age, sex, marital status, religion, education, nationality, occupation and other variables. Under this proclamation, the population would be enumerated in accordance with the de jure system on March 31, 1901. The country would be divided into census districts and sub-districts. The census sub-

243 The figure in parentheses indicates the number of “Métis” enumerated. It is not included in the 403 Indians.

244 A copy of a page from the nominal census appears in Annex A-6. While it is practically illegible, the entry “ind.” for Indian can be seen in column 13.
districts would ordinarily consist of townships, parishes, cities, towns and incorporated villages. There would be a census commissioner for each census district and an enumerator assigned to each census sub-district. The details of information and forms to be used would be provided to the census officers by the Minister of Agriculture.

The “enumeration of living persons” was done using Schedule 1 of the 1901 census. The variables were the number of the dwelling and the household (Columns 1 and 2), the name of each person in the family or household on March 31, 1901 (Column 3), sex (Column 4), colour (Column 5), relationship to the head of the family (Column 6), marital status (Column 7), date of birth (Columns 8 and 9), age on last birthday (Column 10), country or place of birth (Column 11), year of immigration to Canada (Column 12), year of naturalization (Column 13), racial or tribal origin (Column 14), nationality (Column 15), religion (Column 16), occupation (Columns 17 to 21), employment status (Columns 22 to 27), education (Columns 28 to 32), mother tongue (Column 33) and infirmities of the people enumerated (Column 34). The 1901 census – this is why it was the only one used for this study of all the 10-year censuses done by the Canadian government since 1851 – added a new demographic variable, that of racial origin (Column 5, colour), and also kept the variable of ethnic origin (Column 14, racial or tribal origin). The last two criteria are particularly pertinent for this study. For each of these variables, clear instructions were given to the census officers in order to standardize their work:

*Origin:* Among whites the racial or tribal origin is traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, etc. Care must be taken, however, not to apply the terms “American” or “Canadian” in a racial sense, as there are no races of men so called. “Japanese,” “Chinese” and “negro” are proper racial terms; but in the case of Indians the names of their tribes should be given, as “Chippewa,” “Cree,” etc. Persons of mixed white and red blood – commonly known as “breeds” – will be described by addition of the initial letters “f.b.” for French breed, “e.b.” for English breed, “s.b.” for Scotch breed and “i.b.” for Irish breed. For example: “Cree f.b.” denotes that the person is racially a mixture of Cree and French; and “Chippewa s.b.” denotes that the person is Chippewa and Scotch. Other mixtures of Indians besides the four above specified are rare, and may be described by the letters “o.b.” for other breed. If several races are combined with the red, such as English and Scotch, Irish and French, or any others, they should also be described by the initials “o.b.” A person whose father is English, but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French or any other race, will be ranked as English, and so with
any others – the line of descent being traced through the father in the white races.245

Race: The races of men will be designated by the use of “w” for white, “r” for red, “b” for black and “y” for yellow. The whites are, of course, the Caucasian race; the reds are the American Indian, the blacks are the African or negro and the yellows are the Mongolian (Japanese and Chinese). But only pure whites will be classed as whites; the children begotten of marriages between whites and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black or yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of colour.246

As a result, the 1901 census of Canada can be used to conduct research on biological mixing based on two different variables, race and origin. The following table presents the data from the 1901 statistical census regarding the distribution of the population of the Gatineau valley, which corresponded to the Wright census district, on the basis of ethnic origin (see Table 9):


246 Canada (Govt.), Fourth Census of Canada 1901, vol. 1, xviii.
### Table 9: Ethnic Origin of Population of the Gatineau Valley - 1901 Statistical Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Sub-district</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Half-Bred</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Various Origins</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aumond</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylwin</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bigelow &amp; Blake</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouchette</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eardley</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egan</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1,354</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hincks</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull248</td>
<td>5,238</td>
<td>14,694</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kensington</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

247 For the purposes of this study, only those census sub-districts for Wright Township within the Gatineau valley are shown here for ease of presentation.

248 Includes the census sub-districts of Hull, Hull city and Aylmer – city.
This table shows that the French-ancestry population accounted for nearly 66% of the total population of the Gatineau valley while those of British origin represented 32%. As for the “Indians” and “half-breeds” enumerated, they were primarily concentrated in the Maniwaki census sub-district, the site of the Kitigan Zibi Indian reserve, and formed a small proportion (1%) of the enumerated population. Some people of Indian and mixed ancestry were also listed in the townships of Sicotte-Lytton-Baskatong (37 individuals) as well as in the city and township of Hull (23 individuals).

The statistical census data was produced by compiling the nominal data collected by each of the enumerators appointed in each of the census sub-districts. This data was revised by the census commissioner for Wright County and corrections were made where mistakes were evident. The corrected data was then submitted to the Department of Agriculture, which compiled the statistical data. It was therefore necessary to review the nominal data from the census sheets for Wright County to compare them with those in the statistical census, especially since the data on race
(colour) was not published in the statistical tables for the 1901 census. For this phase of the research, only census sub-districts which listed people of “half-breed” or Indian origin were examined (see Table 10):

Table 1: Population of “Half-Breed” or Indian Origin in the Gatineau Valley in 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Sub-district</th>
<th>Statistical Census</th>
<th>Nominal Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half-Breed</td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull, city</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniwaki</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicotte-Lytton-Baskatong</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>402</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thorough examination of the 1901 nominal census verified that individuals of mixed and Indian origin were primarily found in three of the census areas in the Gatineau valley. The statistical data for the census sub-districts of “Hull, city” and Sicotte-Lytton-Baskatong matches the nominal data for Wright County. However, for the sub-district of Maniwaki, the statistical census reported 349 Indians whereas the nominal census listed 374, an under-enumeration of about 7%.

Rereading the nominal census also showed that the instructions regarding the enumeration of people of mixed ancestry were not consistently followed. For example, the enumerator for the town of Hull seems to have followed the instructions since he entered William Swasson as *abénaqui m.e. (métis écossais)* [Abenaki s.b. (Scotch breed)]. In contrast, the enumerator for the Maniwaki

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249 The nominal data of the 1901 census is available on microfilm at a number of archives. The originals are kept at the National Archives of Canada (NAC). The Wright census sub-district (district 200) is contained in microfilms T-6549 and T-6550.

250 NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district L6, Hull city, folio 60.
sub-district, Arthur Roy, entered only the father’s ethnic origin (French) for children born of his marriage with an Indian woman.\textsuperscript{251} The census commissioner crossed out this last entry and simply put \textit{I.B} for \textit{Indien blanc} or white Indian. Apparently, the census commissioner for Wright County had carefully revised the pages submitted by the enumerators. He was able to make corrections as long as the enumerator had indicated mixed marriages. Only genealogical verification could determine the accuracy of the entries made by the census officer.\textsuperscript{252} By comparing the statistics on ethnic origin and race,\textsuperscript{253} some distortions can be seen, which are also explained by the fact that the enumerators did not always correctly follow the instructions with respect to these variables. Again, the enumerators were supposed to ensure that:

\begin{quote}
only pure whites will be classed as whites; the children begotten of marriages between whites and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black or yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of colour.\textsuperscript{254}
\end{quote}

Therefore, all individuals of “Indian” or “half-breed” origin should have been designated by the letter “R” for “red” in Column 5 (racial origin).

The following table presents this data from the nominal census (see Table 10). Consultation of the nominal census showed that the three sub-districts that listed individuals designated as “red” corresponded to those that listed individuals of Indian or mixed origin (see Table 11):

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Table 2: Population of the Gatineau Valley by Race and Ethnic Origin}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Census Sub-district & “Red” (\textit{“R”}) & Mixed and Indian Origin \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{251} NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 6, 22, 24, 27 and 28.

\textsuperscript{252} In the Maniwaki sub-district, the enumerator recorded the ancestry of Joseph Asselin spouse of Madeleine Beaudoin as French (folio 23). This Joseph Asselin is shown as being the son of Antoine Asselin and Élisabeth Commanda. Since the mother’s surname is of Algonquin origin, it must be assumed that Joseph Asselin is of mixed French-Algonquin ancestry. As a result, the enumerator should have recorded him as “Métis m.f.” [f.b.] and not as of French ancestry. This means that the number of “half-breeds” in the Maniwaki sub-district is possibly understated.

\textsuperscript{253} This demographic variable appears in column 5 in the table of living persons under the characteristic “colour.” The Department of Agriculture did not produce a statistical report on this variable.

\textsuperscript{254} Canada (Govt.), \textit{Fourth Census of Canada 1901}, table xi, 360-363.
This comparison of the data on origin and race confirmed that the census instructions were not always followed to the letter. The enumerator for the township of Sicotte identified the two children of Edmond Vasseau and the Algonquin woman Margaret as being of mixed origin, but considered them white. This is why the census sub-district of Sicotte, Lytton & Baskatong had 37 people of mixed and Indian origin, but only 35 "red" people. In the census sub-district of Hull, more “red” people (30) were recorded than people of mixed and Indian ancestry (22). The enumerator designated eight people who said they were of French or English origin as “red.”

Finally, in the sub-district of Maniwaki, the number of “red” people (393) is only one less than the number of people of mixed or Indian origin (394). Out of the 394 statements of ethnic origin, only nine conflict with the racial designation. Three people of Indian origin as well as two mixed children are listed as white, while three people of French origin are recorded as “red.”

### 2.1.1.2 Portrait by township

255 Joseph and Anna Dann, children of Ernestine Legault, are recorded as being of English ancestry but are listed as “red” (NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district L2, Hull city, folio 30), while Jules Bélanger, his spouse Malvina and his four children are of French ancestry but are listed as “red” (NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district L6, Hull city, folio 62).

256 John McDugal, Jean-Baptiste McDugal and Charlotte Commanda are recorded as being of Indian ancestry but are listed as “white” (NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 23).

257 Samson Dumond and Véronique Chassé are recorded as being of mixed ancestry but are listed as “white” (NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 6 and 22).

258 Anna Asselin, Élisabeth Goulet and Ernestine Brascoupé (Indian name) are recorded as being of French ancestry, but are listed as “red” (NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 21).
The township of Hull, which gave its name to the town established at the confluence of the Gatineau and the Ottawa rivers, across from Ottawa, was established in 1792 and officially proclaimed in 1806. The township municipality was established in 1845 and the city of Hull was split off from it in 1875. In the 1901 census, the population of the city of Hull was 13,993 people, almost 90% of whom were of French origin. The census sub-district of Hull was subdivided into six census sub-tracts (L1 to L6). The people designated as being of mixed and Indian origin were found in area L6, in a place that the enumerator called the “réserve des sauvages” [Indian reserve]. This reserve seems to have been located near Laurier Street on the bank of the Ottawa River. The enumerator listed 22 people of mixed and Indian origin, including 12 Iroquois and 10 Abenakis, belonging to five families.

The township of Maniwaki primarily corresponds to the town of Maniwaki and the Maniwaki Indian reserve. The Indian reserve is located at the confluence of the Desert and Gatineau rivers, 137 kilometres north of Hull. To the west and the south it borders directly on the town of the same name. The boundaries of the township were established in 1850 and the Indian reserve was marked out in 1853. In the 1901 census, the population of the census sub-tract of Maniwaki was 1,512 people, 394 of whom were of mixed or Indian origin, or 26% of the population of this census sub-tract. Enumeration of the Maniwaki census sub-district was done by an enumerator named Arthur Roy. He indicated on the census forms an area that he called Maniwaki village (pages 1 to 20) and another area that he called Maniwaki township (pages 20 to 31), apparently to differentiate between the village of Maniwaki and the Indian reserve. The population of these two census areas was distributed as follows (see Table 12):


260 NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district L6, Hull city, folio 60 and 62.

261 Commission de toponymie du Québec, 411.
Table 3: Population of the Maniwaki Census Sub-district in 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Sub-district</th>
<th>Euro-Canadian 262</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maniwaki - township</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniwaki - village</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the people designated as being of Indian and mixed origin in the Maniwaki census sub-district lived in the township of Maniwaki (the Indian reserve). This population was made up of 394 people, only seven of whom lived in the village of Maniwaki. These were the Euro-Canadian Joseph Dumond, his Indian wife and their six children. 263 The township of Maniwaki was less uniform than the village of Maniwaki. People of Indian origin represented close to 70% of the total population. There seems to have been relatively little biological mixing, but the enumerator’s information must be interpreted with caution. Individuals with French surnames such as Beaudoin, Chalifour, Chevalier, Cayer, Lacroix, Morin and Sarazin were enumerated as being of Indian origin when they were probably of mixed ancestry.

Some 80 heads of households in the township of Maniwaki were designated as Indian in origin. Of these, 44% said they were farmers, 32% were labourers and 24% were hunters. The farmers also reported earning additional income from other economic activities. Finally, 30% of the population of the township of Maniwaki was of Euro-Canadian ancestry. The enumerator recorded all these people in the last pages of his census forms. 264 This suggests that this was a group located in a specific area. It seems that many Canadian colonists settled south of the Desert River on part of the Indian reserve. This data also shows that mixed-

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262 Population with European ancestry, either English or French.

263 NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 6.

264 NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district P, Maniwaki, folio 28 to 31.
ancestry people in the township of Maniwaki lived among the Indians and were not geographically separate from them, as was the case with this group of settlers.

The townships of Sicotte, Lytton and Baskatong correspond to the region north of Maniwaki. In the 1901 census, the total population of these townships was only 644, of which 62% were of French origin. People who were of Indian and mixed origin represented only 5.7%. The nominal census gives precise data for each of the townships enumerated in this census sub-district (see Table 13):
Table 43: Population of the Sicotte, Lytton and Baskatong Census Sub-district in 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Sub-district</th>
<th>Euro-Canadian 265</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baskatong</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytton</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicotte</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The people designated as being of Indian origin were primarily located in the township of Baskatong, about forty kilometres north of Maniwaki. At the time, Baskatong was occupied by the timber merchant shanties.266 The first household enumerated in this township listed 34 people, including 28 men described as labourers.267 Of these labourers, four were Algonquins. These were obviously employees of a timber shanty. The Baskatong census included only 14 households and most of the people enumerated made a living from the timber industry. A few Indian families (16 people) lived off hunting. It therefore seems that the population of the township of Baskatong worked primarily in the timber shanties and that a few Indians carried out traditional hunting activities. The Baskatong mission ceased to exist in 1927 following the construction of the Mercier dam and reservoir.268

2.1.2 Acts of civil status

265 Population with European ancestry, either English or French.
266 See the “Timber” section of this report.
267 NAC, 1901 census, T-6549, district 200, Wright, sub-district T1, Baskatong, folio 1.
268 Anastase Roy, 194.
The acts of baptism, marriage and death provide information from which it is possible to trace an individual’s ancestors and descendants. This source gives not only the names of the individuals in question, but also their parents and godparents. The term “savage” is often used for Indians, although this was not the rule. For this study, the acts of civil status were briefly examined to identify some pertaining to mixed-ancestry individuals and mixed Indian and Euro-Canadian couples. Since there were many Indians and Euro-Canadians in the Maniwaki region, this research focussed on the mission and its surroundings. These acts are found in the Registre du missionnaire itinérant de la région de Maniwaki [Register of the itinerant missionary for the Maniwaki region].

An initial look at the register identified a few acts relating to mixed-ancestry people. The first concern a Lacroix family, the head of which, André, married an Indian woman named Véronique Makatwinikwe. Their act of marriage could not be found, but their names appeared on the act of marriage for their daughter, Angelique Lacroix (April 17, 1856), and on the act of baptism for their grandson, for whom they were the godparents (September 7, 1856). The name André Lacroix is also found on the act of marriage of his son William, but the name of his wife is not that of Véronique Makatwinikwe. It is possible that he had a second spouse, also Indian, or simply that there was a transcription error.

Other mixed couples were also identified in the acts of civil status. For example, the act of baptism for Marie Chalifour showed that her father, Joseph, had married an Indian woman named Geneviève Matwetjiwana, while a John M. Dale had married Cecil or (Cecin) Twenish. It is known that the latter couple had at least two children since they appear in the 1901 census. The census also made it possible to identify another mixed couple, that of W. H. Gagnon and his wife Cesillia, and their many children.

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269 ANQQ, Registre du missionnaire itinérant de la région de Maniwaki, Mission de Rivière-Désert, Eglise de l’Assomption, Maniwaki.
270 See Annex A-3.
271 See Annex A-1.
272 See Annex A-4.
274 See the act of marriage, Annex A-5.
275 See the 1901 nominal census extract, Annex A-7.
276 Cesillia’s maiden name is unknown, but her colour is recorded as “red” (column 5) and she is recorded as being of Algonquin ancestry (column 14) in the 1901 nominal census. See Annex A-8.
The acts identified through the research are only examples of the biological mixing that took place in the Gatineau valley, primarily in the regions of Maniwaki and Baskatong. A more detailed portrait would require in-depth genealogical research, including cross-referencing the data from the 1901 census with the available acts of civil status. However, the principal question is still whether there was a community of mixed-ancestry individuals that had a distinctive culture. So far, the demographic sources have not identified any group of mixed-ancestry people living separately from the Indian communities. The demographic sources suggest rather that mixed-ancestry individuals seem for the most part to have been dispersed among the Indian groups in the region.

2.2 Mixed-ancestry people according to narrative sources

The second strategy used to find clues to the existence of a distinct mixed-ancestry group was to examine descriptive accounts of the region and its inhabitants. The various people who travelled through the Gatineau valley in the 19th and early 20th centuries described the populations they encountered, often in detail. These narrative sources include all travel accounts, missionary reports and correspondence, reports by government officials (surveyors, Indian agents, school inspectors, and so forth) and, although there are few, accounts by inhabitants. The 19th century and early 20th century saw the development of the region’s official infrastructures and, compared with previous centuries, an abundance of documentary accounts were produced that can be used to investigate the outcome of contact between the population groups in terms of culture and identity. The following is a list of narrative sources that discuss the population of the Gatineau region, whether from up close or from a distance (see Table 14):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author (year)</th>
<th>Account</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Maniwaki collection. (1850-1932)</td>
<td>Correspondence and administrative documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. F. Andrieux, O.M.I.</td>
<td>Desert River, September 1, 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexis de Barbezieux</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanderberghe, O.M.I.</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Bouchette</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. E. Deschamps</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanislas Drapeau</td>
<td>Études sur le développement de la colonisation du Bas-Canada depuis 10 ans (1851-1861) constatant les progrès des défrichements, de l'ouverture des chemins de colonisation et du développement de la population canadienne française.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges Duhamel</td>
<td>Description des cantons arpentés et des territoires explorés de la province de Québec. Extraits des rapports officiels d’arpentages qui se trouvent au département des terres ainsi que de ceux de la commission géologique du Canada et autres sources officielles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odessa Piché</td>
<td>Municipalités, paroisses, cantons, etc. de la province de Québec de 1896 à 1924.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (Gov.) 1867-72</td>
<td>Annual report of the Secretary of State for the year (Indian Division). Sessional Papers, 1867-72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (Gov.) 1873-80</td>
<td>Annual reports of the Department of the Interior (Indian Division). Sessional Papers, 1873-80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (Gov.) 1881-1924</td>
<td>Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report. Sessional Papers, 1881-1924.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec (Province)</td>
<td>Report of the Superintendent of Public Education. Sessional papers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec (Province)</td>
<td>General report of the Minister of Colonization and Public Works, 1904. Quebec sessional papers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The entire corpus was read in the course of the research and the few references it contains to people of mixed ancestry in the Gatineau valley were systematically identified. In general, given its size, the documentary corpus contains relatively few such references. These references fall into two categories: the first group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Source</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quebec (Province). Department of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries (1920)</td>
<td>La vallée de la Gatineau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec (Province). Department of Lands and Forests (1908)</td>
<td>Région de l’Outaouais : description des cantons arpentés et exploitations de territoires, de 1889 à 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Henry (1760-76)</td>
<td>Travels &amp; adventures in Canada and the Indian territories: between the years 1760 and 1776.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormisdas Magnan (1925)</td>
<td>Dictionnaire historique et géographique des paroisses, missions et municipalités de la province de Québec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormisdas Magnan (1916)</td>
<td>La vallée de la Gatineau ou, Comté d’Ottawa : terres à coloniser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Michael Ballantyne (1848)</td>
<td>Hudson’s Bay, or, Every day life in the wilds of North America: during six year’s residence in the territories of the Hudson’s Bay Company.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anastase Roy (1933)</td>
<td>Maniwaki et la vallée de la Gatineau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges Boileau, O.M.I. (1918)</td>
<td>Notes ethnologiques sur les Indiens de Maniwaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
deals with the presence of mixed-ancestry individuals or families in particular, while the second involves groups of mixed-ancestry people. For the purposes of this study, a distinction will be made between references to individuals or families and references to mixed-ancestry people collectively.

### 2.2.1 References to mixed-ancestry families or individuals

There are few passages referring to mixed-ancestry individuals or families in the region, considering the large number of sources examined. Some passages were found, but they refer to specific individuals or families without mentioning a community. The first was written by Philemon Wright, who relates his first encounters with the Indians at Hull, when clearing of the land began in the early 19th century:

> Their chiefs assembled together and procured an English interpreter, George Brown, who had an Indian wife and family and who spoke both languages.277

Although it is not definite, it may be assumed from this excerpt that the children of this “Indian family” were biologically mixed. However, Wright categorizes them as Indians. He also states that George Brown acted as an interpreter for a group of Indians who frequented the territory, but lived at Lac des Deux Montagnes. It should be noted that he did not mention any other mixed families besides this one. It seems that this family was attached to the Indian group it accompanied.

Next, in his journal of 1843, the Jesuit priest, Du Ranquet, mentions meeting Canadian men married to Algonquin women at Lake Sainte-Marie:

[Translation]

> Lake Sainte-Marie, also called Lake Rond, is a league and a half from the river. When Mr. Moreau and I arrived at the nearest portage, with a man and the savage woman, we left the canoes to take the trail through the woods to this mission. As night set in, we arrived at the home of Mr. James Now, a former winterer from Lake La Truite. His wife and mother-in-law are Algonquin. There are a few other savage women married to Canadians who have recently settled on the shores of this small lake. Mr. Moreau made his confession well into the night.278

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277 Philemon Wright, 21. This was also recounted by Joseph Bouchette, under the heading “Hull.”

This brief reference to mixed couples was the only one found with respect to this locality. However, Joseph Desautels, one year earlier, mentioned 14 families in this locality that he described as “Canadian.”

Do both accounts refer to the same group of people at Lake Sainte-Marie? It may be assumed so, since it is unlikely that there was more than one village in the area at the time. In 1849, Monsignor Guigues also mentioned a meeting with 14 “Canadian” families at Lake Saint-Marie, but did not make any particular reference to mixed ancestry regarding these families or any of their members. The mission, later the parish Saint-Nom-de-Marie, was settled in the 19th century by Euro-Canadians.

There is no specific information about mixed-ancestry families in the locality in the census conducted in 1901 or other historical accounts.

Farther north are the Maniwaki village and Indian reserve where Euro-Canadians and Indians frequently rubbed shoulders. The chances of finding signs of biological mixing here are greater than elsewhere in the region, especially since there is more documentation on this area. However, there are only a few such references, and these are not very precise, preventing specific identification of an individual or group. The first comes again from Father du Ranquet and concerns a mixed couple and a child:

[Translation]

On Sunday, about midday, we waved as we passed the Desert River post. There were three savages from Lac des Deux Montagnes; they had their cabins a little farther downstream; they asked us to visit their families. They had begun some fields. We stopped there for two or three hours to hear the confessions of the savage women and their children. The three men wanted to come with us to Lake Sainte-Marie where we had to spend a day. The next day, a savage woman married to a Canadian also asked to come with us; she got into our canoe with a young child.

A letter from Father Guéguen, undated, but most likely from the late 19th century, also mentions a “Métis” at Maniwaki, but is no more specific than Du Ranquet: “[Translation] This Métis spoke three languages.” It is impossible to determine


281 Dominique Du Ranquet, 239.

282 Letter from Father Guéguen, Oblate Archives, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/20-39, undated [1895?]. Annex C-6. The first part of the letter is missing, making identification of the individual impossible.
the context for this statement, since it was found at the top of the second page of an archived letter (in the Maniwaki collection of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate archives), the first page of which is missing. It is, however, apparent that this statement concerns a mixed-ancestry individual and does not suggest a group of such people.

While few Indians lived in the southern part of the Gatineau valley, the same was not true for the areas farther north. In addition to Maniwaki, many Algonquins frequented other missions, one of which also served Euro-Canadians: the Baskatong mission. This place would also have been conducive to biological mixing. However, there are very few and, in fact, virtually no references to it in the narrative sources. The only reference found was made by Father Guéguen in 1895: “[Translation] In the spring, I had the consolation of baptising […] three Métis children.”

Even farther north, many Algonquins and Têtes-de-Boule, among others, from Saint-Maurice gathered at Micomis, a “savage” mission in the upper Gatineau, located 80 miles from Maniwaki. This was another place that would have been conducive to biological mixing. Unlike more southerly localities, there is little documentation on this place except for some correspondence and a number of mission reports written by the Oblates. These documents include a reference to “Métis” made by Father Guéguen on February 26, 1894:

[Translation]

... at Micomis, I found nine savage or Métis families that had performed their missions there.

However, these “Métis families” are not mentioned in another letter from Father Guéguen who, returning from a mission to Micomis, refers only to “savages.”

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283 The author’s name cannot be made out on the original, but judging by the style and handwriting used, it was undoubtedly Father Guéguen.

284 Letter from Father Guéguen, Oblate Archives, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/20-34, 189[57], Annex C-7.

285 Father Guéguen, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/3-66, Annex C-1.

286 Father Guéguen saw this spot as the ideal location to establish another Oblate mission that could be used as a base for missions to the “savages” at Témiscamingue and Saint-Maurice and to shanties in the Upper Gatineau. See Annexes C-1, C-2, C-3 and C-4. Later, however, as the number of Indians who gathered there gradually shrank, the mission had to be established at Baskatong. See Annex C-10.

287 Father Guéguen, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/3-66, Annex C-1.

288 See Annex C-5.
Finally, the writings of Father Guinard contain the most frequent references to “Métis.” In his memoirs, written in 1943, which relate his memories of the early 20th century, Guinard tells about a mission conducted during surveying for the Transcontinental at Supply Depot No. 1, which was located at the forks of the Gatineau, or more than one hundred and ten miles north of Maniwaki.289 A small, excited group was gathered at the depot and included a “Métis” fur trader:

[Translation]
A Métis was doing a fine trade in furs with the Indians.290

And further on, concerning the same “Métis”:

[Translation]
One day, visiting the winter shanties in the Gatineau, I travelled on snowshoes through the woods to Depot No. 1. The Métis fur trader accompanied me and told me that there were about thirty Indian trappers waiting for him at the depot. We decided to play a trick on them. We entered his store in the evening by lamplight. I had tucked my soutane under my coat and lowered my cap over my eyes and I spoke English. The Métis introduced me as his new clerk. The Indians, puzzled, examined me. The trader’s wife was not fooled, however. She said without hesitation that I made a funny clerk because I looked exactly like a Catholic missionary. This remark by the Indian woman unmasked me and everyone burst out laughing when they recognized me.291

Later on in his memoirs, Father Guinard made another reference to a mixed-ancestry individual when describing his predecessor, Father Guéguen:

[Translation]
He spoke Algonquin like an Algonquin. “It is a pleasure to hear him speak savage,” I was told by a Métis who knew him well.292

Later, he added:

[Translation]
He wrote a catechism in Tête-de-Boule and also published a catechism in the Cree language, helped by a Métis he was friends with.”293

In the case of the last two excerpts, however, it is not known where these people lived.

Finally, it seems pertinent to mention the presence in the study area of an individual named Paul Riel, whose surname associates him with Louis Riel. Charles Logue, the agent posted to the Maniwaki Indian reserve, wrote in 1881:

As soon as the true state of affairs was reported to me, and acting under your instructions, I dispatched a relief party in charge of Mr. Paul Riel to administer to their wants and supply them with provisions. Mr. Riel was familiar with the geography of the Upper Gatineau, and was well known among the Tête-de-Boules. His mission was a success.

No other information about this individual is given in Logue’s report, such as whether he lived in the area or had a mixed-ancestry family.

The preceding passages all refer to mixed-ancestry individuals or families, but are not precise enough for accurate identification of these people, which might have offered useful avenues for further research. However, they do attest to biological mixing occurring in the Gatineau valley, and more specifically in the regions north of Maniwaki. Taken together, these references do not seem to indicate the presence of a mixed-ancestry community, since they concern isolated individuals.

2.2.2 Passages referring to mixed-ancestry groups

In the corpus of sources, certain passages refer more generally to mixed-ancestry groups, rather than individuals or families. As was the case for mixed-ancestry individuals and families, there are relatively few such references.

The first excerpt containing one of these references does not come from a Gatineau valley writer, but since it concerns the Algonquins who frequented the Gatineau valley in the middle of the 19th century, it was considered appropriate to include it in this study. This is an excerpt from the 1845 annual report written by the Indian Affairs agent at Lac des Deux Montagnes:


The total number of these indians is 1050, of whom 418, including 62 heads of houses, are Algonquins, 318, including 90 heads of houses, are Nipissings, 314, including 60 heads of houses, are Iroquois, at least two-third are stated to be half breeds.295

This excerpt treats mixed-ancestry individuals as integrated into the Indian communities in question. The next excerpt is from the 1894 annual report for Indian Affairs and was written by the agent posted to the Maniwaki reserve with respect to new measures to prevent alcoholism:

Since then the Indians can only obtain intoxicants through the medium of whites or half-breeds.296

It is known that the author of the report is referring to Maniwaki, which provides additional evidence of biologically mixed individuals in the locality at that time. The specific nature of this reference to “half-breeds” should be noted. This is the only reference in all the sources that links a group of mixed-ancestry individuals with “whites” rather than with Indians. This will be examined in detail below.

The next two references are by Father Lorrain, who is presenting his arguments in favour of establishing an Oblate house at Micomis to Monsignor Duhamel, Archbishop of Ottawa. The first dates from April 24, 1894:

[Translation]

... in the archdiocese of Ottawa, because the Savages and Métis in the upper regions of the Gatineau and Lièvre and other rivers could be better served. The missionaries could meet with them more often, and perhaps even succeed in persuading them all to live at Micomis . . . .297

The second is dated April 26, 1894:

The missionaries at Micomis would serve all of the missions currently under the responsibility of Father Guéguen in the vicariate and would minister to some whites, savages and a fair number of Métis on the Gatineau and Lièvre rivers in the Diocese of Ottawa . . . .298


297 Father Lorrain, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/3-70, Annex C-3.

298 Father Lorrain, Maniwaki collection, 2D9/3-70, Annex C-4.
Once again, these references are somewhat general and it would be unwise to claim that they refer to a precise cultural group of “Métis,” let alone a distinct community. All other references in the sources concerning population groups at Micomis mention two groups, “whites” and “savages.”

Another letter, this one incomplete and with no author, but written at Maniwaki in 1894 by an Oblate Father,\(^299\) has been classified as mentioning the presence of “Métis” in general. Although it refers to only one person, it implies the presence of other mixed-ancestry people, since the author is not talking about a specific individual:

[Translation]

> These benches were sold to others in the absence of these savage women, who therefore lost their benches, and today another one of these savages and her son-in-law, [?] [?] chief, complained to me that the fathers preferred the money of the whites to that of the savages. Unfortunately most of the savages do not understand enough French to follow the bidding. This caused great difficulties for them at the time of the sale – in the past when there were fewer whites, the auctioneer was usually a Métis.\(^300\)

The Oblate Father Georges Boileau worked at Maniwaki from 1912 to 1914 and became priest of that parish in 1916-17.\(^301\) His *Notes ethnologiques sur les Indiens de Maniwaki*\(^302\) included the next two excerpts regarding biologically mixed people in this locality:

[Translation]

> Fine individuals, in terms of both appearance and constitution, are rare. However, through mixing with whites, there are some in each category.

(p. 5)

\(^{299}\) This letter is included in the correspondence from the Oblate house in Maniwaki and is addressed to “R. P. Lefebvre Provincial.”


There are few families. Therefore, the race is being maintained but not increasing. There are also many marriages with whites* - which also reduces the number of savages, since they like to move into the ranks of the whites. [The asterisk refers to a correction made by another Oblate Father, Father Fafard, 303 who wrote and signed the following.] This is exaggerated. There were few mixed marriages in the past and none have taken place for a long time. F. X. Fafard, O.M.I. (p. 6)

This reference must be interpreted carefully, especially since the words of the writer are perceived as exaggerated by one of his contemporaries. Fafard’s note regarding Boileau’s exaggeration seems justified in light of the demographic data of the time presented in this report. Unless there was a significant change in the number of marriages between Indians and Euro-Canadians between 1901 (the date after which nominal census data is no longer available) and 1918 (the date of Boileau’s account), it does not seem justified to state that there were “[translation] many marriages with whites” among the Maniwaki Indians. Whatever the exact significance of Boileau’s words, he does not mention a distinct cultural group made up of mixed-ancestry people.

Finally, Anastase Roy, in his book on Maniwaki and the Gatineau valley, published in 1933, gives a list of Indian and “Métis” family surnames without distinguishing between the two:

[Translation]

Names of Indian and Métis families that receive the Loan or Ration, as well as the meaning of the names. . . . 304

This is the last of the few references to groups of mixed-ancestry people found in all the sources examined. It places “Indian” and “Métis” families together in one list, as inhabitants of the same locality (the Maniwaki reserve). The next part of the report summarizes the research findings with respect to mixed-ancestry people in the sources.

2.3 Findings on possible ethnogenesis of a mixed-ancestry group in the Gatineau valley


304 Anastase Roy, 17.
Although European and Indian populations associated in the Gatineau valley before the 19th century, the conditions favourable to the ethnogenesis of a distinct community do not seem to have existed. As demonstrated by Foster in his study of conditions favourable to ethnogenesis, distinct mixed-ancestry communities generally emerge where European men settle permanently in specific areas around colonial centres, and unions are formed (often to strengthen commercial alliances) between Europeans and Indians. According to Foster, this was the context that gave rise to mixed families, the children of which later acted as cultural and commercial intermediaries between the European and Indian populations that came into contact. As the first part of this report demonstrates, during this period, which remains difficult to document, the Gatineau valley essentially served as a passageway for the Indian groups. With regard to people of European ancestry, it cannot be proven by documentary evidence that they were in the Gatineau valley, even temporarily. Although it is possible (but unlikely) that a mixed-ancestry community with a distinct culture emerged before the 19th century in the study area, documentary evidence of its hypothetical presence could not be found.

In the 19th century, considerably more documentary sources were produced in the Outaouais region, and it is possible to find accounts dealing specifically with the inhabitants of the Gatineau valley. This study systematically identified every use of “Métis” or equivalent terms to refer to mixed-ancestry people in these sources. Approximately half of these references do not concern a mixed-ancestry group, but rather individuals or families living in the midst of Indian or “Canadian” communities. There was also, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a third, generic use of the term “Métis,” rarely found in the documents, to designate more than one mixed-ancestry person at once. However, the “Métis” are never presented as a cultural entity with its own identity in these references. The term “Métis” is generally associated with the term “Savages” to designate a group of people frequenting the same area or in the same situation (principally at Maniwaki and Micomis). The distinction between “Métis” and “savages” in the sources is not systematic, however. The majority of the time the same groups are simply considered to be “savage” groups.

The sources also use the term “Métis” to refer to mixed-ancestry individuals who played a specific role in the Indian communities (the role of interpreter, usually). However, the “Métis” are not distinguished from the “savages” for whom they perform that role.

One passage in the sources associates “half-breeds” with “whites,” that is, people of mixed ancestry with Euro-Canadians. This concerns the sale of alcohol to Indians. This passage indicates that mixed-ancestry people had freer access to alcohol than people of strictly Indian ancestry and that they could serve as middlemen for the purpose of distributing this product in the Indian communities. It should not be concluded, on the basis of this one reference, that there was a mixed-ancestry community with an independent economic role in the region.

None of the sources presents the “Métis” as a culturally independent and distinct entity or community in any explicit or indisputable way. As well, no source attests to events that may have represented interaction between a mixed-ancestry group and the Euro-Canadian and Indian communities around it. Sources produced in the 19th century, in general, have little to say about the “Métis” and do not allow clear association of this term with any group that may have formed a community and would have identified itself as distinct from Euro-Canadians or Indians.

Discussion

This last part of the report, which represents a synthesis of the research findings, is not intended to provide any legal analysis regarding indicators of Euro-Canadian control over the study area or the ethnogenesis of a mixed-ancestry community with a distinct culture in the Gatineau valley. Up to this point, the research findings have been presented in the form of a factual history, organized both chronologically and thematically. The purpose of this section is to offer guidelines for integrating and examining these findings from a broad historical perspective. It therefore suggests approaches to understanding historical events occurring over a long period, approaches that could be taken into consideration when analysis of the regional historical situation is required. This part also suggests possible strategies for continuing the research on which this report is based. In short, it constitutes a discussion of the research findings and reflects only the ideas and views of this report’s authors.

A. Questions on Euro-Canadian control over the region

The first component of this study identified the gradual establishment of various historical elements that could serve as indicators of Euro-Canadian control over the study area. To this end, a number of research approaches were used to trace, through secondary studies and numerous historical documents (administrative and
legal documents, missionary papers, and so on), the overall development of such control. This section of the report will give a synthesis of the research findings with respect to the questions pertaining to effective Euro-Canadian control over the Gatineau valley.

It is possible to distinguish two very different phases in the history of Euro-Canadian occupancy of the Outaouais region. The first phase is characterized by occasional use of this vast region and an absence of documentary evidence of their presence in the Gatineau valley. This phase extends from 1608, when the first contact between Euro-Canadians and Indians occurred in the region, at the time Étienne Brulé stayed in the Ottawa River valley for the first time, to 1800, when Euro-Canadians began settling in the region permanently.

During this period, the fur trade was primarily conducted at the trading posts in Quebec City, Trois-Rivières, Tadoussac and Montreal, which led the Indians (including the Algonquin groups who used the lands in the Ottawa valley), to travel along the Ottawa River to transport their furs to these posts. The Ottawa River was the main transportation route between these trading posts and the territories in the far northern and western reaches of the colony, such as James Bay, Hudson’s Bay and the Great Lakes. The Gatineau River, in this context, seems to have served as a connecting route, although there is no documentary evidence of its precise usage. The only Euro-Canadians in the Outaouais region were a few isolated individuals temporarily visiting or passing through the area (Étienne Brulé and other interpreters, Jesuit and Recollet missionaries, Champlain) in order to explore it or learn an Indian language for the purposes of trade or evangelization.

In the mid-17th century, the Iroquois wars drove the Algonquins out of the region. They dispersed, abandoning their original territory and, in some cases, taking refuge in Quebec City, Trois-Rivières and Montreal. After 1654, the authorities decided to reorganize the fur trade, since the Indians who supplied the French posts were no longer able to bring as many pelts as before. The French entered the region to establish trading posts. These posts were located along the Ottawa River, the region’s main transportation route (at the mouths of the Petite-Nation, Coulonoge, Lièvre and other rivers), but no evidence of a trading post on the Gatineau River or at its mouth was found in the sources. Missionaries also entered the Outaouais region in the mid-17th century. Father Buteux was sent from Trois-Rivières to the sources of the Saint-Maurice and Ottawa rivers. Beginning in the 1660s, many other expeditions were conducted in the Outaouais region by missionaries. However, there is no documentary evidence of a mission located on the Gatineau River specifically. The Gatineau remained a connecting route for both Indians and Euro-Canadians, and it seems that no long-term settlement was established on its banks by either group.
The situation remained the same throughout the end of the French regime and the start of the English regime. Efforts by the colonial authorities to expand the fur trade and missionary activities took place to the north and west (where the best hunting lands were located), well beyond the Outaouais region. The Outaouais region was used during this period by the Algonquins who had taken refuge at the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission. Again, there is no documentary evidence attesting to the presence of settlers on the banks of the Gatineau during this period. However, it can be assumed that they used it as a passageway to the north and west as did the Indians.306

The second phase in the history of the Gatineau valley, which began at the turn of the 19th century, was characterized by extensive logging, a growing Euro-Canadian presence and construction of the first pioneer villages in the region. In the late 18th century, the policy of the British authorities was to open up new lands for colonization and exploitation of natural resources in their only North American colony. In this context, Philemon Wright, an American businessman who wanted to establish a pioneer settlement in Canada, was sent to the Outaouais with a group of about twenty settlers in 1800. He settled at the mouth of the Gatineau River and developed a colonial settlement there.

At the same time, British demand for Canadian timber skyrocketed, as a direct consequence of the continental blockade imposed by the French emperor on resources from the Baltic region. The Outaouais, rich in this resource, became one of the primary areas supplying lumber for export in the first quarter of the 19th century. Logging operations began at the mouth of the Gatineau River in 1806 and intensified during the years that followed as other timbermen moved into the Outaouais region. The economic activity generated by the logging industry was such that it led to a massive influx of workers and the establishment of the first Euro-Canadian villages in the Outaouais. In comparison with the rest of the region, however, colonization of the Gatineau valley lagged behind. This area came under the yoke of the Gatineau Privilege – a document issued by the Crown Timber Office, which guaranteed exclusive logging rights to a handful of timber merchants, including the family of Philemon Wright – from 1832 to 1843. The Gatineau valley was therefore closed to competition and new timber operators for those years. This meant that the establishment of Euro-Canadian villages along the Gatineau came later than it did for the Ottawa River and its other tributaries. The end of the Gatineau Privilege in 1843 marked the official opening of the

306 The Gatineau River was named after a fur trader from Trois-Rivières named Nicolas Gatineau dit Duplessis, who is said to have travelled the river and lent his name to it, although there is no evidence that he actually used it.
region to competition among logging companies and the official establishment of
township boundaries and villages in the Gatineau. In successive waves, from
south to north, the entire region was surveyed and divided up into timber limits,
townships and villages. In 1845-46, the Maniwaki region was divided into timber
limits.

The Oblate missionaries also moved into the region quickly, preaching to both
Euro-Canadians and Indians, who still came to the region from the Lac des Deux
Montagnes mission. In 1851, the Oblates opened a mission for Indians at
Maniwaki, which was made into a reserve in 1853. The objective of this reserve
was to encourage the Indians to adopt a sedentary way of life because of the
extensive logging taking place in the forest that had represented their means of
subsistence. The second half of the 19th century was marked by rapid
development of Euro-Canadian infrastructures along the Gatineau (roads,
churches, public schools and government offices).

B. Questions on ethnogenesis and distinct culture

In general, the second objective of the study was to determine whether the
ethnogenesis of a new mixed-ancestry community with a distinct culture resulted
from contacts between Euro-Canadians and Indians in the Gatineau valley. To this
end, the study used a number of research approaches to develop a demographic
and cultural portrait of the historical population of the region. These approaches
all seem to converge on the same result, specifically that the biological mixing
that took place historically in the Gatineau valley was absorbed culturally by the
Indian and Euro-Canadian communities.

As shown in the first part of the study, relatively little documentation exists with
respect to the period following the first contacts between Euro-Canadians and
Indians in the Outaouais region, which extended from 1608 to 1800. In the case of
the Gatineau valley, there is no documentation of this period. Not one
documentary source attesting to a Euro-Canadian presence in this specific part of
the region was identified. Study of the first contacts between the population
groups was also made difficult by the fact that the Algonquins initially occupying
the region were very mobile. In the mid-17th century, the Iroquois wars drove
them to disperse and leave the Outaouais for other areas. This complicates the
identification of these groups. In the 18th century, they were primarily
concentrated around the Lac des Deux Montagnes mission, from which they
returned to the Outaouais region on a seasonal basis. During this period, the
Gatineau valley was used only as a passageway by Euro-Canadians and Indians
travelling north or south between the settled areas and the hunting lands. Although it is possible (but very unlikely) that a mixed-ancestry community with
a distinct culture emerged in the study area before the 19th century, there is no documentary trace of this hypothetical community.

In the 19th century, considerably more documentary sources were produced in the Outaouais region, and written accounts of the inhabitants of the Gatineau valley are available for research. In fact, this study’s findings are much more specific with respect to people living in the area after that date, making it possible to produce a demographic portrait of the distribution of mixed-ancestry people in the region. It is also possible to examine documents from that time referring to local communities for signs of a mixed-ancestry community.

First, the authors of this study conducted demographic research designed to systematically identify mixed-ancestry individuals on the basis of the available census data. This exercise revealed that few mixed-ancestry people lived in the Gatineau valley in 1901 (see the data analysed in Section 2.1.1.1). These people did not form a separate group from the Indian community at Maniwaki, but were geographically integrated with that population, and there is no data indicating the existence of other mixed-ancestry groups in the region. Genealogical examination of the demographic sources could be undertaken to refine these findings and possibly fill in some gaps. The last section of this report discusses possible avenues for future research.

Second, this study’s authors systematically identified every use of “Métis” or equivalent terms to refer to mixed-ancestry people in the corpus of sources. This corpus is made up of narrative sources produced by historical figures in the Gatineau valley in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It includes many documents written by key players who interacted with the local population groups, particularly the Indians. Among others, it includes the Oblates’ mission reports, the archives of their correspondence and personal notes from the Maniwaki collection, and the archives kept at the Oblates’ provincial house in Montreal, memoirs produced by figures of the day (primarily priests and missionaries), reports from Indian Affairs agents, and documents from trading posts in the study area, although these proved to be of little use. While not exhaustive, this corpus includes a substantial proportion of the narrative sources and descriptive accounts produced for the region with respect to the period in question, and relatively few pertinent documents could have been missed.

In the entire corpus of sources, use of the term “Métis” (or other equivalent terms) occurred relatively few times: 18 in total. Approximately half of these references do not concern a mixed-ancestry group, but rather individuals or families living in the midst of Indian or Euro-Canadian communities. Each use is reproduced in full in Section 2.2.1 of the report together with an explanation of the context
surrounding it. In general, they attest to the presence of certain individuals or families living within groups that were either Indian or Euro-Canadian, and do not lead to the conclusion that a local mixed-ancestry community existed.

The other half of the references to “Métis” identified in the narrative sources show that it was a generic term used to identify mixed-ancestry individuals in the region. These references do not concern individuals or families, or specific groups. Instead, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, there was a third, generic use of the term “Métis,” found relatively infrequently, to designate one or more mixed-ancestry people in a general way. These references have also been included in Section 2.2.2 of the report, together with explanations of the context surrounding them.

In these latter references, the “Métis” are never presented as an entity with a separate culture and identity. The term “Métis” is generally associated with the term “savage” to designate all people frequenting an area or sharing a set of circumstances (primarily in the case of the “Métis” and “savages” at Maniwaki or Micomis). The distinction made in the sources between “Métis” and “savages” with respect to the groups found in these places is not systematic. In some references, the same groups are considered to be communities of “savages” only.

The sources also use the term “Métis” to refer to a category of mixed-ancestry people who played a specific role in the Indian communities. The “Métis” are often presented as interpreters for the Indians or, in some cases, commercial middlemen. Only one passage in the sources associates the “half-breeds” with “white,” that is, mixed-ancestry people with Euro-Canadians. This passage concerns the sale of alcohol to Indians. It suggests that mixed-ancestry individuals had freer access to alcohol than people of strictly Indian ancestry and that they could act as middlemen by supplying this product to the Indian communities. It should not be concluded, on the basis of this one reference, that a mixed-ancestry community in the region played an independent economic role.

It should be noted that no source explicitly and indisputably presented the “Métis” as forming an entity or community that was culturally independent and distinct from the other communities in the area. No source attested to events representing possible interaction between a mixed-ancestry community and the Euro-Canadian and Indian communities around it. The sources produced in the 19th century, generally, have little to say about the “Métis” and do not allow a clear association between this term and any group that formed a community and would have identified itself as distinct from Euro-Canadians or Indians.
However, the authors of this report would like to point out that, while the documentary accounts identified in the corpus of sources certainly do not confirm the presence of such a community, they do not exclude the possibility of its existence either. This possibility is highly tenuous, however, in view of the considerable research that was done to find references to such a community, without success.

C. Discussion of avenues for future research

Upon conclusion of this study, there are numerous avenues for future research to refine, consolidate and clarify the findings. Because it addressed so many different aspects of the region’s history, the study involved examination of a wide array of sources, in an effort to answer questions that were administrative, political, demographic and cultural in nature. Called on sometimes to find precise details on the establishment of colonial infrastructures, sometimes to observe the phenomenon of contact between Euro-Canadian and Indian groups over a long period of time, this study attempted to maintain a balance in the selection of sources and level of detail with which they were analysed. This balance allowed the production of historically reliable answers to the questions examined, but this does not preclude further examination, clarification and refinement in the context of subsequent studies.

There are several avenues for research that could be pursued to refine this study’s findings. One of the primary approaches would be to undertake the huge task of extending the list of surnames of local mixed-ancestry families. It is possible that the number of mixed-ancestry individuals was underestimated by the 1901 census-takers and that the census data identifies only some of them. Many of the Maniwaki Indians listed in the census had French surnames, suggesting that they may have had mixed, partly French ancestry, but were not recorded as such. In-depth genealogical research could clarify this issue, but there are many obstacles to such a study, including a lack of records pertaining to the civil status of people living in the area before the arrival of the missionaries and demographic movements among the Indians. Such a genealogical study, which would be a substantial research project carried out over a very long term, could help to refine current knowledge about the integration of mixed-ancestry individuals within the Indian communities.

A second approach to refining the study’s findings would be to conduct research on the exact time at which the first Euro-Canadian families settled in the Gatineau valley. The first documentary evidence of their presence was produced in 1841 by Aylmer’s parish priest, the first religious person to be charged with visiting the Gatineau in the 19th century. After his visit, he wrote an account attesting to the
presence of approximately 45 Euro-Canadian families that had settled, recently and unofficially, in different villages north of Chelsea. These families moved into the area before the end of the Gatineau Privilege, and their presence was therefore unofficial since it did not comply with the terms of the Privilege. In fact, there is no record of any titles of ownership or other documents authorizing their presence before 1850. The evidence of these first families is particularly difficult to trace because they did not receive any religious services until 1841, with the result that religious documents (acts of baptism, marriage and death) are non-existent. The research could be extended by trying to identify exactly when these first pioneers settled permanently in the area by other means, but considerable work would be involved. One of the only remaining avenues for research, in the authors’ opinion, would be to examine the documents produced by the timber companies in the Outaouais (Wright, Gilmour, and so forth) for references to the presence of these families in the areas around the shanties.

In addition, a more precise portrait of the history of timber limits in the Gatineau valley could be obtained through the geographical data on these limits found in the archives of Quebec’s Department of Energy and Natural Resources. These documents outline the administrative history of each timber limit in Quebec, and give certain pieces of information on these territories, including cartographic data regarding the longitude and latitude of their specific geographic boundaries. For this research, the timber limits were grouped regionally based on general data regarding the area in which they were located (indicating if they were near the Pickanock or Jean de Terre rivers, without specifying exactly where they were in relation to these rivers, for example). However, it would be possible to trace the precise evolution of the region’s administrative division on a map. These three research initiatives would constitute a substantial amount of work in themselves, but could be used, if necessary, to obtain more specific information on mixed-ancestry individuals within the local communities and on the indicators of effective Euro-Canadian control over the Gatineau valley region.
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