MATTAWA NIPISSING MÉTIS HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

FINAL SYNTHESIS REPORT

SUBMITTED TO: THE STEERING COMMITTEE
SUBMITTED ON: NOVEMBER 4, 2014
This report was prepared by StoneCircle Consulting and Know History. It is the result of a tripartite research initiative financially supported by the Ontario Government and the Government of Canada with the equal participation of the Métis Nation of Ontario throughout. All three parties appointed representatives to a Research Partners Group and a Steering Committee that oversaw the development and implementation of mutually agreeable terms of reference for the research process, while allowing for Independent Researchers to conduct the research and arrive at their own findings as set out in this report.

Disclaimer: This report presents the findings of Independent Researchers. In no way do these findings represent the views or opinions of the Ontario Government, the Government of Canada, the Métis Nation of Ontario, or their representatives.
## Contents

1. Executive Summary ................................................................. 9

2. Introduction .............................................................................. 13
   2.1.1 Background ..................................................................... 13
   2.1.2 Report Contents .......................................................... 13

2.2 Terminology ........................................................................... 14
   2.2.1 Métis ............................................................................ 15
   2.2.2 The Fur Trade Matrix .................................................. 17
   2.2.3 Sauvage ....................................................................... 17
   2.2.4 Fluidity of Identity Labels ............................................ 18
   2.2.5 Community ................................................................. 18

2.3 Geography ............................................................................. 19

3. Research Questions ................................................................. 24
   3.1 Arrival of Europeans .......................................................... 24

   3.2 “Métis” from Early Contact .............................................. 25

   3.3 Ethnogenesis and In-migration ......................................... 26

   3.4 Ethnogenesis Elsewhere .................................................. 26

   3.5 Ethnogenesis through Merger ......................................... 27

   3.6 Names of Mixed-ancestry ................................................. 27

   3.7 Genealogy from 1850 – 1920 ............................................. 40

   3.8 Individuals Appearing on the Algonquin List .................... 40

   3.9 Self and Outside Ascription ............................................. 43

   3.10 Community Identifiers .................................................... 44
      3.10.1 Economic activities and institutions; .......................... 45
      3.10.2 Settlement and movement patterns; .......................... 45
      3.10.3 Political formations and institutions; ....................... 47
      3.10.4 Religious or spiritual practices and institutions; ........ 47
      3.10.5 Social relations (e.g. kinship systems); ..................... 48
      3.10.6 Language(s); ........................................................... 49
3.10.7 Forms of cultural expression ................................................................. 50
3.10.8 Other customs, practices or traditions? .................................................... 51
3.11 Shared History ............................................................................................ 51
3.12 Mixed Ancestry Connections ...................................................................... 52
4 Historical Narrative .......................................................................................... 53
4.1 Contact to 1784 ........................................................................................... 53
4.2 NWC, HBC and the Fur Trade Matrix .......................................................... 56
4.3 Aboriginal Participation in the Ottawa River Fur Trade .............................. 65
4.4 The Establishment of Mattawa ...................................................................... 67
4.5 Arrival of the Retired Traders ...................................................................... 70
4.6 Other Economies .......................................................................................... 76
4.7 Guiding ........................................................................................................ 79
4.8 Settlement Living .......................................................................................... 84
4.9 Religion and Missionaries’ Observations ...................................................... 86
5 Appendix 1: List of “Metis” Definitions circa 1816 ........................................ 93
6 Appendix 2: Family History Sheets ................................................................. 97
6.1 Antoine ........................................................................................................ 97
6.2 Atkinson ....................................................................................................... 100
6.3 Bastien ......................................................................................................... 101
6.4 Bernard ........................................................................................................ 103
6.5 Clement ....................................................................................................... 105
6.6 Colton ......................................................................................................... 105
6.7 Commandant / Grandlouis .......................................................................... 107
6.8 Commandant-Grandlouis .......................................................................... 108
6.9 Crawford ..................................................................................................... 109
6.10 Dufault-Dufond ......................................................................................... 110
6.11 Dufond ...................................................................................................... 111
6.12 Dorion ....................................................................................................... 113
6.13 Dupuis ...................................................................................................... 115
6.14 Dupuis 2 ....................................................................................................................................... 116
6.15 England/McConnel ........................................................................................................ 117
6.16 England .................................................................................................................................. 117
6.17 Ferris ....................................................................................................................................... 118
6.18 Gagnon .................................................................................................................................... 119
6.19 Ignace ..................................................................................................................................... 120
6.20 Ignace 2 .................................................................................................................................. 120
6.21 Jocko ....................................................................................................................................... 121
6.22 Jocko 2 ..................................................................................................................................... 122
6.23 Langevin .................................................................................................................................. 123
6.24 Lariviere ................................................................................................................................... 124
6.25 Laronde ................................................................................................................................... 125
6.26 Leclerc ..................................................................................................................................... 126
6.27 McCracken ............................................................................................................................... 127
6.28 McDonnell ................................................................................................................................ 128
6.29 McKay ..................................................................................................................................... 130
6.30 McKenzie ................................................................................................................................ 132
6.31 Montreuil ................................................................................................................................ 133
6.32 Parent ....................................................................................................................................... 134
6.33 Sauve ....................................................................................................................................... 135
6.34 Simon ....................................................................................................................................... 136
6.35 Simon 2 ................................................................................................................................... 136
6.36 Turner ..................................................................................................................................... 137

7 Appendix 3: Social Network Analysis Report .................................................................................. 140

7.1 Methodology ............................................................................................................................. 140
    7.1.1 About SNA ....................................................................................................................... 140
    7.1.2 Gathering the Data ........................................................................................................... 141
    7.1.3 Looking at the Graphs ...................................................................................................... 143
    7.1.4 Data Mapping & Developing Categories of Analysis ....................................................... 147
SYNTHESIS REPORT-Mattawa Nipissing Métis Historical research project

7.1.5 Terminology: Networks and Components ................................................................. 150

7.2 Analysis .......................................................................................................................... 150

7.2.1 Overview of the Mattawa Genealogical Network .................................................. 150

7.2.2 Adhesion to Catholicism and its Effects ................................................................. 155

7.2.3 Intimate Look at Godparenting ............................................................................... 158

7.2.4 Religious Network Observations ............................................................................ 172

7.2.5 Census data and vital statistics: Occupational Data and Daily Practices ............ 175

7.3 Concluding remarks ...................................................................................................... 182

7.3.1 Next Steps ................................................................................................................ 182
Map 1: The Ottawa River / Nipissing Passageway
1 Executive Summary

A mixed-ancestry community existed in the Mattawa region that has links with "Countrymen" population of former NWC and HBC employees. This mixed-ancestry population was present throughout the entire study area and is visible through its common kinship, economic and religious practices. This community lived alongside and interacted with First Nations communities. Although this research focuses on the settlement of Mattawa, the extended network of the mixed-ancestry community is clearly evident along the Ottawa River and its tributaries between 1850 and 1920.

This research was limited by the availability and quality of the extant source information. Aboriginal communities were largely oral cultures through most of the nineteenth century and left little paper trail for posterity. Similarly, nominal data from census returns, birth certificates, marriage records and death certificates is not always accurate and unfortunately too often absent from the historical records.

The settlement of Mattawa provided a focal point for this research. Situated at the eastern edge of the study area originally proposed in the RFP and at the confluence of the Mattawa and Ottawa Rivers, two historic fur trade routes, Mattawa is a complex geographical hub with an extensive network of historic canoe and portage trails, and eventually roads and rail-roads. Consequently, mixed-ancestry populations in the study area were mobile and moved at different seasons and stages of life which affected their presence in the historical record and the artificial boundaries required by this study: a crude triangularly-shaped territory with its apex above Lake Timiskaming in the north, west on the Mattawa River as far as Lake Nipissing, and then east on the Ottawa as far as Fort William/Lac des Allumettes.

The researchers recognize that many of the networks presented in this report, and those that are not, likely transcend these geographic limits.

Europeans first arrived in the study area in the early seventeenth century. Generally, explorers and missionaries travelled through the area to establish semi-permanent camps or missions in the region and beyond. Such facilities existed for only for a few years at a time because of the First Nations’ nomadic lifestyle, on the one hand, and of oscillating colonial interest and strategic needs on the other. The one constant was the Ottawa River watershed itself that retained its value both as a key transportation artery to the north and west as well as a staple fur export region for more than a century after the 1760 Conquest of Canada.

Metis ethnogenesis had certainly occurred by the dawn of the nineteenth century amongst a group of Aboriginal people with close personal, social, economic, and religious ties to a fur-trading firm based in

---

1 We use the term Countrymen to refer specifically to those individuals and families that have historic ties to the NWC Company. For more information on the terminology please see Section 2.2.
2 These were the temporal limits imposed on the genealogical research for this project. The research team widened the temporal limits to include relevant evidence.
3 For more information about these limitations please refer to the Supplementary Literature and Archival Research that were submitted by the consultants.
Montreal, the North West Company (NWC), which existed between 1784 and 1821. Known as Nor’Westers, they employed twenty-four men in four trading posts in their Ottawa River district and a comparable body of men around Lake Timiskaming by 1802. Unlike their rivals in the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), they readily married Aboriginal women à la façon du pays (according to the manner of the country) and cared for the mixed-ancestry progeny around their posts who were called “bois-brulé”. A social hierarchy emerged with partners’ sons becoming company officers and those of the labouring classes maintaining more lowly stations. It was precisely this group of Aboriginals, with the aid and support of the NWC, who defended their interests when threatened by the loss of lands to European colonizers around Red River in 1814. Contemporaries referred to these insurgents as “half-breeds,” “Bois Brulés,” or “metifs”; the mixed-ancestry retainers of the NWC, however, referred to themselves as “countrymen”: a term applied to those even far removed from the battlefield because of age or vast distance.

The NWC would have had approximately a hundred or so “Bois Brulés” dependents living around their posts in the Ottawa River watershed by the early nineteenth century. These Historic Metis, who enjoyed close ties to the NWC and extensive kinship networks that paralleled the company’s far-flung North America operations, formed a significant component within the study group. Their number grew after the 1821 merger between the NWC and HBC when retirees began migrating to the study area for the purposes of resettlement. The activity of this latter group is more easily delineated because they appear within the pages of the HBC’s commercial records and in registers kept by Roman Catholic clergy who

---


7 LAC, MG 19-E1, Selkirk collection, page 8896-7, Cuthbert Grant to Alexander Fraser, 13 March 1816, microfilm reel C-8, A1642; Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), Northwest Company records, F-471-1, box 3, file F 471-1-0-4, “Letter from Donald McIntosh, Michipicoten, to his sister,1816”, 21 August 1816, barcode B803021. A1643
began missionary activity in the region in the late 1830s. Names such as Bastien, Colton, Crawford, England, Ferris, McCracken, McDonnell, McKay, McKenzie, and Turner, all former HBC retirees, principally from the Timiskaming district, brought their Countrymen families with them to Mattawa in the mid-1840s or married Aboriginal women from the area shortly thereafter. Children by all these unions began intermarrying other mixed ancestry and First Nations families by the era of Confederation. It is important to remember that these families were already a regional presence (in Timiskaming, Fort Coulounge and other locations within the study area) prior to the construction of a permanent facility at Mattawa in 1837 and that they viewed Mattawa as a satisfactory region for resettlement after they left the HBC.

The researchers have identified several characteristics of this community.

1. This community is not an isolated nor closed community. It is adapting throughout the period under study as members come and go.

2. The kinship links within this community are significant: 89.92%, or 1027 of the 1142 people studied were connected to each other via immediate kinship links. Marriages were either endogamous (between groups of a same cultural community) or exogamous (incorporating First Nation or Euro-Canadian persons into a mixed-ancestry framework, for example). We see common behaviour and association within the community based on the visual representation of immediate kinship relationships, occupational data, and religious relationships of baptism. While the social network analysis was also limited by the availability of sources, the findings demonstrate presence of a cluster of 200+ persons who strategically associated with one another through time and space, creating a distinct social and cultural environment for themselves.8

3. The community lives alongside the First Nation Population in early years, trading with First Nations, acting as middle men and continuing to participate in the Fur Trade. Throughout history mixed-ancestry community members adapt to changing realities, the collapse of the fur trade, the rise of the lumber industry, the arrival or western religions and education. Mixed-ancestry individuals and family members change their industries, and move closer to the settlement to take advantage of economic and spiritual opportunities.

4. The fur trade, first with the NWC and later the expanded HBC, was the primary employer of the mixed-ancestry community through the middle of the nineteenth century. Even those who were discharged from the HBC pursued the same line of employment as either “petty traders,” who had the financial resources to advance credit to First Nations hunters in the fall and then profit from furs acquired in the winter, or simply ran their own trap lines and bartered directly at the Mattawa facility.

8 This specifically refers to persons who pursued Catholicism through the ritual of baptism.
5. Diversification followed as the timber industry superseded the fur trade as the dominant staple export in the 1850s since its heavy reliance upon seasonal labour allowed mixed-ancestry people both to farm and earn extra income by labouring in the winter shanties (see section 4.6).

6. Guiding then became a viable economic pursuit for such families once Mattawa became a big-game hunting mecca in the late nineteenth century (see section 4.7).

7. The first known mixed-ancestry families settled in relative close proximity to the HBC post allowing them to work, trade, and attend small social gatherings there. Previous analysts have suggested that a potential cluster of these same families were still living around the old trading facility that may have constituted polling station one in 1901.9

8. Movement patterns appear to be unique to mixed-ancestry families. Those who trapped on their own account, established winter camps and then brought their pelts to the HBC store periodically between November and April.10 Movement, particularly in the summer months seemed to be motivated by a desire to visit family members as the McDonells and McKays were reported as returning to places where some of their kin still lived.11 Interestingly, their second and third generation descendants would later guide hunters, fisherman, and wilderness campers through some of this same region once rail service opened the Upper Ottawa valley to tourists at the end of the nineteenth century.

9. The mixed-ancestry population around Mattawa valued and practiced Catholic rites. Notable communal practices were associated with the rituals of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Mattawa individuals from the region of study were observed performing and seeking out these rites of passage from Catholic Church representatives and often traveled outside of Mattawa to suit their purposes.

This report relies solely on the written record. No oral history was conducted or available for collection as part of this research. This limits the availability of community identifiers as an oral history project would likely help reveal other community identifiers such as traditional hunting and trapping grounds, unique hunting methods, naming conventions or family lore. Regardless, the research team feels the evidence presented clearly indicates that a mixed-ancestry community existed in the study region with close associations to the Countrymen of the Northwest Company.

---

10 University of Waterloo Special Collections (hereafter UWO), GA3, Colin Rankin fonds, file 15 “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, entries of 29 August, 2 and 21 November 1848, 26 April and 1 July 1849, 24 April and 16 December 1850, A1644.
2 INTRODUCTION

2.1.1 BACKGROUND

This report was commissioned by the Research Partners Group consisting of the Métis Nation of Ontario, the Ontario Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. The research and report writing was conducted by Know History and Stone Circle Consulting as independent researchers. The findings of this report are the professional opinion of the researchers and are not necessarily the findings of the sponsoring institutions.

This project was undertaken as Part A – Phase 3 and included a supplementary Literature Review, supplementary Archival Research, Genealogical Research and this Synthesis Reports. These earlier reports have all been submitted to the Steering Committee and provide significant information on the methodology, availability of sources and historical narratives that support this synthesis report. Readers are invited to consult these reports as part of the larger project.

2.1.2 REPORT CONTENTS

This report provides an analysis of the sources and information collected as part of the supplementary literature review, supplementary archival research, and genealogical research. The report contains

Introduction: This section deals with important issues around terminology and the geographical scope of the research.

Research Questions: This section contains answers to the questions posed in the original RFP. The question is presented in italics and summary answers are provided with references to other sections of the report where more detailed information can be found.

Historical Narrative: The Historical Narrative section provides detailed contextual information and references to the mixed-ancestry population in the study area and activities they participated in. The history of the study area is documented, in particular the economic and religious histories.

Appendix 1: Provides a list of “Metis” definitions circa 1816 that ...

Appendix 2: Contains brief family histories for root families identified during the course of this research. The history sheets include the root ancestors and an overview of the descendants, their ethnicity, known locations, and summary kinship patterns (i.e. what other families they married into).

Appendix 3: Is the Social Network Analysis Report that provides a methodology and analysis of findings for the Social Network Analysis conducted as part of this research.

---

12 Part A, Phase 1 and 2 was conducted by another consulting firm Public History Inc. At the outset of this project, Public History met with the Steering Committee and the StoneCircle/Know History research team to answer questions about the other phases of work and the availability of sources.
In addition to this synthesis report, the final deliverables will include a number of research products that support the findings of this research. These products represent a considerable investment in research and organization which may help future research studying this issue. They include:

**Descendant Reports:** These reports provide genealogical information about root ancestors and descendants. This information is more detailed than the information provided in the Family History Sheets included in the synthesis report, but are more complicated in the details. These are standardized genealogical reports.

**Document Collection:** Three separate document collections will accompany the final report. A published source collection, and archival collection and a genealogical document collection. These collections contain thousands of documents researched and used in the preparation of this report. All documents are references with alphanumeric identifiers which are also the electronic file names.

**Family Tree Maker:** A Family Tree Maker backup file contains all the genealogical information collected and allows users to search individuals and look at their information. This genealogical program can be linked to Ancestry.ca for future research.

**GEDCOM Files:** GEDCOM Files are the standard for genealogical research documentation. These files are much more limited in the information that the data found in Family Tree Maker but are more accessible with open source software.

**Maps:** Several maps were created as part of this research to help situate the readers with place names and geographical features. These will be delivered with the final report.

**Persons Database:** This MS Access database contains all persons recorded in the genealogical research and all the associated metadata gathered about that person such as birth date, marriage information, employment, ethnicity and location data. Documents supporting this information can be found in the genealogical collection. The database will also be delivered in Excel Format

**Social Network Analysis Graphs:** A series of SNA graphs contain various visual representations of social networks. Additionally, the Visone program files used to create these graphs will be included in the final report.

**Source Usage Report:** The genealogical research referenced thousands of documents. Creating an annotated bibliography for this number of entries is not feasible. Instead, the source usage report indicates each source used and references which individuals were identified in the source.

### 2.2 Terminology

A major challenge to this work is terminology. Clearly defining and adhering to strict terminology protocol is an important component of this project and essential when
answering the complicated questions outlined in Section 2.3 of the RFP: “Was there a historical Métis community that lived in, used or occupied the study area?”

The research team is aware that there is much debate on what terms mean to different people and organizations. Below we have outlined how we intend to use some particularly problematic terms. While the research team acknowledges earlier comments from the Peer Reviewer Dr. Mike Evans about the problematic identifiers of “seemingly natural” identifiers such as “Algonquin” and “First Nations” we do need labels and terminology to discuss issues at hand. Below is our framework for how these labels will be used throughout this report.

2.2.1 Métis

The research team recognizes that this phrase is not neutral; we understand the various terminologies associated with representing “Métis” are all embedded within specific political and sociological contexts. Indeed, currently renowned scholars in the field of “Métis” studies cannot agree on a standardized terminology.

There is little scholarly consensus about how the terms “Metis,” “Métis,” or “métis” are to be applied to the various mixed European-Indian ancestry collectives that evolved from the North American fur trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. At its root, métis is simply a French adjective that means “mixed” with no racial or national overtones whatsoever. By the end of the 1700s, however, the term was being specifically applied to people—predominantly of mixed French-Canadian and Native ancestry—who were beginning to diverge as separate entity from their parental stocks.

The historical record is clear that by 1816 a group of mixed European-Indian ancestry retainers of the North West Company (NWC), called variously “Metifs,” “Bois Brulés,” or “Half Breeds” by outsiders, asserted their Aboriginal rights to territory around Red River. What separated this group from other mixed-ancestry collectives was their association with the Montreal-based fur trade and the fact that they did not “consider themselves as white men, or that they are so considered by white men, nor do they consider themselves on a footing with the Indians.” “Bois Brulés” at first a pun upon their darker complexion and hybrid physical features, quickly became a sobriquet—and perhaps even a tribal designation—used by others: Alexander Ross mentioned that “brulés” were present at NWC posts west

15 See Appendix 2 for a listing of historical uses of the term “Métis” circa 1816.
of the Rocky Mountains prior to 1821; William Keating commented that the “Bois Brulés” were more expert voyageurs than Canadians in 1823; and, Alexander Sherriff used the same nomenclature to style retired fur trade employees living in a settlement along the Ottawa River by 1829.\(^\text{17}\) This latter usage was not by accident since it testified to the survival and even expansion of the NWC’s basic social system after the 1821 amalgamation of the two major trading firms.

English-language archival sources typically used the more generic “Half Breed” in reference to the mixed-ancestry people living in the study region. This term was both an apt description of parental bloodlines as well as a pejorative jab at the regular marital unions that had occasioned their birth.\(^\text{18}\) However, since Mattawa’s environs were an integral part of the Montreal-based fur trade, often surnames were used with no other racial identifiers because HBC correspondents were well aware of each other’s pedigree. Thus, the extended McKenzie family headed by Roderick, both a NWC partner and later a Chief Factor in the HBC, were considered to be “Half Breeds” even though not often specifically identified as such.\(^\text{19}\) The same rationale was applied to other prominent families, including the Camerons, Faries, McDonells, and Turners whose lineages were well known to their associates. Indeed, the frequency of country marriage and the mixed-ancestry progeny produced thereby was probably the rule, not the exception, in fur trade society well into the nineteenth century.\(^\text{20}\)

Given the political and sociological complexities of the terms “Metis”, “Métis”, “metis” and the fact that labels such as “half-breeds,” “Bois Brulés,” or “metifs” were largely ascribed by outsiders, this research report will use the term “Countrymen,” a term that the NWC’s biracial retainers used in a self-ascriptive way, to describe those Aboriginals living in the study region who can trace their lineage back to the North West Company or those of mixed heritage who lived and worked within the parameters of the HBC after its amalgamation with the NWC in 1821. When we are unclear if a mixed-ancestry individual is


connected to “countrymen” we will use the term “mixed-ancestry” to refer to individuals and families that we have identified as stemming from a European-Aboriginal lineage.

The term “First Nations” will be used to specify those individuals or people belonging to Amerindian collectives that have been consistently recognized as such by various governments since colonial times.

Aboriginal is a collective name for the original peoples of North American and their descendants whether they be First Nation, Metis or Inuit.

2.2.2 THE FUR TRADE MATRIX

Throughout this report we will make reference to the “Fur Trade Matrix”. This is the exceptional socio-economic environment within the North West Company that fostered the evolution of “Countrymen”. Nor’Westers encouraged country marriages—especially to benefit their own biracial daughters—attended to the welfare of their mixed-ancestry children, groomed their dependants for employment within the business concern, and buoyed the legitimate political aspirations of their “Countrymen”. Such attitudes survived the 1821 amalgamation with the Hudson’s Bay Company because old NWC partners retained positions of influence as factors and traders within the new concern. They continued to champion their own “Countrymen” family members’ interests in the face of growing discrimination while prejudice from both within and without united the mixed-ancestry progeny associated with both former rival companies. (See section 4.2 for a historical account of the Fur Trade Matrix.)

2.2.3 SAUVAGE

In its review of previous reports, the research team notes that the interpretation of the term “sauvage” used by Catholic missionaries in their documented accounts of the region was interchangeable with the word “Indian.” For example, an 1865 petition from Les Sauvages de Mattawa was briefly referenced, and the word sauvage was translated to “Indian” without unpacking or explaining the limitations or the consequences of such a translation. Translating “sauvage” as “Indian” or associating the term with First Nations in general, gives an impenetrable racial and negative association to the word. Recent historical inquiries on Métis communities in Saskatchewan propose that the term sauvage was used in order to highlight the contrasts and comparisons between the lifestyles of mixed-ancestry populations in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The cultural framework of Missionaries, and their European brethren, often associated itself and its practices with the notion of “Christian civilisation.” As the local population adopted customs and practices that were in line with the objectives of Euro-Canadian settlers, such as farming and regular church attendance, they became “métis” instead of “sauvages.”

---

2.2.4 Fluidity of Identity Labels

As part of the terminology discussion we must also acknowledge the fluidity of identity labels. Individuals and groups of people are identified (and identify) differently throughout their lives. For example, Mary Matilda Ward (G0408) appears in successive censuses as “Indian”, “Scotch” “Scotch” and “English”. Annie McDonnell (G0109) is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Scotch”, and “Algonquin” in the 1881, 1901, 111, and 1921 census respectively. Walter Ferris (G0130) is described as “Irish”, “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin” consecutively from census dating from 1871 to 1921. The research team recognizes that these labels may not have been ascribed by the individuals, but by the enumerators.

Another example of the fluidity of identity labels comes from the observations of Jesuit missionary Dominique du Ranquet. In his travels to Timiskaming in 1834, Du Ranquet refers to individuals of mixed-ancestry interchangeably as Canadien (French Canadian), sauvage, and métis. He writes:

There is a métis cultivating. He watched us pass by without getting out of his house; we had a letter for him and a little boy came to fetch it. We didn’t get out of the boat; it was not in the manner of Mr Moreau to make efforts for those who showed so little desire. The savages called this man the mean Ojibway.

Du Ranquet identifies a man to whom he delivered mail as “métis”. In the same breath, he records in his journal that the “savages called this man the mean Ojibway.” By not adding more information to this passage in question, the author seems to simultaneously accept the double identity of the individual he refers to, both as “métis” and a “mean Ojibway.”

2.2.5 Community

The term “Community” deserves special attention in this methodology because in trying to answer the research questions, we need to articulate the various definitions and understandings of “community”. Stonecircle/Know History will adopt a broad approach to exploring the existence of mixed-ancestry “communities” in the region.

and, by extension, to la civilisation chrétienne. It follows, then, that the Oblates’ application of these terms implied a commentary on the status and progression of Catholicism among Aboriginal peoples.” As such, translating the sauvage to “Indian” strips the word it of its broader cultural and conceptual meanings. When a member of the Catholic Church refers to an individual as métis or sauvage, the implications are greater than to simply represent a level of mixed-ancestry or a lack thereof. These qualifiers represent how much, or how little, this person was seen to have adopted and incorporated religious rituals, practices, and beliefs that align with the idealized practice of Christianity as prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church.  

23 Fernand Ouellet and René Dionne, Journal du père Dominique du Ranquet, S.J. 1843 (Sudbury: La société historique du Nouvel Ontario, 2000), 149, P0168. The French passage reads: « Il y a un métis qui cultive; il nous regarde passer sans daigner sortir de sa maison; on avait une lettre pour lui, un petit garçon vint la prendre. Nous ne descendimes pas à terre; ce n’était pas le genre de monsieur Moreau de faire des avances pour des gens qui marquaien si peu de désir. Les sauvages appellent cet homme le méchant Sauteux. »
The Stonecircle/Know History research team is broadening traditional definitions of “community” associated with a static, sedentary settlement by taking into consideration interpersonal relationship, mobility, and core/periphery movements of people, ideas and actions. This will help further our understanding of the complexities associated with potential Métis community building in the study area: that family, place and economic activities are interrelated in the expression of a complex Métis worldview that revolves around systems of social obligation and mutual responsibility.  

Moving away from the stationary (bricks and mortar) traditional definitions of community, the research team has approached this project with a network approach to community. We recognize that communities are made up of networks of social relations that can be (but are not limited to) a combination of both geographically discrete settlements (hubs) and dispersed communities of shared identity (nodes). These nodes are not necessarily located in one geographical location but are shifting and adapting to larger social and economic realities. The result is a representation of community that connects hubs and nodes together in a complex web that reflects both geographical locations and the importance of personal relationships, cultural and political connections and identities, networks of support, traditions and institutions, shared socioeconomic conditions, and common understandings and interests.

2.3 GEOGRAPHY

The supplemental literature review, supplemental archival research and genealogical research has expanded the geographically discrete settlement approach utilized by the previous consultants in an attempt to better represent the potential of mixed-ancestry populations forming a mobile and dispersed historic Métis community in the study area, a crude triangularly-shaped territory with its apex above Lake Timiskaming in the north, west on the Mattawa River as far as Lake Nipissing, and then east on the Ottawa as far as Fort William/Lac des Allumettes. Communities are made up of a network of social relations that are a combination of both geographically discrete settlements (hubs) and dispersed communities of shared identity (nodes). The result is a representation of community the connects hubs and nodes together in a complex web that reflects both geographical location and the importance of

personal relationships, cultural and political connections and identities, networks of support, traditions and institutions, shared socioeconomic conditions, or common understandings and interests.  

Mattawa was not only an important location connected with the historic fur trade. It is a complex geographical hub with an extensive network of historic canoe and portage trails, and eventually roads and rail-roads, that would have facilitated a highly mobile and dispersed seasonal lifestyle consistent with a traditional Aboriginal networks of family territories and exchange networks. For example, while some mixed-ancestry people may have been living in Mattawa, their “community” may have be dispersed across the Ottawa River valley or across unnatural provincial boundary lines into Quebec at different times of the year to participate in hunting, fishing, trapping, logging, and homesteading activities. Geographical discrete settlements form hubs that are connected within a larger network. For example, the fixed settlements of Mattawa and Timiskiming, La Passe, Kipawa are all interconnected through the families and individuals that form part of this research. We see mixed-ancestry individuals appearing at different hubs throughout their lives, in cases where they don’t appear they may be present in other hubs not yet identified by the research.

Lastly, geography is an important element of this study because it is not only the geographical places that people are associated with but also the physical environment which people and communities exist within. The geography (landscape, travel routes, environmental resources) dictate what activities and economies are available and the courses of travel that people have historically used. The following overview of the regions geography will help situate the reader within the geographical context of this study.

Two historic fur trade routes between Montreal and the pays d’en haute (Upper Country) diverged at the confluence of the Mattawa and Ottawa rivers. Travelers bound for the Great Lakes and beyond, who had just completed an arduous upriver journey from Lachine, traditionally pivoted southeast into the smaller waterway—the eastern entrance to the Nipissing passageway—and then paddled another 45 miles to its source. The Mattawa River is actually just an interconnected series of 3 deep lakes, the Talon, Turtle, and Trout, noted for its picturesque waterfalls and rapids that, however, impeded easy travel. A long portage of 1,513 paces across the height of land then brought travelers into the La Vase River system for a challenging 6-mile descent through creeks and beaver meadows into Lake Nipissing. At the bottom of the La Vase stood a trading post built by the La Ronde family who acted as agents for the North West Company prior to 1821. The Hudson’s Bay Company’s installation, Nipissing House, was


probably relocated to Garden Island at the mouth of the Sturgeon River some years later. Canoes then hugged the south shore for about 46 miles until reaching the entrance to the swift and rapid-strewn French River that gushed into Georgian Bay, the passageway’s western end, after a course of 75 miles. At least four more lengthy days of strenuous exertion were required to move the fur brigades along the north shore of Lake Huron to the safety and hospitality afforded by the settlement at Sault Ste. Marie, almost 1,000 miles away from where they had begun in Lower Canada.

While this canoe track was of considerable importance prior to 1821, the second route along the Ottawa River from modern-day Pembroke to Lake Timiskaming is far more crucial to the study region’s history because it remained the Hudson’s Bay Company’s main supply artery to Lake Timiskaming through the nineteenth century. Voyageurs first had to surmount four major portages around thunderous rapids that barred the way between Fort William/Lac des Allumettes and Mattawa. This was perhaps the most dangerous stretch on the river including the Les Deux Joachims, the D umoine, “where the Ottawa drives for two miles violently down both sides of a steep island loaded with boulders,” and the Rocher Capitaine. Daniel Harmon counted fourteen crosses at the latter portage that memorialized the voyageurs who had died there by 1800 and remarked that twelve other voyageurs had been drowned in the waters below Mattawa. Five more portages awaited before travelers completed the remaining 125 miles that separated the HBC outpost from the larger fort at Timiskaming. A round trip by canoe between Mattawa and Timiskaming could take seven days; the transit time between Mattawa and Fort William (Quebec) somewhat longer, especially in winter when it could take horse teams up to a week just to go one way.

The Ottawa River wound its way through a seeming endless forest of hard and soft woods, with the latter predominating. As the provincial geologist, William Logan, recorded in his journal in 1845 “the country is clothed with pine, white & red.” It was this vast expanse of coniferous cover that first lured

---


30 John J., Bigsby, The Shoe and Canoe or Pictures of Travel in Canada (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), 1: 165-8, P0210.


the lumberers into the valley in 1806. They too used the river watershed as a transportation artery to float their rafts down from Lake Timiskaming to Montreal. While voyageurs portaged around the white water, timber companies built slides to bypass the unnavigable rapids and, thereby, began the process of harnessing the river for commercial purposes through the 1820s.\(^3\)

In the 1860s, surveyors reached the area and opened up the township for settlement. Although the region was not known for its agricultural potential, adequate soil for subsistence farming could be found along the Mattawa and its tributaries: the North River, the Kaibuskong, and the L’Amable du Fond. Contemporaries remarked that even the produce of marginal land could be sold for a huge profit to the lumber companies who needed to feed large numbers of men and animals over the winter months.

The eventual construction of colonization roads from the east and south, the proximity to steamboat services, and the 1881 arrival of the Canadian Central Railway integrated Mattawa with the rest of the world by making it no longer dependent solely upon canoe brigades or loggers for its economic survival.\(^5\)

---


3 Research Questions

The following section provides answers to questions posed by the Research Partners Group in the RFP and is the focus of this research. The questions are highlighted in italics and the response, based on the research, is provided below, with reference to other sections of this report for more detailed descriptions. Additional details in response to these questions can be found in the following sections on historical context, the genealogical report and the Social Network Analysis.

3.1 Arrival of Europeans

Question: When did Europeans, Canadians and/or mixed-ancestry Aboriginal-European individuals arrive or appear in the Study Area? Who were they and what was the nature and duration of their interactions with the local Aboriginal people in the Study Area?

Europeans first arrived in the Study Area in the early seventeenth century. They included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Étienne Brûlé was probably the first European to travel through the study region circa 1610 at the behest of Samuel de Champlain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1615</td>
<td>Champlain Travels to Mattawa, Lake Nipissing, French River and on to Lake Huron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Champlain sends Jean Nicollet to live with the Algonquians at Lac des Allumettes for two years, 1618-1620, and then the Nipissing people as a way to cement political ties with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Jesuit Mission established on North Shore of Lake Nipissing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>Jesuit Mission of the Holy Ghost Established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Four missionaries working amongst the Nipissings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Father Louis Andre was with Nipissing during winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1672</td>
<td>Father Henri Nouvel was with the Nipissings during the winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Sulpician father, Dollier de Casson spent the winter with Nipissings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explorers like Étienne Brûlé and Samuel de Champlain were the first on scene but did not establish a permanent residence. Jean Nicollet was the first European to live in the Ottawa River watershed for a protracted period, almost a decade, through 1630. His sojourn with the Nipissings resulted in the birth of a daughter in 1628, Madeleine-Euphorsine, whose mother was probably a member of his host community. Roman Catholic missionaries followed in the explorers’ wake. Jesuits, led by Father Charles Garnier, began ministering to the Nipissing in 1637 and remained in portions of the Study Area.
Area until their stations were dissolved by the onslaught of the Iroquois Confederacy through the remainder of the seventeenth century. A French military expedition passed through Mattawa’s environs during de Troyes’ expedition against English commercial interests along Hudson’s Bay. This force of 100 men were in the Study Area for only a few weeks in 1686. De Troyes noted in his journal, however, that there were already French fur traders established on Lake Timiskaming when he passed by. Although the earliest traders abandoned the region because of the wars against Great Britain, they had returned to the region by the 1720s and remained there until the Conquest of Canada in 1760.

For a more detailed description of the interactions between early explorers and missionaries see section 4.1 of this report.

3.2 “Métis” from Early Contact

As a result of this early contact, did a local population of Métis arise, via ethnogenesis, in the study area?

The whole issue about “Métis” ethnogenesis in pre-Conquest Canada remains a subject of fierce academic debate. As pointed out in the earlier literature review, one group of scholars—previously headed by Jacqueline Peterson—maintained that distinctive “Métis” communities developed around French military garrisons and trading posts throughout the Great Lakes basin in the early 1700s. Others countered that these mixed-ancestry families certainly existed but had not formed significantly distinct communities that was markedly different from either parental stocks. The study region, which is bisected by the Ottawa River and was a major transportation artery used by their French and Amerindian allies through 1760, formed a part of this now-contested academic space. While it is beyond dispute that the Timiskaming-Nipissing-Ottawa triangle was home to mixed-ancestry individuals and families during the Bourbon regime (1610-1760), the question about actual community formation in the early eighteenth century must remain open for now because of a dearth of primary archival sources and differing hermeneutical perspectives. See section 4.1


3.3 Ethnogenesis and In-migration

*Question: Did a local Métis community arise in the Study Area via ethnogenesis after contact? If so, what were its origins and what was its timing?*

Scholars agree that “Métis” ethnogenesis certainly occurred by the dawn of the nineteenth century amongst a group of Aboriginal people with close personal, social, economic, and religious ties to a fur-trading firm based in Montreal, the North West Company (hereafter NWC), that operated between 1784 and 1821. With the exception of Elaine Mitchell’s study of the Lake Timiskaming fur trade, most academic research has focused on the NWC’s activities west of the Great Lakes and has ignored the existence of a small number of installations that the business concern maintained in the Ottawa River watershed, which they called their Grand River department. By 1802, it employed 24 men in four posts; a number comparable to their compatriots trading upriver around Lake Timiskaming. The Nor’Westers adopted many of the same strategies as their French predecessors to deal with their Amerindian clientele, including the custom of marrying Aboriginal women à la façon du pays (according to the manner of the country). This convention resulted in the appearance of mixed-ancestry progeny around their posts who were given the sobriquet “bois-brulé” because of their swarthy appearance. Their social hierarchy, moreover, mirrored that of the NWC, with partners’ sons becoming company officers and those of the labouring classes maintaining more lowly stations. It was precisely this group of people, with the aid and support of the NWC, who defended their interests when threatened by the Earl of Selkirk’s colonization scheme of Assiniboia in 1814. Contemporaries referred to these insurgents as “half-breeds,” “Bois Brulés,” or “metifs”; the mixed-ancestry retainers of the NWC, however, referred to themselves as “countrymen”: a term applied to those even far removed from the battlefield because of age or vast distance. The NWC would have had approximately a hundred or so “Bois Brulés,” dependants living around their posts in the study area by the early nineteenth century. (This figure does not include an unknown number of NWC families who had already resettled along the banks of the Ottawa River as early as 1805). See section 4.2, 4.3

3.4 Ethnogenesis Elsewhere

---


Question: If a local Métis community in the study area arose via ethno-genesis elsewhere, when did that ethno-genesis occur, where did the Métis come from (e.g. geographical, genealogical and cultural origins and movement patterns, etc.) and how and when did they arrive in the Study Area?

Although a local mixed-ancestry community arose in the study area simultaneously with those in other NWC departments, its numbers were increased after the 1821 amalgamation of the NWC and the Hudson’s Bay Company (hereafter HBC) when the new concern began reducing the number of its posts and personnel employed therein. That year, Lord Dalhousie, Governor-in-Chief of Upper and Lower Canada, noted the presence of “all sorts of the cast off Red River servants & voyageurs” at Fort Coulonge while he was descending the Ottawa River. HBC post journals also attest to the fact that such retirees brought their Aboriginal wives and children with them when they relocated to the Canadas. Consequently, less than a decade later, Alexander Sheriff observed “a nest of old trading people—French, or “Bois Brulées [sic]” just down river from Fort Coulonge at a place called la Bosse (now La Passe, Ontario).42 More HBC retirees chose to settle specifically at Mattawa after Southern department officials eliminated support for moving ex-servants and their families at the Red River colony in 1843.43

See sections 4.3, 4.4, 4.5

3.5 ETHNOGENESIS THROUGH MERGER

Question: If there was a local Métis community in the Study Area, was it a product of both ethno-genesis in the study area and in-migration? If so, did those two groups merge? If they did merge, when?

Since the local mixed-ancestry community in the study area developed within the fur trade matrix of the NWC and post-1821 HBC, its constituents included both those born in the region and those who migrated to the area for resettlement purposes. The latter group is more easily delineated because they appear within the pages of the HBC’s commercial records and in registers kept by Roman Catholic clergy who began missionary activity in the region in the late 1830s. HBC retirees, principally from the Timiskaming district, brought their mixed-ancestry families with them to Mattawa in the mid-1840s or married Aboriginal women from the area shortly thereafter. Children by all these unions began intermarrying by the era of Confederation. It is important to remember that these families were already a regional presence prior to the construction of a permanent facility at Mattawa in 1837 and that they viewed Mattawa as the best location for resettlement after they left the HBC. See sections 4.4, 4.5

3.6 NAMES OF MIXED-ANCESTRY

Provide the names of any mixed-ancestry individuals in the Study Area during the Study Period, including those individuals identified as “breeds” in the 1901 census. If the individuals in-migrated into the Study Area, report when they arrived, how long they stayed, and the record(s) that identify them as mixed-ancestry.

The following is a list of names of people that were identified in at least one document as mixed-ancestry. We must caution readers that this identification as mixed-ancestry is not necessary complete nor should this identification be taken as self-ascription. Given the lack of documentation in some cases it is impossible to know when the person arrived in the study area or how long they were in the study area. Therefore, we have provided the dates they were first recorded as being in the study area and the last known recorded date that they were in this area. For more information and primary documents associated with the information presented in the following chart please see the Genealogical Research Product delivered with this report.

(Please note that the identity labels presented below are presented as found in the historical documents. When “ditto” it refers to ditto marks used in the identity label column. For example, the first column would be French F.B. and the second and third row would be French F.B. ditto.)

---

44 This information is incomplete and may be adjusted with new documentation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person ID</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Given</th>
<th>First Recorded in the Study Area</th>
<th>Last known Presence in the Study Area</th>
<th>Ethnicity identified over course of life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G0737</td>
<td>Alarie</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>French FB, Indian, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0198</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin FB, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0210</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Marie Philomene</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Algonquin French Half Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0211</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Francois</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin French Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0216</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Marie Magdeleine Francois</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin French Half Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0245</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0284</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin Fr Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0590</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin French Half Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0456</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin Scotch Breed, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0641</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin Scotch Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0916</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Algonquin Scotch Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0971</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Algonquin Scotch Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0972</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Algonquin Scotch Breed - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0185</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1910 (DD)</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, French, Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Given Name</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Ethnicity/Ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0187</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Cécile</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0222</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1936 (DD)</td>
<td>Half - breed, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0235</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0239</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Colored Persons, Mulatto or Indian - ditto, “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0240</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Ind, “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861); a non treaty half breed (1910) French, French, French - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0645</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Marie Louise</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0646</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0649</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0757</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Johnny</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin FB - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0759</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>John Baptiste</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>French - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0808</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin FB - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0887</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Philippe</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) French, Algonquin FB - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0188</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Madeleine Natowesi</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin FB - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1111</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Matthieu</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Metis Francais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1115</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Marie Catherine</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Metis Francais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1117</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Marie Louise Catherine</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Metis Francais -ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1118</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Joanna</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Metis Francais -ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1124</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Metis Francais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1125</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Indian, Metis Francais - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1146</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1147</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>FB - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1154</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Marie Josephte</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Iroquois F.B., Algonquin, English (crossed out) Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0770</td>
<td>Cecile</td>
<td></td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>The children in this family are mixed with indian. They farm exclusively, and live comfortably by it. (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0623</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Annie</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>French F.B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0624</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Sara Louise</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>French F.B - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0625</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>French F.B - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0626</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Flavie</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>French F.B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0627</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>French F.B - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0629</td>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>Alexander Thomas</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>French F.B - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SYNTHESIS REPORT—Mattawa Nipissing Métis Historical research project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Death Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G1061</td>
<td>Colton</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>English, Indian, &quot;These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.&quot; (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0197</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Jean Baptiste</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chippewa FB, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0814</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Xavier</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, English - ditto, “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0815</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Ind; “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0816</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>“These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0653</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) French - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0596</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0938</td>
<td>Couchie</td>
<td>Marie Anne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0507</td>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>Marie Madeleine</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>S.B., French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0853</td>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>Mary Ann Jane</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>S.B. - ditto, Scotch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Given Names</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0854</td>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>Andrew George</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>SB - ditto, Scotch, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(crossed out) Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0927</td>
<td>Dorion</td>
<td>Sophia</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>French, “These are also mixed up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with Indian, more or less.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0263</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Mary Esther</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>non-treaty squaw born at Mattawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1909); French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0316</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Francis</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Indian, Algonquin SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0318</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Ignace Nias</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Indian, Indian - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0384</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0776</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Marie Angelique</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0141</td>
<td>Dupuis</td>
<td>Justine</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>French HB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0144</td>
<td>Dupuis</td>
<td>Marguerite</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1918 (DD)</td>
<td>French HB - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0570</td>
<td>Dupuis</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>French H.B - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0986</td>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. [illegible] - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0253</td>
<td>England McConnell</td>
<td>Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0008</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1922 (DD)</td>
<td>Algonquin FB, Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0098</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Jane Maria</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin SB -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ditto, Scotch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0130</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Walter</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1932 (DD)</td>
<td>Irish, Indian, Algonquin, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0557</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>John Alexander</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S.B., Irish, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0858</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Richard Lucas Ferguson Ferris</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, Scotch, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Ethnicity Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1065</td>
<td>Godin</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Colored Persons, Mulatto or Indian - ditto - These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.&quot; (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0205</td>
<td>Grand Louis</td>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chippewa FB - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0208</td>
<td>Grandlouis Commandant</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>Chippewa FB - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0595</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0597</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. - ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0598</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>George Simon</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. - ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0599</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Francis</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0600</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. - ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0602</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Susan Jane</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B. - ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0250</td>
<td>Jambone</td>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0212</td>
<td>Jasen</td>
<td>Elisabeth</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>1923 (DD)</td>
<td>French - ditto, Algonquin French Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0005</td>
<td>Jocko</td>
<td>Jean Baptiste</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin FB, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1063</td>
<td>Jourdon</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Colored Persons, Mulatto or Indian - ditto - These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.&quot; (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0594</td>
<td>Lamure</td>
<td>Suzanne</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Algonquin S.B, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0290</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Philomene</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>French FB, Indian, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Year of Birth</td>
<td>Year of Death</td>
<td>Race/Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0607</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0738</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Jean Baptiste</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>French - ditto, Indian - ditto, French FB, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0741</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Samson</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Indian, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0742</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>French FB - ditto, Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0763</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, French FB - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0764</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Stanislaus</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto, French FB, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0766</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto, French FB, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0771</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>The children in this family are mixed with indian. They farm exclusively, and live comfortably by it. (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1050</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1051</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1052</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Jacques</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1052</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Jacques</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1053</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Terese</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1054</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1055</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1056</td>
<td>Langevin</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1914 (DD)</td>
<td>Mixed with Indian - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0167</td>
<td>Lapierre</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0433</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) French- ditto, Iroquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
<td>Nationality A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0652</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0654</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0659</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Pierre Alexandre</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0834</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0842</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>18881</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0907</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0908</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Felix</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0909</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Joseph Xavier</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0910</td>
<td>Lariviere</td>
<td>Philomene</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0043</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0045</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Wilfred</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0046</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Albert</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0047</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Marie Joseph Henri Laronde</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1921 (DD)</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0048</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Marie Alphonsine</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0049</td>
<td>Laronde</td>
<td>Marie Anne</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0012</td>
<td>Leclair</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0009</td>
<td>Leclerc</td>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1933 (DD)</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Given Name</td>
<td>Year of Birth</td>
<td>Year of Death</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0446</td>
<td>Mallotte or Malhoit</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Underlined &quot;I am a Half-Breed of a family resident...&quot; (1871)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0850</td>
<td>Marcotte</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>S.B., French, Algonquin (crossed out) Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0664</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) Scotch - ditto, Scotch, Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0672</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) Scotch - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0677</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) Scotch - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0684</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>Juliet</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) Scotch - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0920</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>J. Henry</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) French - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0991</td>
<td>McCracken</td>
<td>John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Half Breed (crossed out) French - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0011</td>
<td>McDonnell</td>
<td>Sophie</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0107</td>
<td>McDonell</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1893 (DD)</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0109</td>
<td>McDonell</td>
<td>Annie</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1933 (DD)</td>
<td>Scotch, Indian - ditto, Algonquin SB - ditto, Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0505</td>
<td>McDonell</td>
<td>Angeline</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Scotch S.B, Scotch, Indian Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0168</td>
<td>McDonnell</td>
<td>Marie Ann</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Algonquin SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0782</td>
<td>McIsaac</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0904</td>
<td>McIsaac</td>
<td>Bernadette Eva</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0403</td>
<td>Mckenzie</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Scotch, Indian - ditto, Algonquin SB, English,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0404</td>
<td>Mckenzie</td>
<td>Charlotte Jean</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin SB - ditto, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0398</td>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin EB, English, Canadian,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Given Names</td>
<td>Year of Birth</td>
<td>Year of Death</td>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1116</td>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Metis Français - ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0251</td>
<td>Nijkwiwisens</td>
<td>Jawbone Antoine</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, Algonquin FB, Algonquien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1096</td>
<td>Papineau</td>
<td>Marie Catherine</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Indian, Metis Français</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0508</td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Indian - ditto, French F.B. - ditto,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0171</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Algonquin FB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0172</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
<td>Marie Louise</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0381</td>
<td>Pilon</td>
<td>Mary Emma</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Half Breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0878</td>
<td>Pilon</td>
<td>Marie Anne Philomene</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Algonquin FB - ditto, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0241</td>
<td>Sibikwe</td>
<td>Marie Josep</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Indian, Indian, Algonquienne, “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” (1861); a non treaty half breed (1910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1062</td>
<td>St Denis</td>
<td>Hyacinth</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.” (1861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0860</td>
<td>Tenesco</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Algonquin - ditto, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0166</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1904 (DD)</td>
<td>EB (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0467</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Joseph Alexander</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>English, S.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0468</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Joseph Alexander Turner names parents as Philip Turner (Metis) and Jane Tuner (Metis) (G0468)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Birth Year</td>
<td>Death Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0473</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>John Frederick</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0475</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Archibald</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0477</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Alexander H E</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0482</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Lillian</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0483</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0489</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0491</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Grace Beatrice</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0470</td>
<td>Whitford</td>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7 **Genealogy from 1850 – 1920**

*Question: Trace the genealogy of all the individuals identified in (f) back to 1850 and forward to 1920. Record the locations where those individuals travelled or resided.*

The research team has prepared a detailed genealogy of individuals identified as mixed-ancestry and recorded all of the known locations of those individuals as well as information about their kinship relations, occupation, and other information available in the sources. This information is presented in several attached formats including an MS Access Database (also available in Excel Format), in a GEDCOM file and in a Family Tree Maker backup file. There is no printed family tree accompanying the report since that tree would stretch over 100 feet.

It should be noted that not all of the persons in the genealogical research were identified as mixed-ancestry. The research team included individuals that were related to these mixed-ancestry people through marriage and extended kinships networks.

This is not a complete genealogy of all mixed-ancestry individuals in the study area as such a study would require extensive investigation into the populations of many other settlements along the Ottawa River / Nipissing Passageway. There may be additional families of mixed-ancestry that resided in the period in-between censuses that were not recorded in any documentation. Regardless, the research team feels that the genealogical research has been robust enough to answer the questions presented in the RFP.

3.8 **Individuals Appearing on the Algonquin List**

*Question: Prepare a list of the individuals identified in 2.3.7 (f) that are also on the list of Algonquin Ancestors (which is publicly available and will be provided to the Researcher(s)).*

We have provided a list of people identified at least once in their lifetime as mixed ancestry that are also listed as an ancestor on the Registered Algonquin Voters list available at http://www.blaneyalgonquin.com/voter-enrolment.html.

It should be cautioned that the list does not provide any contextual information (such as date of birth, residence years, marriage dates) which would allow a confirmation that the individuals are in fact the same as the individuals listed in section 3.6 (individuals identified as mixed-ancestry at some point in the historical record). For example, we have two Louis Commandants in the list of mixed ancestry individuals (Section 3.6), we are unsure which is the Louis Commandant listed in the Algonquin list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person ID</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>First Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G0873</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0211</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>Francois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Given Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0916</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0971</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0972</td>
<td>Atkinson</td>
<td>Florence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0185</td>
<td>Bastien</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1061</td>
<td>Colton</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0818</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0178</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0938</td>
<td>Couchie</td>
<td>Marie Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0789</td>
<td>Decaire</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0087</td>
<td>Dube</td>
<td>Julia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0514</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Amable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0309</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Amable Jon Bon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0320</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Amable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0384</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0315</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0317</td>
<td>Dufond</td>
<td>Basil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0133</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Frederick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0142</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Maggie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0567</td>
<td>Ferris</td>
<td>Walter Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0084</td>
<td>Fleury</td>
<td>Julie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0595</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0217</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>John Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0217</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>John D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0716</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
<td>Amable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0293</td>
<td>Jocko</td>
<td>Marie Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0767</td>
<td>Kakwabit</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0075</td>
<td>Kijikasowekwe</td>
<td>Mari Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0610</td>
<td>Lamure</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0502</td>
<td>McDonnell</td>
<td>Marie Cecile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0269</td>
<td>Mic Mac</td>
<td>Marie Anne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0621</td>
<td>Montreuil</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0270</td>
<td>Montreuil</td>
<td>Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0273</td>
<td>Montreuil</td>
<td>Louis Ernest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0643</td>
<td>Natowesi</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0811</td>
<td>Natowesi</td>
<td>Josephte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0188</td>
<td>Natowesi</td>
<td>Madeleine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0220</td>
<td>Nijkwiwisans</td>
<td>Antoine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0342</td>
<td>Pesindawate</td>
<td>Jean Baptiste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0790</td>
<td>Petrant</td>
<td>William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0778</td>
<td>Pinesikwe</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0752</td>
<td>Pitchens</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1062</td>
<td>St. Denis</td>
<td>Hyacinth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0550</td>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0861</td>
<td>Tenesco</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0862</td>
<td>Tenesco</td>
<td>Alexandre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0862</td>
<td>Tenesco</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0003</td>
<td>White Duck</td>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0609</td>
<td>Whiteduck</td>
<td>Mary Natowesi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.9 **Self and Outside Ascription**

*Question:* Throughout the study period, how did the mixed-ancestry in the study area identify themselves? How were they identified by other contemporaries?

There is little archival evidence that reveals how the mixed-ancestry people in the study area identified themselves. Research has uncovered only two examples of local self-ascription. The first was an 1865 petition from the “sauvages de Mattawa” to the Oblates that included the signatures of some mixed-ancestry individuals. Interestingly, the French term “sauvage” was used at this time period to describe both Amerindians and those of mixed-ancestry.  

The other example of self-ascription was preserved by Charles C. Farr, an HBC officer, who worked in the Timiskaming district during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. He recalled an incident when an Indian-looking person with a European surname was asked about his family origins and background. While working with a survey crew along the Kippewa River in 1874, Farr overheard a conversation between two men who were his boat mates: one, an unnamed colleague and the other a Mattawa guide named Johnny McDonald (G0107 or G0110), presumably the son of Alexander McDonell (G0108) and Mary Ann McKay (G0103). Although the apparent Indian was frequently badgered by the passenger with questions about his racial origins and tribal connections, McDonald, “a modern Osceola, in baggy pants,” silenced his inquisitor by looking at him “with ineffable scorn, and answered with a ring of national pride in his tone. “D—n it man, I’m a Scotchman.” Farr then went on to comment that Aboriginal identity was malleable enough in the study region for one person to be either Indian—broadly defined since Osceola, Farr’s historical exemplar, was of mixed Scottish-Creek heritage—or European, according to circumstances.

Outside ascription is much more common but not always uniform. The earliest examples are found in Hudson’s Bay Company records where the term “half breed” was used by Sir George Simpson to describe his mixed-ancestry employees who worked or resided in the study area. This usage was apparently carried on within HBC circles since Charles Farr recalled that the company preferred employing “half-breeds” around the posts while Native hunters were sent out to their winter grounds. The governor also used the word “countrymen” when he referred to individual members of Roderick McKenzie (senior’s) family, one of whom, also named Roderick, resided in the study region during the 1830s and 1840s.

---

46 We are unable to determine which son of Alexander McDonell this may refer to has he had two sons named John. One was identified as John A. in the genealogical records.  
47 Quotation: C.[harles] C. Farr, “The Old and the New,” *Rod and Gun in Canada* 5, no. 11 (April, 1904): 539-40, P0137; Please see genealogical documents for Mary Ann McKay (G0103) and Alexander McDonell (G0108).  
Census enumerators were not consistent with descriptive labels over the decades. Indeed, sometimes a single individual used terms interchangeably, depending on the context and on the individual being referenced. Moreover, the use of “métis” “Canadien” and “sauvage” were loaded with cultural markers, such as the level of practice and adhesion to Catholicism, and the use of the French language. Frank Jambone (G0250), for example, was entered variously as Indian, Algonquin, or French. Similarly, Cecilia Ferris (G0008) was recorded first as Indian, then Algonquin Scotch Breed and finally Scotch.

Tourists and newcomers to the area were equally perplexed by their encounter with Indian-looking people who possessed distinctly European surnames. While they usually described the local Aboriginals as “Indian” and occasionally “half-breed,” or “half-bloods,” they, like the census enumerators were very subjective and rarely solicited the objects of their fascination for a personal opinion.  

3.10 **Community Identifiers**

*For Métis in the study area, what were their:*

i. economic activities and institutions;

ii. settlement and movement patterns;

iii. political formations and institutions;

iv. religious or spiritual practices and institutions;

v. social relations (e.g. kinship systems);

vi. language(s);

vii. forms of cultural expression (e.g. material culture, food, music, art); and

viii. other customs, practices or traditions?

And

*Provide sufficient information about other Aboriginal groups in the study area to enable an analysis of whether, and if so how, the Métis related to other Aboriginal people in the study area on the basis of:*

---


(Note that although the RFP used the terms “Métis” and “Aboriginal” we are addressing the answers by examining the mixed-ancestry population and local First Nations populations)

3.10.1 Economic Activities and Institutions;

The fur trade, first with the NWC and later the expanded HBC, was the primary employer of the mixed-ancestry community through the middle of the nineteenth century. Even those who were discharged from the HBC pursued the same line of employment as either “petty traders,” who had the financial resources to advance credit to First Nation hunters in the fall and then profit from furs acquired in the winter, or simply ran their own trap lines and bartered directly at the Mattawa facility. Diversification followed as the timber industry superseded the fur trade as the dominant staple export in the 1850s since its heavy reliance upon seasonal labour allowed mixed-ancestry people both to farm and earn extra income by labouring in the winter shanties (see section 4.6). Guiding then became a viable economic pursuit for such families once Mattawa became a big-game hunting and tourism Mecca in the late nineteenth century (see section 4.7). Archival sources also reveal that the mixed-ancestry families supplemented their diets by hunting, fishing, and harvesting blueberries according to the season. Colin Rankin mentioned in his private journal that the Bastien and Langevin family also made maple sugar in the spring. There was not much upward socio-economic mobility. Previous analysis of the 1901 census concluded that “mixed-ancestry people were . . . still grouped in largely working-class, resource jobs (hunting, guiding, shantymen, labour) and domestic service jobs for women (seamstresses, washerwomen, servant)” at the beginning of the twentieth century.

First Nations followed a somewhat different trajectory since they were not as deeply involved in a market economy and could rely on government largess: presents to cement military alliances or treaty payments for land surrenders. However, like mixed-ancestry people, they also harvested, hunted, traded, guided, and even worked temporarily for the HBC.

3.10.2 Settlement and Movement Patterns;

Until the advent of rail traffic in the 1880s, the Mattawa region remained an isolated area of the Ottawa Valley. The mixed-ancestry residents of this locale—like most British North Americans in the nineteenth century—lived out their lives within a few days journey from their home since their world was tied to the turbulent Ottawa River upon which they relied for transportation. Travel was arduous along the river


52 UWO, “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, (presents) entries of 2 October 1849 and 31 July 1850, (harvesting) entries of 31 August 1848 and 27 March 1851, (hunting) entries of 30 September 1848, 8 January 1849, and 31 January 1850, (trading) entries of 26 August, 22 September, and 6 November 1848, (HBC employment) entries of 10 March 1849, 7 and 22 November 1849, A1644.
because of a series of treacherous rapids which scattered its course.\textsuperscript{53} While the primary sources are limited, the Rankin journal and HBC correspondence do indicate that the mixed-ancestry family groups who inhabited the region ranged principally across a crude triangularly-shaped territory with its apex above Lake Timiskaming in the north, west on the Mattawa River as far as Lake Nipissing, and then east on the Ottawa as far as Fort William/Lac des Allumettes. Individuals, however, were known to travel beyond these confines.\textsuperscript{54} The first known mixed-ancestry families settled in relative close proximity to the HBC post allowing them to work, trade, and attend small social gatherings there. Previous analysts have suggested that a potential cluster of mixed ancestry families were still living around the old trading facility that may have constituted polling station one in 1901.\textsuperscript{55} Some mixed-ancestry individuals trapped on their own account, established winter camps and then brought their pelts to the HBC store periodically between November and April.\textsuperscript{56} Movement, particularly in the summer months seemed to be motivated by a desire to visit family members as the McDonells and McKays were reported as returning to places where some of their kin still lived.\textsuperscript{57} Interestingly, their second and third generation descendants would later guide hunters, fisherman, and wilderness campers through some of this same region once rail service opened the Upper Ottawa valley to tourists at the end of the nineteenth century. There is one record of Mattawa guides being hired to escort some canoeists on a voyage of exploration west of Lake Nipigon in 1905.\textsuperscript{58}

First Nations’ families, by contrast, moved further west and east according to the Rankin journal. The HBC postmaster, an intermediary rank between clerk and interpreter at Mattawa noted in 1849 and 1850 that some locals travelled to Lake Huron to receive their annual allotment of government presents in a lengthy round-trip journey that took them about two months to complete. This pilgrimage dated back to 1764 and was a precursor to the traditional gift-giving rite that sustained British-Amerindian
alliances after Pontiac's Rebellion (1763-1764). Similarly, he also recorded that some of his hunters would leave the Mattawa area to spend the summer months at the Sulpician mission at the Lake of Two Mountains. They would not return until the early fall to establish their winter camps. This connection was so deep that even the dead were carried there to be buried in consecrated ground.

After the signing of the Robinson Huron Treaty in 1850, the nearby Nipissing moved to the Nipissing Reserve on the northern shores of Lake Nipissing. When the provincial Land Surveyor arrived there in 1850 he recorded that three “Indian settlements” existed although Nipissing Indians continued to live at various places around Lake Nipissing.

3.10.3 Political formations and institutions;

There was no evidence we uncovered about the development of political formations or institutions among the mixed-ancestry community. By contrast, it is clear that First Nations were deemed to be political collectives by various governmental agencies and dealt with as such. In 1850, the Nipissings, along with all the other bands occupying the north shore of the upper Great Lakes, signed the Robinson Huron Treaty. In exchange for the surrender of their lands, the bands were provided with compensation and allowed to select land for a reserve. With the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs, First Nations People began dealing directly with this branch of government.

3.10.4 Religious or spiritual practices and institutions;

The mixed-ancestry population around Mattawa valued and practiced Catholic rites. Notable communal practices were associated with the rituals of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. Mattawa individuals from the region of study were observed performing and seeking out these rites of passage from Catholic Church representatives and often traveled outside of Mattawa to suit their purposes. The 1865 petition to the Oblate bishop of Bytown (Ottawa) requesting an additional mission for the Sauvages de Mattawa is a historical demonstration communal action. The petition speaks of renovations and upkeep on the local church, explains the difficulties associated with the changing economic climate of the region, and the inability of the Mattawa signatories to practice their faith accordingly. The list of names and the

61 Randy Sawyer, Nipissing 1927 (North Bay, Ontario: North Bay Indian Friendship Centre) ix-xi. P0312.
62 Ibid., vii. P0312.
request sent to the Catholic Bishop of Bytown is a significant acknowledgement of the power of petitions.

Both the petition of 1865 from the Sauvages de Mattawa and the Fort William parish registers attest to communal behaviours of mixed-ancestry individuals. The research team identified community members on the list of persons who received the sacrament of confirmation in 1881. Five persons identified in the genealogical research as mixed-ancestry from the Mattawa region traveled to Allumette Island to seek out the rite of confirmation by Monsignor Thomas Duhamel.64 This collective movement to facilitate participation in a religious ritual translates to a cohesive example of community behaviour. By seeking out the last Catholic sacrament required before the ceremony of marriage, this mobile group of mixed-ancestry individuals from Mattawa demonstrated a commitment to Catholicism. The perils of archival research on populations that were not always fixed in one geographic space are similar to one noted in studies of the Great Plains.65 (See section 4.9 and 7.2)

The material culture of Amable Dufond’s religious practice described in missionary accounts offers insights into cultural and ritualized behaviours. It signifies that the missionaries relied on the local population in order to perform their religious rituals.66 (See section 4.9 and 7.2)

Certainly, First Nations in the area were predominantly Roman Catholic and were attached to the Sulpician mission at the Lake of Two Mountains where many were baptized, confirmed, married, and buried in consecrated ground.

3.10.5 Social relations (e.g. kinship systems);

The social network analysis (SNA) of the genealogical and census data (1861-1921) and the graphs produced for the report revealed a population intimately tied through immediate kinship links, such as parentage, siblings, and marriages. 89.92%, or 1027 of the 1142 people studied were connected to each other via immediate kinship links (see Appendix 3: Social Network Analysis Report for more information on Social Relations) Marriages were either endogamous (between groups of a same cultural community) or exogamous (incorporating First Nation or Euro-Canadian persons into a mixed-ancestry framework,

65 Brenda Macdougall, One of the Family: Metis Culture in Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Saskatchewan (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 157, P0222; Foran, “‘Les Gens de Cette Place,’” P0201. Mobile populations are especially difficult to capture through sources such as baptismal registers because these primary sources are typically fixed in a specific place. For instance, the registers for Fort Coulonge capture the presence (in passing) of Mattawa-affiliated community members. These registers are not an adequate representation of the entire religious lifeways of subjects in the region of study as they may have sought different sacraments in different places depending on the circumstances of their lives. The difficulty in fully tracking the historical past of Métis lifeways was noted in other attempts to capture the movement of Historic Metis Buffalo hunters in the Great Planis by Nicole St-Onge and Brenda Macdougall. See also Macdougall, Brenda, and Nicole St-Onge. “Rooted in Mobility: Metis Buffalo-Hunting Brigades.” Manitoba History 71, no. Winter 2013 (2013): p. 30
66 More insight into specific religious practices would likely be gained by an examination of the Oblate Archives once they re-open for public consultation.
for example). The visual representation of immediate kinship relationships, occupational data, and religious relationships of baptism highlighted networks of common behaviour and association. These networks did not expand to the entire group of people analyzed, partly due to the fragmentary data collected in census material. Compilation of the ethnicity categories demonstrated that the only “standard” in the racialized categories was the lack of a common understanding and fluid meaning of identity labels such as “half-breed” and “métis.”

Fixed categories of analysis, such as whether someone was a godparent, shrunk the network of connectedness to 207 persons unified through their adherence to Roman Catholic rites as recorded in the genealogical research. This data is fragmentary, however, since only 18% of the total network had documented baptismal data. A total of 320 relationships of baptism were represented in network graphs. The godchild average for the collective was relatively low; (158 baptized ÷ 120 godparents = 1.31) Catholicism was transmitted through time amidst drastic changes brought by the impact of settler colonialism in the region. Catholicism was more prevalent among persons sometimes identified as mixed-ancestry than among those labeled First Nation, although cross-pollination, was noted. Rituals, practices, and ideas were transmitted through generations of practitioners in the region of study.

Similarly, occupational data was only available for a small fraction of the network thus identifying 244 labourers, or 21% of the entire network. (For a more detailed discussion of religion in the region please see section 4.9 and 7.2) A pattern of transmission of labour was noted among mixed-ancestry guides, peaking between 1901 and 1905. Due to the partial nature of the sum of the census data, the SNA undertaken to help represent the social, economic and familial relationships in the region of study cannot be truly complete until thorough information on all of the persons represented in the graph is compiled, unfortunately much of this source material is not available. Nevertheless, SNA calls attention to the presence of a cluster of over 200 persons that stand out from the larger network by their association to the practice of Roman Catholicism and with one another through time and space, creating a distinct social and cultural environment for themselves.

The researchers did not uncover any evidence of 19th century kinship practices of First Nations communities in the region.

3.10.6 LANGUAGE(S);

English, French, and Algonquin seem to have been the primary languages spoken by mixed-ancestry people in the study region. The use of European languages was encouraged by HBC officials of the Southern Department who resolved in 1827 that company dependants should be taught how to converse in their husbands’ or fathers’ native tongue. French, therefore, predominated because it remained the lingua franca of the fur trade in the study region. However, a school inspector, the Rev. E. H. Jenkyns, reported from Mattawa in 1875 that “The general language of conversation is either French or Indian, and with most of the pupils the English language has to be acquired.” As with the issue of self-
ascription, there is little evidence what language(s) were used by those of mixed-ancestry to communicate among themselves.  

Amerindian languages certainly remained paramount with First Nations’ communities. Fur traders were able to speak the local languages and the larger installations usually had an Indian interpreter on staff to facilitate commerce.

### 3.10.7 Forms of Cultural Expression

Although the archival evidence is scant and impressionistic, the study group’s cultural expression apparently developed within the fur trade matrix, at least through the middle of the nineteenth century. One learns from fur trade sources that the tedium of life at the posts was broken by different celebrations, particularly on nationalistic or religious holidays. Not surprisingly, St. Andrew’s Day (30 November) was traditionally observed “with feasting and rejoicing” in places where Scottish officers or personnel predominated since St. Andrew was the patron saint of their nation. Christmas was marked by a meal—to which only HBC personnel, including the mixed-ancestry employees—were invited; a dance followed. Charles Farr recalled that the steps were “a kind of jig with a mixture of Scotch, Irish and Indian movement.” There is no evidence that any Christmas celebrations were held at Mattawa during the 1849-1853 period of the Rankin Diary. Since the post journals for other years have not survived we are unsure if this practice ever occurred at Mattawa.

While fiddles are normally associated with Red River Métis culture, Colin Rankin recorded in his journal that John McKay “played a few tunes on the accordion-and well too” during one visit he paid to the Mattawa post in the summer of 1853. He likewise noted that fiddle music would be played at neighbourhood gatherings. Canoe fabrication might also be considered an example of cultural expression. However, aside from references to the construction schedule and the fact that some

---


individuals also painted paddles, no descriptive detail about the items’ actual appearance are contained in local fur trade records.\(^{71}\) (see section 4.6)

The primary archival sources consulted for this research report did not contain ethnographic information about the Aboriginal residents of the study area. It is presumed that First Nations communities in the region practiced many forms of cultural expressions including arts, celebrations, and story-telling practices.

### 3.10.8 Other customs, practices or traditions?

The research team did not identify any other unique customs, practices or traditions for the mixed ancestry population.

### 3.11 Shared History

**Question:** Generally, how did the Métis interact with other Aboriginal people in the study area culturally, socially, economically and politically?

The few extant primary sources suggest that the mixed-ancestry individuals interacted in a positive way with other Aboriginal people in the study area. Study of the Rankin journal reveals that mixed-ancestry and First Nations did travel with each other if bound for the same place, they worked together around the HBC post, and they intermarried.\(^{72}\) Charles Farr, an HBC officer in the Timiskaming district, however, later recalled that the company preferred employing “half-breeds” at the post and letting the “Indians” hunt on their ancestral lands to which others may not have had access.\(^{73}\) The 1865 petition from the “sauvages de Mattawa” to the Oblates suggests that they also shared a joint concern for the religious welfare of their often inter-related families (for more information on religion see sections 4.9 and 7.2.2). Further evidence of collaboration arises from early-twentieth century accounts of tourists published in hunting magazines which reveals that Indians and “half-breeds” also worked in tandem to guide newcomers along the waterways and game trails of the region.\(^{74}\)

Mixed-ancestry families, at least those who remained involved in the post-amalgamation HBC fur trade, were part of a much more socially stratified society than their First Nations neighbours who lived in more egalitarian tribal communities. The prevailing fur-trade power structure was divided into four

---


\(^{74}\) Public History, Research on the Métis in the Mattawa Nipissing Area (Part A), 16-17, P0192; Campbell, “Camping in Canada,” 181-5, P0143; G.[eorge] W. Creelman, “From Timagami to Wanapitei—A Useful Log,” Rod and Gun in Canada, 6, no. 10 (March, 1905): 545-9,P0145; Stevens and Saywell, Lord Minto’s Canadian Papers, 2: 378-80, P0220
primary status groups: 1. “Wintering Partners” who had attained the rank of Chief Traders and above; 2. clerks, postmasters, interpreters; 3. voyageurs and other contract servants; 4. “freemen” who were retired servants but lived in proximity to a trading post. “Countrymen” occupied all these ranks and lived according to their station. 75 (see section 4.2)

There were some other slight cultural differences between the two groups. The Rankin diary only mentions the presence of Indians at the New Years’ festivities held at the Mattawa post. This was apparently by design since the HBC excluded the First Nations from their Christmas celebrations which were attended by company personnel only. 76 Rankin also tended to refer to the First Nations he interacted with by their Christian names and to the mixed-ancestry by their European surnames. 77 Moreover, a traveler through the region wrote in 1899 that the mixed-ancestry people he met “regarded with amusement and pity their half-brothers, the full-blood Algonquins of the remote forest” because they did not enjoy the full benefits of civilization. Charles Farr also remembered that on social occasions, when dances were held in the Timiskaming district, it was the half-breeds who were considered “the aristocrats. The more humble pure-bloods dropped into the background when the proud possessors of a drop of white blood wished to ‘take the floor.’” 78

In nearby Kippewa, a settlement within the study area and with direct kinship connections to Mattawa, one author draws a clear distinction between the settlement patterns of “Metis” and “Natives”. Moore suggests that “Métis” were the first to live in permanent settlements, to work for wages, and to farm. 79

3.12 **Mixed Ancestry Connections**

**Question:** What were the connections / relationships, if any, between and among the mixed ancestry individuals and families (marriage, kinship, adoption, God parents, economic relationships, any other social or cultural relationships) who were in the Study Area during the Study Period?

Social Network Analysis has provided evidence that there are significant connections amongst mixed ancestry individuals. However, this is not a closed relationship as individuals marry and establish

---

77 UWO, “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, entries of 30 August 1848, 14 February 9 April, and 7 November 1849, A1644;
working relationships with other non-mixed ancestry individuals including First Nations and Europeans. For more detail on the connections established see Appendix 3: Social Network Analysis Report.

4

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

4.1 CONTACT TO 1784

Étienne Brûlé was probably the first European to travel through the study region circa 1610 at the behest of Samuel de Champlain. Champlain, himself, began his own partial ascent of the Ottawa River three years later reaching Lac des Allumettes before returning downstream. In 1615, Champlain travelled via the Ottawa-Nipissing passageway to the Great Lakes on an embassy to the Hurons. Thereafter, the French explorer sent Jean Nicollet to live with the Algonquins at Lac des Allumettes for two years, 1618-1620, and then amongst the Nipissing people as a way to cement political ties with them. Nicollet resided around Lake Nipissing for almost a decade between 1620 and 1629 during which time he sired a daughter, Madeleine-Euphorsine, by a local woman during his lengthy sojourn there. Madeleine, however, did not remain in her natal community because she was married at Quebec in 1642, the same year that her father drowned on his way up the St. Lawrence River on an errand of mercy.

Jesuit missionaries were the next French subjects to establish themselves in the western portion of the study region. Led by Fathers Charles Garnier, who began ministering to the Nipissings in 1637, these clerics remained in the area until the dissolution of their missions as a result of the devastating wars with the powerful Iroquois Confederacy through the end of the seventeenth century. Their presence was occasionally bolstered by royal troops and fur traders who utilized the Ottawa-Nipissing passageway to move men and material through to more strategic locales north and west of the study region. Although French military garrisons never occupied the study area, Captain Pierre de Troyes did encamp briefly at Mattawa with a small expeditionary force in the late spring of 1686 while enroute to attack the English commercial interests along Hudson’s Bay. The officer recorded in his journal that he also stopped at a trading post that the Compagnie de Nord had constructed on Lake Timiskaming. It was home to

---


fourteen Bourbon subjects. Previous reports have suggested that this particular facility had been constructed as early as 1679 and that an unknown number of courrier de bois, unlicensed traders, may have been operating in the study region as well even though it was not an area of intense commercial interest for the French.

Montreal traders returned to Lake Timiskaming in the 1720s when Paul Guillet was given official permission by Governor Vaudreuil to establish a post there. Thereafter, various French merchants then controlled the fur trade at the lake for the next three decades prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763). It was one of the active posts mentioned by Captain Louis Antoine de Bougainville in his 1757 assessment of New France’s military capabilities. Montcalm’s aide also noted the presence of trading establishments at the Lake of Two Mountains and two smaller posts above it on the Ottawa River: Carillon and the Long Sault. The latter facilities had been built “pour traiter au passage des Sauvages, qui sont les Népisings, Algonkins et Iroquois. Il s’y fait environ cent cinquante paquets, les memes pelleteries qu’a Témiscamingue, quelques ours et quelques chats de plus.” Alexander Henry, one of the earliest British subjects to ascend the Ottawa River after the Conquest of Canada, saw the remains of four other installations along its banks before he paddled into the Mattawa River in the late summer of 1761. Presumably, these remoter sites were unlicensed houses designed to intercept the Natives before they traded their furs at the posts sanctioned by the colonial administration.

The Ottawa River remained both a major transportation artery to the north and west as well as a staple fur export region for almost two centuries after the 1760 Conquest of Canada. British authorities reopened the fur trade—suspended for a couple of seasons by the exigencies of the Seven Years’ War—in the spring of 1761. Brigadier-General Thomas Gage, the governor of the Montreal military district, reported that this measure was such a priority that “Immediately after we became Masters of this Country, all Monopolys [sic] were abolished, and all Incumbrances [sic] upon Trade were removed.”

English, Scottish, and American merchants, predominately, resuscitated old French commercial

---

86 de Bouganinville, “Memoire sur l’etat de la nouvelle-France (1757),” 52, P0232.
87 Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1761 and 1776 (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 19, 25-6, P0233; de Bouganinville, “Memoire sur l’etat de la nouvelle-France (1757),” 50, P0232.
networks in their attempt to benefit from the Canadian fur trade, valued at about £140,000 a year. Through most of the 1760s, colonial administrators adopted a strictly-regulated licensing system that restricted barter to military posts, where garrison commanders could stop any deceitful business operations designed to cheat the Natives.\footnote{Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, “General Murray’s Report on the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada,” 57, P0304; E.[dwin] E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Limited, 1967), 130-38, P0235.} It was not until the late summer of 1768, however, that two such establishments were finally proposed for the Ottawa River, at Carillon and the Rivière du Lièvre. Neither were apparently built after London administrators decided to reduce expenditures overseas, remove garrisons from all but the most strategic sites, and allow each colony to regulate the Indian trade within its own boundaries.\footnote{Clarence E Carter et al, eds., The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763–1775 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931–33), 61-5, P0236; Daniel Claus James Sullivan et al, eds. The Papers of Sir William Johnson (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965), 6: 409, P0237; Edmund B. O’Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1856–87), 7: 952, P0238; Jack M. Sosin, Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760-1775 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 39-42, P0239.}

Looser metropolitan supervision through 1780s prompted an increase in the number of those willing to venture their capital on the fur trade, especially in areas of the pays d’en haute (Upper Country) that promised high returns and receptive customers living far beyond provincial frontiers. Nevertheless, two decades of unrestricted wheeling and dealing proved chaotic in the North West, where violence, lawlessness, and debauchery prevailed as independant rivals competed with one another for a clientele.\footnote{E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857, 138-42, P0235; Alexander Henry, Travels & Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, 239, P0233; Jonathan Carver, Travels Through the Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768 (London: 1778), 106-13, P0241.} An early nineteenth-chronicler of the fur trade explained that:

\[\ldots\] as every person had an equal right to sell goods at the same place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation soon saw himself followed by other traders who were ready to undersell him, with a view to reap the harvest which he had sown at so much peril, and with so much difficulty. Thus circumstanced, he, in his turn, resorted to every means for securing to himself the preference of the Indians, and for injuring his competitor. This conduct provoked retaliation. The Indians were bribed with rum, and the goods were bartered away for a consideration below their value. The consequence was, that the traders ruined each other, the Indians were corrupted, and the English character was brought into contempt.\footnote{[Nathaniel Atcheson], On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company of Canada (London: Cox, Son, and Baylis, 1811), 6, P0242.}

To break this depressing cycle of financial boom and bust, nine separate business concerns from Montreal pooled their resources in 1779 and split the profits from a year’s trade. This original sixteen-
share association evolved into the North West Company (NWC) after its principals agreed to enter a
stronger partnership agreement in 1784.  

4.2 **NWC, HBC and the Fur Trade Matrix**

Simon McTavish, a Scottish immigrant who had entered the fur trade just prior to the American
Revolution, soon became the driving force behind the new enterprise. In partnership with Joseph
Frobisher, he also established a Montreal merchant house which imported European wares and, in turn,
supplied these items to the wintering partners of the NWC who were stationed in the Upper Country.
McTavish-Frobisher profited on both accounts. Logistics was also a talent demonstrated by McTavish
who oversaw the shipment of all merchandise from Lachine to the 117 posts located east of the Rocky
Mountains by 1802. Although numbers fluctuated, approximately 540 men were employed each
summer to transport company supplies and furs between Montreal and the head of Lake Superior via
the Ottawa River-Lake Nipissing passageway. At Grand Portage, or Fort William after 1803, and Rainy
Lake, they were met by many of the *hivernants* (winterers): those 877 men contracted to work for up to
three years as laborers, canoe men, or guides in the hinterland. Their superiors included 161 clerks and
interpreters—often trusted with the charge of small satellite trading posts—and twenty or so active
proprietors who handled the affairs of the company’s various inland departments. Only the latter were
shareholders who held their annual business meeting at the rendezvous site and were entitled to a
percentage of the profits.

A visitor entertained by William McGillivray, Simon McTavish’s nephew and successor as NWC principal,
aptly described his host as a “soldier-merchant . . . [who] unites the gallantry of the one with the
shrewdness of the other.” Certainly the firm’s social and operational structure reflected a palpable
military ethos. Highland Scots dominated the officer class of Montreal agents and wintering partners
who supervised the trade and managed daily operations across their expanding commercial empire that

---

93 Charles Grant to Governor Frederick Haldimand, 24 April 1780, in *Documents Relating to the North West
Company*, ed. W. Stewart Wallace (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 66, P0156; Gordon C. Davidson, *The
North West Company* (New York: 1967), 8-12, P0156; Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company*,
15-20, P0156.
94 Fernand Ouellet, “McTAVISH, SIMON,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of
Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 14, 2014,
95 LAC, MG-20-E, class 42, volume 119, folio 138 “General Return of the Department and Posts Occupied by the
North West Company in the Indian Country With the Number of Partners, Clerks and Men Employed in that Trade
Exclusive of the King’s Posts,” [1802]. A1655; Mackenzie, *A General History of the Fur Trade*, 32-70, P0208; The
North West Company did not begin trading in earnest west of the Rocky Mountains until 1808 when David
Thompson was sent to the Columbia River. Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 251,
254, P0156.
97 Fernand Ouellet, “McGILLIVRAY, WILLIAM,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of
Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 14, 2014,
eventually extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the St. Lawrence River to the Arctic. Below them in the chain of command were the warrant officers charged with acting as intermediaries between partners and their workers.

This cadre included clerks, guides, and interpreters. The former were generally North Britons admitted to the concern with expectations of admittance to partnership alongside more senior kinsmen at a future date. French-Canadians with long years of experience acted as guides or interpreters, according to their skills. The rank and file were principally voyageurs from Lower Canada or Iroquois from the three reserves near Montreal who were hired either to hunt or man the canoes.98

The Ottawa River constituted one of the NWC’s twenty trading departments. By 1802, it employed six clerks and eighteen men in four posts, Fort Coulonge, Lac des Sables, Lac Rond, and the Chats. The facility at the Lake of Two Mountains did not go into operation until much later.99 Close proximity to Montreal, however, encouraged rival firms and individual entrepreneurs to contest the Nor’Westers dominance in their own backyards. The greatest challenge came from the XY Company, founded by NWC dissidents who were discontented with Simon McTavish’s leadership. They attracted a number of traders and new employees to their banner, including the celebrated explorer Alexander MacKenzie, who ran at least four facilities along the Ottawa River between 1798 and 1804 when the upstarts were finally absorbed by the senior concern.100 Although the exact number of independant fur traders called “petty traders”101 remains unknown, as do the locations of their many temporary stations, small-scale operators remained a ubiquitous presence along the watercourse until the era of Confederation.102

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Canoe brigades—at most four vessels guided by the most experienced voyageur—carried more than just trade merchandise along the Ottawa-Nipissing

---


passageway because travellers, packages, and letters were also part of their lading. Traders and engagés traveling along the river became conscious of the watershed’s tremendous economic potential, especially sections appropriate for settlement, cultivation, or mill seats. This key transit way proved naturally attractive for those who had retired from the pays d’en haut but still had family or friends living in distant locales since the Ottawa River remained an integral part of their collective world. Accordingly Nor’Westers, like Alexander Grant and John Macdonell, as well as some of their competitors from the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC)—John Hodgson for instance—began establishing new homes for themselves and Aboriginal families along this primary commercial route early in the nineteenth century. Grant purchased Pointe L’Orignal in 1805 where he subsequently constructed the imposing Duldregan Hall at the head of the Long Sault Rapids. A little further east, Macdonell bought strategic waterfront at the foot of the same rapids in 1813 and built Poplar Villa four years later. His imposing home at Point Fortune, situated astride the modern Ontario-Quebec provincial boundary, is now recognized as a National Historic Site of Canada. Upriver, Hodgson moved his family from Fort Albany on James Bay to the north bank of the Ottawa at Lac des Chats sometime during the War of 1812 and lived out the remainder of his life there.

Contemporaries recognized that miscegenation was an integral part of the North American fur trade. Brigadier-General Thomas Gage observed soon after becoming the military governor of Montreal that:

Nothing was more Common, than for the Servants, whom the Merchants hired to work their Boats, & assist in their Trade, thro’ a long Habit of Indian Manners & Customs, at length to adopt their way of Life, to intermarry with them, & turn Savages. Several Edicts have been published to prevent this but notwithstanding, there are now some Hundreds amongst the distant Indians, who I do not suppose will ever return to their Country.

One segment of the resultant mixed-ancestry population, who matured within the NWC’s sphere of influence, developed their own unique sense of Aboriginal identity by the dawn of the nineteenth century. While scholars continue to debate precisely where, when, and how this consciousness

---

103 Smith and Dyck, William E. Logan’s 1845 Survey of the Upper Ottawa Valley, 121, P0200. “Journal of John Macdonell,” 3 and 9 June 1793, 74, 78-9, P0212; Ballantyne, Hudson’s Bay; or Every-day Life in the Wilds of North America, 262, P0226; Henry, Travels and Adventures, 14,P0233.
104 Note this is not the same Long Sault Rapids discussed later in this report located north of Mattawa. Instead the rapids discussed in this paragraph are located east of Ottawa.
developed, the historical record is clear that a people called variously “Metifs,” “Bois Brulés,” or “Half-breeds” by outsiders asserted their title to the soil around Red River when they began to resist European colonization of that region in 1814.107 This struggle, in turn, was played out within the wider context of the ongoing rivalry between the NWC and the HBC for dominance in one of the continent’s richest remaining fur preserves.

The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, or, more simply, the Hudson's Bay Company, was given monopoly control over much of Northern Canada by King Charles II’s royal charter in 1670. The Montreal-based NWC challenged these exclusive trading privileges in Rupert’s Land—as the entire Hudson’s Bay drainage basin was then called—by right of exploration and occupation since they were the first British entity in many parts of the territory claimed by the HBC.108 This commercial antipathy finally escalated into open conflict at Red River when Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk and a major HBC shareholder, decided to establish a colony within the boundaries of a land grant he received from the company in 1811. Assiniboia, as the Scottish aristocrat called his newest estate, located primarily south and west of Lake Winnipeg, however, proved to be in an area of vital strategic interest to the NWC since it was a key provisioning supply centre for 500 or so voyageurs moving towards Lake Athabaska, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean via the Columbia River. It was also considered home for some of the company’s mixed-ancestry retainers who worked in the trading posts and supplied provisions for the canoe brigades.109

Pemmican—dried and pulverized buffalo meat and berries preserved in fat—was the lifeblood of the western fur trade because it was a nutritious, long-lasting, and portable food. Control over this staple provision became an issue when the first governor of Assiniboia, Miles Macdonell, brother of John Macdonell (Le Prêtre), prohibited its further export from the territory in early 1814 without his permission. When he seized supplies that the NWC needed for their voyageurs and then subsequently attempted to evict them from Selkirk’s fiefdom, he aroused not only their ire but also that of their mixed-ancestry dependants who considered the governor’s arbitrary actions to be a threat to their


The association between the NWC and its mixed-ancestry progeny was a complex relationship shaped by personal, social, and economic considerations. The connection between father and child was present at the most basic level since Nor’Westers of all ranks had been encouraged to marry \textit{à la façon du pays} and many had their own mixed-ancestry children for whom to care. Complementing this parental responsibility was a wider societal sense of clan obligation rooted in the Scottish character of the NWC partnership who perceived themselves as Highland chieftains bound by the dictates of \textit{noblesse oblige} to protect the welfare of their retainers. Finally, there existed joint economic interests, linking employer and employee in a common commercial pursuit because mixed-ancestry males were an important managerial and labor source for the Canadian traders. All of these interrelated currents played a role in the Red River cauldron, where the mixed-ancestry population asserted titled to the soil and declared themselves a “New Nation” under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant.\footnote{Margaret A. MacLeod and William L. Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1963), 1-30, P0253; George Woodcock, “GRANT, CUTHBERT (d. 1854),” in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/grant_cuthbert_1854_8E.html; Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement, viz: Return of an Address from the Honourable House of Commons to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent (London: s. n., 1819), 169-74.}

Cuthbert Grant’s life through 1816 exemplifies the experience of some of the elite “Countrymen” population affiliated with the Montreal fur traders. Born to a Scots father, who was a NWC partner, and a woman of Cree descent, he was sent to Lower Canada as a ward of William McGillivray after his father’s death. Baptized and educated in Montreal, Grant was given a clerkship during the annual assembly convened at Fort William in 1812. He was on duty in the Upper Red River Department when the initial dispute with Selkirk’s agents erupted and was acknowledged as a principal leader of the local community by the NWC in the fall of 1814. Thus, he led the armed insurgency which resulted in the destruction of the first Red River settlement the following year.\footnote{Brown, “Fur Trade as Centrifuge,” 205-15, P0187; Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 1: 301-4, P0189; The Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk, 4-5, P0190.} Now recognized as a “chief of the Half Breeds,” he worked under the aegis of Alexander McDonell (Greenfield) in the 1816 offensive that seized the Hudson’s Bay facility at Brandon House. Later Grant was at the head of a composite force of NWC servants, freemen, and Indians who clashed with Governor Robert Semple’s armed party at Seven Oaks on 19 June 1816. The rout was complete in only a few minutes with Semple, Miles Macdonell’s replacement, and twenty others left dead on the battlefield. Selkirk’s plantation was abandoned again and would not have been reconstituted save for the direct intervention of the earl himself. Grant
became a hero to his people and the exploits of his men celebrated as an act of liberation from foreign oppression.\textsuperscript{113}

The Red River turmoil was a defining moment in the history of the mixed-ancestry population associated with the north-western fur trade. Two groups of mixed-ancestry people were involved: “the Canadian half-breeds,” whose loyalties were largely with the North West Company, and those born around Hudson’s Bay Company outposts after the English concern began to tolerate country marriages in the late eighteenth century. Scholars have noted, however, that it was only amongst the former group that signs of a cohesive whole began to appear, ultimately evinced through the declaration of nationhood. In fact, Hudson’s Bay mixed-ancestry dependants in the conflict zone requested arms and training so that they could crush “...those lawless Rascals which the North West Company have with so little regard to every feeling of humanity brought in to Notice & rendered of Consequence.”\textsuperscript{114} Cuthbert Grant and his associates, on the other hand, began to refer to each other as “country[men]”; an appellation which applied to even the NWC’s biracial dependants who had been sent to the Eastern District of Upper Canada to receive an education. As one partner explained to his sister, the Battle of Seven Oaks had recently been won by the “countrymen” of her mixed Scots-Ojibwa nephew, John McIntosh, who she was then boarding at her home in Cornwall while he attended school.\textsuperscript{115}

Aside from these few allusions to “countrymen” in contemporary correspondence, other early self-ascriptive labels remain rare. Outsiders, however, had a great deal to say about the constituency of this “New Nation” which had dramatically appeared in British North America. Remarkably, early definitions had little to do with actual residence at the Red River flash-point. Rather than association with a particular geographic locale, connection to the North West Company seemed to be the defining mark of membership in this distinctive mixed-ancestry community. As the Earl of Selkirk succinctly expressed:

> These half-breeds (or Bois Brulés as they were now to be called) have been described as a Nation of independant Indians: but they are in fact with very few exceptions in the regular employment


and pay of the North West Company, mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of better education as clerks. The latter are the progeny of partners of the Company, at whose expence [sic] most of them have been brought up, and through whose influence they may look to be themselves partners. These are the chiefs of this “New Nation.”

A substantial number of other eyewitnesses echoed the sentiment that “Bois Brulés” and “metifs” were mere synonyms for the “...children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different posts...” [emphasis added]. As discussed above, the NWC operational theater extended from Montreal to the Pacific and then north to the Arctic by 1816 when these explicit comments about the “New Nation’s” constituents were made. Even the prominent Red River settler, politician, and historian, Alexander Ross, remembered that brulés were a ubiquitous presence around NWC establishments and could be found at their facilities beyond the Rocky Mountains when he worked there in the early nineteenth century. [See Appendix One for other contemporary observations].

NWC support for their Métis dependants came in various guises. Political backing was an important form of assistance since they were the first to acknowledge publicly that their Aboriginal kinsmen were the rightful “possessors of the Country, and Lords of the Soil,” at Assiniboia, not the Earl of Selkirk and his colonists. This resolve was disseminated to a wide audience through the press and by way of pamphlets published on both sides of the Atlantic. A petition addressed to the Governor of Canada from “the Free half breeds of Red River,” expressing concern about the loss of their lands, was also ghost written by Nor’Westers for circulation in the capital. Finally, the insurgents were presented with a distinctive flag at Fort William by the partners at the 1815 annual meeting. This emblem of nationhood was

---

116 Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk, 5, P0190.
117 “Deposition of John Bourke,” 16 September 1816, xlix, P0191.
121 LAC, MG 19-E1, Selkirk Collection, page 1707-8, Miles Macdonell to the Earl of Selkirk, 14 September 1815, microfilm reel C-2, A1659; Coltman, 30 June 1818, 172, P0259; [Halkett], Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement, 39-40, P0255.
repeatedly displayed throughout the conflict with the Selkirk interest as the Half-breeds celebrated their success.\textsuperscript{122}

Political advocacy was complemented by military aid and logistical support once the call to arms had been issued. Reinforcements from numerous NWC installations from as far away as Lake Superior were sent to the combat zone.\textsuperscript{123} John Duncan Campbell, for instance, the partner in charge of Cumberland House in 1816, dispatched an armed party of nine men from his post to strengthen the largely “Countrymen” force concentrated at Fort Qu’Appelle under the command of Alexander Macdonell (Greenfield) and Cuthbert Grant. Before leaving, he instructed his men to neutralize enemy leaders should an engagement occur.\textsuperscript{124} This order was taken to heart by the detachment head, Thomas McKay, who brought down one of Selkirk’s principals at the Battle of Seven Oaks fought on 19 June 1816.

The NWC’s deep involvement in the defense of their kinsmen’s rights came at great cost since retaliation was swift from the opposing camp who viewed Fort William—the NWC’s great inland headquarters at Thunder Bay—as the real nerve centre of the insurgency. Consequently, en route to Red River from Montreal, the Earl of Selkirk with a retinue of disbanded Swiss mercenaries appeared in arms before Fort William’s gates on 13 August 1816 and detained nine NWC partners for complicity in the Seven Oak’s affair; all were sent to Canada as prisoners while the peer’s forces occupied the fort over the next winter. A second detachment was dispatched to Rainy Lake where that key installation was seized and supplies plundered. Repatriation of all the buildings and chattel was finally ordered by metropolitan authorities in 1817.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{122} LAC, MG 19-E1, Selkirk Collection, “Narrative of James Sutherland Respecting Proceedings at Qu’Appelle in Winter of 1815-16,” pages 1946-51, microfilm reel C-2, A1658; Coltman, 30 June 1818, 173-4, P0259; Bumsted, \textit{Fur Trade Wars}, 142, P0251.

\textsuperscript{123} LAC, MG 19-E1, Selkirk Collection, pages 2378-9, Robert Henry to George Nelson, 2 August 1816, microfilm reel C-3, A1660; LAC, Selkirk Collection, page 2373, Robert Henry to Alexander Henry, 3 June 1816, microfilm reel C-3, A1661; LAC, Selikirk Collection, pages 2979-80, James Sutherland to Robert Semple, 11 March 1816, microfilm reel C-2, A1662.

\textsuperscript{124} [Samuel Gale], \textit{Notices of the Claims of the Hudson’s Bay Company} (Montreal: William Gray, 1817), 90-3, P0199; [Samuel H. Wilcocke], \textit{Report of the Proceedings Connected With the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company: at the Assizes, Held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818} (Montreal: James Lane and Nahum Mower, 1819), 149-51, P0263; Alexander Macdonell, \textit{A Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country; from the commencement of the Operations of the Earl of Selkirk, till the Summer of the Year 1816} (London: B. M’Millan for Egerton, 1819), 56, 59-60, P0264.

\textsuperscript{125} [Jean Morrison], \textit{Superior Rendezvous-Place: Fort William in the Canadian Fur Trade} (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2001), 91-100, P0265; Earl of Bathurst to Lieutenant-General Sir John Sherbrooke, 6 February 1817, in \textit{Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement}, 71-2, P0266; Coltman, 30 June 1818, 173-4, 206-31, 247-8, P0258; [Halkett], \textit{Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement}, 69-79, P0255.
The ruinous struggle between the NWC and the HBC for control of the fur trade could not continue forever. London officials, alarmed by reports of unrest and bloodshed, intervened to stop the chaos in their remote dependency. Parliamentary legislation, amending the “Honourable Company’s” exclusive commercial rights in Rupert’s Land plus the imminent expiry of the NWC’s own partnership agreement, led agents for both concerns to arrange a twenty-one-year union under the former’s name. NWC officers still resolved to remain in the fur trade consented to the merger in exchange for a strong presence amongst the Chief Factors and Chief Traders entitled to a portion of the consolidated venture’s profits. While the British North American fur trade would now be reoriented through York Factory on Hudson’s Bay, rather than through Montreal, many of the old Nor’Westers would remain in positions of authority and influence; so too would some of their fundamental socio-economic values.126

Reform and retrenchment became a priority for the HBC’s administrators in the first decade after their coalition with the NWC. The Ottawa River watershed, although never of major commercial interest to the Bay men, escaped the paring knife relatively unscathed as facilities across the continent were closed and the work force quickly reduced to a third its former size. Initially, the posts at the Lake of Two Mountains, the Chats, Fort Coulounge, and Lac des Sables remained in service as part of the Montreal Department under management of ex-NWC agents, McGillivrays, Thain and Company. Mattawa remained a mere overnight camping spot for voyageurs travelling along the river.127 The region, however, was never very profitable for the HBC because it was already exposed to heavy colonization pressure and increasing competition from lumber companies that also traded with the Natives as a secondary commercial activity. George Simpson, the governor of North American operations, lamented to his superiors in London that “independent of the regular opposition establishments every Farmer, lumber dealer, and passant [sic] is a Trader.”128 A part of Simpson’s solution was to decrease the number of employees by transfer, redundancy, or retirement: a strategy he employed in the Ottawa River department in 1826 when the services of seven clerks and six lesser were dispensed with. This policy, however, could be a double-edged sword if aggrieved former servants – like Roderick McKenzie (younger) – became independent traders and capitalized upon solid connections with the local

aboriginal community. The historic supply system based at Lachine was also negatively impacted as the need for voyageurs and canoe brigades to carry European wares into the interior declined. In the new regime, York boats replaced canoes as the fleet work horses with the latter craft relegated goods continued to travel up the Ottawa River only as far as Timiskaming while the few vessels that passed Mattawa for the Northwest primarily carried company personnel to or from their places of assignment.

4.3 ABORIGINAL PARTICIPATION IN THE OTTAWA RIVER FUR TRADE

The fur trade along the Ottawa River followed a well-established seasonal cycle that began in the late summer when the local Algonquins, Nipissing, and Iroquois families were given clothing, weapons, traps, and other necessaries on credit. The hunters then retired to their wintering grounds until they returned to the fort over the Christmas season or were met in the woods by HBC personnel sent to secure the harvest. This was a preventative measure to ensure that the Natives would not deal with petty traders or those living in nearby shanties. The latter sites were especially inviting since loggers would also trade for venison and exhibited no qualms about using alcohol in the exchange process; a practice forbidden at HBC posts in Upper Canada, much to their disadvantage. HBC servants would then be sent out on other periodic “collecting tours” through March to forestall pelts falling into the hands of any of their competitors. Spring’s arrival brought the hunters and their families out of their lodges for an annual pilgrimage to the Sulpician mission at the Lake of Two Mountains where they could be married, have children baptized, and bury any dead family members in consecrated ground. Prior to departure, however, accounts could be cleared at the local posts where credit had been given the previous year or debts cancelled in the more competitive market at Oka. Native families remained at the village through the late summer before beginning their return trip up the Ottawa to establish their trap lines once again before winter arrived in full fury.

---

129 LAC, HBCA, MG20-D4, Correspondence books outward, volume D4/87, file 111, “Official reports to the Governor and Committee in London, Simpson to the Governor and Committee Lachine 16 October 1826”, microfilm reel HBC 3M44, A1422. This is precisely the reason Simpson lists for the removal of William Lane from Lac des Sables to the Columbia River. Williams, Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 216, P0219; Bond, “Hudson’s Bay Company in the Ottawa Valley,” 12, P0306.


Success in the fur trade required good relations with the local First Nations population and a reasonable understanding about their way of life. Intermarriage à la façon du pays (according to the manner of the country) was a time-honoured way to meet these ends since alliances of this nature were the preferred way that Natives chose to integrate outsiders into their society. In the case of Europeans, chieftans’ daughters would cohabitate with White males thereby ensuring access to trade goods, provisions, and even protection for their families. These arrangements likewise proved beneficial to the newcomers who profited from the First Nations knowledge, social connections, and comfort afforded by such wives. This practice of “marrying-in” was ubiquitous in the fur trade because it grafted the aliens into extant kinship networks predicated upon a complex set of reciprocal relationships. Progeny resulting from these unions could further strengthen these ties.

HBC authorities never really countenanced country marriages because of the costs associated with supporting these Aboriginal wives and children prior to 1821. Nonetheless, their proscription became a ban that was honoured chiefly by its breach as post commanders realized that embrace of this local custom was essential for their success and survival in the New World. Those engaged in the Montreal-based fur trade, by contrast, actively encouraged miscegenation as a way to expand trade networks and exert more control over their personnel. It was not until 1806 that NWC partners agreed to prohibit cohabitation with Amerindian women “after the fashion of the North West, that is to say, . . . within the Company’s Houses or Forts & be maintained at the expence of the Concern,”134 Their own biracial daughters, however, were exempted from this regulation since there were now so many who had reached marriageable age and for whom they had to provide.135 This directive applied to the Ottawa River department where approximately forty-eight or so Aboriginal dependants were living in the four facilities open there.136 “Countrymen” children sent to the Canadas for baptism and schooling would not be included in this number of Aboriginal retainers since they were usually boarded with paternal


relatives and maintained at private expense. The males were being educated so that they would be able to serve as NWC clerks once they reached the age of maturity.\(^{137}\)

The 1821 coalition changed employment prospects for many of the “Countrymen” youth who were already junior clerks or being trained for that responsibility. One of the first to adapt to the new commercial realities was Aeneas Daniel Macdonell—eldest son of John Macdonell (Le Prêtre) of Point Fortune and Magdeline Poitras—who had been a clerk at the Chats and then became an independant at Lac des Allumettes in the fall of 1823. Born along the Souris River at the close of the eighteenth century, he was regarded as a sagacious trader by his HBC rival, John McLean, during one winter they spent competing against each other. McLean noted that Macdonell’s familiarity with Native mores gave him a distinct advantage since his attention to detail and protocol ensured that he was warmly welcomed in the hunting lodges where he made substantial returns.\(^{138}\) Macdonell was just one of the many sons of the fur trade to begin operations along the Ottawa River after the HBC eliminated jobs and facilities as part of their post-amalgamation restructuring. Others included Charles Thomas and Andrew Longmoor, both described as “Half Breeds,” who each dispatched a party of extended family members on trading missions to the Bonnechere River and Lac des Allumettes, respectively.\(^{139}\) Although both men were sons of prominent HBC officers who had retired to the banks of the Ottawa, they found greater financial opportunities outside the institutional circle that had once sustained them.\(^{140}\)

### 4.4 The Establishment of Mattawa

It was the threat of such interlopers that finally spurred the HBC to establish a seasonal facility at the confluence of the Mattawa and Ottawa rivers in the fall of 1828. Until then, the site had just provided a place of repose for voyageurs on their way to or from Montreal. A few servants from Lac des Allumettes were therefore ordered to construct a winter station at this strategic site and discourage the petty traders from associating with Natives in the region. Chief Trader John Siveright informed his superiors in Montreal that this necessary measure “… will add much to our expenditure but as it approaches the

---

137 [Halkett], *Statement Respecting The Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement*, 17-18, P0255; Brown, “Children of the Early Fur Trades,” 52-5, P0270.


Timiskaming quarter we must prevent their getting a footing with the Indians.” Nevertheless, competition from rivals increased and profits continued to fall through the early 1830s. It was not until the summer of 1836 that the company sent a farming detail to plant crops at Mattawa for the later benefit of those who would overwinter there; Governor George Simpson then ordered the construction of a permanent position in 1837 as a counterweight to the lumber companies whose employees would trade with the Natives at their winter abodes. The first postmaster—an intermediary rank between clerk and interpreter—was Charles LePage from Lac des Allumettes who had already proven himself as head of the Mattawa detachment in previous winters. He was the husband of Susanne Hudson/Hodgson, the grand-daughter of Chief Factor John Hodgson and Caroline Goodwin of the HBC. Thus, the first person to command the post and live there, albeit temporarily, was married to a mixed-ancestry woman.

Although the synonyms “metifs” and “brulés” had been a quasi-tribal designation applied principally to the NWC’s mixed-ancestry retainers prior to 1821, use of the terms had broadened somewhat to include the HBC “Half-breeds” by the 1830s as the dust of the Selkirk controversies settled and these Aboriginals faced greater socio-economic discrimination from elites who still regarded them as offspring “from many a lawless bed.” This disdain was shared even within the highest management circles of the united concern where Governor George Simpson—himself the product of “a lawless bed”—considered the progeny of country marriages to be incapable of great achievements or worthy of serious promotion.

---

because they were “vain conceited & disposed to be extravagant.” Consequently, few “Countrymen” rose above the lowly rank of clerk during the Simpson regime.\(^{147}\) His frequent disparaging remarks about the conceited “half breed race” exacerbated tensions already caused by his cavalier treatment of Aboriginal women and the abandonment of his country wife and children. The governor even warned young clerks against marrying those “Beauties with Indian Blood in their veins” because it was an action that could threaten career prospects in a world tightly controlled by Simpson.\(^{148}\)

Scorn from within the ranks of the HBC’s higher echelons may have been magnified by prejudice from the general public who did not hold mixed-ancestry peoples in high regard. Susanna Moodie, a recent British immigrant, summarized contemporary opinion in Upper Canada when she wrote that “The half-caste is generally a lying, vicious rogue, possessing the worst qualities of both parents in an eminent degree. We have many of these half-Indians in the penitentiary, for crimes of the blackest dye.”\(^{149}\) Moodie may even have had a Mattawa resident, Roderick McKenzie, in mind when she penned those words. A former NWC and HBC clerk who once managed the latter’s Lake Nipissing facility, Roderick had killed a man in self-defense and was tried for murder.\(^{150}\) Although cleared of the charge in 1845, he was subsequently dismissed from the HBC later that year by Sir George Simpson for “intemperance & mismanagement” despite the fact that he was the eldest son of Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie, the company’s respected agent at Isle-a-la-Crosse. A life of “drinking and rioting” followed, according to the administrator at Lac des Allumettes. Even in the rough-and-tumble frontier environment of the Ottawa Valley, the term “bois-brulé” became associated with another social pariah, squatters, in the minds of government officials. Disparagement from many quarters in combination with marginalization thus provided exceptional touchstones through which the mixed-ancestry people from various backgrounds,

---


whether NWC or HBC, could forge a commonality. Fear of repression from outside forces, as historian Linda Colley has argued, can knit those of lesser differences together.\textsuperscript{151}

4.5 \textbf{Arrival of the Retired Traders}

The Mattawa area became a desirable retirement location for some “Countrymen” and mixed-ancestry employees who began to leave the HBC’s service in the mid-1840s. As noted earlier, however, fur traders and their Aboriginal families had already begun to make new lives for themselves along the banks of the Ottawa River in the early nineteenth century. This number increased after the NWC/HBC amalgamation of 1821 when posts had been closed and employees relocated to the Red River colony or sent back to the Canadas upon the expiry of their contracts. Lord Dalhousie witnessed the beginning of this phenomenon as he passed Fort Coulange in 1821 writing that the trading post there was “a resort of bad Indians & all sorts of the cast off Red River servants & voyageurs.”\textsuperscript{152} Less than a decade later, Alexander Sherriff observed “a nest of old trading people—French, or “Bois Brulées [sic]” just down river from Fort Coulange at a place called la Bosse (now La Passe, Ontario).\textsuperscript{153} The Red River resettlement option closed precipitously for Southern Department employees—roughly those stationed in posts from Ungava in the north to Albany River in the west and then downward to the landmass between Lakes Superior and Timiskaming—when Governor George Simpson ended the decades-long practice of relocating retirees and their families to the Rupert’s Land colony in 1843. Only those with the permission from the highest company authorities would be allowed to settle there. Consequently, the HBC immigrant flow west turned south as many chose Mattawa for the place to end their days.\textsuperscript{154}

The HBC post at Mattawa was built at the junction of two historic transportation routes where it served fur traders either as the eastern gateway to the Lake Nipissing passageway or the portcullis to Lake Timiskaming. While its former role is better known, Mattawa had been established in 1837 precisely to keep other commercial interests away from the headwaters of the Ottawa River where the HBC


\textsuperscript{152} Whitelaw, ed., \textit{Dalhousie Journals}, 2: 100, P0209.


continued to reap large profits. Moreover, the facility also provided an essential link in the long logistical chain between Montreal and the trading posts that constituted the Lake Timiskaming district. Every winter, HBC supplies, provisions, and trade goods were sent up the Ottawa River by sleighs from Lachine to the Mattawa terminus, a distance of about 264 miles, where they were unloaded and stored until the summer. Then, the second phase of the operation began when large canoes were sent down from Fort Timiskaming to convey the freight north. Staff of all ranks knew the 66-mile route well, navigating it required them to make 5 strenuous portages before they reached the foot of the lake where it was just clear sailing across open water. A round trip between the two posts could be made in less than a week. Administrators believed that a transportation formula combining the heavy lift capability of horses and sleighs with canoes allowed more goods to be shipped upriver quicker and cheaper than had they relied solely on voyageurs to perform this service.

Mixed-ancestry HBC employees from Fort Timiskaming had become very familiar with Mattawa’s environs when it became part of their administrative district between 1841 and 1848. Knowledge gained through previous sojourns there convinced several family groups, including the McKenzies, McDonells, Englands, and Bastiens, that the area around the newer post would provide a viable place to begin their lives again. While the facility itself was unprepossessing, a small store with a few outbuildings, it was situated astride a key communication link in the fur trade world and could provide a market for many of the goods and essential services to which former HBC personnel had become accustomed. Interestingly, the names of people recorded by Charles Rankin, the Mattawa postmaster, in his private diary from 1848-1853 also appear in the Lake Timiskaming Post Journal for 1840-1841. Rankin’s “Kind Friend,” Roderick McKenzie (younger), for instance, was the former clerk at Lake Nipissing who had been discharged under a cloud by Sir George Simpson in 1845. Until then, he had been considered a diligent officer well worth the £100 annual salary that he received. Likewise, Alexander McDonell, the

---


“Countrymen” son of Chief Factor Allan McDonell of Timiskaming, had been an interpreter at Timiskaming as well as the postmaster at Temagaminigue (Temagami). Part of his responsibilities included leading the supply canoes to Mattawa with a crew including Louis Bastien on at least one of these voyages. John England was also an HBC servant who eventually moved to Mattawa after being discharged from Fort Timiskaming in 1844. Colin Rankin proudly noted that he presided over the ceremony when England finally solemnized his country marriage with his Indian “Concubine” at the post seven years later.

While the Mattawa post was a relatively new establishment, Fort Timiskaming had a much longer history after it became a separate NWC department in 1795 that employed one partner, six clerks and interpreters, plus eighteen winterers. Their number of Aboriginal dependants would have amounted to about fifty-five individuals and any “Countrymen” among them, like their Ottawa River department contemporaries, would have been considered “countrymen” of the Red River insurgents, according to period definition. George Gladman, an HBC officer, met three Nor’Westers from Timiskaming descending the Ottawa in the summer of 1814 and noted the presence of “several children belonging to them” in their canoes. Moreover, intermarriage à la façon du pays remained a common feature of life in the study region. A Roman Catholic missionary who journeyed up the Ottawa River to Fort Timiskaming in 1839 observed that “à bon Nombre de voyageurs et engagés, tous Canadiens, que l’on rencontre dans chacun de ces postes . . . prennent des femmes parmi ces nations Sauvages.” The resulting progeny were the “half breeds” that William Logan saw residing in a “few wooden houses in the vicinity for the servants or voyageurs of the Company” when he visited Timiskaming six years later. Familial ties, residential proximity, and shared employment would certainly help sustain internal
community ties and identity over succeeding generations. This was also enhanced by the supportive presence of sympathetic officers like Allen McDonell and James Siveright who had fathered families and assisted the Bois Brulés in their struggle against Lord Selkirk prior to becoming heads of the Timiskaming district after the HBC was reconstituted in 1821.  

Archival sources suggest that the first “Countrymen” among the HBC ex-servants to relocate to Mattawa was Roderick McKenzie (younger) and his Aboriginal family. McKenzie was the oldest son of NWC partner, and later HBC Chief Factor, Roderick McKenzie (elder) who spent more than fifty years in the fur trade. Although born somewhere in Nipigon country just prior to 1800, Roderick had been sent east to receive an education suitable enough for employment in his father’s concern. He may have been the clerk named McKenzie who George Simpson met at Lac des Allumettes in 1826 and reassigned to Sault St. Marie. McKenzie returned to the study region eleven years later as the clerk in charge of the HBC facility on Lake Nipissing; a position he held for eight years until being discharged from the service in late 1845.  

Without employment and with a family to feed, Roderick became an independant trader and had established himself at Mattawa by Christmas that same year. In tandem with his son-in-law, John McLeod, who had also worked at the HBC’s Nippising post, they built a house and store designed to prosper from their established connections. 

McKenzie convinced another “Countrymen” employee from the Timiskaming district, Alexander McDonell, to move to Mattawa and join his commercial enterprise when he retired in 1846. Narcisse Pierre Laurion/Dorion, McDonell’s brother-in-law, also accompanied him as part of an extended family group. McDonell knew the area well because he had led canoe brigades between the two posts and


Roderick McKenzie had been a colleague of relatively the same status within fur trade society. McDonell, however, never severed his ties completely with the HBC because he occasionally worked on construction projects around the post; tasks similar to those he had performed earlier in his life at Timiskaming.165 Dorion too laboured part-time at the post, sawing logs for various building projects and serving as a voyageur for short trips.166 This HBC retiree circle subsequently widened when McDonell’s daughter, Anne, married the son of Frederick Faries/Ferris, Walter, after he retired as a guide and manager of one of the outposts in the Kenogamissee district. Frederick, the “Countrymen” son of NWC partner Hugh Faries, who was born in the old concern’s establishments west of the Rocky Mountains, eventually decided to settle between Mattawa and Fort William (Quebec) in 1848.167 He too was able to supplement his income as a temporary HBC employee by carrying the mail or serving as a guide for those unfamiliar with northern waterways.168

John England was the third HBC employee to select Mattawa as his retirement home. He initially teamed up with Roderick McKenzie in the latter’s independant trading concern because of his experience at securing furs from the Indians in their encampments. England was key to McKenzie’s plan that made generous advances to hunters in the fall and then collected the pelts acquired in the “course of the winter by visiting their Lodges.”169 It was probably on one such foray that he met the Native woman who he eventually married in a ceremony presided over by Colin Rankin in 1851.170 England concentrated


166 UWO, “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, entries of 30-31 August 1848, 7 November and 3 December 1849, A1644;

167 Please see genealogical documents for Walter Ferris (G0130), Annie McDonell (G0109), and Frederick Gerrris (G0133); LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/16, file F 267, “Hector McKenzie to Simpson Allumettes 24 Feb 1846”, microfilm reel HBC 3M72, A1464; LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/22, file F 326, “Richard Hardisty to Simpson Lachine 1 July 1848”, microfilm reel HBC 3M82, A1489; Wallace, Documents Relating to the North West Company, 439, P0156.

168 LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/47, file 563, “George S. McTavish to Sir George Simpson, 13 November 1858”, microfilm reel HBC 3M116, A1685; LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/39, file 188, “Hector McKenzie to Sir George Simpson”, microfilm HBC 3M106, A1686; Appendix to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... 5th September, 1854, to 30th May, 1855 ... Eighteenth year of the Reign of ... Queen Victoria : Being the 1st session of the 5th Provincial Parliament of Canada (Quebec: R. Campbell, 1855), p. [F-131], P0283


more on trapping in his own right following the 1850 demise of Roderick McKenzie. Rankin noted in his diary that he and his Native wife had established a hunting ground at the foot of the Long Sault rapids, about 27.5 miles above Mattawa, where they hunted, trapped, and fished very successfully.\(^{171}\)

John McKay, the “Countrymen” son of Donald McKay, was the fourth HBC retiree with Timiskaming connections to frequent Mattawa after leaving the fur trade in 1848. Although he established a small settlement about twelve miles south of Fort Timiskaming where he enjoyed an annual pension of £30 from his former employers, McKay and his family visited Mattawa occasionally, presumably to visit his daughter, Mary Ann, who was the wife of Alexander McDonell.\(^{172}\) Colin Rankin noted that John built a sofa for him and subsequently entertained him by playing the accordion during an extended visit the following summer. The McKay family also harvested blueberries during the three days they spent around the fort in August 1853.\(^{173}\)

The fifth HBC retiree to put down roots in Mattawa was Louis Bastien—deemed a “non-Treaty half breed” by employees of the Indian Office in 1910—who had served under Alexander McDonell at Timiskaming in the supply canoes that moved between both posts during the early 1840s. A very entrepreneurial character, he had built an inn and rest stop—known locally as the “Indian Tavern”—about 9 miles below Mattawa by the fall of 1848 to serve the increased traffic on the Ottawa River.\(^{174}\) Bastien, like many other ex-servants, remained within the wider HBC patronage network since his facility served as a depot in the winter transport system as the horse teams moved supplies between Lac des Allumettes and Mattawa. Colin Rankin, the local postmaster, also hired him periodically to draw wood, serve as a voyageur, and carry express packets; Bastien likewise tried to earn extra income as an independent hunter.\(^{175}\) The former voyageur became stepfather to several Aboriginal children when he


\(^{172}\) LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/22, file F 390-391, “James Cameron to Simpson Timiskaming 26 July 1848”, microfilm reel HBC 3M82, A1490; LAC, HBCA, MG20-B134, HBCA, Post Records, volume B 134/c/65, file 195, “James Cameron to Duncan Finlayson”, microfilm reel 1M322, A1687 Williams, Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 236, P0219; Mitchell, Fort Timiskaming, 236, P0022. Please see genealogical documents for Mary Ann McKay (G0103) and Alexander McDonell (G0108).

\(^{173}\) UWO, “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, entries of 15 September 1848, 22 February 1851, 16 October 1852, and 4-7 August 1853, A1644.


\(^{175}\) UWO, “Journal of Colin Rankin, 1848-1853”, entries of 1 January, 3 and 7 February, 7 November 1849, and 3 May 1851, A1644.
married Marie Josephte Libikwe, “the Belle of the Ottawa,” and is repeatedly listed as a farmer in the Dominions census records through 1901.176

There were a few other people characterized as “half breeds” by contemporaries who frequented the Mattawa area by the middle of the nineteenth century. An “A. McDonald” who traded and performed odd jobs at the post is occasionally mentioned by Colin Rankin. Charles Colton, a previous partner of Marie Josephte Libikwe (later, Louis Bastien’s wife) who fathered some of her children, was likewise designated a “non-treaty half breed” by Indian Office officials.177 Unlike other family members, however, who worked as petty traders, Charles earned his living as a foreman for John Egan, the timber baron, whose seasonal work force had grown to over 2,000 men by the early 1850s.178

4.6 OTHER ECONOMIES

The timber stands throughout the Ottawa River watershed became the second great staple export after the fur trade began to decline in economic importance during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1850, Colin Rankin recognized this reality when he noted in his diary that “Mattawas Golden days are past” because the still-valuable marten pelts were becoming scarce. Even the pristine wilderness around Lake Timiskaming—the HBC’s most strategic regional preserve—was no longer inviolate after timber operators began logging the lake’s southern reaches in the late 1830s.179 Contemporaries noted in 1861, that this particular Ottawa Valley workforce had a “certain proportion of half-caste Indians among them, whose flat features, coarse hair, and white skins at once betray their hybrid origin.” Mixed-ancestry people readily worked in the timber trade because of this industry’s high demand for seasonal winter labour and the better wages than that offered by the HBC.180

While few mixed-ancestry individuals had the necessary capital to cut and mill the logs themselves, Roderick McKenzie (younger) being the exception, they could perform many of the tasks required by employers. Advance parties first went into the bush in the early fall to repair old shanties or build new ones in the areas selected for the winter cut. Crews then arrived and began to dam or otherwise improve the navigability of adjacent watercourses before freeze-up so that they could easily float the logs down to major rivers in the spring; rudimentary skid ways were also cut through the bush. Gangs of five or six men then began to cut the trees, trim off the limbs and branches, and then hew the straightest timber into lumber. Teamsters were then employed to haul the wood to a selected stream, creek, or river which would be used to carry it downstream to market in the spring.\textsuperscript{181}

The arrival of warmer weather ended the cutting season when logs or timber could no longer be moved easily across the snow along the skid ways. Shanties were closed as some workers returned to their farms while others worked through the end of May on the river drives. The latter was miserable but exciting work as crews shepherded the logs from the tributaries into the Ottawa River, built the individual sticks into rafts, and then rode them through the rapids, chutes, and slides all the way to Montreal. Enroute, crews would be required to work in the icy water for hours at a time to dislodge logs that had become stuck on rocks or round up errant charges that had beached on a shoreline. Some shanty men, however, opted to avoid the river drives altogether and engaged with the HBC as voyageurs, preferring a life above water with a paddle instead of in the water with a log pike.

There is little evidence that mixed-ancestry people participated in this occupation prior to the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. By 1901, there are 19 individuals identified in the genealogical research that are listed as Shantymen Labourers including George Crawford (G0117), William Dufond (G0163), Bernard Bastein (G0235), Joseph Parent (G0359), William McKenzie (G0403), Benjamin McKenzie (G0453), Benjamin Parent (G0508), John Alexander Ferris (G0557), Stanislaus Langevin (G0764), Joseph Bastien (G0808), (G0862) Joseph Tenesco Philippe Bastien (G0887). Out of the 19 individuals identified as working as Shantymen Labourer, 50 percent were also listed as accredited guides suggesting that these individuals would have worked in the winter in the lumber industry and participated in guiding opportunities during the summer tourist season.

Mixed-ancestry individuals also participated in the harvesting and sale of maple sugar in the springtime just after the winter hunt was completed. Roderick McKenzie (younger) included this article among the goods that he carried during an 1846 trading expedition to Pembroke. The McKay, Bastien, and Langevin families were also known to have sugaries to which they attended during the months of March and April.\textsuperscript{182}


Mixed-ancestry people in the study area developed the necessary skills to manufacture canoes as a way to supplement their incomes. Evidence for canoe manufacturing can be found in the 1823 Fort Timiskaming records that mention John McKay (G0102) laying a vessel’s frame on the 28th of August, spreading the bark on the 2d of September, placing the ribs and sewing the seams on the 5th of September and finally finishing the canoe six days later. Such knowledge was indispensable in the fur trade which relied on these craft to move people, provisions, and pelts to central supply depots. Consequently, superiors were disheartened to lose the services of various Faries family members who had honed their skills to the highest degree and were the only ones capable of building the largest freighters. Even after retirement from the HBC, those living around Mattawa were still called upon to build these craft for the company’s use or for resale to others moving along the Ottawa River since its hazardous waters destroyed the vessels of many inexperienced pilots. Colin Rankin, therefore, called upon the services of various old Metis hands, especially Alexander McDonell (G0108) to construct, repair, or paint canoes and associated equipment. When Julian Ralph visited the area in 1889 as part of an organized moose hunt he observed that the HBC out-building was the “repository of scores of birch-bark canoes – the carriages of British America.”

This marketable knowledge even increased in value after the arrival of rail service because sportsmen and tourists bought locally-made canoes from the Mattawa post as part of the outfit they needed to live temporarily in the surrounding wilderness.

By 1904, when the company was shutting down its retail services it was still receiving requests to have canoes manufactured. After receiving a request for canoes from L.O. Armstrong, of Montreal, the post manager consulted “our Indians about how many canaes we could get made this spring.” Bark was so scarce in the region that it was unlikely that there would be enough for HBC canoes, never mind for public sale. The correspondence clearly indicates that “Indians” were manufacturing the canoes, although it is unclear whether these manufactures were part of the mixed-ancestry population.

---

186 LAC, HBCA, B.312, volume 3, letter to J.E. Heron, 4 April 1904, microfilm reel HBC, 1M 1081, page 207, A0583.
4.7 **GUIDING**

Guiding was an important industry for the Mattawa region in which mixed-ancestry and First Nation people participated after the demise of the fur trade during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were uniquely equipped for these tasks because of their inter-generational knowledge of the local waters, familiarity with the local flora and fauna, as well as personal experience of wilderness survival. As early as 1883, tourists soon flocked to the area as news of its pristine state was spread across the eastern seaboard and the Upper Ottawa Valley finally became accessible to the general public with the arrival of the railways and the region’s integration into this inter-continental transportation system.

Big game hunters were first to arrive because of the trophy moose that were readily available. Such men as Frederick C. Selous, Frederick Remington, and Julian Ralph published accounts—replete with maps, line drawings, and photographs—of their success which they credited largely to the Aboriginal guides that they had retained at the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Mattawa. Others followed, including the Governor General, Lord Minto, to enjoy the fishing and wilderness trekking as well. Guiding thus became a valuable income stream for mixed-ancestry families who had lived along the Ottawa and its tributaries for generations and knew how to cook, canoe, fish, stalk, and navigate through the bush. Consequently, a list of accredited guides published in the influential sporting magazine *Rod and Gun in Canada* included familiar surnames such as Bastien, Colton, Dorion, England, Ferris, and McKenzie.

---


Guides worked for two different groups of tourists: sportsmen and wilderness campers. The former hired the Mattawa guides for their extensive knowledge of local wildlife and how best to harvest them. Their ability to carry the weighty camp equipage over long portages with tump lines also elicited positive comments from the greenhorns who carried much lighter loads. Sensitivity for the outsiders’ comfort and the ability to entertain them with humorous legends or local lore also won plaudits from tenderfoots. Escorting backcountry trekkers surpassed the era of the trophy hunters and remained a stable form of employment well into the twentieth century. Mastery of canoes was essential for these positions as was intimate knowledge of the lakes and rivers over which the tourists would paddle. These men were practically venerated by even seasoned travelers for their woodcraft and dexterity in the most turbulent waters: the latter canoeing skill properly acclaimed as “a thing to remember.”

In 1905, the influential magazine, *Rod and Gun in Canada*, published a list of accredited guides who lived across the country. While many tourist hotspots was home to only one guide, Mattawa was advertised as a place where more than fifty accredited guides could be hired. Twenty-nine of the guides listed appeared in the genealogical research carried out as part of this project. Others such as Joseph England, John Ferris and Loon Montreuil were likely related to the individuals in the genealogical research although their names were not recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bernard Bastien (G0235)</th>
<th>Ignace Bastien (G0185)</th>
<th>Joseph Bastien (G0808)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Bernard (G01125)</td>
<td>Matt Bernard (G0111)</td>
<td>Peter Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Chevrier, jr,</td>
<td>Joseph Clement</td>
<td>George Crawford (G0117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0993</td>
<td>(G0627)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant. Colton (G1061)</td>
<td>Alex. Dorion</td>
<td>Frank Dupius (G0143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Dicaire (G1090)</td>
<td>Sam Dubois</td>
<td>John Dubois (G0895)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Dufault</td>
<td>Joseph England</td>
<td>Joseph Ferris (G0131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ferris</td>
<td>Walter Ferris (G0130)</td>
<td>Frank Green (G0599)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Joseph Hormidas England (G1017) was included in the research although we are unable to definitively say this is the same Joseph Enlgand that was John England’s son (G1015). A Joseph Adelard England is born in Mattawa in 1871 to George England and Melie Boisvert. (G1034).
Genealogical and archival research indicates that guiding was an inter-generational occupation practiced by some mixed-ancestry families. The Turners provide a practical example (see 6.36 for a summary of the Turner family history). Two generations of Turners appeared as accredited guides on the 1905 list: Thomas Turner (G0483), Alexander H E Turner (G0477), and Joseph Turner (G0487). Thomas Turner was the son of Turner root ancestors, Phillip Turner (G0468) and Jane Sarah Richards (G0469), while both Alexander H E Turner and Joseph Turner were Thomas’ nephews, albeit children from two separate brothers, Joseph Alexander Turner (G0467) and Robert Turner (G0485).  

Another example of the acquisition and transmission of essential guiding skills can be seen in the extended McDonell family. Annie McDonell (G0109), daughter of noted canoe maker Alexander McDonell (give his ID number), married Walter Ferris (G0130), who was one of 1905 guides accredited by the editors of *Rod and Gun*.\(^{193}\) Antoine Colton (G1061), who was married to Sophia Dorion (G0927)—Annie McDonell’s cousin, also appears on the list.\(^{194}\)

![Figure 3 The McDonell Family Tree. Circled in blue are guides, Walter Ferris and Antoine Colton](image)

A third example of this proclivity for inter-generational guiding appears in three different families descended from Margaret Constant: the Greens, the Marcottes, and the Landons. To see a visual of these relationships see Graph 1 of Social Network Analysis.

John Green (G0595), son of Margaret Constant (G0596) had three sons who are known to have guided for Keewaydin Canoe Club during the early 1900s. John D Green (G0218) (referenced to as “Jack Green” in the *The Keewaydin Way*) is said to have been of “Irish and Algonquin Indian extract.”\(^{195}\) John D Green began worked for the Keewaydin Canoe Club in 1907, later bringing two of his brothers with him, Francis Green (G0599) and George Simon Green (G0598).\(^{196}\) The names of John D Green and Francis Green both appear on accredited guide list of 1905.\(^{197}\)

---


\(^{194}\) “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.


\(^{196}\) Ibid.

\(^{197}\) “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
Margaret Constant’s daughter, Mary Marcotte (G0850), was married to George Crawford (G0117) who worked as an accredited guide. Mary Marcotte was also married to Alexander Tenesco (G0861) and their son, Joseph Tenesco (G0862), was recognized as a capable guide. Family interrelationships became more complex since George Crawford’s daughter by his first wife, Marie Madeline (G0507), was married to another Mattawa guide, John Tongue. Additionally, Marie Madeleine’s uncle and George Crawford’s brother-in-law, Frank Leclerc’s/Leclaire (G0009) was listed as an accredited guide. The last of Mary Constant’s relatives to be named in the 1905 list was her son Andrew Landon (G1153).

The Keewaydin Canoe Club, founded in 1894 to help young people mature through the experience of wilderness camping and canoeing, began hiring Mattawa guides at the dawn of the twentieth century. Their official history, *The Keewaydin Way*, written in 2004 by Brian Back was based upon his extensive research of the club archives and oral history interviews with the guiding families. Back learned that although most trips were confined to the Temagami region, more adventurous souls set out for Moose Factory over the same waters plied by voyageurs generations before. Frank Leclaire/Leclerc, (G0009) was one of the club’s earliest head guides and he ensured that friends and relatives were given employment as trip escorts or as support staff who maintained the facility. This patronage was evident in the hiring of his son George Leclair (G0013) as well as three of his sons-in-law. Later, his grandsons, Ken Jocko, Henry Fleurie, Joe Fleurie Jr were hired as was Nishe Belanger, the son of his wife’s cousin.

The relationship between Mattawa residents and the Keewaydin organization lasted for over half a century, as each of the guides travelled north to the Temagami camp every summer to share their experience of living off the land, wilderness survival, and navigating northern waters. The last Mattawa guide, Jack McIsaac, retired in 1978.
4.8 \textbf{Settlement Living}

The HBC post was erected in Mattawa in 1837 on a small outcrop at the confluence of the Mattawa and Ottawa Rivers. Little is known about the settlement prior to 1860 when census records and other records begin to shed a growing light on the settlement’s growth. Colin Rankin often refers in his diaries to gatherings of Indians around the Fort in the early 1850s. Additionally, he is able to hire “Indians” at various times to help with guiding or working suggesting that a small settlement may have been present at the fort. Local legend refers to this early settlement as “Squaw Valley” suggesting a definite Aboriginal presence.\footnote{Gerard N. Therrien, \textit{Mattawa Our Timeless Town} (Mattawa: The Canadian Millenium partnership Program and the Mattawa Historical Society, 1999), 1, P0060.} However, on a 1870s hunting expedition to the area author Julian Ralph (who was visiting the area with Frederic Remington, referred to “our Indians” coming in from the “Indian village” three miles away.\footnote{Ralph, \textit{On Canada’s Frontier}, 90, P0120. Ralph was referring to the guides that would take them moose hunting.}

Census data from 1860s demonstrates that the population around the Mattawa settlement was still dispersed in farms and lumber shanties. Interestingly, the enumerator left remarks on the census notes column indicating that certain families were “mixed” up with Indians. They were.\footnote{LAC, RG 31, “Census Returns, Upper Canada/Canada West census returns, 1861 Census Returns Canada West, 480 - Nipissing District”, microfilm reel C-1091, page 79-88, A1419.}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCID</th>
<th>Name in Database</th>
<th>Name in 1861 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G0770</td>
<td>Cecile</td>
<td>Cecile Langevin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0771</td>
<td>Joseph Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0764</td>
<td>Stanislaus Langevin</td>
<td>Tennis Langevin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1055</td>
<td>Alex Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1054</td>
<td>John Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1053</td>
<td>Terese Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1052</td>
<td>Jacques Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1051</td>
<td>Louis Langvein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1050</td>
<td>Margaret Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1056</td>
<td>Joseph Langevin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0240</td>
<td>Louis Bastien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0241</td>
<td>Marie Josep Sibikwe</td>
<td>Marie Bastien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0759</td>
<td>John Baptiste Bastien</td>
<td>John Bapt Bstien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0222</td>
<td>Jean Bastien</td>
<td>John Bastien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0239</td>
<td>Antoine Bastien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0076</td>
<td>Grand Louis Commandant</td>
<td>Louis Commdon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0075</td>
<td>Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe</td>
<td>Mary Cann Commondon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0816</td>
<td>Catherine Commandant</td>
<td>Cath Comondon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0072</td>
<td>Sophia Grandlouis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0815</td>
<td>Louis Commandant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G0927</td>
<td>Sophia Dorion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1060</td>
<td>John Colton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1062</td>
<td>Hyacinth St Denis</td>
<td>Hyacinth St. Denis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1063</td>
<td>Ignace Jourdon</td>
<td>Ignace Joidon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1061</td>
<td>Antoine Colton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1065</td>
<td>Louis Godin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that in this census record only 10 individuals were identified by the ethnic identifier “Ind” in the column for “Colored Persons Mulatto or Indian”.

Provincial Land Surveyor, Lindsay A. Russell, finally laid out the township boundaries in 1864 and the town site was divided into lots and opened for settlement nine years later. The Nipissing District’s 1871 population profile suggests that the majority of residents were living in the immediate vicinity of the settlement just after Confederation.

The village subsequently grew as a provisioning centre around the trading post along the east bank of the Mattawa River. When this area filled, stores, hotels, and homes were built across the river and the two sides were connected when a bridge was finally constructed in 1877. A visitor described the community as “quite a collection of houses, two hotels, several stores, one Roman Catholic church and mission station, and a school-house.”

The population’s Aboriginal character was also readily apparent. A school inspector noted that:

Here may be seen pupils with the pale, clear complexion of the Anglo-Saxon race, the darker hue of the French, and the many shades of the Indian half-breed, down to the darkest specimen of the Algonquin race. They were all neat and clean in person and dress, and with their books in their hands, presented a very interesting scene. Their intelligence is of no mean order, and they passed a very creditable examination in reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. The general language of conversation is either French or Indian, and with most of the pupils the English language has to be acquired. I am happy to be able to bear testimony to the great interest which the Trustees and the parents generally take in educational matters. There are some sixty pupils of school age in the section, and on the day of inspection, there were thirty-five present, most of whom were in the 1st and 2d classes.

The hamlet’s ethnic diversity increased as the region’s suitability for small-scale agriculture lured migrants from southern Ontario and Quebec to frontier farms capable of supplying the lumber camps with oats and hay for their draught animals. Mattawa remained the community hub since

### 4.9 RELIGION AND MISSIONARIES’ OBSERVATIONS

---

208 Ibid.
Recent scholarship and developments in the field of Métis Studies acknowledges the role of Roman Catholicism as a cultural framework relied on by historic Métis communities in order to determine who was a member of a community and who was an outsider. The Catholic Church and its practices of community building, such the performance of baptism and the assignment of godparents who agree to raise a child in the Church should its parents be unable to fulfill their obligations, was one of the ways in which familial ties were created and solidified.\textsuperscript{211}

Religious sources provide important insights about communal and individual religious practices recorded by missionaries preaching to Indigenous populations, mixed-ancestry groups, and Euro-Canadians alike. The research team uncovered instances where identity labels (such as métis) were used to highlight cultural and ethnic differences between individuals; however, the instances of the word “métis” were not always explicitly associated with Mattawa. Instead, while keeping the settlement of Mattawa and its residents as a focal point, the use of the word “métis” was associated with various locales, such as Deep River, Temiscamingue, and Fort William (on Allumette Island), which were part of the economic networks and canoe routes of the fur trade.\textsuperscript{212} Since Mattawa was a hub, or a region, shaped by the socioeconomic movement and developments of peoples and goods, its residents traveled afar between similar hubs through a connected network of evolving commercial geographies. Consequently, the research findings pertaining to the use of the “métis” identity label are relevant to the historical findings on the Mattawa region.

The relationship between the Mattawa region and Roman Catholic missionaries began to solidify itself with the 1836 visit of Sulpician father de Bellefeuille, who was followed most notably by Jesuit father Dominique du Ranquet in 1843. In 1844, Oblate fathers began their work catechizing to the faithful and converting Aboriginal peoples as they traveled north on the Ottawa River from Bytowne (Ottawa) to James Bay. Their Mattawa endeavours grew in 1864 when community members first erected a small makeshift chapel following the fundraising of £133.\textsuperscript{213} Prior to this, mass was held irregularly where the space allowed for the practice of ritual when Catholic priests were en route to other destinations. One such example occurred in May 1850. The Rankin diaries attest to the arrival of two priests whose final

\textsuperscript{211} Macdougall, \textit{One of the Family}, 157, P0222. Brenda Macdougall acknowledges the force of the Catholic Church in building Metis identity. At the same time, the author points out that in her case study of a northern Saskatchewan community, First Nations world views – specifically, the Cree concept of \textit{wahkootowin}, which is to belong to a familial space that includes geographies (attachment to land and place), kinship, and social and cultural obligations – were also crucial to forming Metis identities. As such, it is the blending of Roman Catholicism with Aboriginal worldviews that created a community distinct from the local First Nations groups, more so than the biological mixing of Euro-Canadians and First Nations that created what is now conceived of as a distinct national identity. In contrast, the Mattawa context would therefore be a cultural framework in which Anishinaabe peoples and religious understandings were prevalent. Oral histories and present-day community research on questions of nationality, religious identity and belonging in Mattawa would be helpful in enriching this historical inquiry.

\textsuperscript{212} A more detailed explanation of the context and provenance of these identity labels is found on pages 83 and 84 of the report.

destination was Fort Albany that arrived at Mattawa on Saturday. The following day, they held mass, for which “a great many assembled.”

Fathers Lebret, Déléage, Pion, Lebret, Guéguen, Nédélec, and Poitras, all members of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, catechized at the church from the mid nineteenth century onwards. They contributed to Mattawa’s transformation from a fur trade post, to a regular meeting site for day labourers in the lumber industry and voyageurs alike who sought out Roman Catholic church services.

The first Catholic chapel in Mattawa was a community project involving years of planning and fundraising. In August 1862, Oblate father Louis Lebret, is said to have held mass conjointly for French-Canadian and First Nations residents. The French-Canadian and local First Nations populations were camping together around the Hudson Bay Company store in order to ensure their presence and participation amid the rarity of regular religious services. While there were no names of individuals listed in this specific historical account, the presence of a campsite of French Canadian and “Indians” that existed specifically for the purpose of attending mass attests to the shared religious practices in the region that would lead to the creation of a mixed-ancestry population that valued and practiced Catholic rites.

Notable communal practices were associated with the rituals of baptism, confirmation, and intermarriage. Mattawa individuals from the region of study were observed performing and seeking out these rites of passage under the eye of the Church representatives. The PHI report identified an important source of religious communal behaviour with the Pembroke diocese’s copy of an 1865 petition to the Oblate bishop of Bytowne requesting an additional mission for the Sauvages de Mattawa. The petition speaks of renovations and upkeep on the local church. It also explains the difficulties associated with the changing economic climate of the region and the inability of the Mattawa signatories to practice their faith accordingly. The list of names and the request sent to the first Catholic Bishop of Bytowne (Ottawa) is a significant political acknowledgement of the power that such a

215 Arthur Buies, L’Outaouais supérieur (Québec: C. Darveau, 1889), 105, P0292.
216 Carrière, “Mattawa, Centre Religieux (1844-1900),” 36, P0291. The passage in question reads: “Les Indiens campèrent autour du magasin converti en Chappelle pour la circonstance, tandis que les Canadiens, qui commençaient à devenir assez nombreux, profitaient eux aussi des exercices religieux. Ils venaient non pas uniquement pour assurer leur salut, mais dans l’esprit de foi qui les animait, ils s’imposaient le sacrifice de camper, avec leur famille, tout comme les Indiens.” (Author’s translation: The Indians camped around the store converted into a chapel for the event, while the French Canadians, who were becoming increasingly numerous, also sought religious exercises. They came not only to assure their Salute, but in the spirit of the faith that drove them, they imposed upon themselves the sacrifice of camping with their families, just like the Indians. ) The research team would like to point out that it is impossible to determine whether the French Canadians camping alongside the First Nations populations were doing so out of faith, or out of familial (kinship) links. The latter theory may be further investigated once the Oblate Archival holdings of the Oblate Archives Deschâtelets are relocated to Montreal.
At the same time, the collective difficulties expressed by the petition signatories are a nod to the political influence of the Catholic Church and offer understanding of a mixed-ancestry group hoping to influence its future through direct action. The 1865 petition was sent one year after the visit of Monsignor Guigues, Bishop of Ottawa, who was reported to have visited the region due to the presence of “whites who had already started to establish themselves on the banks of the Ottawa river (...) which explains how the bishop was able to bestow the (sacrament of) confirmation of many faithful of all age and nationality” (report author’s translation). The diversity of the population in Mattawa was noted twenty years later, when Jean-Marie Nédélec, Oblate father and author of the Codex historicus de Mattawa, spoke of having brought in various types of Catholic clergymen and women, acknowledging the diversity of the local population: “(...) nous avons ici parmi nos catholiques des Canadiens Français, des Irlandais, des Sauvages.” (Translation: “We have here among our Catholics French Canadians, Irish, and Savages.”) While he does not refer to the population of Mattawa as explicitly “métis” in the historical sources consulted by the research team, Nédélec did use the word when defining the population that frequents the Fort William mission in Allumettes Island, which he also states includes residents of Mattawa. In other words, the individuals listed in the 1865 petition from Mattawa were deemed sauvage because of their distance from the idealized Christian civilization that the Catholic Church and its various congregations of missionaries were trying to implement. The residents of Mattawa identified as sauvage on this particular document are therefore indistinguishable from neighbouring Aboriginal communities. Rather, they are viewed in the eyes of the person who collected the names for this document as lacking the markers of “civilization,” such as a sedentary lifestyle and close adherence to church prescriptions on behaviour and practices.

219 Other historical examples of petitions signed by the historical Métis in the mid nineteenth century include an 1882 Qu’Appelle Settlement petition for a land, hunting rights, and trading rights; an 1883 petit ion of Metis Settlers from St Louis (SK) petitioning for title to their land; and an 1847 petition from Red River to the Archbishop of Quebec asking for the return of Father G.A Belcourt.
220 Buies, L’Outaouais supérieur, 105, P0292. The French language passage reads: “À cette époque les blancs avaient déjà commencé à s’établir sur les bords de l’Outaouais et de la Mattawan, ce qui explique comment l’évêque y donna la confirmation à un grand nombre de fidèles de tout âge et de nationalités diverses (...)”
222 Like the authors of the PHI report (2012), the Know History/ StoneCircle research team does not have a clear indication of who the author of the 1865 petition may be. Nevertheless, its presence in the institutional Catholic Church archival records would suggest that the author was either closely affiliated to the Catholic Church or a clergy member himself. It is also important to note that contrary to other petitions from the same time period, petitioners did not leave their “mark” on the document. Instead, the author of the letter wrote the list of names on the document.
In 1881, in his annual *nota* or additions & observations about the mission site, Oblate father Jean-Marie Nédélec writes that he conducted a census of the population that frequents the Fort William mission site. He counted a mission population of 250 souls “sauvage ou métisse” in 1881. At a glance, the statement both acknowledges the presence of a mixed-ancestry population at the mission site and differentiates two segments of population group at Allumette Island. Nédélec also notes in 1885 and 1886 that Mattawa was a common site from which to get visitors who then figure in the baptismal, marriage, and confirmation register. Considering that the translation of “sauvage” indicates cultural markers for the (lack of) practice of Roman Catholicism, the Oblate priest likely used these terms to distinguish two types of practitioners present at Fort William: one type which sought to preserve and perpetuate itself within the prescriptions of Roman Catholicism, namely “métisse”; and another type, “sauvage,” which did not because of the practitioners’ socioeconomic pursuits.

Both the petition of 1865 from the *sauvages de Mattawa* and the Fort William parish registers attest to communal behaviours of mixed-ancestry individuals. The research team identified community members on the list of persons who received the sacrament of confirmation in 1881. The five persons identified in the genealogical research as mixed-ancestry persons from the Mattawa region are listed as being baptised by Monsignor Thomas Duhamel, bishop of the archdiocese of Ottawa. This collective participation in a religious ritual translates to a cohesive example of community behaviour. By seeking out the last Catholic sacrament required before the ceremony of marriage, this group of mixed-ancestry individuals from Mattawa demonstrated a commitment to Catholicism similar to one noted in studies of the Great Plains. Seeking out religious sacraments outside of Mattawa proper also attests to the logistical difficulties with the chapel built in the 1860s: twenty years later, the building was no longer able to accommodate its swelling ranks of faithful. A replacement of a more suitable size was opened in 1890.

Missionaries also recognized the multilingual abilities of “métis” and the special place their linguistic abilities afforded them in the fur trade. The missionary journals of Jesuit Father Dominique du Ranquet are rich in their descriptions of individuals and practices. The journals describe the fur trade hierarchies of commerce and state that the bourgeois population of the Timiskaming post did not deal with the local First Nations people. Rather, a “métis” who could speak French, English, and First Nations languages was the first point of contact. Similarly, according to du Ranquet, the role of the guide was

---

223 “Drouin Collection, 1747-1967,” Fort William, Quebec, 1863-1888, page 3 (entry Frederick Ferris), Ancestry.ca, A1700. The French text reads: “On a fait le recensement: la population sauvage ou métisse appartenant à cette mission monte à 250. On compte 50 familles.” Which translates to: “we made the census: the savage or métis population belonging to this mission is up to 250. We counted 50 families.”
224 Ibid., 6–7, A1695.
225 Ibid., 3, A1695. The individuals who received the sacrament of confirmation in 1881 by Bishop Duhamel are William McKenzie, Jakot Lamure, Henriette Leclerc, François Leclerc and Catherine Lamure.
227 Carrière, “Mattawa, Centre Religieux (1844-1900),” 41, P0291.
typically bestowed upon a “Canadien ou un métis” (a French Canadian or a métis). In another instance, Du Ranquet writes about meeting Monsieur Cahier at the head of the first portage that was located on “le petit lac des Joachims” (the little lake of the Joachims – likely near present day Deep River, Ontario). Du Ranquet refers to Cahier as a “Canadien” (French Canadian) “(...) who arrived on his canoe with his two sons aged between six and eight years old. These two boys knew French, English, and Algonquin, the language of their mother” (report author’s translation). Such examples of multilingual abilities are significant because they demonstrate a cultural attribute of the mixed ancestry community that were identified as “métis”.

Another testament to the complex and plural identities recorded by father du Ranquet occurred as he continued on his journey from Fort William (Allumettes Island) to Timiskaming. He mentions a river called “au Moine” that was located by the Fort and usually housed a sentinel for the fishing of trout. In the next line, the priest describes a man watching his canoe go by as follows: “There is a métis cultivating. He is watched us pass by without getting out of his house; we had a letter for him and a little boy came to fetch it. We didn’t get out of the boat; it was not in the manner of Mr Moreau to make efforts for those who showed so little desire. The savages called this man the mean Ojibway.” (Author’s translation) Further adding to the complexity of these plural identities, the distinction between the métis who cultivates and the sauvages who refer to him as the “Mean Ojibway” aligns with the interpretation of these terms as outlined in Oblate records elsewhere. Du Ranquet’s interpretation of métis transcended the association with French Canada. In his 1843 account of his travels, he notes the presence of a “métis village” near Moose Factory which housed individuals at the periphery of Mattawa who spoke or who were at least familiar with the English language.

Jean-Marie Nédélec and Jean-Pierre Guéguen record the Amable “Jambon” Dufond’s active participation in community religious life in 1870-1871. Dufond was host to Nédélec who wintered in Mattawa. Dufond’s home was the site of daily mass, while the larger Sunday service took place at the chapel. The missionaries noted both the condition of the house that served them as shelter, and of the material

---

229 Ibid., 114, P0168.
230 Ibid., 147, P0168.
231 Ibid., 148, P0168.
232 Ibid., 149, P0168. The French passage reads: « Il y a un métis qui cultive; il nous regarde passer sans daigner sortir de sa maison; on avait une lettre pour lui, un petit garçon vint la prendre. Nous ne descendîmes pas à terre; ce n’était pas le genre de monsieur Moreau de faire des avances pour des gens qui marquaient si peu de désir. Les sauvages appellent cet homme le méchant Sauteux. »
233 Foran, “‘Les Gens de Cette Place,’” 24–25, P0201.
235 Gaston Carrière, Le Père Jean-Pierre Guéguen, O.M.I. 1838-1909 Un Grand Voltigeur. Mattawa, Kipawa, Tête du Lac, Weymontaching, Maniwaki (Guérin: Éditions de la Société historique Rivière des Quinze, 1978), 70-71, P0165. The reason for the smaller weekday religious services taking place in Dufond’s home, while the larger Sunday service was held at the chapel is likely because of the high number of attendees for the latter.
objects given to them by Dufond in order to perform the ritual of mass. Dufond’s home was described as a “humble shack” which had a small bedroom and a small “chapel” (Author’s translation).\textsuperscript{236}

The material culture of Dufond’s religious practice described in missionary accounts offers insights into cultural and ritualized behaviours. First, it signified that the missionaries relied on the local population in order to perform their religious rituals. Instead of using a bell atop a steeple to call mass, priests relied on a bugle and, at times, borrowed a cowbell. Instead of having a proper thurible, the metal incense burner used by priests during mass, the missionaries in Mattawa borrowed a “dish” from Dufond, which they hung from old watch chains. The attribution of these materials to Dufond is clear, and it attests to his important role as a person of faith in the community.\textsuperscript{237} So too does his presence at the top of the list of petitioners in 1865 asking for an additional mission in Mattawa.

The cultural identity of Dufond, as presented in the secondary source material consulted, was labelled “Indian,” although his children intermarried with the fur trade affiliated Macdonald and Simon families.\textsuperscript{238}

Notable gaps remain informing the development, growth, and consequences of surrounding missions taking root in the late nineteenth -century, such as the Sainte-Philomène du Lac Talon mission in Bonfield, Ontario. The importance of such sites is evident: by April 4 1884, the Bonfield mission was looking after 175 families. Mattawa’s baptismal register recorded the presence of Nédélec in Bonfield in 1881 and 1882.\textsuperscript{239} Another nearby mission site located in Eau Claire, west of Mattawa was highlighted in the secondary literature review as part if the expansion of the work by Oblate missionaries. Officially established in 1886, the Eau Claire mission was the religious outpost for 28 Catholic families. In 1894, a chapel was built at this site for 20 French-Canadian families. Oblates remained in Eau Claire until 1917.\textsuperscript{240} Yet another mission site, Des Érables, 16km north of Mattawa, was discovered during the secondary literature review phase. Due to the scarcity of primary and secondary documentation for these sites, the research team was unable to determine how whether and Catholic missions in the neighbouring regions were linked to Mattawa, or to its community members.

\textsuperscript{236} Carrière, Jean-Marie Nédélec OMI 1834-1896, 20, P0310. The passage in question reads: ”Là il avait une petite chambre, une petite chapelle, où on célébrait la messe tous les jours de la semaine; il y avait tous ce qu’il fallait pour être pauvre et souffrir.” (There he had a small bedroom, a small chapel, where we celebrated mass every weekday; everything needed to be poor & suffer.)
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., 19, P0310. “Pour cloche, on se servait d’un bugle pour appeler à la prière et même d’une cloche à vache pendant un certain temps. Pour encensoir on avait une dish arrangé en forme d’encensoir, pour chainons, des vieilles chaines de montre, tout de la fabrique du vieux Jampon Dufond.” (Translation: For a bell, we used a bugle to call prayer and even a cowbell for a certain time. For a thurible, we had a dish arranged in the shape of an incense holder, and for small chains we used old watch chains, all from the collection of Jampon(sic) Dufond.)
\textsuperscript{238} See 6.11 and 6.34
\textsuperscript{239} Carrière, Jean-Marie Nédélec OMI 1834-1896, 24, P0310.
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid., 25, P0310.
5 Appendix 1: List of “Metis” Definitions Circa. 1816

1) . . . Metifs, Bois brûlés, or Half-breeds.-These are the illegitimate progeny chiefly of the Canadian traders, and others in the service of the North-West Company, by Indian women. They have always been much under the control of that Company, by whom they are frequently employed as hunters, chiefly for provisions,-an occupation in which they are very expert; hunting and shooting the buffaloe on horseback. The Company also employs them occasionally in other temporary services; and some of them are engaged in their regular employment as clerks, having, received, in Canada, an education fitted to qualify them for that situation. pp. 17-18. [Deposition of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun] Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement Upon the Red River in North America; Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816; and the Massacre of Governor Semple and his Party. With Observations Upon a Recent Publication, Entitled “A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries,” &c, (London: John Murray, 1817)].

2) That when he [Pambrun] arrived, he found that at the fort or trading post of the North-West Company, near the same place, were assembled, a great number of the men, commonly called brûlés, Metifs, or half-breeds, viz. the bastard sons of Indian concubines, kept by the partners or servants of the North-West Company. pp. xxxii-xxxiv. [Deposition of John Bourke] Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement Upon the Red River in North America; Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816; and the Massacre of Governor Semple and his Party. With Observations Upon a Recent Publication, Entitled “A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries,” &c, (London: John Murray, 1817)].

3) . . . that the North-West Company were collecting Indians of the half-breed, as they are called, that is, the bastard-children of the partners and servants of that Company, by Indian women, from their different posts. . . . pp. xlix. [Extracted from: Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement Upon the Red River in North America; Its Destruction in 1815 and 1816; and the Massacre of Governor Semple and his Party. With Observations Upon a Recent Publication, Entitled “A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries,” &c, (London: John Murray, 1817)].

4) The invasion of the colony by an armed Banditti, the plundering of the Government house, and the subsequent reduction of it, and the habitations of the inoffensive settlers to ashes, were acts of unparalleled barbarity, which it was impossible to deny; therefore the partners of the N. W. Company, have asserted that they were effected without any cooperation of their servants and that they were wholly the work of the native Indians, and more especially of the half breeds. They have even attempted to find a justification, for the hostile acts of the latter, who are their kinsmen, by pretending that such a ruthless and insignificant band form an independent nation, who lay claim to the territory of the colony as their own. On this claim it may be remarked, that, by the Laws of England, illegitimate children cannot inherit even the personal property of their own parents, but here is a cluster of civil magistrates and gentlemen of the North West Company, presuming to question the King’s prerogative, and, in the face of a grant, regularly made
by the Crown to other persons, laying claim to all these lands, in the name of their own bastards, and those of their dependents; a mode of providing for their progeny, truly becoming the affectation of patriarchs. p.44. [Reply to the Letter, Lately Addressed to the Right Honorable The Earl of Selkirk, by the Hon. And Rev. John Strachan. . . Being Four Letters (Reprinted From the Montreal Herald), Containing a Statement of Facts, Concerning the Settlement of Red-River, in the District of Ossiniboba, Territory of the Honble Hudson’s Bay Company, Properly Called Rupert’s Land, (Montreal: W. Gray, 1816)].

5) The free Canadians form too insignificant and dependent a proportion of the population to acquire any influence. Exclusive of these the permanent population of the countries over which the North West Company have assumed the supreme control, may be divided into two classes; the native Indians, who compose the only numerous and important part of it, and the “bois brûlés” or “metifs;” appellations which are given to the spurious offspring of the partners, clerks and servants of the company. These last are designations calculated for disguise, by which persons unacquainted with the demi-christian origin of the “bois brûlés,” might be induced to suppose that they were some powerful Indian nation. The fact is, however, that many of these have received from the laudable care of their parents the rudiments of education, can read, write, and keep accounts, and are employed as clerks by the North West Company. A large proportion of the others whose education has been less attended to, are employed as servants of the same Company. pp. 44-5. A number of the bois brûlés, or illegitimate children of the North West partners, and servants. . . . p. 81. [Samuel Gale, Notices of the Claims of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Conduct of its Adversaries, (Montreal: William Gray, 1817)]. [Statement of the Honble. William Bacheler Coltman]

6) The Half-breeds are of various kinds, but all the progeny of Indian women, living with their mothers, but varying in character, information, and manners, according to the peculiar circumstances in which they may have been placed with reference to education and numerous particulars. Some have been sent to Montreal for education, and some even to England. I believe these are not very far removed from white men, but the advantages they have enjoyed are so various that they may be considered as filling every link from the character of pure Indians to that of cultivated men, and I had occasion to communicate with Half-breeds of very different classes, in the performance of my official duties. pp. 240-1. [Extracted from: Report of the Proceedings Connected With the Disputes Between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company: at the Assizes Held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818, (Montreal: James Lane and Nahum Mower, 1819)].

7) for the first time, the half-breed servants of the North West Company assumed a new character, calling themselves the ‘Bois-brûlés’ and the ‘New Nation.’ p. 14. [Narrative of John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heurter, Respecting the Aggressions of the NWC, Against the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement Upon the Red River, (London: John Murray, 1819)].

8) It was in these circumstances that the partners of the North West Company at their annual meeting in the 1814, determined to adopt more effectual measures for destroying the [Red River] settlement, before it should be too late to make the attempt. For this purpose
they sent instructions to collect from various quarters a set of men whom they judged fit instruments for acts of violence, viz: the sons of their Canadian, and other servants by Indian women, a great number of whom are reared at their trading posts. These men are bred up in the most entire dependence on the Company, and had been always employed in their service in the same manner as their Canadian servants from they were never distinguished till the period alluded to. It was then for the first time that they were taught to consider themselves a separate tribe of men, and distinguished by a separate name, with the view of ascribing their violence to the native Indians. These half-breeds (or Bois brûlés as they were now to be called) have been described as a Nation of independent Indians: but they are in fact with very few exceptions in the regular employment and pay of the North West Company, mostly as canoemen, some as interpreters and guides, and a few of better education as clerks. The latter are the progeny of partners of the Company, at whose expense most of them have been brought up, and through whose influence they may look to be themselves partners. These are the chiefs of this “New Nation.” pp. 4-5. [The Memorial of Thomas Earl of Selkirk: to His Grace, Charles, Duke of Richmond, &c. &c., (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1819)].

9) For this purpose the Halfbreeds were encouraged to offer every insult every petty aggression that could be expected to provoke the men who remained faithful to the Govr [Miles Macdonnell]. Tho’ the Half breeds were acting under the immediate directions of Mr. A[lexander] McD[onnell] & of Mr. C [ameron] himself an attempt was made to represent them as a separate & independent body of people, acting for themselves & to carry on this farce a few of the most considerable amongt them were named as their leaders or chiefs of the new discov’rd nation of Half breeds or Metifs; & to give this the more currency at a distance, the new & fanciful name of Bois brûlés was bestowed upon them. The person who was selected as the principal chief of this new tribe was a Mr. C[uthbert] Grant a clerk in the Service of the N.[orth] W.[est] Co. & son of a Gentleman who . . . [sentence does not continue in the original]. [Extracted from: “Manuscript by Lord Selkirk Relating to Red River,” n.d., Selkirk Papers, MG 19, E-1, Page, 12739, LAC]

10) “In consequence of the great number of the partners, clerks & servants of the NWCo who live in a state of concubinage with Indian Women a considerable number of illegitimate children of mixed blood are continually reared about their trading posts. These half breeds are in general expert in all species of work required in the employment of the Fur traders & as they grow up they are usually taken into the Service of the Co. employed according to their capacity in the same manner & on the same terms as their Servants. . . Heretofore these men were known by the name of Metifs, which is the proper name for any person of mixed blood. The Canadian Voyageurs who are very fond of metaphorical expressions sometimes in jest gave the name of Bois Brûlés to their half breed comrades in allusion to their swarthy complexion. A few years ago when it was determined to exhibit the Half breeds as a separate & independent race of men, this later appellation was adopted as being less intelligible to Strangers & more like the translation of an Indian name. Their manners & habits can hardly be distinguished from those of the Canadians & till within these few years no
marked distinction was ever made between them by the NWCo.” [Extracted from: “Manuscript by Lord Selkirk Relating to Red River,” n.d., Selkirk Papers, MG 19, E-1, Pages 12855-6, LAC]

11) The half-breeds, who before that time [1814] had always been classed along with the Canadian engages of the North-West Company, and had never been heard of as a separate body of men, were now brought forward and tutored to call themselves a nation of Indians . . . But the army of the North-West Company was now organized in a systematic manner, and with the distinct avowal of the illegal purpose of driving the settlers from their lands. This purpose was indeed avowed only by the half-breeds; the pretending to have no control over that “numerous and warlike race,” though these independent Indians were all the time receiving pay, and serving under regular contracts, like the other engages of the company; and to add to the inconsistency, this independent nation was employed to enforce the warrant of a Scottish magistrate for Indian territory. But this pretext is now too stale to impose upon the meanest simpleton; and, after the evidence which has been obtained, no argument can be necessary to prove, that ever since the beginning of the year 1815, the half-breeds have been in effect the troops of the North-West company, acting under the orders of Scotch partners, and receiving pay for their military services, with as much regularity as their canoe-men receive it for their work. Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement[London: 1819; p. 130]
6 APPENDIX 2: FAMILY HISTORY SHEETS

Below are brief summaries of mixed-ancestry families identified during this project. These will be referred to as the “root families.” The list of root families was comprised of names provided by the MNO, and by families identified as mixed-ancestry in the 1901 census with connections to early NWC and HBC traders. These family history sheets begin by describing the root ancestors of a particular family (the earliest known individuals), the family’s subsequent arrival in the study region, the intermarriage and/or relationships with other mixed-ancestry families, and their prescribed ethnicity (if known). These family sheets are not a complete examination of each individual in the family, nor are they completely representative of kinships. Certain names appear in genealogical records spelled different ways, however for the family sheets we have used the same standardized spelling adopted in the Persons Database (PDB). The person id of each individual found in the PDB is indicated following the first instance of the person’s name. For a complete presentation of this information please see the social network analysis and genealogical research products.

6.1 ANTOINE

Root Ancestors

Antoine Nijkwiwisans (G0220) and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins (G0221) are the root ancestors of the Antoine family tree. Uniquely, the descendants of these root ancestors alternate between a number of surnames, including Antoine, Nijkwiwisens, Nesh Que We, Jambone, and Jeanbone. Antoine Nijkwiwisans, b. 1810 and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins, b. 1814, are married in 1832 in Oka, Quebec. The marriage takes place at a missionary “du sauvages.” The descendants of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins are the subject of a report conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1910, discussing their band membership, if they received treaty money, etc.241

In 1868 Antoine Nijkwiwisans appears at Mattawa with the ethnicity of “Sauvage.” Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins and Antoine Nijkwiwisans appear together in Mattawa in 1871, under the ethnicity of “Indian.” Antoine Nijkwiwisans dies in 1874 and is buried at Mattawa. Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins is buried at Mattawa in 1909.

Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins have six children. Of these children four are married at Mattawa. Some of these children marry into mixed-ancestry families, including the Commandants, and the Bastiens. These descendants are recorded on their respective family sheets. The descendants of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon

Desjardins are traced through three of their sons: Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens (G0251), Alexandre Antoine (G0873), and Francois Antoine (G0211).

**Descendants**

**Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens**

Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens, b. 1833 is the son of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins. He first appears at Mattawa in 1865 when he is named in a petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa.”

Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens appears in Mattawa in 1871, listed as “Indian.” He appears again at Mattawa in 1875 at the baptism of his niece, Philomene Commandant (G0194) in 1875. Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens appears consistently in the following census records, listed with varying ethnicities including “Indian,” “Algonquin FB,” and “Algonquin.” He additionally is the godfather of a number of children including Antoine Simon (G0873), Susanne Lucie Grand Louis (G0207), and Philomene Commandant (G0194), all children from mixed-ancestry families.

Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens is married three separate times. His first marriage is to Louise Cawan (G0252), as their first child is born in 1863. Louise Cawan and Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens appear together in 1871. Louise Cawan dies in 1881 and is buried in Mattawa. Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens then marries his second wife Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe (G0075) in 1882. Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe is the widow of Grand Louis Commandant (G0076). Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe is also one of the root ancestors for the Commandant-Grandlouis family. Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe and Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens have no known children, however Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe has six children with Grand Louis Commandant. One of these children, her son Jean Baptiste Commandant (G0179) in fact marries Susan Nijkwiwisans (G0180), sister of Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens.

Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens is married a third time, to Suzanne Steven (G0539) in 1901, widow of Joseph McKenzie (G0538). Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens and Suzanne Steven have no known children together, however Suzanne Steven has one child with Joseph McKenzie.

**Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens and Louise Cawan**

Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens is married to Louise Cawan (G0252) prior to 1871, where they are recorded together at Mattawa in the 1871 census. Her noted ethnicity is “Indian.” Louise Cawan is buried at Mattawa in 1881. Jawbone Antoine and Louise Cawan have seven children together. The descendants of Jawbone Antoine and Louise Cawan are traced through their son, Frank Jambone (G0250).

**Frank Jambone and Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell**

Frank Jambone is the son of Jawbone Antoine and Louise Cawan. He is baptised at Mattawa in 1869. He marries Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell (G0253), daughter of Louis England

---

McConnell and Catherine. Frank Jambone appears at Mattawa in 1871, with the noted ethnicity of “Indian.” In 1881 Frank Jambone and Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell appear at Renfrew North with the ethnicity of “Indian.” They appear later in the 1911 census as “Algonquin.” Frank Jambone appears at Mattawa in 1921 as “French.” Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell is buried at Mattawa in 1912. Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell and Frank Jambone have seven children.

**Alexandre Antoine and Catherine Lamure**

Alexandre Antoine, b. 1839, is the son of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins. He is married twice; he is married to Marie Jasen (G0541) (whose sister is Elisabeth Jasen, wife of Francois Antoine) in 1868 at Mattawa, and to Catherine Lamure (G0637) in 1907 at Mattawa. Marie Jasen dies and is buried at Mattawa in 1895. Alexandre Antoine first appears at Mattawa in 1871, where he is listed as “Indian.” He appears in consistently at Mattawa for the duration of his life, with the exception of being unrecorded in the census records in 1901. In these census records he is noted as “Indian” and “Algonquin.” Alongside his brother, Alexandre Antoine is named in a petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa” in 1865. In his marriage record to Marie Jasen his father is named as a “sauvage.” In the 1871 and 1881 census records Marie Jasen appears alongside her husband, as “Indian” and “French” respectively. She appears as a godmother for Pierre Alexandre Antoine (G0234) in 1877. Alexandre Antoine’s only known child is with Marie Jasen.

**Francois Antoine**

Francois Antoine, b. 1843, is the son of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins. He is married twice: first to Elizabeth Jasen (G0212) in 1868 at Mattawa, and second to Madeleine Natowesi Bernard (G0188) also at Mattawa. Francois Antoine first appears in the Renfrew North in 1881 as “French.” He appears in Mattawa in 1891, and 1901, in the later as “Algonquin French Half Breed.” Alongside his brothers, Francois Antoine is named in a petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa” in 1865. He is named in a Department of Indian Affairs document written in 1909 as someone who “Recieves Robinson-Huron Treaty payments as member of the Nipissing Band.”

**Francois Antoine and Elisabeth Jasen**

Francois Antoine and Elisabeth Jasen are married in 1868 at Mattawa, in the presence of “tous les sauvages & Canadien de Mattawa.” Elisabeth Jasen’s ethnicity mimics that of her husband in the

---

**Notes:**

243 RCPA, “Transcript and rough translation of a letter from the people of Mattawa, September 3, 1865”, 3 September 1865, A1401.
244 RCPA, “Transcript and rough translation of a letter from the people of Mattawa, September 3, 1865”, 3 September 1865, A1401.
Canadian census records. The couple are listed as the godparents for children from other families, including the Commandants, the Bastiens, and the Antoines. Elisabeth Antoine is buried at Mattawa in 1923, with her ethnicity noted as “Indian.”

The children of Francois Antoine and Elisabeth Jasen marry into a number of mixed-ancestry families including the Simons, the Jockos, and the Greens. Their descendants can be seen in their respect family sheets.

6.2 **Atkinson**

**Root Ancestors**

Samuel Atkinson (G0969) and Sara Mary Moore (G0970), b. 1831, are the root ancestors of the Atkinson family tree. Sara Mary Moore was born in Moose Factory and baptised at Fort William (Quebec) in 1868 (age 50). Details surrounding Samuel Atkinson are unknown, although he may be the son of retired HBC employee called John Atkinson who lived near Fort William (Quebec). Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore are recorded together prior to 1868; their daughter Elizabeth Atkinson (G0456) baptised on the same day as her mother, lists both Sara and Samuel as her parents. It is possible, due to Sara Mary Moore being at an advanced age at her baptism, that the couple were married “a la facon du pays”. On Sara Mary Moore’s burial record in 1896 it is noted that Samuel Atkinson preceded her, and in the 1881 census she is listed as a widow and ethnicity is “Indian.” Sara Mary Moore first appears in Mattawa in 1896 according to her death record.

**Descendants**

The descendants of the root ancestors, Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore, are traced through their daughter, Elizabeth Atkinson, and an Unknown Male. Elizabeth has five children with no known father, and notably these children retain the “Atkinson” name, unlike her three children with Benjamin McKenzie (G0453).

Elizabeth Atkinson, b. 1847, is baptised at age 22 at Fort William Quebec. Her godfather “Benjamin sauvage de Fort William,” who may possible be Benjamin Leclerc (G0071) who appears at Fort William during his lifetime and is noted as “Indian.” Elizabeth Atkinson first appears in the Canadian census in 1871 at Rivière Creuse (Deep River), with her ethnicity indicated as “English.” Her ethnicity in the following four census’ include “Indian”, “Algonquin Scotch Breed,” along with English. She and her son McKenzie (G0403) are noted as the godparents of Allen Daniel McDonald Ferris (G0870) in 1885.

**Elizabeth Atkinson and Unknown Male**

Elizabeth Atkinson has five children with an Unknown Male (or Unknown Males). Notably these five children all retain the “Atkinson” family name. It is unclear whether Elizabeth Atkinson and this Unknown Male are married prior or following her marriage to Benjamin McKenzie Sr., both sets of children are relatively similar in age. Elizabeth Atkinson and four of her children, Charlotte Atkinson (G0971), Florence Atkinson (G0972), Alexander Atkinson (G0641), and Angelique Atkinson (G0916) appear alongside their mother in the 1901 census. Elizabeth Atkinson and her children’s ethnicity is noted as “Algonquin Scotch Breed.” Florence Atkinson was born in Mattawa in
1883, and resides at Mattawa at least until 1907 when she marries her husband John Kelly (G0973). Angelique Atkinson marries Frank Jocko (G0006) at Mattawa in 1909.

**Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie**

Elizabeth Atkinson is married to Benjamin McKenzie, b. 1807 at Fort William in 1868. Benjamin McKenzie is connected to the McKenzies, whose ancestors are employed successively by the NWC and HBC. Benjamin McKenzie’s parents are Roderick McKenzie Jr. (G0458) and Jane or Anne Nejepgiijoque (kwe) McKenzie (G0457). Roderick McKenzie Jr’s mother, Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit was also Aboriginal as noted in an article by Elizabeth Arthur. Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit is formally married to Roderick McKenzie Sr in 1841 at Ile a la Crosse, Saskatchewan. It would appear that the McKenzies’ (through Roderick McKenzie Jr.) first appear at Mattawa in 1844. Roderick McKenzie Jr dies at Mattawa in 1850. Benjamin McKenzies’ ethnicity throughout the Canadian census are recorded as “Scotch”, “Indian”, and “English.” Benjamin McKenzie and Elizabeth Atkinson have three known children, Daniel McKenzie (G0455), William McKenzie (G0403), and George McKenzie (G0454). Their descendants are traced through William McKenzie.

**William McKenzie and Alice Miller**

William McKenzie, b. 1868, is the son of Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie. William McKenzie is baptised in Fort William Quebec, and appears in the Deep River in the 1871 census as “Scotch.” He appears in the following census at Fort William as “Indian.” His wife, Alice Miller (G0398), b. 1875, appears with William McKenzie at Duhamel and Laverlochère in 1891. In 1901 the couple appear at Mattawa, Alice Miller with the ethnicity of “Algonquin EB,” and William McKenzie with the ethnicity of “Algonquin SB.” Following 1901 William McKenzie, Alice Miller, and their daughter Charlotte Jean McKenzie (G0404) appear in North Lemicakming as “English.” Alice Miller appears in 1911 at Parish of Portage La Prarier as “Canadian.” Charlotte Jean McKenzie is married to Howard Stanley Nelson in 1923 in the district of Cochrane.

### 6.3 Bastien

**Root Ancestors**

Louis Bastien (G0240) and Marie Josep Sibikwe (G0241) are the root ancestors of the Bastien family tree.

Marie Josep Sibikwe is married to Charles Colton (G1067) prior to her marriage to Louis Bastien. The marriage date between Marie Josep Sibikwe and Louis Bastien is unknown, however the entire family appear in the 1861 census in the Nipissing District. Marie Josep Sibikwe, Louis Bastien, and their children receive a special note from the census enumerator that reads “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call

---


247 Ibid., 35. P0293.
them white.” Marie Josep Sibikwe appear ion Deux Rivieres, Mattawa, and Papineau from this point onward, with the noted ethnicity of “Indian” and “Algonquinne.” Additionally during some point she is married to Severe St Denys (G1068).

Additionally Charles Colton is noted as the father of both Antoine Colton and Igance Bastien (G0185) in a document created by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1910. The document notes that after Charles Colton’s death, Marie Josep Sibikwe remarries Louis Bastien (G0240), and this children are taken in and cared for by him (hence why Ignace Bastien is known as “Bastien” versus “Colton.”) It also notes that she is “a non treaty half breed.”

Louis Bastien appears in the Nipissing District in 1861, Deux Rivieres in 1871, Mattawa in 1881 and 1891, and in Papineau in 1901. He appears with varying ethnicity, including “French”, and “Ind.” Louis Bastien acts as the godfather to children from other root families, including the Montreuils and the Commandants. With Marie Josep Sibikwe they have four (including Ignace Bastien) children. Of these four children their descendants are traced through Igance Bastien and Jean Bastien.

**Descendants**

**Ignace Bastien**

Ignace Bastien is the son of Charles Colton and Marie Josep Sibikwe. He is the adopted son of Louis Bastien. Ignace Bastien first appears in the 1871 census in Deep River, married, and as “Indian.” He is married to three separate women, and has children by all three of them. It would appear that he is married to Marguerite Simon Animakse (G0186), as she is noted to be his wife in her burial record in 1873. He is then married to Josephte Natowesi (G0811) in 1874. Following her death in 1882, he is married to Madeleine Natowesi Bernard (G0188). Ignace Bastien appears in the 1881 census in Renfrew North as “French,” and in the 1901 census as “Algonquin FB.” At his death in 1910, he is noted to be Indian. He appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. He is buried at Mattawa.

**Ignace Bastien and Marguerite Simon Animakse**

Ignace Bastien and Marguerite Simon Animakse are married and an unknown date. Marguerite Simon Animakse appears alongside her husband in the 1871 census as “Indian.” She dies in 1873 and is buried at Mattawa. In 1869 she is noted as the godmother of Francois Xavier Theodore Dupuis (G0143). Ignace Bastien and Marguerite Simon Animakse have three known children. Their son, Ignace Antoine Bastien

---


(G0758) is baptised and buried at Mattawa. His godparents are Antoine Nijkwiwisans (G0220) and Elisabeth Nipinekijkokwe Gagnon Desjardins (G0221), the root ancestors of the Antoine family.

**Ignace Bastien and Josephte Natowesi**

Ignace Bastien and Josephte Natowesi are married in 1874 at Mattawa. Josephte Natowesi appears alongside Ignace Bastien in the 1881 census in Renfrew North. She is listed as “French.” She dies at Mattawa in 1882, and is buried there. Ignace Bastien and Josephte Natowesi have four children. The descendants of Ignace Bastien and Josephte Natowesi are traced through Joseph Bastien (G0808).

**Joseph Bastien and Marie Anne Benoit**

Joseph Bastien is the son of Ignace Bastien and Josephte, born at Mattawa in 1876. He appears in the 1881 census in Renfrew north as “French.” He appears at Mattawa in 1901 as “Algonquin FB.” He is married to Marie Ann Benoit (G0747) at Mattawa in 1902. The couple appear together in the 1911 census at Mattawa, noted as “French.” In 1908 Joseph Bastien and Mary Anne Benoit are noted as the godparents for Mary Philomene Bastien (G0238). Joseph Bastien is buried at Mattawa in 1926. Joseph Bastien and Mary Anne Benoit have two children.

**Ignace Bastien and Madeleine Natowesi Bernard**

Ignace Bastien and Madeleine Natowesi Bernard are married following 1882, however prior to 1910. Madeleine Natowesi Bernard, following Ignace Bastien’s death in 1910, is married to Francois Lamure in 1911, and later to Francois Antoine in 1925. Madeleine Natowesi Bernard appears in the 1881 census in the Renfrew North, listed under Ignace Bastien and his second wife, Josephte Natowesi, as “French.” In 1901 she is recorded at Mattawa as “Algonquin FB”, and at Mattawa in 1911 and 1921 as “Algonquin.” She is recorded as the godmother of Louis Angus Bastien (G0237) in 1911. Ignace Bastien and Madeleine Natowesi Bernard have eight children all of whom are baptised at Mattawa. Their godparents include Cecilia Ferris (G0008), Benjamin Leclerc (G0065), and Suzanne Steven (G0539). They appear alongside their parents in the census records, mimicking the ethnicity of their father. Of their eight children, their descendants are traced through Bernard Bastien (G0235).

**Bernard Bastien and Mary Elizabeth Montreuil**

Bernard Bastien, b. 1882 is the son of Ignace Bastien and Madeleine Natowesi Bernard. He is married to Mary Elizabeth Montreuil (G0236) in 1903 in the Nipissing District. Bernard Bastien appears at Mattawa consistently from 1901 to 1921, listed with the ethnicities of “Algonquin FB”, “French”, and “Algonquin.” He appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905.251 Marie Elizabeth Montreuil appears alongside her husband in the 1911 and 1921 census records, mimicking his ethnicity. Bernard Bastien Marie Elizabeth Montreuil have two children.

6.4 **BERNARD**

251 Ibid.
**Root Ancestors**

The root ancestors of the Bernard family are Nelson Bernard (G1095) and Marie Catherine Papineau (G1096), b. 1835. Nelson Bernard and Marie Catherine Papineau were married in 1851 in Oka. The marriage record provides surname/given names that are Aboriginal: “TIONATAKWEINTE” and “OPITAMATANOKWE.” Nelson Bernard is noted as “Iroquois” and Catherine noted as “Népissigue.” There is little information on Nelson Bernard, however Marie Catherine Papineau appears in Canadian census records from 1881 to 1901 as “widowed.” Her ethnicity in 1901 is interesting as her origin is “Metis Francais”, and her nationality is “Indian B.” Her death record also notes that she was “Indian.” Nelson Bernard and Marie Catherine Papineau have ten children together. It is interesting to note that the guide for Sir George Simpson’s light canoe was a man named Jean Baptiste Bernard who lived at Fort Coulonge.

**Descendants**

**Marie Josephte Bernard and Andrew Landon**

Marie Josephte Bernard (G1154), b. 1866, is the daughter of Nelson Bernard and Marie Catherine Papineau. She is married to Andrew Landon (G1153), son of Heyman Landon (G1152) and Margaret Constant (G0596), in 1866 at Golden Lake, Renfrew. Andrew Landon is connected to a number of root families by way of step-siblings. His half sibling, Mary Marcotte (G0850), is married to George Crawford (G0117), who is one of the root ancestors of the Crawford family. Marie Josephte Bernard appears in Peterborough, Mattawa, and Mattawan in Canadian census records, as “Indian”, “Iroquois F.B.”, “Algonquin”, and as “English Indian.” She is the godmother of Andrew George Crawford, Andrew Landon Landon’s nephew. Andrew Landon and Marie Josephte Bernard have one son, John Landon (G1121), b. 1910, who appears as “Indian” (alongside his parents) in the 1921 census of Mattawa.

**Matthieu Bernard and Marie Nash**

Matthieu Bernard (G1111) b. 1866, is the son of Nelson Bernard and Marie Catherine Papineau. He is married to Marie Nash in (G1116), and they have four children. He appears in Dudley, Dysart and Harcourt Townships in 1881 and 1891. In the 1901 census the family appear at Papineau with “Metis Francais” as their origin, and their nationality as “Indian B.” Marie Nash on her death record is noted as “Algonquin” and was buried in Mattawa in 1911. Matthieu Bernard and Mary Nash are the godparents of Georges Phillipe Legros (G1110) and John Mathias Bernard (G1113), both Matthieu Bernard’s nephews.

**Paul Bernard and Anastasia Therese Benoit Francois**

Paul Bernard (G1125) b. 1868 at Mattawa, is the son of Nelson Bernard and Marie Catherine Papineau. He is married to Anastasia Therese Benoit Francois in (G1126) in 1907 at Mattawa, and they have five children. The family appears in Dudley, Dysart and Harcourt Townships in 1881 and 1891. In 1901 he and his wife appear at Papineau with “Metis Francais” as their origin, and their nationality as “Indian B.” Paul
Bernard is listed in the accredited guide list produced by the Rod and Gun magazine in 1905. His ethnicity in 1881 is listed as “Indian.” Anastasia Therese Benoit François appears as the godparent for Walter Michael Edward Bernard (G1127) in 1903, Paul Bernard’s nephew.

6.5 **CLEMENT**

**Root Ancestors**

The root ancestors of Clement family are Felix Clement (G0894), b. 1835 and Hana Hogan (G0893) b. 1837. They are married in Pembroke in 1856. Felix Clement’s marriage record indicates that is formerly of St. Hermes, Lower Canada. There is no recorded ethnicity for either Felix Clement or Hana Hogan, however Hana Hogan’s place of birth in the 1861 census is noted as “Ireland.” They have one recorded son, Joseph Francois Edward Clement (G0622), b. 1860.

**Descendants**

**Joseph Francois Edward Clement and Charlotte Anna Montreuil**

Joseph Francois Edward Clement is baptised in 1861 in Pembroke. He is married to Charlotte Anna Montreuil, b. 1860 (G0621) in Fort William in 1879. Despite sharing a surname, researchers were unable to verify is Charlotte Anne Montreuil is a descendant of the other family of Montreuil. Charlotte Anna Montreuil’s mother’s (Marie Kakwabit G0358), ethnicity is recorded as “Indian” and “Algonquin.” Charlotte Anna Montreuil’s sister, Marie Montreuil (G0356), marries Joseph Parent (G0359). Joseph Francois Edward Clement and Charlotte Anna Montreuil are recorded in Mattawa from 1891 to 1921 consistently, with the ethnicity of “French.” One exception is Charlotte Anna Montreuil’s ethnicity in the 1901 census which is Algonquin. Joseph Francois Edward Clement in 1942, and Charlotte Anna Montreuil in 1947, and both are buried at Mattawa. They have seven children together.

6.6 **COLTON**

**Root Ancestors**

Charles Colton (G1067) and Marie Josep Sibikwe (G0241) are the root ancestors of the Colton family tree. Marie Josep Sibikwe is also the root ancestor for two other families, including the Bastiens, and the St-Denys/St Denis. Charles Colton, described as a half-breed, was active in the Mattawa area through the early 1850s and apparently worked as a foreman in one of John Egan’s lumber camps. His partner, Marie Josep Sibikwe was born in 1811. Charles Colton’s occupation is recorded at the baptism of his first son, Antoine Colton (G1061) in 1846 as “Cultivateur.” Additionally Charles Colton is noted as the father of both Antoine Colton and Ignace Bastien (G0185) in a document created by the Indian Office (also known as the Department of Indian Affairs.) The document notes that after Charles Colton’s death, Marie Josep Sbikwe remarries Louis Bastien (G0240), and this children are taken in and cared for by him (hence why Ignace Bastien is known as “Bastien” versus “Colton.”) It also notes that she is “a non treaty

252 Ibid.
half breed. The marriage date between Marie Josep Sibikwe and Louis Bastien is unknown, however the entire family appear in the 1861 census in the Nipissing District. Marie Josep Sibikwe, Louis Bastien, and their children receive a special note from the census enumerator that reads “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” Marie Josep Sibikwe appears in Deuxc Rivieres, Mattawa, and Papineau following this census, with the noted ethnicity of “Indian” and “Algonquinne.” Additionally during some point she is married to Severe St Denys (G1068).

The descendants of Charles Colton and Marie Josep Sibikwe will be traced through Antoine Colton, as the descendants of Ignace Bastien are known as “Bastiens.” For information on his descendants, please see the Bastien family sheet.

**Descendants**

**Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion**

Antoine Colton is the son of Charles Colton and Marie Josep Sibikwe. He was baptised at La Passe in Renfrew in 1836. He is married to Sophia Dorion (G0927), marriage date unknown, and appear together in the 1861 census with the note of “These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.” Sophia Dorion is connected to two root families, the McDonnells (through her mother, Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell (G0502) and the Dorions, through her father Narcisse Pierre Dorian (G0919). Sophia Dorion is baptised at Mattawa in 1839, and her godfather is Charles Lepage, who was the first postmaster at Mattawa. Sophia Dorion ethnicity over her life is noted in the Canadian census records consistently as “French.” Antoine Colton appears in Deux Riviers in 1871 as “English”, and in the Nipissing District in 1881 as “Indian.” Both Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion are buried at Mattawa. Antoine Colton appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905.

**Marguerite Colton and Hubert Dupuis**

Marguerite Colton, b. 1863 (G0976) is the daughter of Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion. Very little information is known about Marguerite Colton, however she appears alongside Hubert Dupuis (G0977) in the baptismal record as the parent of Hubert Dupuis (G0975). Hubert Dupuis (G0975) is baptised at Mattawa, with Mary Dorian (G0666), as his godmother. He appears in the 1921 census in Aberdeen.

---


255 Ibid.


257 “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
Township as “French.” Hubert Dupuis (G0975) is married to Jane Dufault (G0974), marriage date unknown.

6.7 **COMMANDANT / GRANDLOUIS**

**Root Ancestors**

The root ancestors of the Commandant-Grandlouis family are Grand Louis Commandant (G0076) and Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe (G0075). Grand Louis Commandant is born in 1825 in Upper Canada. Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe is born in 1831 in Quebec. They appear together in the 1861 census in the Nipissing District. By this point they have six children. The family receives a specific note from the census enumerator that reads “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.” The family appears in South Mattawa in 1871 and in Mattawa in 1881. Grand Louis Comandant’s ethnicity from this point forward in the 1871 and 1881 census is noted as “Indian.” In 1881 his occupation is noted as a “voyageur.” Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe mirror her husband in the 1871 census, and in the 1881 census. However, Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe appears twice in the 1881 census, once presumably later in the year as she is listed as “widowed.” In 1882 she marries Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens (G0251) and is thus also a root ancestor of Antoine family. Grand Louis Commandant and Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe have nine children together, whose descendants marry into root families. These families include the Larivieres, the Parents, and the Larondes. These descendants can be traced through their respective family history sheets. Of their children, two are known to have been baptised at Mattawa. All of their children (whom are known to have been married) are married at Mattawa between 1864 and 1884. Throughout the course of their lives the children consistently appear with varying ethnicities including: “Indian,” “Half Breed French,” “English,” “Algonquin,”, and “Ojibway.”

Xavier Commandant (G0814), their son, appears as the godfather for Joseph Xavier Lariviere in 1880.

**Descendants**

**Jean Baptiste Commandant and Susan Nijkwiwisans**

Jean Baptiste Commandant (G0179) is the son of Grand Louis Commandant and Marie Anne Kijikasowekwe. He is recorded as first appearing at Mattawa in 1871. His ethnicity is noted as “Indian.” He marries Susan Nijkwiwisans (G0180) at Mattawa in 1869. Susan Nijkwiwisans is connected the Antoines. Their marriage record notes that they were married “devant tous les sauvages et les blancs.” They appear together in the 1881 census again at Mattawa as “Indian”. They last appear at Mattawa in 1891, and re-appear only in 1911 at Gladman Township as “Ojibway.” Jean Baptiste Commandant and Susan Nijkwiwisans appear as the godparents for Jean Baptiste Bastien (G0883) in Mattawa in 1880. Jean Baptiste Bastien dies in 1918 at Jocko Station, but is buried in Mattawa. Jean Baptiste Commandant and Susan Nijkwiwisans are mentioned in a document created by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1880.  

---

1909 that discusses the history of the Antoine family. In it Jean Baptiste Commandant is said to “have been a member of some Band, but which not known; possibly belonged to Manitowaning, or to Nipissing or to White Fish Band or to Chippewas of Huron.” Concerning Susan Nijkwiwisans, it is said that she “married apparently into another Band, and if entitled to anything for self or children it was through such Band.”

Jean Baptiste Commandant and Susan Nijkwiwisans have ten known children. Of their children four are known to have been baptised at Mattawa. Of these children, godparents include Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe (G0075), Francois Antoine (G0211), Elisabeth Jansen (G0212), Philomene Antoine (G0219), and Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens (G0251).

### 6.8 COMMANDANT-GRANDLOUIS

**Root Ancestors**

Jean Baptiste Commandant (G0197) and Louisa Antoine (G0198) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Commandant-Grandlouis family tree. It is likely, due to the same surname, that this Jean Baptiste Commandant is somehow related to the previously discussed branch, particularly due to his marriage into the Antoines (which we see also happened in the previous family). However, researchers were unable to conclusively determine that these two branches were connected. Louisa Antoine (G0198) is the daughter of Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe (G0075) and Antoine Nijkwiwisans (G0251). On their marriage record Jean Baptiste Commandant’s parents are listed as Jean-Louis Commandant and Mary Ann Batien [sic]. They are married at Mattawa in 1897. In 1881 Louisa Antoine appears with her family at Mattawa, and is listed as “Indian”. She appears in the following census again with her family. Following this, Jean Baptiste Commandant and Louisa Antoine are listed together in both the 1901 and 1911 census. Louisa Antoine is listed as “Algonquin FB” in 1901, and Jean Baptiste Commandant as “Chippewa FB.” They both are listed as “Algonquin” in 1911. Louisa Antoine dies in 1939 and is buried at Mattawa.

This Jean Baptiste Commandant is also mentioned in the document produced by the Department of Indian Affairs, with the note that “he was not a member of any Band.”

Jean Baptiste Bastien and Louisa Antoine have ten children. Of these ten children, five are known to have been baptised at Mattawa. Their godparents are connected to root families, including Alexander Tenesco (G0860), Kate Tenesco (G0864), André Fleurie (G0138), Lina Chartrand (G0140), John Joseph Henri Leclair (G0016), Marguerite Tenesco (G0866), Francois Antoine (G0211), Elisabeth Jasen (G0212). Of these children three are buried at Mattawa. Their ethnicity, recorded in the 1901 and 1911 census records, mimics that of Jean Baptiste Bastien’s.

---

260 Ibid.
261 Ibid.
6.9 **CRAWFORD**

**Root Ancestors**

George Crawford, b. 1858 (G0117) is the paternal root ancestor of the Crawford family tree. George Crawford was born in Fort William, Quebec. His father, perhaps a HBC clerk named Robert Crawford until the late fall of 1857, remains unknown. However, a later marriage records indicates that his mother was Mary Ann Patois (G0116). George Crawford appears at Mattawa in 1891, 1911, and 1921, and at Mattawan in 1901. He dies and is buried at Mattawa 1924. His death record notes that he was “Indian.” His ethnicity over his lifespan includes “Algonquin”, and “Scotch.” George Crawford was the godparent to Marie Philomene Antoine (G0210), who is connected to the Antoines. George Crawford appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905 and is also identified as a “Half Breed Guide”.

George Crawford is married twice. His first wife is Marie Madeleine Leclerc (G0069), married in 1881 at Fort William. Marie Madeleine Leclerc is the daughter of Benjamin Leclerc (G0071) and Therese Kontagishish (G0062), who are the root ancestors of the Leclerc family. Both Benjamin Leclerc and Therese Kontagishish have the noted ethnicity of “Indian” over the course of their lives. Benjamin Leclerc appears as the godfather of Elizabeth Atkinson, the daughter of Samuel Atkinson and Sara Mary Moore. In the baptismal record it is noted that Benjamin is a “sauvage de Fort William.” The Leclerc family is connected to other root families by marriage including the Parents and the Ferris. Marie Madeleine Leclerc dies in 1886 at Mattawa. Marie Madeleine Leclerc and George Crawford have one known daughter together, Marie Madeleine Crawford (G0507).

George Crawford’s second wife, Mary Marcotte (G0850) b. 1861, is the daughter of Margaret Constant (G0596). Margaret Constant is the mother of three different branches of children, the Greens, Marcottes, and Landon. She appears in the 1901 census as “Algonquin S.B.” Margaret Constant also is the godmother of a child from the Simons. Mary Marcotte was married previously, to Alexander Tenesco (G0861). The marriage date of Alexander Tenesco and Mary Marcotte is unknown, however they appear as the parents of Joseph Tenesco at his marriage in 1925. Notably John Tongue (the husband of Marie Madeline Crawford) witnesses the marriage. Additionally Joseph Tenesco acts as the informant of George Crawford’s death, noting that he is his step-son. Together Mary Marcotte and George Crawford have five children.

**Descendants**

**The children of George Crawford**

Little information is available on the grandchildren and later descendants of George Crawford. Information however is available on his six children. Below are brief summaries of the information available.

Marie Madeleine Crawford and John Tongue

Marie Madeleine Crawford, b. 1884 is the daughter of George Crawford and Marie Madeleine Leclerc. Born at Fort William, Quebec, Marie Madeleine Crawford marries John Tongue (G0868) in 1916 at Mattawa. John Tongue also appears to witness the marriage of Joseph Tenesco, the son of Mary Marcotte and Alexander Tenesco in 1925. Marie Madeleine Crawford dies at Mattawa in 1919. She appears in the 1901 and 1911 census at Mattawa, with the ethnicity of “S.B.” and “French” respectively. Her godparents are recorded as Jacko Tekoneuz (G0115) and Angelique Leclerc (G0066). Angelique Leclerc daughter of the root ancestors of the Leclerc family.

Unknown Crawford

George Crawford and Mary Marcotte have one child who dies at childbirth in 1893 at Mattawa. For this reason they are simply recorded as “Unknown” Crawford (G0851).

John Patrick Crawford

John Patrick Crawford (G0852) is the son of George Crawford and Mary Marcotte, born in 1898 at Mattawa. He dies in 1899 and is buried at Mattawa.

Mary Ann Jane Crawford

Mary Ann Jane Crawford (G0853) is the daughter of George Crawford and Mary Marcotte, baptised in 1896 at Mattawa. She appears at Mattawan and Mattawa in 1901 and 1911 respectively, with the ethnicities of “S.B.” and “Scotch.” Her godparents are recorded as Jacko Tekoneuz and Angelique Leclerc.

Andrew George Crawford

Andrew George Crawford (G0854) is the son of George Crawford and Mary Marcotte who was baptised at Mattawa in 1894. He appears at Mattawand Mattawa in 1901 and 1911 respectively, with the ethnicities of “S.B.” and “Scotch.” In 1921 he appears at Mattawa with ethnicity noted as “Algonquin Ind” respectively. His godfather may be Andrew Landon (G1153), half-brother of Mary Marcotte, and his wife Marie Josephte Bernard (G1154) however the baptism record is unclear.

Bernadette Crawford

Bernadette Crawford (G0855) is the daughter of George Crawford and Mary Marcotte, baptised at Mattawa in 1901. She is married to (G0994) Isidore Turcotte in 1925 in the Nipissing District. Isidore Turcotte is born at Mattawa in 1907. She appears in 1911 and 1921 at Mattawa, with the ethnicities of “Scotch” and “Algonquin Ind.”

6.10 Dufault-Dufond

Root Ancestors

Joseph Dufond (G0164), b. 1822 in Quebec, and Mary Simpson (G0165), b. 1837 in the Red River settlement, are the root ancestors of the Dufond-Dufault tree. They are married in 1852. They have seven children. Joseph Dufond and Mary Simpson first appear in the Nipissing
District in 1861. Joseph Dufond is buried at Mattawa in 1897. Joseph Dufond’s ethnicity appears consistently over the census records as “French,” with Mary Simpson’s as “Scotch.”

**Descendants**

Oliver Dufault (G0136), b. 1860 and Annie Ferris (G0135) are the parents of Oliver Louis Dufault (G0137). While their marriage date is unknown, they are listed as the parents of Oliver Louis Dufault on his marriage record to Mary Philonais Dupuis (G0149) in 1924. Oliver Dufault appears in the 1861 census, with a ditto sign under “Colored Persons, Mulatto or Indian.” He appears in the 1871 and 1881 census as “French.” Oliver Louis Dufault is their only known child and is baptised in Mattawa in 1895. Oliver Dufault appears in 1860 at Pembroke, in the Nipissing district in 1861, and later in Deep River and Pontiac Quebec in 1871 and 1881.

**Oliver Louis Dufault and Mary Philonais Dupuis**

Oliver Louis Dufault, b. 1895, is married to Mary Philonais Dupuis in 1924 in Mattawa. Mary Philonais Dupuis is the daughter of Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis and Maggie Ferris. Maggie Ferris is connected to the Ferris’, as the daughter of Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell. Oliver Louis Dufault appears as the godfather for Marie Luella Ferris (G0093) in 1939 alongside Therese Leclerc (G0017). Marie Luella Ferris, daughter of John Alexander Ferris and Angeline McDonell, is a cousin of Mary Philonais Dupuis. In the 1901 and 1921 census Maggie Ferris’ ethnicity is “Algonquin”, however she also appears as “Irish” and “Indian” in early census records. The Dupuis family is connected to the Belangers, the McDonells, the McKays, and the Ferris family.

6.11 **DUFOND**

**Root Ancestors**

Amable Jon Bon Dufond (G0309), b. 1813, and Elizabeth Fisher Minyaki David Pinenciwalukwin (G0322), b. 1823, are the root ancestors of this branch of the Dufond tree. Amable Jon Bon Dufond’s father is unknown, however his mother is Catherine Kotokokomis (G0310). Amable Jon Bon Dufond appears on a petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa” in 1865, and described as “Indien” by Pere Simonet. He appears in Mattawa in the 1871 census with his wife, Elizabeth, however their marriage date is unknown. Their racial origin is listed as “Indian.” His occupation is listed as a “Hunter”. Their descendants marry into root families, including the Simons and the McDonells.

**Descendants**

**Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe and John McDonell**

Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe (G0323), b. 1841, is married to John McDonell (G0107), the son of Alexander McDonell and Mary Ann McKay. Alexander McDonell (G0108) (father of John McDonell) is.

---

identified on his wedding record as “majuer, Metis.”\(^{264}\) Alexander McDonell was the son of Chief Factor Allan McDonell of Timiskaming, formerly of the NWC, who had worked as a postmaster in the same department. Mary Ann McKay’s family also had extensive NWC/HBC family connections. Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe and John McDonell are married in Mattawa in 1863. Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe is described as “Indian” in the 1871 census of Mattawan, and John McDonell is described as “Half Breed.” Two of their children, Alfred and Mary Ann, are described as “Indian” in the 1871 census. John McDonell appears on the same 1865 petition as Amable Jon Bon Dufond in 1865, suggesting an identification with the “Indian” community at Mattawa.\(^ {265}\) John McDonell and Marian Angelique Dufond Osaabikwe appear in Mattawa continuously from 1863 and 1893. Their children marry into the root family the Ferris’.

**Angeline McDonell and John Alexander Ferris**

Angeline McDonell (G0505), daughter of Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe and John McDonell, is born in Mattawa in 1876. She marries John Alexander Ferris (G0557), b. 1878 in Des Joachim, son of Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell. Angeline McDonell and John Alexander Ferris are cousins, sharing the same grandparents, Alexander McDonell and Mary Ann McKay. Angeline McDonell has a continued presence in Mattawa, residing in the area up until her death in 1930. On her death record she is described as “Indian.” Throughout his lifetime John Alexander Ferris is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin S.B.”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin.” Together John Alexander Ferris and Angeline McDonell have six children, one of which who marries the root family the Jocko/Jacobs/Jabots.

**Philomene Dufond and Jean Baptiste Lamure**

Philomene Dufond, b. 1832 (G0314) in Oka, is the daughter of Amable Jon Bon Dufond and Elizabeth Fisher Minyaki David Pinenciwalauk win. Philomene Dufond is married to Jean Baptiste Lamure (G0636), and their descendants are traced through their daughter Catherin Lamure (G637), born at Mattawa in 1860. Very little is known about Jean Baptiste Lamure, however in the 1871 census Philomene Dufond is noted to be “widowed.” Philomene Dufond appears at Mattawa consistently from 1871 until her death in 1927. Her death record notes that her ethnicity is “Indian.” Philomene Dufond’s ethnicity over her lifetime includes “Indian”, “Algonquin,” and “French.” She is the godmother to her sister Marie Elizabeth Philomene Dufond (G0633), baptised in 1871. Catherine Lamure marries August Pilon (G0873) in 1892 at Mattawa and they have two children. Catherine Lamure is the godmother of Frank Jeanbone Jr. (G0260), a relation through her second husband, Alexandre Antoine.

**Catherine and Alexandre Antoine**

Catherine Lamure and Alexandre Antoine (G0873) are married at Mattawa in 1907. Alexandre Antoine is the son of Antoine Nijkwiwisans and Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins, the root ancestors of

---


\(^{265}\) RCPA, “Transcript and rough translation of a letter from the people of Mattawa, September 3, 1865”, 3 September 1865, A1401.
the Antoine family. Alexandre Antoine signs the 1865 petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa.” He appears at Mattawan, Mattawa, and Mattawa and Papineau over his lifetime. He dies and is buried at Mattawa in 1914. Alexandre Antoine is also married to Marie Jasen in 1868, who dies in 1895. On the marriage record of Alexandre Antoine and Marie Jasen it is noted that Antoine Nijkwiwisans, Alexandre’s father, is a “sauvage de Mattawa”, and Marie Jasen’s parents are also “sauvages.” Alexandre Antoine’s ethnicity is noted throughout his life as “Indian” and “Algonquin.” He is the godfather of children connected to root families, including the Antoines, and the Jeanbones. At his burial George Crawford (G0117), connected to the Crawford family, is noted as a witness.

**Francis Dufond and Suzanne Simon**

Francis Dufond (G0309) b. 1839 is the son of Amable Jon Bon Dufond and Elizabeth Fisher Minyaki David Pinenciwalauk win. He marries Suzanne Simon (G0553), connected to the Simons, in 1863 at Mattawa. His recorded ethnicity includes “Indian” and “Agonquin SB.” He appears in the Mattawa area in the 1881 census.

**Amable Dufond and Elizabeth Simon**

Amable Dufond (G0320) b. 1844, is the son of Amable Jon Bon Dufond and Elizabeth Fisher Minyaki David Pinenciwalauk win. He marries Elizabeth Simon (G0632), a sister of Suzanne Simon, in 1868 at Mattawa. The couple’s marriage record notes that their marriage occurs “en presence de tous le[s] Sauvage et Canadiens.” Together they have three recorded children. Amable Dufond appears consistently at Mattawa from 1871 to his death in 1899. His continual listed employment is “Hunter” and ethnicity “Indian.” Amable Dufond is noted as the godparent for Marie Ann McDonnell (G0168) in 1871.

**Alexandre Dufond and Marie Anne Antoine Simon**

Alexandre Dufond (G0315), b. 1853, is the son of Amable Jon Bon Dufond and Elizabeth Fisher Minyaki David Pinenciwalauk win. He marries Marie Anne Antoine Simon (G0734) in 1899 at Mattawa. Her sisters, Suzanne Simon and Elizabeth Simon, marry Alexandre Dufond’s brothers. Alexandre Dufond signs the 1865 petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa.” His ethnicity is noted as “Indian,” and in 1921 his language is also recorded as “Indian.” Marie Anne Antoine dies at Mattawa in 1939. The couple have five children.

6.12 **DORION**

---

266 RCPA, “Transcript and rough translation of a letter from the people of Mattawa, September 3, 1865”, 3 September 1865, A1401.


268 RCPA, “Transcript and rough translation of a letter from the people of Mattawa, September 3, 1865”, 3 September 1865, A1401.
Root Ancestors

Narcisse Pierre Dorian (G0919) and Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell (G0502) are the root ancestors of the Dorion family tree. Narcisse Pierre Dorian is the son of Bernard Lorion (G0924) and Catherine Chalifou (G0923), born in 1807 in Montreal. Narcisse Pierre Dorian is baptised in Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec in 1807. He is married to Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell in Mattawan in 1837. On their marriage record the word “metisse” is used to describe Marie Cecile Mawikskak, according to an article published by the Metis Voyageur. Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell is the daughter of Alan McDonell (G0500) and Margaret Cameron (G0501), and is connected to the McDonnells. Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell appears in both the 1861 and 1871 census in the Nipissing District and Mattawa respectively, noted as “Scotch” in the later. Contrastingly Narcisse Pierre Dorion appears in the 1871 census as “French.” They have two children, Mary Dorian and Sophia Dorion.

Descendants

Sophia Dorion and Antoine Colton

Sophia Dorion (G0927) is the daughter of Narcisse Pierre Dorian and Marie Cecile Mawiskak. Sophia Dorion is baptised at Mattawa in 1839, and her godfather is Charles Lepage, the first postmaster at Mattawa. She is married to Antoine Colton (G1061) marriage date unknown, and appear together in the 1861 census with the note of “These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.” Antoine Colton shares a common root ancestor with the Bastien family. Marie Josep Sibikwe (G0241), mother of Antoine Colton, was born in 1811. In a document created by the Indian Office in 1910, it is noted that Antoine Colton’s father is Charles Colton (G1067), but following his death Marie Joseph Sbikwe remarries Louis Bastien (G0240). Additionally she is noted as a non treaty half breed. Antoine Colton appears in Deux Riviers in 1871 as “English”, and in the Nipissing District in 1881 as “Indian.” Sophia Dorion ethnicity over her life is noted in the Canadian census records consistently as “French.” Both Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion are buried at Mattawa. Antoine Colton appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. Together they have three children.

Marguerite Colton and Hubert Dupuis

273 “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
Marguerite Colton, b. 1863 (G0976) is the daughter of Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion. Very little information is known about Marguerite Colton, however she appears alongside Hubert Dupuis (G0977) in the baptismal record as the parent of Hubert Dupuis (G0975). Hubert Dupuis (G0975) is baptised at Mattawa, with Mary Dorian (G0666), as his godmother. He appears in the 1921 census in Aberdeen Township as “French.” Hubert Dupuis (G0975) is married to Jane Dufault (G0974), marriage date unknown.

Mary Dorian, Jean Savois, and John McCracken

Mary Dorian (G0666) is the daughter of Narcisse Pierre Dorian and Marie Cecile Mawiskak. Mary Dorian was born in 1835 in Rupert’s Land. She is the root ancestor of Sauve-Savois family, and is the root ancestor for the McCracken family. Mary Dorian appears to marry Jean Savois (G0922) prior to her marriage to John McCracken (G0665) in 1888, as in their marriage record her name is noted as “Savoie.” She and Jean Savois have one descendant, John B Savoie (G0921). His descendants can be traced through the Sauve-Savois family history sheet. Additionally the descendants of Mary Dorian and John McCracken can be traced through the McCracken family sheet. Mary Dorian appears in in the Nipissing District in 1861, followed by Seven Leaq Lake in 1871, and Mattawa from 1881 to 1901. Her recorded ethnicity over this period changes, and includes “French” and “Indian.” She also appears as the godmother for Hubert Dupuis (G0975) in 1884.

6.13 Dupuis

Root Ancestors- Edmond Dupuis and Justine Gougeon

Edmond Dupuis (G0146), b. 1833, and Justine Gougeon (G0147), b. 1833, are the root ancestors of this branch of the Dupuis family. Edmond Dupuis and Justine Gougeon are married in 1861 in Mattawa. Justine Gougeon is the matriarch root ancestor for the Doucette family tree. Edmond Dupuis appears in the 1871 census of Mattawa with no indicated ethnicity, and dies later that year in Mattawa. Justine Gougeon likewise appears in Mattawa in the 1871 census with “French” indicated as ethnicity. She appears at Mattawa and Papineau in 1891, and at Mattawa in 1901. During this time her ethnicity is recorded as “French.” She dies in 1904 at Mattawa. Edmond Dupuis and Justine Gougeon have five direct descendants.

Descendants

Justine Dupuis and John Mackey

Justine Dupuis (G0421), b. 1862, is the daughter of Edmond Dupuis and Justine Gougeon. She marries John Mackey (G0420), b. 1863 prior to 1891. Justine Dupuis is shown at Mattawa in 1871, Mattawa Papineau in 1891, Papineau in 1901, and the Nipissing District in 1911. Her ethnicity throughout this period is noted as “French.” She is buried at Mattawa in 1936. John Mackey appears alongside his children in the 1901 census as “Irish.” Justine Dupuis and John Mackey have eleven children.

Francois Xavier Theodore Dupuis and Maggie Ferris
Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis (G0143), b. 1868 in the Nipissing District, is the son of Edmond Dupuis and Justine Gougeon. He marries Maggie Ferris (G0142) in 1896 at Mattawa. Maggie Ferris is the daughter of Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell. Her ethnicity appears throughout the Canadian census as “Irish” “Indian” and “Algonquin.” Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis recorded ethnicity is consistently “French.” Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis resides at Mattawa in 1871, Mattawa and Papineau in 1881, Mattawa in the 1901, and Mattawa in 1921. He is buried at Mattawa in 1937. Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis and Maggie Ferris have eight children together. Their daughter, Mary Philonias Dupuis (G0149) marries Oliver Louis Dufault (G1035).

Mary Philonais Dupuis and Oliver Louis Dufault

Mary Philonais, b. 1907 is the daughter of Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis and Maggie Ferris. She marries Oliver Louis Dufault, b. 1895, in 1924 in Mattawa. Oliver Louis Dufault appears as the godfather for Marie Luella Ferris (G0093) in 1939 alongside Therese Leclerc (G0017). Marie Luella Ferris, daughter of John Alexander Ferris and Angeline McDonell, is a cousin of Mary Philonais Dupuis. In the 1901 and 1921 census Maggie Ferris’ ethnicity is “Algonquin”, however she also appears as “Irish” and “Indian” in early census records. Francois Xavier Théodore Dupuis’ father, Edmond Dupuis, first appears in Mattawa in 1861 following his marriage to Justine Gougeon. Both Edmond Dupuis and his wife are buried in Mattawa.

6.14 Dupuis 2

Root Ancestors- Hubert Dupuis and MargueriteColton

Hubert Dupuis (G0977) and Marguerite Colton (G0976) are the root ancestors of this (branch) of the Dupuis family. Very little is known about Hubert Dupuis, however Hubert Dupuis and Marguerite Colton are listed as the parents of Hubert Dupuis (G0975) at his baptism in 1884 in Mattawa. Hubert Dupuis (G0977) also appears as a witness at the death of Sophie Dorian (G0927) and Antoine Colton (G1061), the parents of Marguerite Colton. Marguerite Colton is connected to a number of other families including the Dories, Coltons, and the Bastiens. Marguerite Colton’s grandmother is Marie Josep Sibikwe (G0241), the matriarch and root ancestors of both the Colton and Bastien trees. In 1881 Marguerite Colton appears in the Nipissing District listed as “Indian.” Interestingly two years before her birth in 1861 her family is receives a special note in the census indicating that: “These are also mixed up with Indian, more or less.” In the 1871 Census Antoine Colton’s ethnicity is noted as “English”, and a decade later “Indian.” Hubert Dupuis (G0977) and Marguerite Colton have one recorded child, Hubert Dupuis (G0975).

Descendants

Hubert Dupuis (G0975) and Jane Dufault

Hubert Dupuis (G0975) and Jane Dufault appear together in the 1921 Census in Pontiac-Témiscamingue-Abitibi. Their ethnicity, along with their son Hiliard Dupuis (G0593) is indicated as “French.” Little is
known about Hubert Dupuis (G0975) and Jane Dufault, however they do appear as the parents of Hiliard Dupuis at his marriage to Victoria Margaret Grandlouis in 1939 in Mattawa.

**Hiliard Dupuis and Victoria Margaret Grandlouis**

Hiliard Dupuis, b. 1914 and Victoria Margaret Grandlouis, b. 1903 in Mattawa, are married at Mattawa in 1939. Victoria Margaret Grandlouis is baptised in 1903 in Mattawa, with her godparents as Alexander Tenesco (G0860) and Kate Tenesco (G0864). Victoria Grandlouis is connected to a number of other root families, including the Antoines and the Commandant/Grandlouis. In the 1911 census her ethnicity is indicated as “Algonquin.”

6.15 **England/McConnel**

Louis England McConnell (G0979), b. 1846 and Catherine (G0978), b.1835 are the root ancestors of the England McConnell family. Very little is known about these root ancestors, however they appear in the study area in 1881. Both appear with the ethnicity of “Indian.” Under occupation, Louis England McConnell is noted as a “voyageur.” Their children five children also appear in the 1881 census with the ethnicity of “Indian.” Their descendants are traced through Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell (G0253).

**Descendants**

*Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell and Frank Jambone*

Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell, b.1880, is the daughter of Louis England McConnell and Catherine. She is married to Frank Jambone (G0250), marriage date unknown. Frank Jambone is connected to the Antoines/Commandants. Frank Jambone, b. 1869, is the son of Jawbone Antoine Nijkwiwisens and Louise Cawan. He appears in the study area as early in 1871 with the ethnicity of “Indian.” Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell appears in the 1881 census at Renfrew North with the ethnicity of “Indian.” She appears later in the 1911 census as “Algonquin.” She is buried at Mattawa in 1912. Catherine Anna Suzanne Mary England McConnell and Frank Jambone have seven children.

6.16 **England**

**Root Ancestors-John England and Marie Jeanne Leblanc**

John England (G1015) and Marie Jeanne Leblanc (G1024) are the root ancestors of this branch of the England tree. John England was a retired HBC servant from Timiskaming who moved to Mattawa in the late 1840s and worked for Roderick McKenzie Jr. England married a Native woman “in the Northwest fashion” in 1851. He established a home at the foot of the Long Sault rapids about twenty-five miles above Mattawa.274

---

274 LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence books inward, volume D5/22, file F 390-391, “James Cameron to Simpson Timiskaming 26 July 1848”, microfilm reel HBC 3M82, A1490; LAC, HBCA, MG20-D5, Correspondence
John England and Marie Jeanne Leblanc appear as the godparents for Joseph Adelard England (G1034) in 1872. Joseph Adelard England is the son of George England (G1031) and Emilie Boisvert. It may be possible then that, due to the shared surname and relationship, that they may be related. Marie Jane Leblanc is buried at Mattawa in 1909. They have eight children. The descendants of John England and Marie Jeanne Leblanc are traced through Joseph Hormidas England. Additionally John England and Marie Jeanne Leblanc may have had another son who appears in documents at Timiskaming, however genealogists were unable to verify this fact.

**Descendants**

**Joseph Hormidas England and Josephine Laframboise**


6.17 **Ferris**

**Root Ancestors**

Frederick Ferris (G0133), b. 1812 in the Rocky Mountains of the North West Territories, marries Mary Ann Nancy Good (G0128), born in Hudson’s Bay, prior to 1832. These are the root ancestors of the Ferris family. Frederick Ferris is the son of NWC, Hugh Faries.275 Frederick Ferris dies in 1887 in Mattawa, with his burial record noting that he is “métis.”276 Mary Ann Nancy Good also is buried in Mattawa in 1896. In the 1871 census both Frederick Ferris’ ethnicity is “Irish” while Mary Ann Nancy Good is “English.” They have four children, Richard Ferris (G0129), Walter Ferris (G0130), John Ferris (G0132), and Joseph Ferris (G0131), born in Lower Canada and Moose Factory. Their descendants are traced through John Ferris and Walter Ferris.

**Descendants**

**John Ferris and Sarah**

John Ferris, b. 1839 in Lower Canada, marries Sarah (G0708), surname unknown. They appear married by 1871, with two daughters, Lucy Ann Ferris (G0707), and Charlotte Irene Ferris (G0803). The family appears alongside both the root ancestors (Frederick Ferris and Mary Ann Nancy Good) and Walter Ferris and his wife Annie McDonnell in 1871 census. John Ferris, Sarah, Lucy Ann Ferris, and Charlotte Irene Ferris are described as “Irish.”

---


**Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell**

Walter Ferris, b. 1842 in Moose Factory, marries Annie McDonell (G0109), b. 1849 also in Moose Factory, daughter of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay. They are married in 1864. Walter Ferris is baptised in Mattawa in 1863 at the age of 29. Together Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell have 11 children, and appear in Mattawa continuously from 1901 until the 1930s. Their children marry into other root families, including the Dufault, Dupuis, Belanger, and McIssac. Their descendants are traced through these families. Walter Ferris is described as “Irish, “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin” consecutively from census dating from 1871 to 1921. He appears as accredited guide list published by the Rod and Gun magazine in 1905. Annie McDonell is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Scotch”, and “Algonquin” in the 1881, 1901, 1911, and 1921 census respectively.

**John Alexander Ferris and Angeline McDonell**

John Alexander Ferris (G0557), b. 1878 in Des Joachim, is the son of Walter Ferris and Annie McDonell. He marries Angeline McDonell (G0505), his cousin (granddaughter of Alexander McDonell and Mary Ann McKay) in 1905 in the District of Nipissing. Angeline McDonell has a continued presence in Mattawa, born and baptised there in 1876, and residing in the area up until her death in 1930. On her death record she is described as “Indian.” Throughout his lifetime John Alexander Ferris is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin S.B.”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin.” Together John Alexander Ferris and Angeline McDonell have six children, one of which who marries into the Jocko/Jacobs/Jabots family.

6.18 **Gagnon**

**Root Ancestors**

Paul Gagnon (G0736) and Agnie (G0735) are the root ancestors of the Gagnon family tree. There is very little information on these root ancestors except for their appearance as the parents of Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins in her marriage to Antoine Nijkwiwisans (G0220) at Oka in 1832. Their marriage record notes that the priest is the “missionaires des Sauvages.” Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins is the only recorded descendant of Paul Gagnon and Agnie, and therefore the Gagnon descendants become the Nijkwiwisans, and Antoines. Please see the Antoine family sheet for information on their descendants.

**Descendants**

**Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins and Antoine Nijkwiwisans**

Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins, b.1814, is the daughter of Paul Gagnon and Agnie. In her marriage to Antoine Nijkwiwisans in 1832 at Oka it is noted that she was adopted by Elisabeth Wabimangokwe (G0612). Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins appears at Mattawa in 1871 as

---

277 “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
“Indian.” Elisabeth Nipinekijikowokwe Gagnon Desjardins and Antoine Nijkwiwisans are the patriarchs of the Antoine family. Their children are connected to a number of other root families, including the Bastiens, Bernards, the Dufonds, the Jambone/Jeanbone/Jeanbones, and the Commandants. Antoine Nijkwiwisans dies in 1874 and is buried at Mattawa, with Elisabeth Nipinekijikokwe Gagnon Desjardins proceeding him in 1909. Elisabeth Nipinekijikowokwe Gagnon Desjardins and Antoine Nijkwiwisans are the godparents of Pierre Alexandre Lariviere (G0659) in 1865, Ignace Antoine Bastien (G0758) in 1872, both baptised at Mattawa. Please see the Antoine family history sheet for information on their descendants.

6.19 **IGNACE**

**Root Ancestors- Ignace and Mary Mukwa**

Ignace (G0723) and Mary Mukwa (G0724) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Ignace family. There is very little information on Ignace and Mary Mukwa other than they are the parents of Simon Ignace, b. 1836, and Amable Ignace (G0716), b. 1843. They appear as the parents on the marriage record of Amable Ignace and Marie Chalifoux Terifo (G0035). Furthermore at the baptism of Ignace Ignace (G0718), son of Amable Ignace and Mary Jocko, Simon Ignace and Philomene appear as the godparents.

**Descendants**

**Amable Ignace and Marie Chalifoux Terifo**

Amable Ignace is the son of Ignace and Mary Mukwa, born in 1843. He marries Marie Chalifoux Terifo in 1869 at Mattawa. Both he and Marie Chalifoux Terifo appear in the 1881 census at Golden Lake with the prescribed ethnicity of “Indian.” They have ten children together who also appear in 1881 census with the same ethnicity.

**Simon Ignace and Philomene**

Simon Ignace is the son of Ignace and Mary Mukwa, born in 1836. He marries Philomene prior to 1871 as she appears as his wife in the census at Algona. Their ethnicity is attributed as “Indian.” They also appear at Golden Lake in 1881 with the ethnicity of “Indian”, and at Algoma in the 1891 census and 1901 with the ethnicity of “Algonquin.” Together they have eight children.

6.20 **IGNACE 2**

**Root Ancestors- Amable Ignace and Elizabeth Antoine**

Amable Ignace (G0283), and Elizabeth Antoine (G0284), b. 1869, are the root ancestors of this branch of the Ignace tree. Elizabeth Antoine, born at Mattawa, is connected to the Antoines. For more information on the Antoines, please see the Antoine family sheet. Her siblings marry into root families, including the Jockos, and Simons. Amable Ignace and Elizabeth Antoine are married at Mattawa in 1895. Present at their marriage is Joseph Lefebvre (G0769), who is noted as a “metis du Lac des Deux Montagnes.”

---

Amable Ignace is buried at Mattawa in 1920. Elizabeth Antoine appears with her family in Renfrew in 1881 with the noted census of “French.” Elizabeth Antoine appears at Mattawa in the 1891 census, and again in 1901 alongside her husband, Amable Ignace. Amable Ignace’s noted ethnicity is “Algonquin”, while Elizabeth Antoine’s is “Algonquin Fr Half Breed.” Elizabeth Antoine is mentioned in a document created by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1909 addressing the treaty rights of the Antoine family. It is noted that “having married a non-treaty Indian lost other rights if she had any to Band membership, but retained those payments.” Amable Ignace is also discussed, with the comment that he is “pure Indian, family from Oka, father hunted near Nipissing Lake where L’amble was born but never belonged band nor took treaty.” They have five children, three of which are born at Mattawa between 1896 and 1902.

**Descendants**

**Marie Elizabeth Igance and Louis Alaire**

Marie Elizabeth Ignace (G0586), b. 1902 at Mattawa, is the daughter of Amable Ignace and Elizabeth Antoine. She is married to Louis Alaire (G0591) in the Nipissing District in 1919. A witness at their marriage is Francois Antoine (G0211). Marie Elizabeth Ignace appears in the 1921 Mattawa census with the noted ethnicity of “Algonquin.” Louis Alaire is born at Mattawa. He also appears at Mattawa in 1921 with the same ethnicity as Marie Elizabeth Ignace. They have one child together who does not live past infancy.

**Madeleine Ignace and David Langevin**

Madeleine Ignace (G0588), b. 1901 at Mattawa, is the daughter of Amable Ignace and Elizabeth Antoine. She marries David Langevin (G0607) in 1918 at Mattawa. Present at their wedding is Joseph Bastien, Mattawa (G0808). Madeline Ignace appears at Mattawa in the 1901 and the 1921 census, both with the noted ethnicity of “Algonquin.” David Langevin appears at Timiksmaim in 1901, with the ethnicity of “French F.B.” He also appears in the Nipissing District in 1911 and at Mattawa in 1921 as “Indian” and “Algonquin.” While not from a root family, Langevin’s siblings do marry into the Simons. Madeleine Ignace and David Langevin have one child who dies in infancy.

**6.21 Jocko**

**Root Ancestors-Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob**

Jean Baptiste Jocko (G0005) and Elizabeth Jacob (G0001) are the root ancestors for this branch of the Jocko family tree. Jean Baptiste Jocko is the son of Defont Jocko (G0915) and Mortre Kismickenhee (G0914). Due to her surname, it is likely that Mortre Kismickenhee is (aboriginal?). Elizabeth Jacob is

---


281 Ibid.
born in 1863 and is the daughter of Francis Jacob (G0004) and Mary White Duck (G0003). Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob are married in Mont St Patrick in 1883. In their marriage record it is noted that Jean Baptiste Jocko is “Indian hunter.” Jean Baptiste Jocko first appears at Mattawan in 1901 as “Algonquin F.B.” The couple appear together in 1911 in the Nipissing District as “Algonquin.” Jean Baptiste Jocko dies in 1920 in the Renfrew District. Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob have three known children: Alexander Jocko (G0002), Frank Jocko (G0006), and John Patrick Jocko (G0007).

**Descendants**

**Alexander Jocko and Cecilia Ann Leclerc**

Alexander Jocko, b. 1885 is the son of Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob. He is married to Cecilia Ann Leclerc (G0014) in 1909 at Mattawa. Cecilia Ann Leclerc appears at Mattawa in 1901 census, with the ethnicity of “Agonquin F.B.” with no ethnicity indicated.

**Frank Jocko and Angelique Atkinson**

Frank Jocko is the son of Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob. He is married to Angelique Atkinson (G0916) in 1909 at Mattawa. Angelique Atkinson is the daughter of Elizabeth Atkinson (G0456). Her father is unknown. Notably, she and her siblings all retain the “Atkinson” family name. Angelique Atkinson appears alongside her mother and siblings in the 1901 census at Mattawa, listed as “Algonquin Scotch Breed.”

**John Patrick Jocko and Laura Ferris**

John Patrick is the son of Jean Baptiste Jocko and Elizabeth Jacob. He is married to Laura Ferris (G0134) in 1928 at Mattawa. Laura Ferris is born and baptised at Mattawa in 1904. Her godparents are William John Parent (G0362) and Josephine Leclair (G0012). She appears at Mattawa from 1911 in 1921 census records, listed as “Irish” and “Algonquin” respectively. She is buried at Mattawa in 1940. John Patrick Jocko appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. John Patrick Jocko also appears in the Nipissing District in 1911, with his ethnicity listed as “Algonquin.”

### 6.22 Jocko 2

**Root Ancestors-Gabriel Jocko and Cecile Antoine**

Gabriel Jocko (G0286) and Cecile Antoine (G0287) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Jocko family tree. Gabriel Jocko’s ancestry is unknown, however he may be connected to the other Jocko family. He and Cecile Antoine are married in 1888 at Mattawa. Both Gabriel Jocko and Cecile Antoine receive mention in a document created by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1909 detailing the history of the Antoine family. In it describes Gabriel Jocko as “neither belonged to any Band nor took Treaty.” Gabriel Jocko does not appear in any census record. Cecile Antoine appears in the 1881 census in

---

Renfrew North as “French”, and later in 1911 at Eddy Island as “Indian.” Cecile Antoine was both born in and buried at Mattawa. Gabriel Jocko and Cecile Antoine have seven children.

Descendants

Annie Marian Jocko, Elizabeth Jocko, Laura Jocko, Mary Gabriel Esther Jocko, Marie Anne Jocko, and Antoine Jocko

Of Gabriel Jocko and Cecile Antoine’s seven children only one is known to have married. 283 Annie Marian Jocko (G0285) and Mary Gabriel Esther Jocko (G0292) are known to have been christened at Mattawa, in 1899 and 1889 respectively. Annie Marian Jocko’s godparents are David Antoine (G0590) and Marie Philomene Antoine (G0210), her uncle and aunt. Mary Gabriel Esther Jocko appears in the 1901 census at Long Sault, and is noted to be “Algonquin.” Annie Marian Jocko, Elizabeth Jocko (G0288) and Frank Jocko (G0289) appear in the 1911 census at Eddy Island. All three are listed as “Indian.” Laura Jocko (G0291), Mary Gabriel Esther Jocko, Marie Anne Jocko (G0293), and Antoine Jocko (G0294) are buried at Mattawa between 1895 and 1907.

Frank Jocko and Philomene Langevin

Of this branch of the Jockos, only Frank Jocko (G0289) is known to have married. He marries Philomene Langevin (G0290) in 1915 at Mattawa. Philomene Langevin is the daughter of Jean Baptiste Langevin (G0738) and Elizabeth Alaire (G0737). Frank Jocko appears in the 1911 census at Eddy Island, noted as “Indian.” He appears the following decade in Mattawa, listed as “Algonquin.”

6.23 Langevin

Root Ancestors

Joseph Langevin (G0771) b. 1823 and Cecile (G0770) b. 1825 are the root ancestors of the Langevin family. Joseph Langevin (G0771) and his wife Cecile appear together at Mattawa in the 1861 census. Cecile is listed to as “Indian.” The census enumerator recorded a small note concerning Joseph Langevin and Cecile in the 1861 census, stating that “The children in this family are mixed with indian. They farm exclusively, and live comfortably by it.” The children referred to by the enumerator include Joseph Langevin (G1056), Stanislaus Langevin (G0764), Alexander Langevin (G1055), John Langevin (G0154), Terese Langevin (G1053), Jacques Langevin (G1052), Louis Langevin (G1051), and Margaret Langevin (G1050). The children’s ethnicity in the 1861 census (along with the comment above) is “Mixed with Indian” and they are all located at Mattawa. Apart from this information very little is known about this generation of Langevins. Alexander Langevin is baptised in Maniwaki in 1848, and is married to Suzanne (G1057) at Mattawa in 1870. His brother Stanislaus and his wife Philomene are witnesses. Joseph Langevin (G1056) was is buried at Mattawa in 1914.

283 Genealogical research only revealed one marriage of Gabriel Jocko and Cecile Antoine’s children, however further research may demonstrate more marriages and descendants.

Descendants

Stanislaus Langevin and Philomene Commandant

Stanislaus Langevin, b. 1843, and Philomene Commandant (G0765) have eight children. These children are the descendants of the root ancestors, Joseph Langevin (G0771) and Cecile. The marriage date of Stanislaus Langevin and Philomene Commandant is unknown, however they are married prior to 1881 when Philomene Commandant appears under Stanislaus Langevin in the census record. Additionally Philomene Commandant appears as a witness at the marriage of her brother in law, Alexander Langevin, at Mattawa in 1870. Stanislaus Langevin and Philomene Commandant appear over the course of their lives at Mattawa, in Pontiac County, and Timiskaming. Philomene Commandant’s ethnicity appears as “Indian” in the 1881 census and “Cree” in the 1901 census. Stanislaus Langevin’s ethnicity appears as “French” in both the 1871 and 1911 census, and “French FB” in the 1901 census. Together they have eight children. Their daughter, Monique Langevin (G0352) marries into the Montreuls. For more on the Montreuil family please see the Montreuil family sheet. The descendants of Stanislaus Langevin and Philomene Commandant are traced through their son, Jean Baptiste Langevin (G0738) and his wife Elizabeth Alaire (G0737).

Jean Baptiste Langevin and Elizabeth Alaire

Jean Baptiste Langevin, b. 1866, is the son of Stanislaus Langevin and Philomene Commandant. Jean Baptiste Langevin appears at Mattawa in 1871 and 1881. He appears in Pontiac County in 1891, Timiskaming in 1901, and Eddy Island in 1911. It is unknown when the marriage between Jean Baptiste Langevin and Elizabeth Alaire (G0737) occurs, however they appear together in each census following 1901. Their first child, William Langevin (G0742) is born in 1888 in Quebec. Jean Baptiste Langevin’s ethnicity over each census appear consecutively as “French” “Indian” “French FB” and “Indian.” Elizabeth Alaire’s ethnicity is the same as her husbands (following 1901) with the exception of her appearing (as “widowed”) as “Algonquin” in the 1921 census at Mattawa. Jean Baptiste Langevin dies in 1918 in the Nipissing District. Jean Baptiste Langevin and Elizabeth Alaire have six children, some of which marry into other root families including the Ignaces, the Jockos/Antoines, and the Simons.

6.24 Lariviere

Root Ancestors

Joseph Lariviere, b. 1835 (G0652) and Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis, b. 1849 (G0653) are the root ancestors for the Lariviere family tree. Joseph Lariviere was born in Lake of Two Mountains Quebec, and is the son of Simon Lariviere (G0913) and Therese Belaire (G0912). He is married to Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis in 1864 at Mattawa. Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis is the daughter of Grand Louis Commandant (G0076) and Mari Anne Kijikasowekwe (G0075). In 1861 Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis appears in the Nipissing District, and her family receives a specific note from the enumerator that reads “These people are so mixed with Indian that I scarcely know what to
call them. The principle mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil so I call them white.”

Joseph Lariviere and Elizabeth Commandant appear together in the 1881 and the 1901 census as “Half Breed French.” Their children also have the same noted ethnicity. Joseph Lariviere appears at the Beaucage Indian reserve in the 1901 census as “Iroquois.” Together they have eleven children, three of whom are baptised at Mattawa. The godparents for these children are connected to other root families, including the Antoines, and Commandant dit Grand Louis.

Descendants

Joseph Lariviere and Marie Anne Couchie

Joseph Lariviere (G0907) is the son of Joseph Lariviere (G0652) and Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis. He was born in 1877 at Mattawa. He marries Marie Anne Couchie (G0938) in 1909 in Garden Village. Marie Anne Couchie was born in 1891 at Sabaskong Creek. Joseph Lariviere (G0907) appears in Renfrew District in 1881 with the noted ethnicity of “Half Breed French.” Marie Anne Couchie dies in North Bay in 1936 and is buried on the Nipissing Indian Reserve. On her death record it is noted that she is “Indian.” They have one known child, Leo Joseph Lariviere (G0940), b. 1910 at Couchie Point.

Catherine Lariviere and Angus McLeod

Catherine Larivere (G0433) is the daughter of Joseph Lariviere and Elizabeth Commandant dit Grandlouis. Catherine Larivere was born in 1873 at the Indian Reserve in North Bay. She marries Angus McLeod (G0431) at North Bay in 1889. The couple appear together in the 1901 Canadian census, recorded at the Beaucage Indian Reserve. Her ethnicity is noted as “Iroquois”, while Angus McLeod’s is noted as “Chippewa.” Two of her brothers, Baptiste Larivere (G0651) and Simon Larivere (G0911) also appear in the same census, however with the ethnicity of “Algonquin.” Together they have eight known children. Five of their children appear also in 1901 census in Beaucage as “Iroquois.” Louis McLeod (G0437) and Philoemene McLeod (G0432) both marry into the Fisher family.

6.25 LARONDE

Root Ancestors

Antoine Toussaint Laronde (G0728), b. 1783, and Marie Laronde Sauvage (G0729), b. 1793 are the root ancestors of the Laronde family tree. Little is known about either ancestor, however they are married in 1838 at Poste des Allumettes, at the ages of 55 and 45. It is noted at this marriage that they have 13 children, and that Marie Laronde Sauvage is a first cousin of Antoine Toussaint Laronde. Some of their children are christened at Îles des Allumettes, and La Passe. Of the children christened at La Passe, they are all christened together on the 5th and 7th of August, 1836. In almost each record it is noted that Antoine Toussaint Laronde is a “cultivateur” and Marie Laronde Sauvage’s maiden name is simply

“Sauvage.” The descendants of Antoine Toussaint Laronde and Marie Laronde are traced through their son, Eustache Laronde (G0058).

**Descendants**

**Eustache Laronde and Henriette Lanthier**

Eustache Laronde, b. 1828, is the son of Antoine Toussaint Laronde and Marie Laronde Sauvage. He is christened at La Passe in 1836, along with some of his siblings. He is married to Henriette Lanthier (G0059) in 1860 in Renfrew District. The couple appear together in 1871 in Westmeath with the ethnicity of “Indian.” In the 1881 both appear in the Nipissing District, in 1891 in Mattawa, and in 1901 at Mattawan. They appear with varying ethnicities. Eustache Laronde’s ethnicities are recorded as “French” and “Indian” respectively, while Henriette Lanthier’s are recorded consistently as “French.” Eustache Laronde and Henriette Lanthier both are buried in Mattawa. They have five known children.

**Louis Laronde and Celina Turgeon**

Louis Laronde (G0043), b. 1868 in Allumette Island (aka Iles des Allumettes) is the son of Eustache Laronde and Henriette Lanthier. He is married to Celina Turgeon (G0040) in 1888. On their marriage record it is noted that Louis Laronde is a “voyageur.” Louis Laronde appears in the 1871 census at Wesmeath, recorded as “Indian.” The couple appear together in Bonfield in 1891, and then consistently in Mattawa until 1921. Celice Turgeon’s ethnicity during this period is recorded as “French”, while Louis Laronde’s ethnicity is noted first as “Algonquin FB” in 1901, and later as “French” in 1911 and 1933. Together they have nine children. Two of their children, Therese Laronde (G0044) and Marie Alphonsine Laronde (G0048) are married at Mattawa, in 1925 and 1926 respectively. The noted ethnicity for the children in 1901 is “Algonquin FB”, and later “French” in 1911 and 1921.

6.26 **Leclerc**

**Root Ancestors**

The root ancestors for the Leclerc family tree are Benjamin Leclerc (G0071), b. 1815 in Quebec, and Therese Kontagishish (G0062), b. 1814 in Quebec. Little is known about these root ancestors, however they appear married prior to 1871 when they and their children appear on the 1871 census in Deep River, with the ethnicity of “Indian.” The couple appear at Fort William in 1881 as “Indian.” Benjamin Leclerc is the godfather of Cecile Bastien (G1087) baptised in 1887 in Mattawa, alongside Cecilia Ferris (G0008). Cecile Bastien and Cecilia Ferris are both connected to root families. Benjamin Leclerc is noted as in attendance for the marriage of Cecilia Ferris, and his son Frank Leclerc (G0009) in 1883 in Fort William. Benjamin Leclerc and Therese Kontagishish have nine children together. As previously noted, some of these children marry into the Crawfords, the Ferris’, and the Parents. These descendants can be traced through their respective family history sheets.

**Descendants**

**Joseph Leclerc and Marie-Anne Poindawate**
Joseph Leclerc (G0063) is the son of Benjamin Leclerc and Therese Kontagishish. He marries Marie-Anne Poindawate (G0113) in 1871 at Fort William, Quebec. Joseph Leclerc and Marie-Anne Poindawate appear almost consistently throughout the Canadian census as “Indian,” with the exception of appearing as “French” in 1901. The same can be said for Joseph Leclerc’s occupation, which consistently is recorded as “Hunter”, however changes to “Canoe Maker” in 1921. Both Marie-Anne Poindawate and Joseph Leclerc are buried at Mattawa.

Marie-Anne Poindawate and Joseph Leclerc have eight children. One of their children, Francois Alexandre Leclerc (G0123) is baptised at Mattawa in 1898. His godparents are Frank Leclerc and Angelique Leclerc, his uncle and aunt. The majority of the children appear in the 1901 census at Cameron, with the noted ethnicity of “French.” The also alter appear in 1911 in Cameron Townships as “Indian.”

**Pierre Leclerc and Josephine Parent**

Pierre Leclerc (G0070) is the son of Benjamin Leclerc and Therese Kontagishish. Pierre Leclerc was born at Petawawa in 1856. He marries Josephine Parent (G0695) in 1879 at Pembroke. They have two children, Pierre Leclerc (G0702) and Marie Leclerc (G0701). Marie Leclerc is born at Mattawa in 1891, and Pierre Leclerc (G0702) is both born and baptised at Mattawa in 1884. Marie Leclerc is married to Benjamin Parent, the son of Joseph Parent and Marie Leclerc (therefore her first cousin). Pierre Leclerc (G0702) godparents are recorded as Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin (G0090) and Luc Etienne Parent (G0416). Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin and Luc Etienne Parent act as the godparents to a number of children found in the study.

**Frank Leclerc and Cecilia Ferris**

Frank Leclerc (G0009) is the son of Benjamin Leclerc and Therese Kontagishish. He marries Cecilia Ferris (G0008) at Fort William, Quebec, in 1883. The couple first appear at Mattawa together in 1901, with the noted ethnicity of “Algonquin FB.” They appear in Mattawa in 1911, this time with different ethnicities: Cecilia Ferris appears as “Irish”, while Frank Leclerc appears as “French.” Cecilia Ferris appears alongside Benjamin Leclerc as a godparent for Cecile Bastien in 1887. Additionally Frank Leclerc also appears as the godfather for Francois Alexandre Leclerc (G0123) in 1898, alongside his sister Angelique Leclerc. Frank Leclerc appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. His occupation is recorded also as a “Guide” in 1901 and in 1933. Both he and Cecilia Ferris die in Mattawa.

6.27 **McCrae**

**Root Ancestors**

John McCracken (G0665) and Mary Dorian (G0666) are the root ancestors of the McCracken family tree. John McCracken is the son of John H McCracken (G0682) and Margaret (G0683), born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1836. Mary Dorian is the daughter of Narcisse Pierre Dorian and Marie Cecile Mawiskak. Mary Dorian

---

286 “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
was born in 1835 in Rupert’s Land. She is the root ancestor of Sauve-Savois, and is connected to the
Dorian-Dorion family. Mary Dorian appears to marry Jean Savois (G0922) prior to her marriage to John
McCracken in 1888, as in their marriage record her name is noted as “Savoie.” John McCracken and
Mary Dorian are married at Mattawa. John McCracken and Mary Dorian appear at Mattawa together
from 1881 to 1901. John McCracken’s ethnicity during this time is noted as “Scotch” and as “Irish.” Mary
Dorian’s ethnicity during this period is noted as “French” and “Indian.” Mary Dorian appears as the
godmother for Hubert Dupuis (G0975) in 1884. They have six children together. Of their six children,
four are born at Mattawa. The family appears together at Mattawa in the 1881 census with ethnicity
noted as “Half Breed Scotch.”

Descending

William McCracken and Beatrice Murdock

William McCracken (G0664), b. 1873, is the son of John McCracken and Mary Dorian. He marries
Beatrice Murdock (G0668) in 1899 in the Nipissing District. They appear together in Sudbury in 1901 as
“Scotch.” In 1921 the couple appear in Timmins, however William McCracken’s ethnicity is noted as
“Irish” and Beatrice Murdock’s as “Scotch.” They have one child, Beatrice McCracken (G0667), b. 1909.

Frank McCracken and Margaret Scott

Frank McCracken (G0677), b. 1868, is the son of John McCracken and Mary Dorian. He marries Margaret
Scott (G0671) in 1892 in Sudbury. In 1871 Frank McCracken appears in Lac des Sept-Lieus as “Irish.” In
1881 he appears at Mattawa as “Half Breed Scotch.” Both Mary Scott and Frank McCracken appear
gether at Mattawa in 1901 as “Irish.” Frank McCracken appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide
list in 1905. 287 Margaret Scott and Frank McCracken appear lastly in Mattawa in 1911 with ethnicities of
“Scotch” and “Irish” respectively. They have seven children.

6.28 McDonnell

Root Ancestors

Alan McDonell (G0500), born c. 1776 is married to Margaret Cameron (G0501). These are the root
ancestors of the McDonnell family. According to HBC documents, Margaret Cameron was a “native
woman” baptized in 1833. She was the daughter of Aneas Cameron (G0930), born c. 1757. Both
Cameron and McDonell worked for the HBC, with Aenas Cameron being the Chief Factor of the
Timiskaming Post. Alan McDonell and Margaret Cameron have two children: Marie Cecile Mawiskak
McDonnell (G0502), d. 1875 and Alexander McDonell (G1066), b. 1813.

Descendants

Alexander McDonell and Mary Ann McKay

287 Ibid.
Alexander McDonnel is married to Mary Ann McKay (G1003), b. 1822, and is identified on his wedding record as “majuer, Metis.”²⁸⁸ Alexander McDonell is involved in the Timiskiming HBC, and worked as an interpreter and postmaster in the Timiskaming district before retiring to Mattawa.²⁸⁹ Mary Ann McKay’s family is also connected to the HBC and the NWC, and is a root family. Their offspring (the grandchildren of the root ancestors) marry into several other root families including the Ferris’ and the Dufonds.

**Annie McDonell and Walter Ferris**

Annie McDonell (G0109), b. 1849, daughter of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay. She is married to Walter Ferris in 1864. Together Annie McDonell and Walter Ferris have eleven children, and appear in Mattawa continuously from 1901 until the 1930s. Their children marry into other root families, including the Dufault, Dupuis, Belanger, and McIssac. Additionally one of their sons, John A Ferris b. 1878, marries his cousin, Angeline McDonell, a granddaughter of Alexander McDonell and Mary Ann McKay. Annie McDonnell is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Scotch”, and “Algonquin” in the 1881, 1901, 1911, and 1921 census respectively. Walter Ferris is described as “Irish, “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin” consecutively from census dating from 1871 to 1921. He appears as accredited guide list published by the Rod and Gun magazine in 1905.²⁹⁰

**John McDonell and Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe**

John McDonell (G0107) is the son of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay, and according to his death record was born in Red River. He and Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe (G0323) are married in Mattawa in 1863. Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe, b. 1841 in Mattawa, is connected to the Dufonds. Her father, Amable Jon Bon Dufond (G0309), is named in a petition from “des sauvges de Mattawa” in 1865, and described as “Indien” by Pere Simonet.²⁹¹ Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe is described as “Indian” in the 1871 census of Mattawan. John McDonell and Marian Angelique Dufond Osaabikwe appear in Mattawa continuously from 1863 and 1893. John McDonell is described in the 1871 census as “half breed.” Their children marry into the Ferris’, in fact their cousins.

**Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell and Narcisse Pierre Dorian**

Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonell is the daughter of Alan McDonell and Margaret Cameron. She and Narcisse Pierre Dorian (G0919) are married in 1837 in Mattawan, and in her marriage record she is described “metis.”²⁹² The couple appear together in a number of census records including 1861, and

²⁸⁸ FHC, LDS, “Registres paroissiaux, 1836-1842, Catholic Church. Diocèse de Pembroke, Ontario”, 1868, microfilm reel 1703968, page 30, A1692,
²⁹⁰ “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
²⁹² Unfortunately the genealogical team was unable to gain a copy of this document. However, it originates from Dummont-Beckette, “A Mattawa Legacy: The tragic life of Louis Lorion,” 7-8. P0295.
1871, residing in the district of Nipissing and Mattawa North respectively. In the 1871 census origin for Narcisse Pierre Dorian is indicated as “French,” Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonell as “Scotch.” They have two children, Mary Dorian (G0666) b. 1835 and Sophia Dorion (G0927) b. 1838.

**Mary Dorian and Jean Savoie, and John McCracken**

Mary Dorian was born in Rupert’s Land. She is married twice, to John McCracken (G0665) b. 1836, and to Jean Savois (G0922). Mary Dorian is married to John McCracken in 1888 at Mattawa. John McCracken’s death date is unknown, however he last appears in the 1901 census record in Mattawan. Mary Dorian and Jean Savois were likely married prior to 1861, as their only child, John B Savoie (G0921), is born around this time. John B Savoie and his later descendants appear as “Sauve.” He appears in the 1891 and 1901 censuses in Mattawa and Mattawan respectively, with his ethnicity recorded as “French”.

**Sophia Dorion and Antoine Colton**

Sophia Dorion, b. 1838 and christened in Mattawa in 1838, is married to Anotine Colton (G1061), b. 1834. Notably her godfather is Charles Lepage, Mattawa’s first postmaster. Antoine Colton’s father, Charles Colton (G1067) is described as a “non treaty half breed” in a report conducted by the Indian Office in 1910. His mother, Marie Josep Sibikwe (G0241) is described as “a pure squaw” in a report by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1909. Sophia Dorion and Antoine Colton have three children, their eldest baptised in Mattawa. Sophia Dorion, Antoine Colton, and their son John Antoine Colton (G1059) b. 1859 appear in the 1861 with a particular note that states “These are also mixed with Indian, more or less.” Antoine Colton and John Antoine Colton are described as “Indian” in the 1881 census. Antoine Colton appears on the accredited guide list published by the Rod and Gun magazine in 1905. Antoine Colton and Sophia Dorion both are buried in Mattawa, and are residing in the Nipissing District in 1881.

Sophia Dorion and Antoine Colton’s daughter, Marguerite Colton (G0976) b.1863 marries Hubert Dupuis (G0977) in Mattawa, and their descendants marry into the Grandlouis root family.

6.29 **McKay**

**Root Ancestors**

---


John McKay (G0102) b. circa 1800 is married to Elizabeth Mettawaben (G0104), b. 1797. These are the root ancestors of the McKay family. John McKay was an employee of the NWC and the HBC who appears in the records in 1815 as working at the Timiskaming post. He marries Elizabeth in 1836 at Timiskaming, by this point they already had five children meaning that they were living a *façon de pays* prior to the official sanctioning of their marriage. Based on the surname Mettawaben dit Nikens it is reasonable to conclude that Elizabeth was Aboriginal although there is no documentation to prove this. The Rankin Diary demonstrates that John McKay travelled to Mattawa in 1851. He was trading furs and often travelled with Dufonds.

**Descendants**

**Mary Ann McKay and Alexander McDonell**

There is very little information on the children of John McKay and Elizabeth Mettawaben dit Nikens except that several of the children were born out of wedlock (a la *façon de pays*) and were baptised alongside their mother in 1836. Therefore the descendants following the marriage of their daughter Mary Ann McKay (G0103) become the McDonnels.

Mary Ann McKay marries Alexander McDonnel at the Temiskaming poste in 1837. According to their marriage record Alexander McDonnel is listed as “majuer, Metis.”

**Annie McDonell and Walter Ferris**

Annie McDonnell (G0109), b. 1849, daughter of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay, in in Moose Factory. She is married to Walter Ferris in 1864. Together Annie McDonnell and Walter Ferris have 11 children, and appear in Mattawa continuously from 1901 until the 1930s. Their children marry into other root families, including the Dufault, Dupuis, Belanger, and McIssac. Additionally one of their sons, John A Ferris b. 1878, marries his cousin, Angeline McDonell, a granddaughter of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay. Annie McDonnell is described as “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Scotch”, and “Algonquin” in the 1881, 1901, 1911, and 1921 census respectively. Walter Ferris is described as “Irish, “Indian”, “Algonquin SB”, “Irish”, and “Algonquin” consecutively from census dating from 1871 to 1921. He appears as accredited guide list published by the Rod and Gun magazine in 1905.

**John McDonell and Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe**

John McDonell (G0107) is the son of Alexander McDonnell and Mary Ann McKay, and according to his death record was born in Red River. He and Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe (G0323) are married in Mattawa in 1863. Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe is born in 1841 in Mattawa. Her father, Amable Jon Bon Dufond (G0309), is named in a petition from “des sauvages de Mattawa” in 1865, and described as


[^RG: "Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.]
“Indien” by Pere Simonet. Marian A Dufond Osaabikwe is described as “Indian” in the 1871 census of Mattawann. John McDonell and Marian Angelique Dufond Osaabikwe appear in Mattawa continuously from 1863 and 1893. John McDonell is described in the 1871 census as “half breed.”

6.30 McKenzie

Root Ancestors

The root ancestors of the McKenzie family tree are Roderick McKenzie Sr. (G0447), b. 1769 and Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit (G0446), b. 1774. Roderick McKenzie Sr. is associated with the NWC and the HBC. Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit is noted as aboriginal in an article by Elizabeth Arthur. Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit is formally married to Roderick McKenzie Sr. in 1841 at Ile a la Crosse, Saskatchewan. Roderick McKenzie Sr. dies in 1859 at Red River, and is buried along with Angelique Mallotte and two of his children in Lockport. On Roderick McKenzie Sr.’s tombstone, it is noted that he was involved with the HBC. Together the couple have twelve known children, of which all work for the NWC and HBC.

Descendants

Roderick McKenzie Jr. and Jane or Anne Nejepegijoqu

Roderick McKenzie Jr. (G0458) is the son of Roderick McKenzie Sr. and Angelique Mallotte or Malhoit. He was christened in 1848 at Maniwaki, alongside his wife, Jane or Anne Nejepegijoquque (kwe) McKenzie (G0457), and their son Benjamin McKenzie (G0453). It would appear that the McKenzies’ (through Roderick McKenzie Jr.) arrive at Mattawa following 1844. Roderick McKenzie Jr. dies at Mattawa in 1850.

Benjamin McKenzie and Elizabeth Atkinson

Benjamin McKenzie is the son of Roderick McKenzie Jr. and Jane or Anne Nejepegijoquque (kwe) McKenzie. He is married to Elizabeth Atkinson (G04560) at Fort William in 1868.

Elizabeth Atkinson is connected to the Atkinsons. Elizabeth Atkinson is a descendant of Samuel Atkinson (G0969) and Sara Mary Moore (G0970). Samuel Atkinson may be the son of retired HBC employee John Atkinson, who lived near Fort William, Quebec. Sara Mary Moore and Elizabeth Atkinson are baptised on the same day in Fort William in 1868. Elizabeth Atkinson’s godfather is noted as “Benjamin sauvage de Fort William” believed to be Benjamin Leclerc (G0071) who is connected to the Leclercs. In turn Elizabeth Atkinson is the godmother of Allen Daniel McDonald Ferris (G0870) in 1885. Allen Daniel McDonald Ferris’ godfather is William McKenzie (G0403), her son with Benjamin McKenzie.

301 Ibid., 30-40. P0293.
302 Ibid., 35. P0293.
Benjamin McKenzies’ ethnicity throughout the Canadian census are recorded as “Scotch”, “Indian”, and “English.” Elizabeth Atkinson first appears in the Canadian census in 1871 at Rivière Creuse, with her ethnicity indicated as “English.” Her ethnicity in the following four census’ include “Indian”, “Algonquin Scotch Breed,” along with English. Benjamin McKenzie and Elizabeth Atkinson have three known children, Daniel McKenzie (G0455), William McKenzie (G0403), and George McKenzie (G0454).

Elizabeth Atkinson has five children with an Unknown Male (or Unknown Males). Notably these five children all retain the “Atkinson” family name. It is unclear whether Elizabeth Atkinson and this Unknown Male are married prior or following her marriage to Benjamin McKenzie, as both sets of children are relatively similar in age. Elizabeth Atkinson and four of her children, Charlotte Atkinson (G0971), Florence Atkinson (G0972), Alexander Atkinson (G0641), and Angelique Atkinson (G0916), appear alongside their mother in the 1901 census. Elizabeth Atkinson and her children’s ethnicity is noted as “Algonquin Scotch Breed.” There are no Atkinsons descended from these children. Florence Atkinson was born in Mattawa in 1883, and resides at Mattawa at least until 1907 when she marries her husband John Kelly (G0973). Angelique Atkinson marries Frank Jocko (G0006) at Mattawa in 1909. Angelique Atkinson is noted as a witness at the death and burial of her mother, in Mattawa in 1932. These children are then step-siblings with the descendants of Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie.

**William McKenzie and Alice Miller**

William McKenzie (G0403), b. 1868, is the son of Elizabeth Atkinson and Benjamin McKenzie. William McKenzie is baptised in Fort William Quebec, and appears at Deep River in 1871. His wife, Alice Miller (G0398), b. 1875 appears at Mattawa in 1901, with the ethnicity of “Algonquin EB.” Following 1901 William McKenzie, Alice Miller, and their daughter Charlotte Jean McKenzie (G0404) appear in North Lemickaming in 1911. Charlotte Jean McKenzie is married to Howard Stanley Nelson in 1923 in the district of Cochrane.

### 6.31 Montreuil

**Root Ancestors- Leon Montreuil and Marie Anne Mic Mac**

Leon Montreuil (G0268) and Marie Anne Mic Mac (G0269) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Montreuil family tree. Leon Montreuil was born in 1825 in St Martin, Quebec. Leon Montreuil and Marie Anne Mic Mac are married prior to 1861, where they appear in the 1861 census in Mattawa. The couple appear consistently at Mattawa from this point forward. Leon Montreuil’s ethnicity over the coming census is consistently “French.” Marie Anne Mic Mac contrastingly is marked as “Indian” in the 1871 and 1881 census, and “Algonquin” in the 1901 census. Both are buried at Mattawa. They have eight known children. These children marry into other root families including the Bastiens and the Langevins. These descendants are discussed on the Bastien family history sheet. The Montreuil descendants are carried on through the children of two of their sons, Louis Montreuil and Pierre Montreuil.

**Descendants**

*Louis Montreuil and Delima Athanese Doucette*
Louis Montreuil (G0270) is the son of Leon Montreuil and Marie Anne Mic Mac. Born in 1860, he was baptised at Mattawa. He marries Delima Athanese Doucette at Mattawa in 1883. Delima Athanese Doucette’s sister in law is Philomene Elizabeth Lariviere is connected to the Larivieres. Louis Montreuil and Delima Athanese Doucette act as the godparents for children from some of the root families, including their own, and the Bastiens. In the 1871 census Leon Montreuil appears at Mattawa, and consistently do so up until 1921, with the exception of appearing absent from census records in 1901. Both he and Delima Athanese Doucette only ever appear as “French.” They have four known children together, all of which were christened at Mattawa between 1884 and 1890.

**Pierre Montreuil and Philomene Lefebvre**

Pierre Montreuil (G0276) is the son of Leon Montreuil and Marie Anne Mic Mac. He is born 1862 at Mattawa. He marries Philomene Lefebvre (G0354) in 1888 at Mattawa. Philomene Lefevbre is connected on her mother’s side to the Parents. Pierre Montreuil appears at Mattawa in 1871, and consistently does so until 1911. During this period his ethnicity is recorded as “French.” He is buried at Mattawa in 1912. Philomene Lefevre appears at Mattawa following the 1891 census, and consistently does so until 1911. During this period her ethnicity is recorded as “French.” She appears as the godparent for Marie Louise Montreuil (G0274), her niece. They have five known children together. Of these children there are no know descendants.

6.32 **Parent**

**Root Ancestors**

Luc Etienne Parent (G0416) and Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin (G0090) are the root ancestors of the Parent family. Luc Etienne Parent is the son of Henri Parent (G0693) and Archange Nadon (G0694), and is born at St. Benoit in approximately 1819. He marries Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin at Saint Eustache, Quebec, in 1844. He first appears at Mattawa in 1891. Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin and Luc Etienne Parent act as the godparents to a number of children found in the study, including Pierre Leclerc (G0702), their grandchild. Together they have eight children, many of which marry into root families, including the Leclercs and Montreuils. These descendants can be found on the respective family sheets.

**Descendants**

The descendants of Luc Etienne Parent and Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin are traced through two of their sons, Joseph Parent (G0359), b. 1855 and Israel Parent (G0691), born approximately 1865. Notably, Joseph Parent marries twice, and therefor has two sets of Parent descendants.

Joseph Parent appears consistently in Pontiac County in 1881, and at Mattawa in 1901, 1911, and 1921. During this time his ethnicity is indicated as “French.” He appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. Joseph Parent is the godfather to children from other root families including the Clements and Montreuils.

303 “Rod and Gun’s List of Guides,” 132, P0092.
Joseph Parent and Marie Leclerc

Joseph Parent is married to Marie Leclerc (G0068) in 1879 at Pembroke. Marie Leclerc is the daughter of root ancestors Benjamin Leclerc (G0071), and Therese Kontagishish (G0062). Marie Leclerc’s ethnicity through her lifetime appears as “Indian.” They have one known child, Benjamin Leclerc.

Benjamin Parent and Marie Leclerc

Benjamin Leclerc (G000) is the son of Joseph Parent and Marie Leclerc (G0068). He is married to Marie Leclerc (G0701), daughter of Pierre Leclerc (G0070) and Josephine Parent (G0695), his first cousin. Marie Leclerc is born at Mattawa in 1891. Marie Leclerc’s brother, Pierre Leclerc (G0702) is both born and baptised at Mattawa in 1884. Pierre Leclerc (G0702)’s godparents are recorded as Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin and Luc Etienne Parent.

Joseph Parent and Marie Montreuil

Joseph Parent is married to Marie Montreuil in 1885 at Mattawa. Marie Montreuil is connected to the Montreils, as the daughter of root ancestors Joseph Montreuil (G000) and Marie Kakwabit (G000). Marie Montreuil appears consistently at Mattawa from 1901 to 1921, with the noted ethnicity of “French.” Joseph Parent and Marie Montreuil appear as the godparents for Joseph Jean Baptiste Auguste Pilon (G0879), Sara Louise Clement (G0624), and William Paul Joseph Legros (G1104). Joseph Parent and Marie Montreuil have four known children. Out of these four children three were baptised at Mattawa. Two of their sons, William John Parent (G0362) and Nelson Joseph Calise Parent (G0363) appear in Mattawa from 1901 to 1921 with the noted ethnicity of “French.” Additionally William Joseph Parent appears as the godfather for Laura Ferris (G0134) in 1904.

Israel Parent and Amelie Turpin

Israel Parent is the son of Luc Etienne Parent and Julie LaGiroflee dit Dumoulin. He marries Amelie Turpin in 1889 at Mattawa. The couple appear together in the 1891 census at Mattawa. They have three known children; Emelie Mai Parent (G0703), Luc Israel Parent (G0690), and Julie Jeanne Exila Parent (G0700). Two of their children are baptised at Mattawa between 1890 and 1892. Emelie Mai Parent appears at Mattawa in 1891 alongside her parents, and later in Blind River in 1911 and 1921. In these two later census records her ethnicity is noted as “French.” She marries Israel Labbe (G0704) in Steelton, Algoma, in 1910.

6.33 Sauve

Root Ancestors

Jean Savois (G0922) and Mary Dorian (G0666) are the root ancestors of the Sauve-Savois-Savoie family. There is little information known about Jean Savois. Mary Dorian is the daughter of Narcisse Pierre Dorian (G0666) and Marie Cecile Mawiskak McDonnell (G502). Mary Dorian was born in 1835 in Rupert’s Land. She is connected to the Dorions and the McCrackens. She is the root ancestor for the McCracken family. Mary Dorian appears to marry Jean Savois (G0922) prior to her marriage to John McCracken (G0665) in 1888, as in their marriage record her name is noted as “Savoie.” Mary Dorian
appears at Nipissing District, Seven Leaq Lake, and Mattawa in the Canadian census records with the changing ethnicity of “French” and “Indian.” She also appears as the godmother for Hubert Dupuis (G0975) in 1884. Jean Savois and Mary Dorian have one child, John B Savoie (G0921).

**Descendants**

**John B Savoie and Rose Ann Moreau**

John B Savoie, b. 1861, is the son of Jean Savois and Mary Dorian. He is married to Rose Ann Moreau (G0964), marriage date unknown. He appears in at Mattawa in 1901, and Mattawan in 1901 noted as “French” in the later. Together they have four children. When ethnicity is noted, they are recorded as “French.” There are no know descendant beyond this point.

6.34 **SIMON**

**Root Ancestors- Jean Baptiste Simon and Suzanne Francois**

Jean Baptiste Simon (G0302) and Suzanne Francois (G0332) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Simon family tree. There is very little information on these root ancestors, however they appear as the parents for the burial of their child, Catherine Simon (G0552) in 1876 at Petawawa. In Catherine Simon’s burial record it is noted that Jean Baptiste Simon and Suzanne Francois are “Indians of Petawawa.” Jean Baptiste Simon and Suzanne Francois also appear as the parents of Xavier Simon at his marriage in 1893 at Mattawa. The descendants of Jean Baptiste Simon and Suzanne Francois are traced through Xavier Simon.

**Descendants**

**Xavier Simon and Elizabeth Elizabeth Marie Pesindawate Baptiste**

Xavier Simon, son of Jean Baptiste Simon and Suzanne Francois, is born at Petawawa River in approximately 1858. He is married to Elizabeth Elizabeth Marie Pesindawate Baptiste (G0333) at Mattawa. Their marriage record notes that Xavier Simon is from Klock Mills, and is a “Hunter.” Pierre Leclerc (G0070) is noted as a witness. Elizabeth Marie Pesindawate Baptiste’s parents are noted as Jean Baptiste Pesindawate (G0342) Marie Stokwa (G0341). Together they have seven known children. Of these children five are known to have been born at Klock Mills, with four buried at Mattawa.

6.35 **SIMON 2**

**Root Ancestors- Antoine Simon and Marie Anne Leblanc**

Antoine Simon (G0303) and Marie Anne Leblanc (G0308) are the root ancestors of this branch of the Simon family tree. Antoine Simon was born approximately 1813 in Quebec. His marriage date to Marie Anne Leblanc is unknown. Antoine Simon and Marie Anne Leblanc first appear at Maganacipi in the 1871 census, listed as “Indian.” They appear again in the 1881 census record as “Indian” in Pontiac County. Marie Anne Leblanc is buried at Mattawa in 1892. On her burial record it is noted that Hyacinth Simon (G0897) and Louis Bastien are in attendance. Together they have eight known children. These children and their descendants marry frequently into other root families including the
Antoines, and the Dufonds. These descendants can be traced through their respective family history sheets.

**Descendants**

Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon (G0225) is the son of Antoine Simon and Marie Anne Leblanc. Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon is born at Klock Mills in 1870. He appears at Maganacipi in 1871 listed as “Indian.” He appears again in the 1881 census as “Indian.” He is the godfather of a number of children from other root families including the Simons and the Dufonds. He is married twice, to Mary Ann Francis Antoine (G0223) and Marie Esther Jean (G0306).

**Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon and Marie Esther Jean**

Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon is married to Marie Esther Jean, date unknown. There is very little information known about Marie Esther Jean, however she appears alongside her husband as the godmother of Elizabeth Anna Simon (G0339) in 1898. Marie Esther Jean here is listed as the wife of Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon. They have two children, Alex Simon (G0749) and William Simon (G0305). Alex Simon and William Simon, alongside their father and their step-mother Mary Ann Francis Antoine (G0233), are shown at Mattawa in the 1901 census, listed as “French.” Alex Simon and William Simon appear again with their half siblings in the 1911 census, listed as “Algonquin.”

**Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon and Mary Ann Francis Antoine**

Following the death of his wife sometime between 1898 and 1900, Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon marries Mary Ann Francis Antoine. Daughter of Francois Antoine (G0211) and Elisabeth Jasen (G0212). She was married previously, to William Ducheneau (G0230). Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon marries Mary Ann Francis Antoine in the Nipissing District in 1900. Throughout the course of her life Mary Ann Francis Antoine’s ethnicity is noted as “French” and “Algonquin.” Mary Ann Francois Antoine appears as the godmother to children from the Ignace family. She dies at Mattawa in 1934. On her death record it is recorded that she is an “Indian.” Ignace Eneas Nias Angus Angust Simon and Mary Ann Francis Antoine have four children. One of these children is married to a Langevin.

6.36 ** Turner**

**Root Ancestors**

Phillip Turner (G0468), b. 1812, and Jane Sarah Richards (G0469), b. 1801 are the root ancestors of the Turner family. Philip Turner entered the Hudson Bay Company Service in 1823 at Moose Factory.

The marriage date of Philip Turner and Jane Sarah Richards is unknown. Their descendants have been traced through three of their sons: Joseph Alexander Turner, Robert Turner, and Thomas Turner, all born at Moose Factory.

**Descendants**

**Joseph Alexander Turner and Jane Whitford**
Joseph Alexander Turner (G0467), b. 1838, in Moose Factory, NWT. Like his father Philip Turner, Joseph Alexander Turner entered the HBC in 1860. In 1862 he is married to Jane Whitford (G0470) in Portage la Prairie. Jane Whitford, b. 1845 in Manitoba, appears in the NWT, as “English.” Joseph Alexander Turner appears in the same census in Battleford (?), as “English.” The couple both appear together in the 1901 census at Fort Saskatchewan as “S.B.” Jane Whitford appears over the course of her life at Fort Saskatchewan, including 1886 and 1921. In 1916 her prescribed ethnicity is “Scotch.” Joseph Alexander Turner and Jane Whitford have eleven children. The family appears together in the NWT in 1881 as “English.” Three of their children, John Frederick Turner, Archibald Turner, and Alexander H E Turner appear together at Fort Saskatchewan as “S.B.” Alexander H E Turner (G0477), b. 1888 however appears on Rod and Gun’s accredited guide list in 1905, leading to the assumption that he must have been in the Mattawa area during this period. However, he appears to have returned to Fort Saskatchewan by 1906.

**Thomas Turner and Mary Matilda Ward**

Thomas Turner (G0483), born approximately 1867 in East Rupert’s Land, is the son of Philip Turner and Jane Sarah Richards. He is married to Mary Matilda Ward in (G0408), marriage date unknown. Thomas Turner first appears at Mattawa in 1891, and appears to remain in the area until at least 1921. He appears on the Rod and Gun accredited guide list in 1905. His prescribed ethnicity over this time includes “Scotch” and “Scotch B.” Mary Matilda Ward, b. 1865 in East Rupert’s Land, appears in the 1881 census at Moose Factory as “Indian.” The marriage between Thomas Turner and Mary Matilda Ward occurs between 1881 and 1891, as Mary Matilda Ward appears alongside Thomas Turner at Mattawa in 1891. In the 1901, 1911, and 1921 census she has the ethnicity of “Scotch” “Scotch” and “English” respectively. Mary Matilda Ward is buried at Mattawa in 1933, with a noted ethnicity of “Indian.” Thomas Turner and Mary Matilda Ward have four known children, of which there are no know descendants. Two of their children, Janet Turner and Grace Beatrice Turner, were born at Mattawa. Grace Beatrice Turner dies at Sturgeon Falls in 1972. The children appear alongside their parents in the census with the varying ethnicity of “Scotch B.” and “Scotch.”

**Robert Turner and Jemima Canute**

Robert Turner (G0485), born 1847, is the son of Philip Turner and Jane Sarah Richards. He is married to Jemima Canute (G0486). Like his father Philip Turner, Robert Turner enters the service for the HBC.

Robert Turner and Jemima Canute appear together at Moose Factory in the 1881 Census as “Scotch” and “Indian” respectively. Two of their sons, John Turner and Thomas Turner, appear with them with the ethnicity of “Scotch.” Joseph Turner (G0487) appears at Mattawa in 1904, with his marriage to Margaret

---

304 Ibid, P0092.  
305 Ibid, P0092.
Pride (G0488). Additionally Joseph Turner appears on the accredited guide list in 1905 alongside his uncle Thomas Turner, and cousin Alexander H E Turner.  

\[306\] Ibid, P0092.
7 Appendix 3: Social Network Analysis Report

7.1 Methodology

This section of the report outlines the methodology for the Social Network Analysis (SNA) of the Mattawa Genealogical data. In summary the following process was followed to prepare this element of the research.

- Information about individuals, their kinship networks, profession, religion and other relevant information was extracted from the genealogical software and organized into a table format.
- That information was then imported into visone software.
- Certain attributes and relationships were mapped automatically through the software which revealed existing and new information in a visual way.
- This visual information was analyzed and a written explanation provided (in this document.)

7.1.1 About SNA

SNA allows us to view social relationships through nodes and ties. Nodes, which in this case represents historic individuals from the study region, are linked to other people (nodes) through various ties (relationships). These nodes and ties are displayed in a graph format which represents the “social relations that knit together our modern world.”

SNA is an effective way to analyze, interpret, and draw conclusions on a variety of social relations, from kinship patterns of community structure to labour groupings, all done through the production of visual graphs. Since SNA shows the connections between individuals in group settings, the most useful information to be included in the graphs are “the contacts, ties and connections, and the group attachments and meetings that relate one agent to another.”

In the present research, the networks represented are of the mixed-ancestry population of the Mattawa/Nipissing region of study, as identified in the genealogical and historical research. The visual representations of the complete network, as well as isolation of smaller family groupings, reveal a community that is almost completely bound by kinship relations.

In the last twenty years a wide range of Metis studies scholars have noted the need to go beyond traditional genealogical family trees and research methods. For instance, in 1985, Thomas Flanagan’s exploration of the dispersion of the American Métis following the events of 1885 speaks of networks of kinship that required further analysis. In 2000, Susan Sleeper Smith expanded this idea and undertook a study of what she called “Catholic kin networks” in the Great Lakes to demonstrate how First Nations and mixed-ancestry women used their relationship and position within the Catholic faith to carve...

---

themselves a sphere of influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth century fur trade world. Sleeper Smith did not have a concrete method to visually represent the Catholic kin networks she was investing.\textsuperscript{310} Therefore, the suggestion and the methodological turn towards a node and network approach, as advocated in 2011 by Mike Evans et al. has been encouraged and sought after, years before the technological capacity of so doing became accessible to researchers. Drs Nicole St-Onge and Brenda Macdougall state, “Genealogies are intended to trace the lineage of an individual through parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren and are not designed to capture broader familial or social relationships.”\textsuperscript{311} Those relationships like god-parents and extended kinship networks are often difficult to visualize through traditional genealogical trees. However, the important information that is included in that data can be incorporated into more complex visualizations using SNA software. Through this software and approach we are able to visualize community life which becomes integral to the discussions on Metis identity.\textsuperscript{312}

Information collected during genealogical research helps fill in the details of the lifeways of families of mobile hunters, guides, or trappers. Seeing the entirety of this data in a single visual representation allows for comparisons between all the actors present, as well as an opportunity to observe their collective behaviour by studying who associates with whom. More so than pedigree charts which have their physical limits.\textsuperscript{313} Once they grow too large, following links and connections between different families becomes a rather difficult endeavour. For instance, the current genealogical chart for this project would stretch more than 13 printed meters.

7.1.2 **Gathering the Data**

The genealogical information about individuals gathered during the course of this project was entered into a MS Access database. This included a wide variety of information drawn from sources including birth records, marriage records, death records, journal entries, and other secondary and primary sources. Part of this information was then used to construct the genealogies of key persons in the Mattawa region during the relevant historical timeframe (1850 – 1920). This documentation was supplemented by incorporating all of the Canadian census data between 1861 and 1921. In so doing, the research team was in a position to visually represent and analyze considerable community life information, vital statistics, and communal behaviours. The complete Mattawa Genealogical Networks represent 1142 people that had some affiliation with the subject region. They may have been the


\textsuperscript{311} Macdougall and St-Onge, “Rooted in Mobility: Metis Buffalo-Hunting Brigades,” 19, P0205.

\textsuperscript{312} The genealogical component of Metis identity resonates through the Métis National Council’s guidelines for determining who is and who is not Metis in its statement on citizenship: “Métis” means a person who self-identifies as Métis, is distinct from other Aboriginal peoples, is of historic Métis Nation Ancestry and who is accepted by the Métis Nation.” “Citizenship,” Métis National Council Citizenship, accessed 18 July 2014, http://www.metisnation.ca/index.php/who-are-the-metis/citizenship.

parents, cousins or friends of someone who was identified as mixed-ancestry in the region or they were affiliated with the early settlement of the Ottawa River corridor and later their family moved to or from the region. These 1142 people share a total of 3912 links, or relationships of blood kinship or extended familial relationships through the rite of godparenting. The links (or ties) represented in this analysis are only established through marriage, parentage and god-parenting.

All of the genealogical information was collected through, or imported into, Family Tree Maker and then extracted into an Excel spreadsheet. Much of the information that was available in Family Tree Maker had to be manually entered into the Excel Spreadsheet and the spreadsheet was saved as a comma-separated value (CSV) file which allowed the researchers to import the data into visone. The type of data that was uploaded into the program include details about birth date, death date, employment, relationships etc. These data types are called “attributes”. A complete listing of attributes can be pages 137-138 of the present report. Consequently, every node, or person represented as dots in the social network, was automatically imported in the social network with their complete genealogical and census data profile. Software limitations did not allow for the import of relationship and attribute data. In other words, relationships were not automatically imported in the social network graphs. Instead, the research team, using the vital statistics from the genealogical research, mapped relationships (see Graph 2 on page 135).

The limitations and underlying assumptions present in the large data set inevitably influence the visual representations of the social network and the analysis of the attribute categories. Indeed, the master data set has its limits. Not all categories of analysis were filled with information for all of the 1142 persons represented in the network because not all the information was uniform across the historical sources. For example, not all of the persons identified by the genealogical research have accompanying census data, or accompanying baptismal data. Conclusions drawn from the SNA should therefore be read in light of the partial information collected and not as a definitive representation of the community as a whole.

The research team chose to use visone for the construction of the SNA graphs. Visone is a free, open-source and multi-platform program in constant development at the Universität Konstanz in Germany that allows users to visually represent social networks. In other words, it allows the research team to see and better conceptualize the “big picture” that has been created and to see and assess the place of the people in the network. Though the large images in this report are not of high enough quality for a closer look, a data addendum containing all high-resolutions images used in this report is attached in the final synthesis. Where relevant, screen shots of zoomed-in data are provided to enrich the research findings. Visone allows for comprehensive comparisons of attribute data and offers insights at the level of the
individual represented by comparing him or her to others around him, while mapping the relationships that unite actors to one another.  

The research team relied on visone for its analysis of the genealogical data in order to offer continuity with work presently undertaken in the field of Métis Studies. All of the visual representations present in Appendix 3 were done using a stress minimization visual representation. This is a technical way of reducing the distance of the links (ties) between the nodes. By using this technique the shortest distances between the nodes are represented with clusters of individuals with close associations being grouped together. Those with less linkages to the core community are seen more distant from the other nodes. The stress minimization layout was obtained by using the quick layout button on the software (which applies stress minimization to a metric multidimensional scaling or MDS). This specific layout type was determined to be the best fit for the network model because it seeks to represent the shortest possible distances between the nodes. The stress minimization layout also allows for easier visual interpretation of the data by avoiding the overlap of actors on top of one another.

The sheer size of the network makes for a rich and diverse analysis. Due to constraints of time and resources, the research team was not able to exhaust all of the visual representations possible using this network. Literally hundreds of different images could be produced due to the volume of information attached to each person present in the graphs. Therefore, the research team limited the research scope of the Mattawa Genealogical Network to two main branches of investigation. First, it undertook an examination of the role of the transmission and community adhesion to Catholicism through the rite of baptism and the designation of godparents. Due to the motivations explained in earlier stages of this study, the role of the Catholic religion in building cohesive communal practices and identities becomes more tangible in graph form. Second, the research team took a closer look at census data and vital statistics on community work, or occupations, in order to get a better handle on the labour realities in the region of study and how networks of trades, particularly guiding and the rise in day labour (journeymen), increased in importance, reach, and scope at the dawn of the twentieth century. In so doing, the large Mattawa Genealogical network and the nodes that form its sum are able to present a much richer communal view of the growth and development of mixed-ancestry collectives through time and space.

7.1.3 **LOOKING AT THE GRAPHS**

Each individual in the Mattawa Genealogical Network is represented in the graph by a single node. Each node contains all of the vital statistics collected throughout the project for the individual, such as their surname, occupation, spouses, occupations, place of birth and death, etc. Each node has a number that

---

314 Brandes, Ulrik; Wagner, Dorothea (2004), "visone - Analysis and Visualization of Social Networks", in Jünger, Michael; Mutzel, Petra, *Graph Drawing Software*, Springer, p.338

315 The purpose of Multi-Dimensional Scaling is to provide a visual representation of the pattern of proximities (i.e., similarities or distances) among a set of objects
corresponds with the Person ID found in the Master List Database. Each node is then coloured either green or grey, based on the sex of the person: a green node represents a female, and a grey node represents a male. Each node was subsequently connected to other nodes in the Master List Network based on their relationships found in the Master List Database. For example, a black directed line going from one node to another signifies parentage. A red undirected line represents a marriage between two nodes. Blue lines show shared parentage (or siblings), with a blue dotted line representing stepsiblings. Lastly, the purple dotted directed line signifies individuals who are godparents. A legend with examples is shown below in Graph 1: Social Network Analysis Legend.

Relational data can be either directed or undirected. When relationships between actors are reciprocal, the line, or link used to represent this relationship, will join the two nodes, or actors, identically. Such flat, or solid lines in red indicate a marriage. In a solid blue, they identify siblings who share identical parentage. A dotted blue line indicates stepsiblings, likely from a second or third marriage of a parent. In the present graphs, when the relationship is directed - in other words, if actor A chose actor B for whatever reason - the line representing that relationship will indicate this choice, usually with an
For the graphs represented here, the directed relationships indicate parentage and godparenthood.

Below is the complete Mattawa Genealogical Network with all 1142 individuals apparent in the graph as well as all of their relationship.

---

316 Scott. *Social Network Analysis – A Handbook*, 62. In the social analysis graphs presented in this essay, a directed link, represented by an arrow pointing from one member of the brigade to another, indicates the family member and his/her choice of spouse. See Appendix 1 on p.19.
The analysis that follows in section ___ will rely on analyzing parts of the larger graph. Below is a sample visualization that demonstrates how the many components of the legend work together in an example taken from the actual research.

Node number 467, seen here in the top left of the image, represents Joseph Alexander Turner (P0467), born in 1838 in the Northwest Territories. A green node represents a female and a grey node represents a male. A red line indicates a marital union, and black arrows and solid lines mark the parentage of the children. Therefore, with his spouse, Jane Whitford, whose birthplace is listed as Manitoba, the two had a total of 11 children. The blue lines represent sibling relationships. This family got the “S.B” or

317 Please see genealogical documents for Joseph Alexander Turner (G0467), Archibald Turner (G0475), John Frederick Turner (G0473), Eliza Turner (G0474), Helene Turner (G0472), Henry George Turner (G0471), Mary Jane
“Scotch Breed” designation in the 1901 census. Interestingly, in 1881, the head of the household was English. The head of the household’s identifiable relationships tie him through his immediate links to the largest connected component, or the main network.

7.1.4 **Data Mapping & Developing Categories of Analysis**

Because SNA relies on datasets to generate graphs, categories of analysis were created in order to provide and prepare the data analyses undertaken in the present study. These categories of analysis were standardized throughout the project’s data collection phase, from the information gathered and analyzed in genealogical contexts to the importation of the data into the SNA software. In general, an attribute is a function of the SNA software that assigns each element a value of a specified type. Types of attributes that can be imported into the visone software include binary (yes or no choice), text, and lists of choices (i.e.: list of relevant place names). Each attribute has a unique name for its identification. By associating attribute information to the nodes (of persons) represented on the SNA graph, researchers can then extrapolate and visually represent these attributes. For instance, the SNA graphs representing all of the persons at the core of the present study can be filtered to “show” only individuals who worked as guides, or were otherwise associated with fur trade labour in the mid to late nineteenth century. Attributes can also reveal who was identified as a “Half-breed” in any of the Canadian census between 1861 and 1921.\(^{318}\)

In order to restrain the scope of the research to the parameters established by the research team, the following of categories analysis, all which were set to import “text” fields, were used to filter the statistics and vital information gathered on all of the 1142 persons represented in the network. Brackets are used to provide additional contextual information:

- 1861 Census Ethnicity
- 1861 Census Place
- 1871 Census Ethnicity
- 1871 Census Place
- 1881 Census Ethnicity
- 1881 Census Place
- 1891 Census Place

\(^{318}\) The visual representation of the census data follows this brief introduction and contextualization of the methods and scope of SNA for this project.
• 1901 Census Ethnicity
• 1901 Census Place
• 1911 Census Ethnicity
• 1911 Census Place
• 1921 Census Ethnicity
• 1921 Census Place
• Bir_Date (birthdate)
• Bir_Place (birth place)
• Bir_Year (birth year)
• Brl_Notes (Burial notes)
• Brl_Date (Burial date)
• Brl_Place (Burial place)
• Ch_1 (Christening 1)
• Ch_2 (Christening 2)
• Ch_3 (Christening 3)
• Chr_Date (Christening Date)
• Chr_notes (Christening notes)
• Chr_Place (Christening place)
• Dea_Date (Death date)
• Dea_Notes (Death notes)
• Dea_Place (Death Place)
• FAMC_ID (Family ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• FAMS_ID_1 (Family ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• FAMS_ID_2 (Family ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• FAMS_ID_3 (Family ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• Father (name of father)
• Father_ID (Person ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• FullName (Complete name of individual)
• Given (First name)
• Id (This is the person I.D. that is uniform in the SNA, in the Master List database and in the document collection. It ranges from 1 to 1142 to represent each person)
• Mar3_Notes (Notes for 3rd marriage)
• Mar_Date_1 (Date for 1st marriage)
• Mar_Date_2 (Date for 2nd marriage)
• Mar_Date_3 (Date for 3rd marriage)
• Mar_Place_1 (Location of 1st marriage)
• Mar_Place_2 (Location of 2nd marriage)
• Mar_Place_3 (Location of 3rd marriage)
• Marriage Notes
• Marriage2Notes (Notes about the second marriage)
• Mother (full name of mother)
• Mother_ID (Person ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• Occupation (occupation per census data)
• Other ethnicity
• Other Place 1
• Other Place 1 Source
• Other Place 2
• Other Place 2 Source
• Other Place 3
• Other Place 3 Source
• Person ID (Person ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
• Sex (Male or Female)
• Spouse_1 (First Spouse)
• Spouse_2 (Second Spouse)
• Spouse_3 (Third Spouse)
• Spouse_ID_1 (Person ID number assigned by the genealogical software)
7.1.5 TERMINOLOGY: NETWORKS AND COMPONENTS

The language used throughout this report needs to be properly introduced in order to ensure that the graphs are as legible as possible to a non-expert audience. Using the word “actors” instead of “nodes” gives a human and social component to network analysis. Attribute data relates to behaviors of actors, such as information about linguistic abilities, occupation, or participation in a religious ceremony. It is often collected alongside relational data (information on relationships, or links between individuals.) These two types of data are often also collected with data that “describes the meanings, motives, definitions and typification involved in actions.” Actors in the network are “measured” in their distance, or proximity to one another. Centrality is a fundamental component between actors in the social network. Distance between persons based on the information comprised in the master data set is translated into visible distance between nodes of a graph.

Network changes can be seen over time. Taking into consideration the coming and going of mobile individuals and the forging and the dissolving of social ties is imperative in this regard. It is also possible to show the historical social networks as moments frozen in time, and to generate multiple inceptions of moments frozen in time to draw comparisons. This particular method is privileged for the production of the mixed-population graphs of the Mattawa region in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the community as it evolved through time by creating historical snapshots.

7.2 ANALYSIS

The following presents the research team’s analysis of the Mattawa Genealogical Network’s SNA.

7.2.1 OVERVIEW OF THE MATTAWA GENEALOGICAL NETWORK

---

320 Ibid, 25.
The first visual representation of the Mattawa social network (Graph 2: Complete Mattawa Social Network) reveals that there is one large connected component. The greater majority of the network is formed through the connections, or the relationships, that people have with one another. The relationships are represented through the lines that tie the actors together in the graph. In the context of the present study, 1027 of 1142 (89.92%) mapped people are connected to each other via immediate kinship links, such as parentage, marriage, or sibling relationships, and/or through ‘fictive’ kinship connections such as god parenting.
Two areas of the complete graph (Graph 2: Complete Mattawa Social Network) have individuals who are not connected through immediate kinship to the large, continuous network of immediate family and godparents (see: Graph 5 Smaller Connected Components: Bottom of Large Graph). Their lack of immediate kinship relation does not mean that they were not related to the other persons represented in the graph. It only emphasizes that these groups were not tied to the larger network through relationships of parentage, siblings, or godparenting. In fact, all of the actors represented in the complete data set share a type of relationship with one another, and in turn, with the Mattawa region. 115 of 1142 people, or 10.07%, are not connected through the large connected component via immediate kinship links or god
parentage. This small percentage of persons who are not as closely related to one another as the
relationships mapped via SNA software remain nevertheless attached to the wider network through
their extended kinship (uncles, aunts, cousins, etc). In order to ensure data integrity and to limit the
scope of the analysis, the research team focused its analysis on immediate kinship links, such as
parentage, marriage, and relationships formed through the ritual of baptism. The latter choice is to
explore the role of Catholicism in shaping and binding community life in the region of study.
Returning to the larger graph image, this time with surnames instead of identification numbers, we can see two branches of the Laronde family; one connected to the largest component, or the large community of immediate kinship and godparent relationships, while the other is not and is to the right. Both family groups are indicated with a red circle. The Laronde family members present right of the centre of the image are related to the family floating in the right corner. The two are not related through godparent or immediate kinship relationships, but they are related nonetheless. The same can be said for the majority of persons represented in the portions of the network that are not connected to the largest connected component. The data collected on the Laronde family, like all families represented in the Mattawa SNA graphs, were assigned a family number that was matched to confirm its genealogical link. All the graphs in this report attest to the importance and strength of the immediate kinship connections between the persons identified therein. What remains to be demonstrated is how, or in what way, these connections were influential in day-to-day practices and community formation.

7.2.2 Adhesion to Catholicism and its Effects

Looking at Godparent Networks as Spaces of Identity Transmission

The study of large networks of First Nations and mixed-ancestry kinship through SNA aims to reveal patterns of behaviour and social realities that may not otherwise be self-evident to researchers who reconstruct them using a qualitative analysis of primary source documents. Looking at the same network though the lens of the ritual of baptism and godparenting is an innovative way to conceptualize and explore the ways in which people navigated kinship networks. The present study aims to expand on the discussion of a religious network and offers visual representations of the godparent relationships in Mattawa as a means to uncover how the practice of Roman Catholicism, specifically how the ritual of baptism, shaped lifeways and community life for both men and women.

---

321 Sleeper-Smith, “Women, Kin, and Catholicism: New Perspectives on the Fur Trade,” 425–427, P0299. Susan Sleeper Smith’s study of four prominent women of the fur trade in the Great Lakes and their negotiation of Catholic kinship in their personal and commercial affairs. Sleeper Smith revealed that women who took on the role of godmothers to multiple children achieved social prominence and became important lay religious figures in their surroundings.
In order to get a better understanding of the complexities associated with the baptismal life of the region of study, the immediate kinship arrows and sibling relationships were rendered in a subtle grey, while only the godparenting and marriage relationships remained evident in purple and red, respectively.

---

322 This image shows a close-up of godparent relations. The baptised has the purple arrow pointing at him or her while the godparent is at the tail of the arrow. Men are represented in grey and women in green.
Graph 9: Godparent Relationships in Mattawa
In undertaking its examination of the role of the transmission of Catholicism via baptism in community cohesion, the research team is faced with the difficulty of not being in the possession of all of the baptismal data for all of the persons in the network due to limitations of time and the availability of archival fonds. Although the region of study was expanded to reach mobile persons who passed through Mattawa, the research team did not gather all of the possible baptismal data for all persons present therein, however, we believe that the results represented in this report provide a good approximation of Catholic life. It would be highly improbable for the majority of the persons represented in the Mattawa Genealogical Graph to be practicing Catholics. Nevertheless, it is evident that there are individuals represented in the godparenting graph whose own baptismal history is not documented. For instance, there are individuals who are acting as godparents even though their own baptismal information is unknown; a person could not be named godparent without having first received and demonstrated to the priest an adequate knowledge of the Roman Catholic faith.

A total of 207 persons of the Mattawa Genealogical Network participated in baptismal ceremonies during the period of study. Therefore, 18 percent of the individuals represented have documented baptismal data. In total, there were 320 relationships of baptism represented. A total of 96 baptized individuals are found in the graph, 66 of which have two godparents and 30 of which only have one identified godparent. 120 persons in total were named godparents. The two numbers exceed the 207 person total because some of the men and women who became godparents in the region of study were also baptized. It is the opinion of the research team that the individuals represented in the graph as godparents and baptized are part of a network of individuals that, while being in close kinship proximity to the wider group, formed a distinct pattern of behaviour. The majority of the 120 godparents present in the graph do not have more than one or two godchildren. The average number of godchildren per godparent is 1.31. (158 ÷ 120 = 1.31)

7.2.3 INTIMATE LOOK AT GODPARENTING

Only two individuals of the 1142 at the core of the SNA study were able to become godparents to significantly more people than on average. This low number of repeated godparents likely reflects the socioeconomic matrix of the region of study. As demonstrated in portions of the report, the socioeconomic context encouraged mobility, but not the mass movements engendered by the buffalo hunt on the Great Plains during the nineteenth century.

Social selection network theory considers how actors influence one another through their actions and thoughts. This theory is especially useful in light of the study of persons who often acted in unison, be it through the signature of petitions, joining a band, or agreeing to take on a few godchildren and promise to raise them in accordance with the teachings of the Roman Catholic faith, especially in the case of harm or death coming to the parents. In accepting to enter into a godparent relationship, the adults not only participated in a ceremony in the immediacy but also entered into a long-term community commitment.
Two individuals share the title of the most godchildren: a man and a woman. The male figure, François Antoine, born in 1843 in Oka and a long-time resident of Mattawa, was godfather to five children: Marie Josephpte Antoine (born 1880); Jean Baptiste Francois Commandant (born 1881); Florence Bastien (born 1896); Elizabeth Grandlouis Commandant (born 1900); and John Henry Green (born 1902).

François Antoine (indicated here by a black circle at the centre of the image), as member of the Nipissing Band, received payments in 1909 as per the Robinson-Huron Treaty, according to the data gathered by the research team. Looking at the same information, but this time by superimposing census categories of ethnicity, we see subtle changes in the ethnic identities assigned to the people of the godparent and baptized network with every census year. The next six images represent the following ethnic categories of identity assigned in the Canadian censuses: Persons identified as First Nations are in

323 LAC, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, RG 10, Red Series, volume 2929, file 192, 5333, “PARRY SOUND SUPERINTENDENCY - ESTATE OF THE LATE ANTOINE NEESHQUAYWAYCHANCE OF THE NIPISSING BAND AND CLAIMS FOR ANNUITY PAYMENTS SUBMITTED BY HIS WIDOW AND SONS FRANCOIS, ALEXANDER AND JAWBONE.”, microfilm reel C-9662, A0314. It is not uncommon to have mixed-ancestry or Métis people included on other First Nations groups’ dealings with the government due to their close socioeconomic and kin ties to one another. One such example was during the negotiation of treaty 275 with the Chippewa of Lake Superior and the Mississippi Indians in the United States: (30 September 1854) “giving to each Half Breed family 80 Acres of land.” Similar wishes of inclusion and favourable provisions were expressed in Treaty 3 negotiations in 1873. See: Nicholas Vrooman, The Whole Country Was...One Robe. The Little Shell Tribe’s America (Great Falls: Drumlummon Institute and Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, 2013), 146.
yellow; persons identified as mixed-ancestry (and its variations such as Métis, Métis français, Halfbreed, Scotch Breed, French Breed, mixed Indian, etc.) are in light blue; persons identified as French are in dark blue; and persons identified as Scottish are in purple. A legend is included at the top corner of every graph of this series to highlight the distinctions through time.

Graph 11: Antoine Godparent Network and Census Ethnic Identity – 1861

The 1861 census reveals very little in terms of the ethnic identities assigned to the persons present in the network graph. Only one Commandant to the right hand side was assigned an “Indian” identity by the census enumerator.
1871 is equally silent on the assigned identity of the Antoine’s godparent network. However, it is interesting to note the increase in people being assigned the “Indian” identity label around Antoine and his godchildren.
Ten years later, François Antoine is identified as “French” in the godparent network, as is one of his godchildren, Marie Josephte Antoine (born 1880). The other godchildren do not have ethnicity labels applied to them for this census; however, the Antoine line is now identified as French and First Nation simultaneously. It is evident that there was intermarriage happening between persons identified as French and persons identified as First Nations.
1901 marks a change in the graph since François Antoine and his god-daughter, Elizabeth Grandlouis Commandant (born 1900), are both identified as mixed-ancestry. François Antoine was recorded as being an “Algonquin French Half Breed” while Commandant was labelled “Chippewa FB.” In contrast, his other godchild, Florence Bastien (born 1896), was labelled “Algonquin.” It is interesting to note that the Antoine kin at the top left of this graph was also bestowed the “Algonquin” label that year.
In 1911, François Antoine had no identity label attached to him. However, Florence Bastien, the goddaughter identified previously (number 2 on the graph) went from being Algonquin ten years prior to a French identity label. Jean Baptiste François Commandant (born 1881), identified by the number 3 in this graph, received the “Ojibway” label in the census data. In contrast to her mixed-ancestry label from the previous census, Elizabeth Grandlouis Commandant was identified as Algonquin by census enumerators this time around.
In the 1921 representation of the François Antoine godparent network, no information was found in the census data about the ethnic labels applied to the people under examination. Nevertheless, the Antoine kin represented at the top left of the image changed labels once again and became “French.”

Viewed in sequence, these excerpts from the larger SNA graph reveal the complexities and difficulties associated with using ethnicity or racialization to determine the social and communal identity of a person. What is certain is that the plurality of labels for some of these individuals was rooted in some kind of understanding and categorizing of persons. François Antoine’s census identity changed from “French” to “Algonquin French Half Breed” depending on the whim and perceptions of the enumerators.
Angelique Leclerc (identified in Figure 18 by a black circle) was born on 3 May 1858 at Fort William (Allumette Island). She became the wife of Jocko Takonens and was a long-time resident in the region of study. She was the only woman in the graph of godparents who reached the same level of notoriety as François Antoine with his five godchildren. Angelique Leclerc became the
godmother to: Thérèse Leclerc (born 1895); François Alexandre Leclerc (born 1898); Marie Madeline Crawford (born 1869); Mary Ann Jane Crawford (born 1896); and John Xavier Jacquot Simon (born 1896).

Graph 18: Angelique Leclerc Godparent Network and Census Ethnic Identity – 1861

The first image reveals nothing about the ethnic identities bestowed by the census enumerators. It is important to note that none of the godchildren listed were alive at this point in time.
A decade later, Angelique Leclerc was bestowed the “Indian” identity label by the census enumerator in Deep River. This is the only identity label the godmother received in all of the census data collected. Angelique’s brother Joseph was given the same label that year. In the centre-left of the image, Mary Dorian, another long time Mattawa resident, was identified as “French.”
A decade later, the godmother at the centre of the graph lost her identity label, while many of her immediate kinship relations, like her brother to her left (highlighted in yellow), entered governmental records as “Indian.”
In 1901, Angelique’s nephew François Alexandre (number 1 on Figure 22) was labelled “French” by the enumerator. Two of Leclerc’s goddaughters, the Crawford sisters (numbers 3 and 4) were identified as “S.B” or “Scotch Breed.” Angelique’s brother, Joseph (not in Figure 22), who was the father of François Alexandre, was listed as an “Indian” in the previous census but was now labelled “French.”
A decade later, Angelique’s godson (number 1 in Figure 23) was identified as “Indian” while her goddaughter (number 2), who shares the Leclerc surname, entered the census records as “French.” Perhaps even more problematic are the Crawford sisters (numbers 3 and 4), who were labelled as French (number 3) and Scottish (number 4) on the census. The two were recoded in the Mattawa census as having drastically different backgrounds, which again throws in question the veracity of this information and its subsequent usefulness in determining the ancestral background of individuals.
In 1921, Angelique Leclerc and her godchildren had their identity label recorded in the census data as nothing. Nevertheless, the change in the ethnic labels of the kin relations around her fluctuated once again.

7.2.4 RELIGIOUS NETWORK OBSERVATIONS

The near constant fluctuation of identity labels throughout the region and period of study may be indicative of an instrumentalist approach to identity, which is to say that a person will declare him or herself a member of group x to acquire or gain some sort of benefit or better social standing. Similarly, it may also be indicative of the whims and differences in interpretation of identity and categorizations of persons. Through a closer microhistorical approach, in other words, by undertaking the reconstruction of the biographies of members of this religious network, further insights into the elements that bind the community together in common goals, political aims, and practices can likely be acquired.

While certain members of the godparent network are closely affiliated with (and sometimes listed as a member) of the Nipissing band, the present report argues that differentiation in behaviour is noted in the continued practice of Roman Catholicism by a cluster of persons present in the wider network. The on-and-off presence of the affiliation with European ancestry, the reliance on the Catholic Church and the emphasis on the need to continue this religious affiliation through the hardships of mobility are all elements of mixed-ancestry life that resonate with the experiences of the historic Metis communities of the Great Plains.
First, four of the five persons who travelled to Fort William (Allumette Island) in 1881 to receive the sacrament of confirmation from Bishop Duhamel – William McKenzie, Henriette Leclerc, François (Frank) Leclerc, and Catherine Lamure – are present in the godparent network. These individuals, although highly mobile, all demonstrated their desire to practice Catholicism while remaining affiliated with the region of study.  

Second, the Pétition des sauvages de Mattawa, sent in September 1865 by 43 persons asking for a permanent priest for the Mattawa mission, shares a total of 15 names with the godparent network. Considering that not all of the 43 names are legible, this triangulation is substantial because it demonstrates a long-term affiliation with the Catholic Church and a familiarity with the process of petition making. The fifteen identified signatories include: Amable Dufond (father), Amable Dufond (son), Ignace Dufond, Antoine Simon, Alexandre Antoine, Narcisse Loiron, François Antoine, Alexandre Dufond, Joseph Langevin, Stanislas Langevin (identified as “Tanisse” in the petition), Louison Dufond, Joseph Larivière, Jean Simon, Ignace Bastien, and John Langevin. Although some of these petition signatories have consistently been identified as First Nations, the research team argues that communal practices such as petition making and the demands that accompany it are at the core of the genesis of a distinct political identity.

In the case of François Antoine that was presented above, we have a person who signed a petition in 1865 asking for a permanent priest, who became godfather to five people in his community, and whose marriage was said to have been celebrated “en présence tous les sauvages & Canadiens de Mattawa” or “in the presence of all the sauvages and French Canadians of Mattawa.” This was a man who was identified at one time as “French” and another time as “Algonquin French Half-breed.” Yet, he collected payments in accordance to the Robinson-Huron treaty because of his close affiliation with the Nipissing Band. Reconciling his historical identity, much like the collective identities of the persons represented in the social network graphs, is a complex process, but in so doing we shed light on the makings and markers of distinctions between individuals represented in the Mattawa Genealogical Network. Evidently, the social capital of both Angelique Leclerc and François Antoine was important enough to merit the trust of parents who wished to propagate their family traditions and ritualistic practices. Determining the value gained by the instrumental connections formed in the social network of godparents, or finding out advantages obtained through their respective godparent figure, is beyond the scope of the present report but merits further attention. The social capital model of social network

---

326 Please see genealogical documents for Francois Antoine (G0211).
graph analysis proposes that the more a person has relationships, or links to a community, the more his or her social importance increases in kind.\(^{327}\)

In sum, the two godparents whose networks warranted a closer look represent an end of the nineteenth-century mixed-ancestry Catholicism that was lived amidst drastic changes brought by the impact of settler colonialism in the region. Rituals, practices, and ideas were transmitted through generations of practitioners in the region of study. The Bernard family (Figure 25) show an aunt (b. 1879) becoming godmother to two of her nieces (b. 1898 & 1910). One of her nieces later becomes godmother to a younger cousin (b. 1913). Social influence determines which cultural practices continue through time and space, as highlighted by the representation above.

\(^{327}\) Prell, Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology, 63.
Census data and vital statistics: Occupational data and daily practices

The second major objective of the SNA report takes a closer look at census data and vital statistics on occupations in order to get a better understanding of the different labour realities in the region of study and how networks of trades, particularly guiding, hunting and farming developed. As the twentieth century advanced, day labourers increased in importance, to reach an all time high. Representing a total of 244 labourers, or 21 percent of the Mattawa Genealogical Network, occupational data uncovered by the research team in census and other primary sources helps assess the labour choices made between 1850 and 1920. The census data is not complete and shows only a glimmer of the socioeconomic realities that affected the inhabitants of the region of study. Women’s labour, for instance, is grossly underrepresented by only 4 of 1142 persons in the Mattawa Genealogical Network; one of whom is identified as a “Lady” instead of as having a profession.
Through its collection of information and analysis of data, the research team uncovered a group of 35 guides, 14 of whom were identified as mixed-ancestry in census information. The profession of guiding settlers and tourists into the region of study as a source of income was especially popular between 1901 and 1905.
At the turn of the twentieth century, journeymen and day labourers were the most numerous portion of the identified workforce. These transformations from a mobile to sedentary lifestyle, and from fur trade labour to a new economy (the exploitation of other primary materials) demonstrate the ongoing impact of settlement on the population. Pictured above is this change, emphasized by the presence of the dominating “UK” or unknown category of labour identity. All other identifying features of the nodes and links are in grey.
There are a total of 141 persons identified as mixed-ancestry throughout the census data and their general location in the Master Genealogical Network is outlined above in red. One can see the close familial kinship network with the exception of the red outline below which is still part of the extended network.
In order to acquire more information on the identity of the people represented and their professions, the occupational information was then combined with the ethnic identity categories that encompassed all those identified as mixed-ancestry in light blue, their position on the wider network becomes visible to the eye and easier to track where the key families are in relation to other factors, such as occupation.

The visual information above represents an isolated graph of the 35 men involved in the profession of guiding. 15 of those men are identified as being from mixed-ancestry according to census data gathered between 1861-1921. From this information, the identity of the mixed-ancestry guides and their families begins to be traced through the relationships of kinship that form the network. As ideas and political decisions spread through the close contact of people, so too does the employment of groups of people who frequent the region of study. Above is the visual representation of the guides and those with immediate relations of kinship between them at the top of the graph. Kinship relations are noted between persons who are identified as mixed-ancestry in census data and those who are not.
The caution about the accuracy of the census data remains for this visual representation. This rings especially true because many of the actors in grey had their information attributes populated with “UK” or “unknowns”. Nevertheless, seeing the profession of guiding among distinct family groups is a significant finding and testament to the contagion and spread of ideas and professions alike.

Guiding represents a communal work and social reality for 35 of the 244 labourers identified in the Mattawa Genealogical Network. Both the Bastien and the Ferris families had three guides among their lot between 1901-0905 while the Parent family had two. All three families had relations with the Catholic clergy, some of which were rooted in godparenting while others sought the sacrament of marriage for themselves. In sum, the spaces for communal life and the expression of a distinct communal life seems to have occurred throughout the Mattawa Genealogical Graph. The precise data on the reality of the situation on the ground, however, is lacking in part due to the heavy
reliance on baptismal and census information. Biographical research, which is beyond the scope of this project, could share some light on the specific details of the contours of this mixed-ancestry network that lived, practiced its faith, and worked in and out of the region of study.

At the same time, we see networks of continued practices such as with hunting. The Dufond family exemplifies this practice here. When hunting became impossible, day labour or farming were privileged alternatives. The actor in light blue, Ignace Nias Dufond, worked in a variety of fields throughout his life before listing his occupation as Fire Ranger in 1914. The larger graph of all professions (Graph 24: Occupational Network Mattawa (All Occupations)) offers a closer look at the diversity and at the fluidity of professions through time. At times, multiple professions seem to coincide with long-term residence in Mattawa (or at the very least, being present in the region for more than one census enumeration). In contrast, people who appear to have remained mobile, like the other son of Amable Jan Bon Dufond, Francis, (top of image) were only bestowed one occupation label. All persons represented above were assigned a colour to represent their occupation; the hunters in green the day labourer in
dark blue, and the fire ranger and farmer in orange. The node colour (light blue or grey) represents once again the presence of a mixed-ancestry label identity bestowed upon the individual throughout all of the census data collected.

7.3 **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Due to the partial nature of the data presented above, the social analysis undertaken to help represent the social, economic and familial relationships in the region of study will never be truly complete until thorough information on all of the persons represented in the graph is compiled. Unfortunately, due to reasons of political nature (such as which census categories exist which year), economic nature (such as the need to travel to survive) and the consequential absence of people from census data and societal nature (such as the almost complete erasure of female labour) the graph representations of religious life and labour offer fragments of insights into the community life.

These fragments offer deeper understanding of how information, practices, and labour connections arrange themselves and were passed on to form within the ensemble of genealogical data a cogent space for the development of relationships of “otherness.” The transmission of Catholicism and its political influence are felt in the perseverance and the movements en masse to continue to adhere to the prescriptions of the faith in the light of a clergy that was sometimes interested in ministering to the region and sometimes less so.

The labouring spaces were more fluid. They assembled individuals from all over the Mattawa Genealogical Network in professions shaped by the economic forces that came along with resource exploitation that changed from furs to logs to mining, the establishment of the rail road and an influx of journeymen and shanty towns, in tandem with colonization efforts. Visual representation of family life such as the Dufond (Graph 27) or the Bastiens offer clues as to how individuals may have assembled in specific fields (like guiding) in order to capitalize on the economic changes that saw people no longer able to practice hunting due to the colonial demarcations of the territory and political transfers of land and power like the signing of Treaty 3.

The graphs represented in this report represent the kinship links that are at the core of a diverse community with inner developments and demarcations. Not everyone present therein is active in the demarcation, however, the kin connections between mixed-ancestry, Euro-Canadians and First Nations people are the first element that led to this demarcation which happened beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century and extended to the end of the period of study, as persons in the network increasingly settled in the Mattawa region to seek out its long term prospects.

7.3.1 **NEXT STEPS**

A logical first step before undertaking further SNA analysis on the region of study would require investigation of the primary source material that was not available to the research team at the time of the study. For instance, materials housed at the Oblate archives (that were closed to the public during the project’s data collection phase) such as baptismal registers and travelogues would likely help fill in the information gaps in the data set. Once the additional research is completed, importation
of the attribute (categories of analysis) data and the re-creation of the relationships between the actors in the graph would be more accurately represented visually. Other analyses could also be undertaken at a micro- and at a macro-level.

On a micro-level, a visual comparative analysis of the census and religious attribute data for all of the family groups present in the region of study would add to the documented shared cultural practices between groups. Comparing the realities of kinship development, labour relations, and religious practices would in turn help explain the social structures at play in the region of study. On a macro-level (of the 1142 persons represented in the graph), quantitative analyses could be undertaken to compare and contrast the differences in census representations of identity through time for all 1142 present in the graph. A more careful interpretation of the historical growth of kinship ties between mixed-ancestry and other persons in the region of study, like a biographical look at familial growth and incorporation, could offer insights on the lifeways of the population. These inquiries are but a fraction of the possible realms of exploration offered through the lens of SNA. Historical reconstruction of networks of local actors and communities are among future research opportunities that await the field of Métis Studies and research on mobile populations who settled in or passed through the region of study.