

Historical Profile of the Lake Superior Study Area's
Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community

FINAL REPORT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map: The proposed Lake Superior NMCA	3
Executive Summary	4
Methodology/Introduction	5
Comments on Terminology	6
Chapter 1: Study Region from the 17th Century to the 1840s	8
Ojibway Indians residing on the North Shore of Lake Superior	8
Europeans and the Study Area	9
Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774	12
Mention of Mixed-Ancestry people in the Study Region	15
Chapter 2: Aboriginal Pressure for a Treaty Relationship	25
Louis Agassiz and the Study Region, 1848	28
Treaty Exploratory Commission	28
Mica Bay, 1849	33
Vidal and Anderson Report	35
Government Instructions about Treaty Terms	37
Robinson Travels to Sault Ste. Marie	38
Request for Recognition of “Halfbreed” rights	40
Negotiation of the Robinson-Superior Treaty	40
Chapter 3: Post-Treaty Government Activity	44
“Halfbreed” inclusion in Robinson-Superior Treaty Annuity Paylists	44
Postal Service in the Study Region	46
Crown Activity between 1853 and 1867	46
Chapter 4: Settlement, Resource Development, and Government Administration within the Study Region, 1864-1901	51
Policing	53
Post Office and Railroad	55
Census Information and the Study Region	58
1871, 1881, and 1891 Censuses – Nipigon	59
1881 Census – Silver Islet	61
1901 Census – Nipigon Township (including Dorion), Rossport (including Pays Plat), and Schreiber	62
Small townships not included in early Censuses	63

Concluding Summary	65
Ethnogenesis	65
Indicators of effective European control	65
Appendix A: Individuals and families of mixed ancestry who worked and/or may have resided within the study region	68
The de Laronde family (de La Ronde, Laronde)	68
The Bouchard family	71
The Deschamps family	73
Miscellaneous mixed-ancestry individuals, or individuals who have mixed-ancestry children	75
Appendix B: Reference List	79



Executive Summary

The study region is the Lake Superior north shore stretching from Thunder Cape on the west to Bottle Point on the east. The study area focuses on the north shore of Lake Superior (roughly along the Trans-Canada Highway), adjacent islands, and the proposed Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area. The study area includes such population centres as Terrace Bay, Schreiber, Rossport, Pays Plat, Red Rock, Dorion / Hurkett, Ouimet, Pearl, Pass Lake, and Silver Islet. Also included in the study area are the Black Bay Peninsula, St. Ignace Island, Simpson Island, Salter Island, Wilson Island, Cooper Island, and the Slate Islands.

Ethnogenesis

By the late seventeenth century, the population of the Lake Superior north shore study region, with virtually no exceptions, was Ojibway Indian. It is likely that Europeans first passed through the study region in the 1620s. As early as the latter half of the 17th century, two Jesuit missions had been established, one on the extreme southwestern side of Lake Superior and the other in the area of Sault Ste. Marie on the eastern side.

Toward the end of the 17th century, the French constructed fur trade posts at the mouth of the Nipigon River within the study region and on Lake Nipigon, some 80 miles to the north of the study region. In 1717, another French post developed on the Kaministiquia River (Thunder Bay area) some 25 miles away from the westernmost boundary of the study region. No historical records have been uncovered indicating that children of French and Ojibway parents were born at these posts, though it is possible such births took place.

Following the 1760 conquest of New France, British fur traders began to extend their operations into the western Great Lakes region below the “height of the land”. Toward the end of the century, the two dominant companies in the region were the Montreal headquartered North West Company (NWC) and the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC). While the NWC and the HBC engaged in a fur trade rivalry throughout western Canada (prior to amalgamation in 1821), the rivalry seemed less intense in the study region.

Throughout the western Great Lakes region a number of fur trade employees intermarried with local populations of Ojibway Indians as well as mixed-ancestry descendants of fur traders and local Indian populations. Missionary, HBC, NWC, and government records make evident that during the first half of the 19th century, the Lake Superior north shore was peopled by Ojibway Indians and a small number of fur traders, some of whom were mixed-ancestry people. Historians and Métis researchers agree that any ethnogenesis that may have occurred was “intimately tied to the fur trade”.

Yet within the study region it is not evident that a community, or communities, of mixed-ancestry people, who either shared the lifeways of the Ojibway Indians or developed

distinctive cultural practices and traditions, evolved prior to the implementation of “effective European control”.

Indicators of effective European Control

Beginning in the 17th century Europeans began traveling along the Lake Superior north shore. French traders established a trading post in the late 17th century within the study region. Following the conquest of New France in 1760, British traders began to journey and trade within the study region.

During the course of our research we hypothesized that indicators of “effective European control” might include the establishment of sovereign territorial boundaries, application of laws, enforcement of laws, establishment of missions and fur trade posts, provision of postal services, granting of mining licenses and state approved resource development, military incursions, and treaty negotiation.

Throughout recorded history, the region of the north shore of Lake Superior has been one of the more remote areas of western Ontario. Available primary sources regarding this region are somewhat plentiful, yet there is a paucity of material concerning the emergence of a mixed-ancestry community prior to the evolution of “effective European control” which took place between 1774 and 1867.

Methodology/Introduction

The aim of this report is to analytically review and document the facts relating to the emergence of a mixed Indian-European community within the study region of the Lake Superior north shore in Ontario. Specifically, we were asked to identify the ethnogenesis of any mixed-ancestry settlement including the date by which this mixed-ancestry population emerged. In regard to an emerging mixed-ancestry population we were instructed to describe and document “distinctive cultural” practices, customs, or traditions, including what might have distinguished the mixed-ancestry population from other ethnic groups in the study region. We were also asked to describe and document various indicators relating to when “effective European control” in the area might have been established.

In accordance with our research criteria we developed a detailed research plan and identified wide-ranging historical sources for examination. We ‘cast our net wide’ and undertook an extensive primary research effort culminating in our review of 263 record sources consisting of primary historical documents as well as published primary and secondary monographs.

A large number of the sources we reviewed were located within the Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Among the records examined at LAC were RG 3 (Records of the Post Office), RG 7 (Records of the Office of the Governor General), RG 10 (Records relating to Indian Affairs), RG 13 (Records of the Department of Justice), RG 31 (Records of

Statistics Canada), and RG 45 (Records of the Geological Survey of Canada). We also examined manuscript group collections at LAC which included MG 17 (Methodist Missionary Fonds), MG 19 (North West Company Fonds), MG 20 (Hudson's Bay Company Records), and MG 40 (Mining and Lake Superior). However, it must be noted that the use of Euro- and Canadian-centric archival and published documentary materials made it difficult at times to adequately represent the Aboriginal perspective in regard to the study region.

We also examined records held at the Ontario Archives, the Department of Indian Affairs, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (on-line database), United Church of Canada Archives, Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Gabriel Dumont Institute (on-line database), the Parks Canada Knowledge Centre, the Roots Web Métis Archives and the on-line site for the Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association.

Researchers made copies of every document adjudged possibly relevant within the reviewed record sources, in addition to reviewing and copying relevant published materials. The resulting narrative historical report is based upon an analytic review of these materials and they provide a factual foundation for the report. Our fundamental aim was to identify and chart the early history of a mixed-ancestry community in the Lake Superior north shore study region. However, it must be noted that following our detailed review of the abovementioned repositories it became increasingly unlikely that a settlement of mixed-ancestry people, with distinctive cultural practices and traditions, emerged in the study region prior to the evolution of effective European control.

Comments on Terminology

Hudson's Bay Company records, as well as diaries, travelogues, missionary records and official government records from the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, are sprinkled with descriptions of mixed-ancestry people that may be deemed offensive and/or racist in the present day. The terms "Halfbreed", "breed", "Métis", "Freeman", "Northmen", "French Canadese Indian", and "Canadian Indian" are used within many of the historical documents, rather than more contemporary terms such as "mixed-ancestry" or "Euro-Indian". Within the context of these documents, these terms appear to have been used to define people descended from both Indians and non-Indians. However, care must be taken when encountering the terms "Freemen", "Northmen", and "Canadian Indian" in the historical documents as, in the study area, it is rarely explicit that the term directly relates to a mixed-ancestry person.

In the narrative report, the terminology that appears in the supporting documents and published primary sources cited within particular paragraphs is used. Therefore, when the reader encounters words such as "Halfbreed", "halfbreed", or "Métis" it is because this word is used within the primary documentation or published monograph that is being discussed or used as factual support for that particular piece of narrative.

The reader will also notice the various spellings for “Kinistino” Indians within the report. A number of variations for the word include “Kinistinos”, “Kiristinos”, and “Kilistinos”. This term was often used to describe Ojibway Indians as well as Cree Indians living further west. It should be noted that the French often referred to Ojibway Indians as “Saulteur”, or “Saulteur”. Within the report we attempt to reproduce the spelling used by the author of a particular document or published monograph.

Chapter 1: Study Region from the 17th Century to the 1840s

Ojibway Indians residing on the North Shore of Lake Superior

A number of anthropologists are on record with the opinion that the fur trade and missionary influences had probably reached the Northern Ojibway by 1610, first indirectly through tribes such as the Huron, and by the 1620s directly through Europeans themselves. It is likely that these early relationships modified somewhat the Ojibway technology and system of trade alliances with other tribes.¹

The sociopolitical organization of the Northern Ojibway during the late 1700s and early 1800s is not easily identifiable. The people appear to have been organized in bands, the core of which consisted of an elder and his married sons with male affines often included.² As a result, the extended family "... may have numbered between 20 and 40 people. With the addition of other nuclear families, most likely relatives, the total aggregate may have been anywhere from 50 to possibly 75 individuals."³

Senior members of the core family led individual bands. Normally, but not always, these individuals acted as the "trade-chiefs".⁴ Leadership appears to have been based on the ability to secure abundant trade goods, to excel as a hunter, and to command superior religious knowledge. However, Ojibway leadership was based on persuasion or charisma and not upon autocracy. Individual band members could sever their allegiance at will.⁵

Following contact with European traders, the nature of Ojibway bands changed somewhat with the development of "trading post bands". Dr. Charles Bishop discusses the concept of trading post bands in the following manner:

The regular association of 200 or more Indians with a trading post such as Fort Albany created a "trading post band." (Formerly these Indians had made up autonomous hunting groups.) This relationship and the growing importance of fur-bearing animals to the Native economy may have altered property concepts in some regions ... Although families did not hunt in the same area every year, in the words of John Oldmixon, who wrote in 1741, 'hunting

¹ Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and The Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1974), 8.

² Edward S. Rogers and J. Garth Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Ed. June Helm, Vol. 6-Subarctic (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 233. Note: "Affines" are male relatives who have married into the family.

³ Rogers and Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa", 233.

⁴ Rogers and Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa", 233.

⁵ Rogers and Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa", 233.

grounds were assigned to families or to members by the head of the families every autumn.’⁶

Prior to the late 18th and early 19th centuries, anthropological data is too limited to allow the definition of a regular yearly cycle for the Northern Ojibway.⁷ It seems that the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the latter stages of the 18th century made trapping easy. The Ojibway obtained trade goods with little effort, particularly in areas where the fur trading companies directly competed with each other:

In the region north of Lake Superior, beaver remained the predominant fur-bearing animal taken by Indians until 1810. Thereafter, the quantities of other species increased as beaver grew increasingly scarce. This change reflected the Indians’ new emphasis on fur trapping.⁸

By the end of the 18th century, bands generally assembled at the trading posts in the early part of the summer to await the arrival of the brigades that brought new “outfits” (supplies for the posts) for the coming season. Occasionally, such concentrations of Indians exhausted the supply of food in the immediate vicinity of the posts and starvation occurred.⁹ From the time of contact until about 1821, the Northern Ojibway became increasingly dependent upon finished trade goods, which they secured in return for furs.¹⁰

Europeans and the Study Area

In June of 1671, an unidentified Jesuit reported that a council took place at Sault Ste. Marie between Monsieur de Saint Luson, a number of unidentified French nationals, and representatives of fourteen surrounding Indian Nations. The French began the meeting by planting a cross and the King’s standard and then M. de Saint Luson claimed possession of the region in the name of the King.¹¹

⁶ Charles A. Bishop, “Northern Algonquians, 1550-1760,” *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, Eds. Edward S. Rogers & Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 283.

⁷ Rogers and Taylor, “Northern Ojibwa”, 232.

⁸ Charles A. Bishop, “Northern Algonquians, 1760-1821,” *Aboriginal Ontario Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, Eds. Edwards S. Rogers & Donald B. Smith (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1994), 294.

⁹ Rogers and Taylor, “Northern Ojibwa”, 232.

¹⁰ In 1821, the North West Company amalgamated with the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) ending many decades of intense rivalry toward gaining allegiance and trade privileges with Indians who trapped furs. The Northern Ojibway lifestyle changed quickly due to HBC closure of many fur trade posts resulting from the depletion of fur-bearing animals and wide-scale reduction in the trade of finished goods.

¹¹ Relation of 1670-71, 1671 [circa]. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, Ed. R. G. Thwaites, Vol. LV (Cleveland: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1899), 107-115.

Simon Francois Daumont Esquire, Sieur de St. Lusson, Commissioner subdelegate of the Intendent of New France, submitted a more detailed report about the June 1671 meeting. He explained that he had carried out his orders to search for potential mining locations and take possession “of all the country inhabited and uninhabited wherever we should pass”. He described a June 14 meeting at Sault Ste. Marie between Jesuits and French military officers on the one hand and representatives of fourteen Indian Nations on the other. He explained that his Commission had been publicly interpreted to the Indians by Sieur Nicolas Perrot and that he then claimed all of the land in the name of King Louis XIV:

... saying three times in a loud voice and with public outcry, that In the name of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis, the XIVth of the Christian Name, King of France and Navarre, we take possession of the said place of St. Mary of the Falls as well as of Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientolon [Manitoulin] and of all other Countries, rivers, lakes and tributaries, contiguous and adjacent thereto, as well discovered as to be discovered ... crying *Vive la Roi*, and making the whole of the assembly as well French as Indians repeat the same; declaring to the aforesaid Nations that henceforward as from this moment they were dependent on his Majesty, subject to be controlled by his laws and to follow his customs¹²

Nicolas Perrot, interpreter, recalled the gathering at Sault Ste. Marie. He explained that he had summoned a large number of Chiefs to come to the meeting, “where we were to plant the stake and fasten to it the arms of France, in order to take possession of the Outaouis country.”¹³ Perrot recalled that when he arrived at Sault Ste. Marie he found Indian Chiefs from the north as well as Chiefs from the “Kiristinos”, “Monsonis”, and other bands. He reported that the Chiefs of the “Nepissings” attended along with those of the “Amikouets” and “Saulteurs”:

...
The stake was planted in their presence, and the arms of France were attached to it with the consent of all the tribes – who, as they could not write, gave presents for their signatures, affirming thus that they placed themselves under the protection of the king, and in subjection to him. The official report of this taking possession was then drawn up, on which I placed my signature as interpreter, with that of Sieur de Saint Lusson, the

¹² Simon Francois Daumont de St Lusson to Intendant of New France, June 14, 1671. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. IX (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1855), 803-804.

¹³ Nicolas Perrot, interpreter, 1671. Emma Helen Blair, trans. & ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. I (Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), 222.

deputy; the reverend missionary fathers Dablon, Allouez, Dreuillette, and Marquet signed it farther down; and below these, the Frenchmen who were then trading in those quarters After that, all those peoples returned to their respective abodes, and lived many years without any trouble in any quarter.¹⁴

It is highly implausible that this action by a French official was sufficient to implement “effective European control” in the lands north of Lakes Superior and Huron.¹⁵

A 1671 Jesuit map delineates Lake Superior and portions of Lakes Huron and Michigan. On the extreme southwestern end of Lake Superior the Jesuits identified a mission called “Mission of Saint Esprit”.¹⁶ An unidentified author provided information about “Kilistinons” and other Indians who maintained hunting territories along the north shore of Lake Superior:

... the Kilistinons are dispersed through the whole Region to the North of this Lake [91] Superior, - possessing neither corn, nor fields, nor any fixed abode; but forever wandering through those vast Forests, and seeking a livelihood there by hunting. There are also other Nations in those districts, for that reason called “the peoples of the Interior,” or of the North Sea.¹⁷

Thirteen years later, Greysolon du Lhut wrote to M. De la Barre and reported on the establishment of a post on Lake Alemipigon [Nipigon] and a plan to build a second post in the territory of the “Kilistinos” Indians.¹⁸ On August 25, 1687, the Marquis de

¹⁴ Nicolas Perrot, interpreter, 1671. Emma Helen Blair, trans. & ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. I (Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), 224-225.

¹⁵ Cornelius Jaenen argues that the French made formal claims of possession to land through symbolic acts (“prises de possession”) similar to the acts undertaken by Simon Francois Daumont Esquire, Sieur de St. Lusson in June of 1671 at Sault Ste. Marie. Jaenen noted that, “The French never doubted their right unilaterally to acquire lands not already under Christian control ... In their prises de possession they asserted their rights against their European rivals and did not consider the question of Native entitlement.” See Cornelius J. Jaenen, “The French Relationship with the Native Peoples of New France and Acadia”, prepared for Research Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984, 25-29.

¹⁶ “Lac Supérieur et autres lieux ou sont les missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus comprises sous le nom D'Outaovacs”. R. Gentilcore and C. Grant, *Ontario's History in Maps* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 16-17.

¹⁷ Relation of 1670-71, 1671 [circa]. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, Vol. LV (Cleveland: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1899), 107-115.

¹⁸ Greysolon du Lhut to M. de la Barre, September 10, 1684. Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, Mémoires et documents originaux, Vol. 6 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879-88), 50-51.

Denonville reported that Claude Greysolon de la Tourette stated that he had been trading with more than 1,500 Indians in the Lake Nipigon area.¹⁹

Sixty years later, in 1744, Arthur Dobbs provided an account describing the geography of lands adjoining Hudson's Bay, including the north shore of Lake Superior, and developed a map of the region.²⁰ He also mentioned the area of Pic River [immediately adjacent to the easternmost boundary of the study region] and islands off the north shore of Superior. Dobbs reported he garnered his information from a mixed-ancestry trader named Joseph la France, a "French Canadese Indian" born at Missilimackinac [present-day Michigan] of a "Saulteur" mother and French father.

Joseph la France informed Dobbs that in 1739 he hunted and lived with his mother's people on the north side of Lake Superior, an area he had hunted and traded in for the preceding fourteen years. While la France mentioned three islands, "about 3 Leagues from the Shore; they are about 3 or 4 Leagues each in Circumference. One of them he calls *Isle du Lignon*", he did not mention any hunting or fishing activities associated with these islands. M. la France stayed part of the winter with the Indians at Michipicoten and then journeyed along the north shore reaching a frozen Pic River in March of 1739. He did not mention any Indians at that location but remarked on large numbers of beaver in the area.²¹

Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774

Shortly after the Treaty of Paris formalized the cession of New France to Britain in February 1763, the Lords of Trade informed Sir William Johnson that the King had instructed them to ascertain the "true state of Indian Affairs."²² The Lords of Trade favoured establishing a hunting territory within which neither land grants nor settlements would be allowed:

... we have proposed to His Majesty that a proclamation should be issued declaratory of His Majesty's final determination to permit no grants of lands nor any settlement to be made within certain

¹⁹ Marquis de Denonville to Marquis de Seignelay, August 25, 1687. Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, Mémoires et documents originaux, Vol. 6 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879-88), 52.

²⁰ "A New Map of Part of North America ... as described by Joseph LaFrance a French Canadese Indian who traveled thro those Countries and lakes for 3 years from 1739 to 1742", 1742 [circa]. K. Kershaw, *Early Printed Maps of Canada*, Vol. III (Ancaster: Kershaw Pub., 1993-1998).

²¹ Arthur Dobbs, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay in the North-West Part of America* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1744), 28-33 [1967 reprint by Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York].

²² Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson, August 5, 1763. E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII (Albany, New York: Weed Parsons, 1856), 535. Hereinafter cited as O'Callaghan, NYCD.

fixed bounds under pretense of purchase or any pretext whatever, leaving all the territory within these bounds free for the hunting grounds of the Indian Nations and for the free trade of all his subjects.²³

King George III issued the *Royal Proclamation* on October 7, 1763. The *Royal Proclamation* established the boundaries of the colonies,²⁴ government structure, regulations for settling disbanded soldiers, and provided guidelines for Indian policy. One objective of the Proclamation was to create uniform Indian policy regarding Indian land both inside and outside of the established colonies and to regulate trade to allay Indian discontent.

The Proclamation stated that it was:

... essential to our Interests and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of our Dominions and as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.²⁵

The land outside of the colonies and the Hudson's Bay territory, including the land around the Great Lakes [incorporates land within the study area] and in present-day northern Quebec, was protected as Indian country "under Our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion". It could only be purchased or occupied with the permission of the Crown. Land transactions were subject to the Crown's prior consultation and approval. British subjects were expressly forbidden from purchasing, settling, or taking possession of any of these lands without first obtaining special permission and license. Persons settled on lands that the Crown had not purchased were ordered to remove themselves.²⁶

The *Royal Proclamation* did not overtly assert sovereignty over the Indian nations but described them as nations or tribes "with whom we are connected" and "who live under Our Protection." In dealing with land, however, the Proclamation assumes jurisdiction as it made specific provisions for protecting reserved land inside colonies and creating an Indian territory where Indian use of land was safeguarded under "Our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion."

²³ Lords of Trade to Johnson, August 5, 1763. O'Callaghan, *NYCD*, Vol. VII, 535.

²⁴ Quebec was established as a new colony encompassing the portion of New France along the St. Lawrence corridor; much of the former land claimed by the French was outside of Quebec.

²⁵ *The Royal Proclamation*, October 7, 1763. Gail Hinge, comp., *Consolidation of Indian Legislation*, Vol. 1: United Kingdom and Canada (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 5.

²⁶ *The Royal Proclamation*, October 7, 1763. Gail Hinge, comp., *Consolidation of Indian Legislation*, Vol. 1: United Kingdom and Canada, 6.

British officials appeared to believe that the French Crown had dealt with Aboriginal title in their former colonies and consequently land ceded by the French through international treaties could be delivered in an unencumbered state. The same fundamental principle was applied to the original portion of Quebec that later became Lower Canada, that is the settled area of New France along the St. Lawrence corridor. Interestingly, this principle was not applied to the land west of the Ottawa River and around the Great Lakes, which was added to the Colony of Quebec when it was extended in 1774.²⁷ This included lands north of Lakes Superior and Huron extending to the “height of the land” which demarcated the territory held by the HBC under Royal Charter.²⁸

In 1792, the Crown enacted *An Act Introducing English Civil Law Into Upper Canada, In The Thirty-Second Year of George The Third, 1792*.²⁹ The Crown also enacted *An Act Establishing Trial By Jury In Upper Canada, In The Thirty-Second Year Of George The Third, 1792*. This latter Act was passed to make further provision for governing the Province of Quebec by instituting trial by jury in accordance with English law:

That from and after the first day of December, in this present year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Two, all and every issue and issues of fact, which shall be joined in any action, real, personal or mixed, and brought in any of His Majesty’s Court of Justice within the Province aforesaid, shall be tried and determined by the unanimous verdict of twelve Jurors, duly sworn for the trial of such issue of issues, which Jurors shall be summoned and taken conformably to the Law and customs of England.³⁰

In accordance with these two Acts, the Crown signified its intention to enforce English law and establish jury trials throughout the Province of Quebec. As noted previously, within the *Quebec Act* the boundaries of the Province of Quebec incorporated the north shore of Lake Superior to the height of the land, thereby encompassing study region lands.

Mention of Mixed-Ancestry people in the Study Region

²⁷ In accordance with the Treaty of Paris, 1763, the French ceded New France. The British created the Colony of Quebec, which encompassed land east of the Proclamation line along the St. Lawrence Corridor and Ottawa River. Quebec was greatly extended in 1774 to include the land around the Great Lakes, including what is now the southern portion of Ontario.

²⁸ *The Quebec Act, 1774*, 14 Geo III, c. 83. A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-[1828]*, Vol. I (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1918-1935), 137-140.

²⁹ *An Act Introducing Civil Law Into Upper Canada, in the Thirty-Second Year of George The Third, 1792*. Doughty and McArthur, trans., *Constitutional Documents* (Ottawa: Canadian Public Archives, 1914).

³⁰ *An Act Establishing Trial by Jury in Upper Canada, in the Thirty-Second Year of George The Third, 1792*. Doughty and McArthur, trans., *Constitutional Documents* (Ottawa: Canadian Public Archives, 1914).

On July 4, 1777, John Long, an interpreter and fur trader, reported that on a journey to Lac La Mort (north-east of Lake Nipigon) his party arrived at Pays Plat, located within the study region. They immediately initiated trade with a group of about 150 Indians, “most of them were of the Chippeway tribes the rest of the nation were of the Wasses”.³¹ On a return journey the following year, Long reported that in August of 1778 he encountered other traders at Pays Plat.³² In 1779, he mentioned meeting traders at Pays Plat “who had also wintered in the islands”.³³ This seems to be a reference to islands within the study region.

A local historian writing about the history of the Pic River area claims that an 1802 NWC record identified the presence of three fur trade posts at Pic with a total of four clerks and interpreters and ten other men.³⁴ In July of 1805, Alexander Henry the Younger provided a “Report Of Northwest Population, 1805”. He included a breakdown of population for Nipigon, Kamanistiquia, and Le Pic (Pic River). Henry itemized 16 white men, 2 white women, and 3 white children at Le Pic and 90 white men, 20 white women, and 20 white children at Nipigon (some 80 miles to the north of the study region). A footnote written by Elliot Coues, editor of Henry’s manuscript journals, commented that, “In this census the Indian wives and half-breed children appear to be enumerated as “whites”: there were no white women in the country.”³⁵

At the North West Company 1806 annual meeting held July 14 at Fort William, a new policy was announced forbidding any company employees or engagés from living with Indian women, “after the fashion of the North West”:

It was suggested that the number of women and Children in the Country was a heavy burthen to the Concern & that some remedy ought to be applied to check so great an evil, at least if nothing effectual could be done to suppress it entirely – It was therefore resolved that every practicable means should be used throughout the Country to reduce by degrees the number of women maintained by the Company.³⁶

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- ³¹ John Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1971 [Originally published in London, 1791]), 45.
- ³² John Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, 101-102.
- ³³ John Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, 140.
- ³⁴ Jean Boulton, *Pic, Pulp and People: A History of the Marathon District* ([Marathon, Ont.]: Marathon Area Centennial Committee, 1967), 7.
- ³⁵ Alexander Henry the Younger, “Report of Northwest Population 1805”, July 3, 1805. E. Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry Fur Trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson Official Geographer and Explorer of the Same Company, 1799-1814*, Vol. I (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines Inc., 1965), 282.
- ³⁶ North West Company Fonds 1798-1811. LAC MG 19 B-1 Minutes of the North West Company, June 30/1801 - Jan 8/1811, Vol. 2, pp. 43-44W. See also Stewart Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, 1934), 210-211, cited in Bruce M. White, “The Woman Who Married a Beaver: Trade patterns and Gender Roles in the Ojibwa Fur Trade”, *Ethnohistory* Vol. 46, No. 1 (Winter 1999), 133.

This became a significant policy change by the NWC as over the previous decades the company encouraged relationships between employees and Indian women. Two anthropologists argue that this 1806 decree against co-habiting with Indian women was an attempt to ensure that “a large number of mixed-blood girls would find husbands within the fur trade to support them.”³⁷

In 1818, Charles de Reinhard was accused of murdering an HBC employee in Indian territory and was tried at Quebec City.³⁸ A jurisdiction issue raised at the trial concerned the location of the western boundary of Upper Canada. A surveyor testified in court that the boundary of the old Province of Quebec would have extended westward to a line approximately one degree east of Fort William at the west end of Lake Superior.³⁹ This jurisdiction issue relates to the location of the westernmost boundary of the Province of old Quebec as delineated by the *Quebec Act*. It would appear that the court accepted that it could apply legal authority anywhere, including study region lands, within the bounds of the old province.

In April of 1818, Solomon Mettleburger, HBC, Long Lake, corresponded with James Tate, HBC, in regard to a dispute about fur trading rights between the HBC and the NWC. At one point Mettleburger mentioned that laws had been extended to the Indian territories and that the Indians had the right of free passage over all the country.⁴⁰ Three years later, the Crown enacted *An Act for regulating the Fur Trade and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain Parts of North America*. Among other matters, this Act extended jurisdiction of the courts in Upper Canada to Indian territories and other parts not within the limits of Lower or Upper Canada.⁴¹

An HBC post opened at Pays Plat in 1822. The Pays Plat Post closed in 1827 and would not reopen until 1859 (as an outpost for the Pic Post).⁴² During the early to mid-1820s, John J. Bigsby, Secretary and Medical Officer to the British Boundary Commission, made a number of exploratory journeys in the Great Lakes region. At one point he journeyed to Pic River (within the study region) and noted that the “River Peek [sic] takes its name from an Indian word, signifying mud”. Bigsby explained that the river led

³⁷ Gwen Reimer and Jean-Philippe Chartrand, “Documenting Historic Métis in Ontario”, *Ethnohistory* Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 2004), 583.

³⁸ Elizabeth Arthur ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1973), xxiv.

³⁹ Testimony of William Sax in the trial of Charles de Reinhard, 1818. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892; A Collection of Documents*, 3-4 (A-1).

⁴⁰ Solomon Mettleberger to James Tate, April 30, 1818. LAC MG 20 B. 117-a-3 Long Lake Post Journals Reel 1M72.

⁴¹ *An Act for regulating the Fur Trade and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain Parts of North America*. I & II George IV Cap. LXVI (London: Printed by George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1821).

⁴² Archives of Manitoba - Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, keyword “Pays Plat” [accessed 2007/05/22].

to Long Lake a distance of 180 or 200 miles from Lake Superior, near the height of the land.⁴³

Bigby provided a description of the Pic fur trading post and environs:

At the mouth of the Peek River the Hudson's Bay Company have a fort – a picketed square formed by the superintendent's [sic] house, other dwellings, and storehouses.

Peek Bay is of moderate size; its north arm is a line of woody steeps, with several thickly-timbered islets at its west end.

...

Seventeen miles and a half by canoe route, north-west from the River Peek, is Peek Island, opposite a lofty and broad promontory of fissured, dull-red rock. It is several miles round, and has three naked summits. One of these 760 feet high, I ascended, while our astronomer trafficked for fish with an Indian canoe lying under its lee.⁴⁴

Bigby also remarked on a Pic Island cove he described as "Bottle Cove Cape".^{45*}

Continuing the journey along the north shore, Bigby described Black River and some seven miles to the west the "Written Rocks" or the "Petits Ecrits". These rocks were identified as a fishing station in 1828 by the HBC factor at the Pic Post.⁴⁶ Bigby described a picture of an "Indian firing at two animals" on the Written Rocks and remarked on a cross set up by a traveler as a memorial to a drowned companion.⁴⁷

Bigby described the distance from Cape Verd (adjacent to the Written Rocks) to Fort William as a distance of 90 to 95 miles with the shore divided into three large bays – Nipigon, Black, and Thunder Bay. He noted that Nipigon Bay, some 36 miles across, contained a "dense belt of large and small islands, which, taken together, are denominated "The Pays Plat," a translation from the Chippewa language, and refers only to the shallow black or red floor of the lake hereabouts."⁴⁸

⁴³ John J. Bigsby, Secretary and Medical Officer, British Boundary Commission, June 1822-1823 [circa], *The Shoe and Canoe, or Pictures of Travel in The Canadas*, Vol. II (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850), 214-215.

⁴⁴ John J. Bigsby, June 1822-1823 [circa], *The Shoe and Canoe*, ..., Vol. II, 215-216.

⁴⁵ John J. Bigsby, June 1822-1823 [circa], *The Shoe and Canoe*, ..., Vol. II, 217.

* The 1829-1830 Pic Post Journal noted that a fishing station identified as "Pêche à la Gros Truites" was located at Bottle Bay, or "La Anse aux Bouteilles". See John Swanston, HBC, Pic Post Journal, 1829-1830. LAC MG 20 B. 162-a-3 Pic Post Journals Reel 1M117.

⁴⁶ John Swanston, Pic, to Donald McIntosh, Lake Nipigon, September 27, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-2 Reel 1M117.

⁴⁷ John J. Bigsby, June 1822-1823 [circa], *The Shoe and Canoe*, ..., Vol. II, 222.

⁴⁸ John J. Bigsby, June 1822-1823 [circa], *The Shoe and Canoe*, ..., Vol. II, 223.

On June 30, 1823, Major Joseph Delafield, Agent to the American Boundary Commission, provided comments in his diary about a canoe trip between Michipicoten and Fort William. During the journey he met an encampment of “free-men” discharged by the HBC and returning to their homes at Red River. Delafield commented favourably about the importance of these “free-men” to the fur trade and noted their connection with Indians:

Engagees [sic] of the Hudson’s Bay Co. when their term of service is expired are called free-men. During their engagements they are slaves in a sense that none but Canadians could endure. In short, the more I see of Canadian-French, their mode of life, and connection with the Indians, the more I feel assured that without this very race of men, the fur trade of the North could not be carried on. They are more hardy than the Indian, are far more capable in the canoe, and in Winter will soon break down the Indian if traveling on snow shoes or with trains⁴⁹

Delafield arrived at Fort William a week later. He remarked that the post appeared run down and that a field nearby “was always occupied by the North Men, or people who wintered in the Indian country”. While Delafield did not differentiate among these men, there seems little doubt that a number of these “North Men” would have been mixed-ancestry people. Mr. Stewart, Chief Factor, informed Delafield that, in 1818, eight hundred “North Men” were encamped in the field and proved a riotous group. Delafield remarked that Stewart himself married a “native & has a very large family, mostly girls.”⁵⁰ In a footnote, Elizabeth Arthur commented that shortly thereafter Roderick McKenzie replaced Stewart, accompanied by his wife who was a Nipigon Indian. McKenzie’s three mixed-ancestry sons all worked in the fur trade.⁵¹

Major Delafield continued to press for a firm boundary line between the United States and British territory in the western Great Lakes region. When his British counterparts suggested a boundary line near the present-day location of Duluth, Minnesota, Delafield suggested a boundary just below Fort William. It was not until 1842 that the international boundary line was located where Delafield had proposed it.⁵²

In 1824, John Haldane, Chief Factor, Lake Superior District, HBC, submitted a report to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company entitled “Report on the State of the Country and Indians in Lake Superior Department.” Haldane divided his report into four parts:

⁴⁹ Joseph Delafield, Agent to the American Boundary Commission, June 30, 1823. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 5-6 (C-2).

⁵⁰ Joseph Delafield, Agent to the American Boundary Commission, July 6, 1823. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 57-59.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 59, footnote 4.

⁵² Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, xxv.

Fort William, Lake Nipigon, the Pic, and Michipicoton. Concerning “the Pic” he identified two inland posts (Long Lake & Black River) requiring a clerk and three men. Haldane described the area as a “poor country for the Indian and where they generally starve much in Winter – Even Rabbits in many places are scarce & no fish to be taken in winter.”⁵³

On May 21, 1827 a HBC council took place at Michipicoten attended by Governor Simpson, John Haldane, and other employees of the HBC. The minutes of the meeting record a number of resolutions, some of which related to mixed-ancestry people in the Southern Department of Rupert’s Land (including the Lake Superior District). Resolution 62 concerned efforts to prevent Indians, Halfbreeds, and Freemen trappers who received supply advances from one post providing payment at another post. Resolution 75 stipulated that servants of the HBC wishing to leave their “country born families” had to make some provision for them. Resolution 80 decreed that women and children were to be provided with useful employment and Resolution 81 stated that mothers and children should receive instruction in the “vernacular dialect of the Father”.⁵⁴

These particular HBC resolutions suggest a growing population of mixed-ancestry people connected to the fur trade in the Southern Department of Rupert’s Land. However, it is unknown how many mixed-ancestry people, if any, were residing permanently in the study region. There is also no evidence that any mixed-ancestry settlements were developing at this time.

The 1827-1828 Pic Post Journal provides frequent references to fishing stations in the Pic District such as at “the bay this side of White River”, “Louison’s Bay” and “Small Lake”. There is also an entry concerning hay brought from “Little Lake” and from the “opposite side of the river”. Another entry reported that furs had been left on “Ile du Pic”.⁵⁵ On September 21, 1827, Donald McIntosh, Clerk at the Pic Post, stated that McKenzie at one of the dependent Pic Posts had “no less than five freemen besides Fyant & his brother about his place ... voyaging, fishing and working about the establishment.”⁵⁶

Five days later, McIntosh wrote from Pic and informed George Simpson that John Swanston* had departed with his usual outfit to the wintering area at Long Lake.⁵⁷ On

⁵³ John Haldane, Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company, “Report on the State of the Country and Indians in Lake Superior Department,” 1824. LAC MG 20 B.231/e/1 Reel 1M783 pp. 2-4.

⁵⁴ George Simpson, Governor, John Haldane, Chief Factor, and other employees of the HBC, May 21, 1827. LAC MG 20 B.135-k-1 Reel 1M813 Folios 52, 69-70, 76-78.

⁵⁵ Pic Post Journal, HBC, 1827-1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-1 Reel 1M117 folios 1-20.

⁵⁶ Donald McIntosh, Clerk, to George Keith, September 21, 1827. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-1 Reel 1M117 Folio 25.

* John Swanston was a mixed ancestry employee of the HBC who agitated for Crown recognition of Halfbreed “rights and claims to a share of the payments” for the Lake Superior treaty land cession. See John Swanston to George Simpson, August 21, 1850. LAC MG 20 D.5-28 Reel 3M92 folios 465-466.

⁵⁷ Donald McIntosh, Pic, to George Simpson, Governor, HBC, September 26, 1827. LAC MG 20 D.5-2 Reel 3M54 folio 262.

November 3, 1827, McIntosh wrote to George Keith from Pic. His correspondence covered a number of topics including mention of “five Freeman including old Colin who wintered at Fort William, besides the two Indians Fayan and his Brother who have been brought up from their infancy at the Fort. Consequently they are better voyagers than hunters.” McIntosh also pointed out that an additional fisherman would have allowed him to establish two fisheries in the Pic area, “for we have discovered a very convenient Fishery at the little Ecris, secure from all winds.”⁵⁸

In 1828, the HBC recorded a “List of Families attached to the District” (Lake Superior District). The list enumerated 11 men with French surnames and 6 men with English surnames. Each man had one woman (name unidentified) and there were a total of 39 children.⁵⁹ It is highly likely that all of these children were mixed-ancestry. It is unknown how many, if any, of these mixed-ancestry families resided permanently within the study region.

Donald H. McIntosh, HBC, produced the 1828-1829 “Report of Lake Nipigon Trade and Indians” and remarked that the land that the Nipigon Indians claimed and hunted upon extended as far south as Lake Superior. He remarked that a number of women and children were maintained at HBC expense at the Nipigon Post. These included “one Chief Trader's woman and four children, such men as have women & children have nets of their own with which their women catch an ample supply of fish for their support.”⁶⁰

On August 16, 1828 the Pic Post Journal noted that John Swanston arrived to take charge of the Pic District. Fishing appears to be an almost daily activity and there is mention of ice-fishing on “Big Bay”. A number of men are mentioned in the journal and some names (John Robertson, La Fortie, Deschamps, Peter Linklater, Ecrevian, Old Fanthoux) might be of mixed-ancestry heritage.⁶¹

Early in 1828, Donald McIntosh wrote from Pic and informed George Keith that some voyageurs were going over to the competition. He discussed the dangers of allowing voyageurs contact with the Sault and Americans. He also explained that no Indians had been to the post since the previous fall as their hunting grounds were some distance away.⁶² A month later, McIntosh corresponded with George Simpson and declared that “there is not a Freeman, Canadian, or Half Breed at this place now”. He commented on the promising trade at Pic and then opined that Indians should not be employed as voyageurs as they quickly lose interest in hunting and become independent and difficult to deal with.⁶³

⁵⁸ Donald McIntosh to George Keith, November 3, 1827. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-1 Reel 1M117 folio 27.

⁵⁹ List of Families attached to the District Outfit 1828. LAC MG 20 B.129-e-6 Reel 1M780 folio 8.

⁶⁰ Donald H. McIntosh, HBC, Nipigon, District Report, June 6, 1829. LAC MG 20 B.149-e-2 Reel 1M781.

⁶¹ HBC, Pic Post Journal, 1828-1829. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-2 Reel 1M117.

⁶² Donald McIntosh to George Keith, January 5, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-1 Reel 1M117 folio 28.

⁶³ Donald McIntosh to George Simpson, February 10, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-1 Reel 1M117 folio 30.

On June 15, 1828, McIntosh wrote a report about the “Pic Trade and Indians”. He described the limits of the Pic District as extending, “along Lake Superior from the Otter Head to the Pitte Plat which is about twenty miles, the distance it extends inland has never been exactly ascertained but is supposed to be about one hundred and twenty miles.” He remarked that the country was mountainous and the soil barren. McIntosh identified two HBC establishments in the District - Pic and Long Lake. He noted that about thirty-five Indians (men and boys) were attached to the Pic Post and another thirty-seven Indians (men and boys) frequented Long Lake, which he described as a fishing station.⁶⁴

McIntosh enumerated the population of the Indians of the Pic District at two hundred and fifty people comprising 72 men & boys, 52 women, and 116 children. He noted the kinship ties between all of these Indians and explained they were divided into small bands during the winter. He noted that large bands were not possible during the winter due to scarcity in readily accessible game and fish. McIntosh also reported that some women and children were maintained by the HBC at the Pic Post. He described them as:

... one Commissioned officer's woman & 3 children. Mens' women two and 4 children, exclusive of an Indian family, i.e., an helpless widow and four children.⁶⁵

There is little doubt that all of these children were mixed-ancestry due to a lack of white women in the region at this time. It is interesting to note that the establishment also supported an Indian widow and her four children.⁶⁶ It may have been the case that her man had died in the service of the HBC and the company now took on the support of the widow and the mixed-ancestry children. If so, this would have meant that in the summer of 1828 a total of 11 mixed-ancestry children resided at the Pic Post.

On September 9, Swanston informed Keith that Donald McIntosh had camped at the Little Ecris (fishing station) located 15 leagues from the Pic Post, where he had been joined by 11 Nipigon Indians. McIntosh informed Swanston that Paul La Garde “endeavoured to make the Indians break into the Store for rum”, though this proved unsuccessful.⁶⁷

At the end of September, Swanston corresponded with Donald McIntosh, Nipigon Post, and commiserated with him at the actions of Paul La Garde. He remarked that La Garde “is a great rascal and ought not to be employed by the Company in short the whole of the family at the best are nothing but a complete set of Scamps.” Swanston concluded by

⁶⁴ Donald McIntosh, HBC, Pic District Report, June 15, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-e-1 Reel 1M781.

⁶⁵ Donald McIntosh, HBC, Pic District Report, June 15, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-e-1 Reel 1M781.

⁶⁶ Donald McIntosh, HBC, Pic District Report, June 15, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-e-1 Reel 1M781.

⁶⁷ John Swanston to George Keith, Michipicoten, September 9, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-2 Reel 1M117.

describing the establishment of two fishing stations and noted that Peau D'Chat (possibly the same person as the Fort William Chief who negotiated the 1850 Robinson-Superior Treaty) and his father were at the "Little Ecris" fishing location. Swanston stated that the fishers would soon proceed to "Old Sanregrette's Peche".⁶⁸

HBC records contain a marriage contract drawn up on October 18, 1828 between HBC employee Louis Bouchard from Maskinongé, Lower Canada, and Charlotte Fainiant from Fort William. Interestingly, written into the contract was a stipulation that Louis Bouchard consented to leave 10% of his wages in the hands of the HBC "for the express purpose of making a small provision for the benefit of his family in case of his accidental death." This clause may be an indication that Charlotte Fainiant was a mixed-ancestry woman and the HBC wanted to ensure that neither the wife nor any future offspring would have to be supported by the Company.⁶⁹ The couple moved to Nipigon Post soon after. The Fainiant/Fayant/Fanyant family names appear in the records of numerous posts in the Lake Superior District, including Pic. The Bouchards were long-time residents in the Nipigon area. Some members of the Fayant and Bouchard families were of mixed-ancestry (see Appendix A).⁷⁰

An 1829 List of HBC Employees in the Lake Superior District enumerates 17 men (11 French surnames and 6 English surnames). Each man had a wife and there were a total of 39 children. There is no indication of residence locations.⁷¹

In the 1829 Pic Establishment Report the author mentioned that the Company maintained the families of John McIntosh, Thos. Cadrant, and Jos. Perdries Blanchés.⁷² The 1829-1830 Pic Post Journal noted that "men and Indians" at the post were primarily occupied with hoeing potatoes, fishing, and haying on the "Small Lake". Names of the "men" employed by the post included Cadrant, Heggy, Louison, Le Borgne, Solomon, Duncan, Tellier, Mignerón, Perdix Blanche, La Pointe, Bourdache, Monicque, Fainiant, Frappeur, and Ecrivian. Fishing locations mentioned by Swanston include "Little Ecris" and "Pêche à la Gros Truites" [located at Bottle Bay – "La Anse aux Bouteilles"].⁷³

In November, Swanston reported to Keith about the "great inconvenience" related to the loss of one of the fishing stations. He did not identify the particular station but mentioned fishing stations at "Les Ecriss", "Old Sanregrette", and "Peche a la Gros truites".⁷⁴ The

⁶⁸ John Swanston, Pic, to Donald McIntosh, Lake Nipigon, September 27, 1828. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-2 Reel 1M117.

⁶⁹ Bouchard-Fainiant Marriage Contract, October 18, 1828. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 61 (C-5).

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, xlv-xlv.

⁷¹ List of Employees in Lake Superior District, 1829. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 62.

⁷² John Swanston, HBC, Pic Establishment Report, 1829. LAC MG 20 B.162-e-2 Reel 1M781.

⁷³ John Swanston, HBC, Pic Post Journal, 1829-1830. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-3 Reel 1M117.

⁷⁴ John Swanston to George Keith, November 3, 1829. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-3 Reel 1M117.

1830-1831 Pic Post Report noted a reduction in the hay crop and poor fishing. During the fall, fishing stations were located at “L'Anse à la Bouteille” and “Bay of Louison”.⁷⁵

In August 1830, Swanston informed Keith that Louis de la Ronde would winter at Long Lake and would probably do well as it would not be “for want of knowing the Indian character that he will fail”. He noted that rival trader Henry Sayer [brother of the Red River Métis leader Guillaume Sayer] intended to make a bartering visit to the area the following spring.⁷⁶

The 1832-1833 Pic Post Journal recorded that the Pic establishment consisted of eight company servants, five women, 13 children, a “Freeman” named Morrisseau and his wife, the Chief Factor and his family, and some Indians.⁷⁷ The 1833-1834 Pic Post Journal records names of people working for the Company. They include La Garde, La Force, Balladain, Cammaraire, Cadrant, Stanger, Bouchard, Deschamps, McKay, Perdrix Blanche, Prevost, Leask, and Desauettes.⁷⁸ According to one commentator, Bouchard and Deschamps were French Canadians married to Indian women, whose mixed-ancestry descendants remained in the Lake Superior District for generations.⁷⁹

In February, 1836, Thomas McMurray, Chief Factor, Pic Post, sent a letter to Louis de la Ronde, in charge at HBC Long Lake Post, and forwarded a copy of an Act of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada “prohibiting the sale, or Gift, in a manner, or Shape, of ardent spirits, or liquor of any kind, to the Indians of the Post of Long lake, or any other Indian, who may resort to that Post, or its vicinity”.^{80*} This Act is another indication that the Province of Upper Canada viewed the lands from the shore of Lake Superior to the height of the lands as lying within its jurisdiction.

On October 31, 1836, George Simpson wrote to John Pelly, Governor, HBC, and raised the issue of the possible incitement of the Indian population residing along the Missouri up to the shores of Lake Superior, and Lake Winnipeg, and the “half-breed” population

⁷⁵ John Swanston, HBC, Pic Post Journal, 1830-1831. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-4 Reel 1M117.

⁷⁶ John Swanston to George Keith, August 25, 1830. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-4 Reel 1M117.

⁷⁷ Pic Post Journal, 1832-1833. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-6 Reel 1M117.

⁷⁸ Pic Post Journal, 1834-1835. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-8 Reel 1M118.

⁷⁹ Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 39.

⁸⁰ Thomas McMurray, Chief Factor, Pic Post, to Louis de la Ronde, in charge, Long Lake Post, February 10, 1836. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-9 Reel 1M118.

* HBC posts beyond the height of the land, such as New Brunswick House, may have been exempt from the strictures of the Act prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians. In late July of 1840, the Chief Factor at the Pic Post commented about the return of some Pic Indians who had gone to hunt in the area of New Brunswick House when the prohibition on alcohol came into effect at Pic and Long Lake Posts. Due to the fact that “liquor had been done away with” at the New Brunswick House Post, the Pic Indians returned to the Pic District. See Pic Post Journal, 1840, July 27-31 entry. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-11 Reel 1M118.

of Red River, by Dickson's "Indian liberating Army". This was a group composed largely of mixed-ancestry sons of men engaged in the fur trade.⁸¹

In 1839, Reverend James Evans, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, arrived at Pic in the company of Reverend Thomas Hurlburt. Hurlburt settled at Pic for three years, building a house up the river from the HBC post. It seems that two Roman Catholic priests were at Pic at the same time, one of whom, Father Franz Pierz, baptized several French and mixed-ancestry children.⁸²

During the 1830s, both the HBC and the American Fur Company engaged in commercial fishing operations on Lake Superior. In the year 1837, the HBC built a 50-ton ship and harvested fish for the American market.⁸³ It seems likely that waters within the study region were harvested commercially for fish.

In a similar manner to earlier Pic Post Journals, the 1840 Pic Post Journal (kept by Thomas McMurray) contains numerous entries relating to the importance of fishing to the HBC posts and to the Indians in the area. The journal noted fishing stations at "Little Pic River" and "Ille Rouge". The July 19 entry noted that Reverend Hurlburt had as usual Divine Service, all the Indians & families attended, and daily he keeps a school for the Indian children". McMurray commented that the Reverend spoke the Indian language fluently, thereby deriving great advantage in his tasks.⁸⁴

On June 10, 1841 Thomas McMurray penned the "Pic and Long Lake Report". Within the report he discussed the means of subsistence at these posts and noted that they relied completely "on the success of the Autumn Fisheries, when the Trout and Whitefish approach the shallows to cast their Spawn." He noted that a man's daily allowance in winter was five pounds salted fish and potatoes, with the same amount given to "a woman and a proportionate to the Children".⁸⁵

⁸¹ George Simpson to John Pelly, Governor, HBC, October 31, 1836. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 41-43 (B-10).

⁸² Jean Boulton, *Pic, Pulp and People: A History of the Marathon District*, 9.

⁸³ A. B. McCullough, *Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes* (Ottawa: Environment Canada 1989), 15-16, cited in Roland Wright, "The Public Right of Fishing, Government Fishing Policy, and Indian Fishing Rights in Upper Canada", *Ontario History* Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4 (December 1994), 341.

⁸⁴ Pic Post Journal, 1840, July 19 entry. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-11 Reel 1M118.

⁸⁵ Thomas McMurray, Pic and Long Lake Report, June 1, 1841. LAC MG 20 B.162-a-11 Reel 1M118 folio 26.

Chapter 2: Aboriginal Pressure for a Treaty Relationship

On September 17, 1845, Sir George Simpson, HBC Governor, wrote to the Indian Department on the subject of Lake Superior Indians drawn each year to Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island for annual presents.⁸⁶ Simpson pointed out that these trips were detrimental to the Indians' health due to the fact the trips took several months and the Indians often fell ill from diseases "prevalent in the civilized world" and the use of alcohol. Simpson suggested that the HBC could distribute these annual presents to the Indians at posts located in the Lake Superior region.⁸⁷ Several months later, the Civil Secretary informed Simpson that the government would not accept the HBC offer to distribute the annual presents to the Indians in question.⁸⁸

During the early 1840s, prospectors searched for copper from northern Michigan to the northern shores of Lakes Superior and Huron, with the land around Sault Ste. Marie as one focus.⁸⁹ By 1845, the mining companies sending prospectors and surveyors into the mineral-rich, unceded land bordering the two lakes sought licenses to commence mining operations. The Province of Canada (under Governor General Metcalfe) complied and issued over 30 such licenses.⁹⁰

One particular area of interest to the miners included lands north of the St. Mary's River near Sault Ste. Marie. These lands were claimed by Indians residing in the Sault Ste Marie area (antecedents of the Garden River and Batchewana Indian Bands) who up until 1846 asserted that they rarely saw Englishmen except missionaries and traders.⁹¹ The issuance of licenses on unceded lands fomented unrest among the resident Aboriginal people. As a result, the mining industry, rather than the more traditional pressures of non-Native agricultural settlement, prompted the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties, which secured land north of Lakes Huron and Superior.

In late April of 1846, Alexander Vidal, a Deputy Provincial Surveyor who had been surveying land near Sault Ste. Marie, wrote to the Commissioner of Crown Lands conveying the complaints of two Ojibway Chiefs and several Indians from the region. These Indians protested against the government allowing "parties to explore the mineral

⁸⁶ See Appendix A for brief discussion about annual presents.

⁸⁷ Sir George Simpson, Governor, Hudson's Bay Company, to Captain Higginson, Civil Secretary, Indian Department, September 17, 1845. LAC RG 10 Vol. 187 File 5055 Reels C-11,511 & C-11,512.

⁸⁸ J. M. Higginson, Civil Secretary, to Sir George Simpson, Governor, HBC, March 9, 1846. LAC RG 10 Vol. 511 p. 272.

⁸⁹ L. C. Hansen, "Chiefs and Principal Men: A Question of Leadership in Treaty Negotiations," *Anthropologica* Vol. XXIX (1987): 49.

⁹⁰ R. J. Surtees, "Indian Land Surrenders in Ontario 1763-1867" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, February 1984), 94.

⁹¹ William McMurray, Chinqwakose [Shingwaukonse], Joseph Nebenegoging, Charles Puhychbetahsovey[?], John Kabeosa, July 5, 1847. LAC RG 10 Vol. 123 Reel C-11481.

region on the North shore of Lake Superior without consulting with them or in any way acquainting them with their intentions.”⁹²

In June, William Edmond Logan led a survey expedition to Lake Superior. The party was instructed to “survey topographically the various mining locations”, and inspect mineral resources. Logan subsequently submitted a report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands about his findings. He recalled that following his arrival at Fort William he embarked in a canoe accompanied by “eight voyageurs to transport me around the shores of the lake”, in order to examine mining locations and the north shore of Lake Superior.⁹³ Logan noted 27 mining locations granted along the north shore of Lake Superior as of 1846.⁹⁴

On June 13, 1846, Norman McLeod, a miner working a site on the southwest shore of Lake Superior, below Fort William, wrote to John McKenzie and acknowledged receipt of the Province of Canada Order in Council regulating Mineral Lands of Lake Superior.⁹⁵ McLeod’s site did not become one of the 27 mining locations on Lake Superior granted by the Province of Canada.⁹⁶ However, the fact that miners in 1846 were in receipt of Province of Canada mining regulations is an indication of government regulation of resource development on the shores of Lake Superior.

In 1847, Allan Macdonell, lawyer and mining speculator, compiled notes about the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining Company. He wrote disparagingly about the “extravagant and reckless” manner in which the company proceeded with its operations:

The first great error made by the Company was seeking to possess themselves of vast tracts of mining land consisting of various choice localities along the coast of Lake Superior, these several mining locations comprising some 89,600 acres.

A large amount of the subscribed capital was necessarily expended on making explorations along the whole coast of Lake Superior and then selecting and surveying the 14 locations purchased by the company.⁹⁷

⁹² Alexander Vidal to D. B. Papineau, Commissioner of Crown Lands, April 27, 1846. LAC RG 1 A-1-6 Vol. 25 No. 4.

⁹³ William Edmond Logan's Report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands on the Lake Superior Locations, 1846. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 45-47 (B-14).

⁹⁴ William Logan to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1846. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 49-50 (B-16).

⁹⁵ Norman McLeod to John McKenzie, June 13, 1846. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 44-45 (B-13).

⁹⁶ See 27 mining locations identified by claimant name. William Logan to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1846. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 49-50 (B-16).

⁹⁷ Allan Macdonell, Lawyer, 1847. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 50-52 (B-17).

Evidently, by 1864, the Quebec and Lake Superior Company had just one mining tract on St. Ignace Island and another on Michipicoten Island located within, or adjacent to, the study region.⁹⁸

In July 1847, the “Indians at the Sault Ste. Marie” residing on the tract between Michipicoten River on Lake Superior and Thessalon Point on Lake Huron submitted a petition to Governor General Lord Elgin. The petitioning Indians requested the appointment of an official to meet them in council and negotiate a land cession treaty.⁹⁹ The Ojibway Indians expressed awareness that treaties had been made throughout Upper Canada.¹⁰⁰ They made the point that they had offered to sell their land some years earlier to Lord Metcalfe*, but their offer had been refused. As a consequence of this refusal, the Ojibway of Sault Ste. Marie had neither surrendered nor received any payment for the lands upon which the government now issued mining licenses.¹⁰¹ The petitioners offered to sell their lands and pointed out that many other members of the Ojibway Tribe had sold land to the British Crown in exchange for annuities:

There are a great many bands of our tribe settled nearer to your Excellency than we are, they have sold their land to the government and are now, every band that has sold, in the enjoyment of annuities arising from the sale ... In fact there is not yet an instance of the British Government occupying the lands of any of our tribes or parts of tribes without the consent and payment of the Indians found in possession.¹⁰²

In late June of 1848, the factor at the Fort William HBC Post mentioned in a letter to Sir George Simpson that nearly all the local Indians had traveled to Sault Ste. Marie. He claimed that these Indians “instigated by the Young Chief” believed that they would be paid a large amount of money for their lands, along with receiving the usual annual present distribution (for peace and friendship).¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 50-52 (B-17). See footnote 56.

⁹⁹ Memo by the Civil Secretary to the Honourable Executive Council, July 14, 1847, with attached petition from the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie to Lord Elgin, Governor General, July 5, 1847. LAC RG 10 Vol. 123 pp. 6190-6198.

¹⁰⁰ James Morrison, “The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study” prepared for The Royal Commission On Aboriginal Peoples Treaty and Land Research Section, August 31, 1996, 33.

* Charles Theophilus Metcalfe served as Governor General of Canada from January 1843 until November 1845.

¹⁰¹ Petition from the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie to Lord Elgin, Governor General, July 5, 1847. LAC RG 10 Vol. 123 pp. 6190-6198.

¹⁰² Petition from the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie to Lord Elgin, Governor General, July 5, 1847. LAC RG 10 Vol. 123 pp. 6190-6198.

¹⁰³ John Mackenzie, Factor, Fort William, HBC, to Sir George Simpson, Governor, HBC, June 24, 1848. HBCA D.5/22 folios 314-315d.

Louis Agassiz and the Study Region, 1848

Louis Agassiz, a prominent scientist, undertook a naturalist expedition along the north shore of Lake Superior in the summer of 1848. His party passed through the study region and provided descriptions of some of the islands. Agassiz noted that on July 15, as they passed the “Petits Ecris” rock (fishing station for the Pic Post) they could see the island of St. Ignace looming in the distance. He provided a detailed description of hieroglyphics on “Petits Ecris”:

We passed the “Petits Ecris,” a rock ornamented with representations of various animals, canoes full of men, &c., together with various fabulous monsters, such as snakes with wings, and the like, cut out of the lichens; the work of the Indians, or perhaps of stray miners or searchers for copper, who, as appeared by dates and initials, have adopted from them this mode of attracting the attention of the passer-by. These pictures were of various dates, as was shown by the various degrees of distinctness, as the rock was either quite laid bare, or the black lichens had more or less completely recovered possession of it.¹⁰⁴

Agassiz remarked that once they passed “Petits Ecris” the canoes pursued a westerly route among many islands with the intention of passing to the outside of St. Ignace. Upon reaching St. Ignace on July 17, they entered a bay and noted a small clearing, log house, and mining location marked as belonging to the Montreal Mining Company.¹⁰⁵ The following day the party encountered a number of “Indian lodges clustered on an island,” adjacent to St. Ignace. Though his party attempted to barter for fresh fish, they discovered that only dried fish was available.¹⁰⁶

Treaty Exploratory Commission

In July of 1848, “Chingakouse” and other Chiefs residing in the area of Sault Ste. Marie met with the Governor General and complained that mining companies had taken their land and ruined their hunting.¹⁰⁷ The Governor General requested an investigation and on the last day of July 1848, T. E. Campbell wrote to Superintendent T. G. Anderson on behalf of the Governor General. The latter directed Anderson to travel to Sault Ste. Marie and provide a report about Indian complaints and collect information relating to the Indian land title and possible compensation for any Indian losses or Indian removal:

¹⁰⁴ Louis Agassiz, *Lake Superior, its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals compared with those of other and similar regions, with a narrative of a tour by J. Elliot Cabot* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1850), 76.

¹⁰⁵ Louis Agassiz, *Lake Superior, ...*, 78-79.

¹⁰⁶ Louis Agassiz, *Lake Superior, ...*, 80.

¹⁰⁷ Major T. E. Campbell, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to T. G. Anderson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, July 31, 1848. LAC RG 10 Vol. 513 Reel C-13,345.

You will avail yourself of this opportunity to collect any additional information relative to the title of the Indians to the lands referred to, adding any suggestions that may occur to you for His Excellency's consideration, as to the best method of compensating the Indians for any loss it may prove they have experienced or in reference to their removal and their future place of residence &c.¹⁰⁸

The next month, Indian Superintendent Anderson met in council with the Indians living at Sault Ste. Marie. He concluded that there would be continued resistance unless the government treated for Indian title to the land. Anderson provided his superior with a number of suggestions regarding a land cession to "extinguish the Indians [sic] right by a treaty".¹⁰⁹

In 1849, the Ojibway Indians made a formal protest to government. A small delegation of Indians, including Chiefs from the Sault Ste. Marie area, traveled to Montreal claiming they had received no response from the government about their complaints.¹¹⁰ They explained that miners had utilized their lands for three years and they wanted to know by what right the government granted permission over lands the Indians had never surrendered. Elgin explained to them that another Governor General had issued the mining location tickets and that he would do everything in his power to ensure that there was no injustice to the Indians.¹¹¹ A newspaper article concerning the reason for their journey provided information relating to land compensation and Indian expectations:

We understand, however, that the Canadian Government has recognized the rights of these men, and that an amicable arrangement will be immediately made. We believe that the Indians only ask for an annual sum equivalent to the interest of the money which the Government has received from the mining companies for the locations; this already amounts to £12,500; but much more has to be paid into the provincial chest. The American Government has agreed to pay the Chippewas on their side 100,000 dollars per annum for twenty-five years, for the lands which they have ceded. This income the Indians wisely receive in the shape of agricultural implements, &c.; and those in the British territory desire to have their money expended for them in the same way. It is to be

¹⁰⁸ Major T. E. Campbell to T. G. Anderson, July 31, 1848. LAC RG 10 Vol. 513 Reel C-13,345.

¹⁰⁹ Anderson to Campbell, August 20, 1848. LAC RG 10 Vol. 534 Reel C-13,354 pp. 255-258. Note: Within his report Anderson refers to documents enclosed with his report. These enclosures were not located.

¹¹⁰ L. C. Hansen, "Chiefs and Principal Men: A Question of Leadership in Treaty Negotiations," *Anthropologica* Vol. XXIX (1987): 50.

¹¹¹ Shingwakonce, Nebenegoging, Nabergogiry, Kabeosa, Augustin, John Bell, Agamanpenossee Marahayhoh, Chippewa Indians, to Lord Elgin, Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Island of Prince Edward, *Montreal Gazette*, Saturday Morning, July 7, 1849.

hoped, for the sake of humanity, that these poor people will not be driven into acts of violence.¹¹²

On June 19, 1849, James D. Cameron, Baptist Missionary at Sault Ste. Marie, wrote to the Honourable J. H. Price expressing concerns about the Lake Superior Indians. Cameron explained that mining activities on unceded land led to general discontent among the Indians on the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior. Cameron strongly urged the government to make a treaty with the Indians as soon as possible to avoid further unrest and cautioned that “Confidence they have not in the Government Indian agents, as they have openly been told that they, agents, will study to promote the interest of Government and not theirs.”^{113*}

On July 28, 1849, J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, submitted a report to the Governor General regarding the proposed land cession by the Indians inhabiting the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Price pointed out that the Indian Department could neither provide accurate information about the tribes occupying these lands nor the territorial extent of the Indian claims. In order to placate the Indians, he suggested assurances be extended that the government would consider all just claims. Price also recommended sending a “Special Agent” to the Indian settlements to inquire as to the Indian claims and collect information that would facilitate “the adjustment of the difficulties which exist.”¹¹⁴

On August 4, 1849, the Executive Council Committee on Land Applications considered the issue of compensation for the Indians of Lakes Superior and Huron for a proposed land surrender. The Committee recommended employing Alexander Vidal and T. G. Anderson to conduct an investigation and determine the expectations of the Indians of Lakes Superior and Huron.¹¹⁵

In mid-September, HBC trader W. Mactavish wrote from Sault Ste. Marie to Sir George Simpson and pointed out that the Indians were demanding compensation for lost or damaged land due to mining operations. He expressed some doubt about the possibility of establishing a treaty that year due to the lateness of the season.¹¹⁶

¹¹² “The Chippewa Indians and the Mining Companies”, September 15, 1849. *The Illustrated London News* Vol. XV No. 390, 179-180.

¹¹³ James D. Cameron, Baptist Missionary, to J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, June 19, 1849. AO RG 1 A-VII Vol. 6 (Misc. Records, 1789-1837), p. 3.

* James D. Cameron was the Scots-Ojibway son of fur trader John Dugald Cameron. James became a Baptist missionary and beginning in the 1830s lived with his mother’s people near Michipicoten.

¹¹⁴ J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, to His Excellency the Governor in Council, July 28, 1849, annexed to an Extract from a Report of the Executive Council, August 4, 1849. LAC RG 1 Series L1 Land Book E Vol. 44 pp. 315-316 Reel C-108.

¹¹⁵ Extract from a Report of the Honourable the Executive Council on Land Applications, August 4, 1849. LAC RG 1 Series L1 Land Book E Vol. 44 pp. 315-316 Reel C-108.

¹¹⁶ W. Mactavish, HBC Trader at Sault Ste. Marie, to Sir George Simpson, Governor, HBC, September 14, 1849. HBCA D.5/26 Reel 3M87 folios 76-77.

On September 24, 1849, Commissioners Vidal and Anderson arrived in Fort William. They held two days of meetings with a council of Fort William Indians led by Chief Peau de Chat and Chief Illinois.¹¹⁷ A good description of this meeting is provided in a journal entry dated September 26, 1849 by Father Frémiot, the Jesuit missionary at Fort William. Frémiot described the Indians' demands for land cession compensation and the response from the Commissioners:

The savages asked for payment for their lands, plus a reserve where the Immaculate Conception is located, 30 piastres per head, including the women and children, every year in perpetuity and paid in cash, not merchandise; also a schoolmaster, a doctor, a farmer, a carpenter, a blacksmith and a Superintendent. At the end of the first day, Mr. Anderson told the savages: "There are two things we do not hear with pleasure, and which we don't think the Big Chief at Montreal will approve. First, it is that you prefer to have as chief precisely the one of the two who is not recognized by the governor (Joseph La Peau de Chat ...). The second thing that the Chief will not see with pleasure, is the excessive estimate that you make of your lands. See what is going on on the other side of the lake. The Big-Knives are only paying their savages for 25 years, and still less than you ask for, and when the time is up he will chase them beyond the Mississippi, while you can remain here forever without having to worry ...".¹¹⁸ [translation]

Father Frémiot provided further information about the September council held at Fort William in an October 18, 1849 report to his superior. He explained that while some "Halfbreeds" attended the meeting they were "passed by in silence, for they have not the right to speak at such gatherings."¹¹⁹ [translation]

On September 28, Alexander Vidal mentioned talking with a Ne-Pigon Indian at the "Shaginan (?) fishing Island" and the next day the party encountered "some Ne-pigon Indians round the N. W. Pt. of St. Ignace".¹²⁰ These people had traveled down the Nipigon River, "a distance of six days journey", from Lake Nipigon.¹²¹ Neither Anderson

¹¹⁷ Thomas G. Anderson, "Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson, a visiting Supt. of Indian Affairs at this time 1849 Cobourg", September 5 to December 11, 1849. AO Misc. Mss.

¹¹⁸ Father Fremiot's Journal, September 26, 1849. JFUCA Fort William Collection Section "C" Box No. 407 Env. No. 10.

¹¹⁹ Father Frémiot, Jesuit Missionary, Fort William, to his Superior in New York, October 18, 1849. Lorenzo Cadieux, *Lettres des nouvelles missions du Canada 1843-1852* (Montreal, 1973), 633-645. Translation in Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 14-15.

¹²⁰ Alexander Vidal, "Journal of Proceedings on my Mission to the Indians 1849", August 16–November 10, 1849. Lambton County Collection, Lambton County Library.

¹²¹ Thomas G. Anderson, "Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson, a visiting Supt. of Indian Affairs at this time 1849 Cobourg", September 5 to December 11, 1849. AO Misc. Mss.

nor Vidal specifically mentioned encountering any mixed-ancestry people at these locations. However, on October 2, Anderson reported the party reached a camp which was a fishing station “of men from La Pique and Indians”. Anderson’s differentiation between ‘men and Indians’ indicates that the former were mixed-ancestry, white, or both.¹²²

On October 4, Vidal and Anderson reached the Pic trading station in the charge of Mr. Laronde, a mixed-ancestry person (See Appendix A).¹²³ The latter had been employed by the HBC for more than 30 years* and claimed descent from Louis Dennis de la Ronde “who had been in command at Chequamegon on the south shore of Lake Superior in 1727”. HBC officials always agreed that Laronde possessed great knowledge of the Indians.¹²⁴

Five days later, Anderson reported their arrival at Michipicoten where an HBC post and 12 houses were located. He noted that the canoeists traveling with the Commissioners “gave a ball to their half-breed brethren and enjoyed themselves first rate”.¹²⁵ This is evidence that a number of mixed-ancestry people were residing at Michipicoten. Anderson went on to provide the names of the mixed-ancestry and/or Indian guide and canoeists:

Francois Mezai – Guide	
Louis Piquette – Steersman	
Peter Bell	
Pierre Crocheir)
Louis Corbirr)
Paw-Kauke) Middle men
Waw-be-ma-ma)
Waw-saung-gais)

And all paddling a North canoe of about 30 feet long.¹²⁶

John Swanston, the mixed-ancestry Chief Factor at Michipicoten, also reported on the arrival of the Commissioners whom he described as, “Agents for the purchase of the

¹²² Thomas G. Anderson, “Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson, a visiting Supt. of Indian Affairs at this time 1849 Cobourg”, September 5 to December 11, 1849. AO Misc. Mss.

¹²³ T. G. Anderson, October 4, 1849. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 71-73 (C-17).

* On August 20, 1850 Laronde requested a salary increase from George Simpson noting that he had been in “Indian Country” for 32 years and always did his duty honestly for his employers. See Louis Denis Laronde to George Simpson, August 20, 1850. LAC MG 20 D.5-28 Reel 3M92 folio 459.

¹²⁴ Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 72. See footnote 24.

¹²⁵ Thomas G. Anderson, “Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson, a visiting Supt. of Indian Affairs at this time 1849 Cobourg”, September 5 to December 11, 1849. AO Misc. Mss.

¹²⁶ Thomas G. Anderson, “Diary of Thomas Gummingsall Anderson, a visiting Supt. of Indian Affairs at this time 1849 Cobourg”, September 5 to December 11, 1849. AO Misc. Mss.

Indian lands”. He reported that Anderson met with a small number of Indians at Michipicoten but no agreement was reached as these Indians stated that they had agreed to accept a future agreement that might be reached between the government agents and the Chief at Sault Ste. Marie (Shingwaukonse).¹²⁷

A few days later Vidal and Anderson arrived at Sault Ste. Marie. William McTavish informed Simpson that the two Commissioners appeared to think that, in spite of a few unreasonable demands, the Indians on Lake Superior would be easily dealt with. McTavish mentioned to Simpson that Vidal held bitter feelings toward McDonnell, the man chosen by the Indians as their agent, and about whom Vidal had received “private instructions not to recognize as such”.¹²⁸

Mica Bay, 1849

In mid-November, Charles Thompson wrote from the steamship *Gore* on Lake Huron to the Honourable Robert Baldwin in Toronto. Thompson reported that when he arrived at Sault Ste. Marie he had been astonished to discover that “an armed party of Indians and halfbreeds, under the guidance of Mr. Allan Macdonald and his brother” had departed in two boats and intended taking possession of the Quebec Mining Company location at Mica Bay.¹²⁹

Due to the temporary absence of the Governor General from Toronto, the Executive Council, “took the unusual step of ordering troops – on its own initiative – to proceed to Sault Ste. Marie”.¹³⁰ A week later, the Civil Secretary’s Office informed George Ironside, Indian Superintendent, that the Governor General authorized the dispatch of the military force to Lake Superior:

... for the purpose of protecting, in conjunction with such civil force as can be got together there, the lives and properties of Her Majesty’s subjects in that remote quarter of the Province, disarming and dispersing this force which has undertaken this illegal expedition and bringing to justice such of the parties concerned in it as shall have been found most culpable in instigating or conducting so criminal an enterprise.¹³¹

¹²⁷ J. Swanston, HBC Officer at Michipicoten, to Governor Simpson, October 12, 1849. HBCA D.5/26 folio 271.

¹²⁸ Chief Trader W. Mactavish to Sir George Simpson, Governor, Hudson’s Bay Company, October 15, 1849. HBCA D.5/26 Reel 3M87 folio 288d.

¹²⁹ Charles Thompson to Robert Baldwin, November 14, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 612 pp. 398-400.

¹³⁰ James Morrison, “The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study” prepared for The Royal Commission On Aboriginal Peoples, August 31, 1996, 67.

¹³¹ E. A. Meredith, Assistant Secretary, Civil Secretary's Office, to George Ironside, Indian Superintendent, November 20, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 612 pp. 404-406.

The fact that the Governor General authorized the dispatch of a military force to quell the armed insurrection at Mica Bay is clear evidence that he viewed these lands as a part of the Province of Canada.

E. A. Meredith also informed Ironside that the Governor General had appointed him as a civil magistrate, and added “to the Commission of the Peace for the remote and unorganized parts of the province” three other men (Joseph Wilson, John Greenfield, and William McTavish). These appointments ensured that there would be magistrates available to enforce the law during the “emergency”.¹³²

On November 21, 1849, Governor General Elgin wrote to Earl Grey and expressed great annoyance about the problem with some Indians on Lake Superior. Elgin stated that trouble arose because Lord Metcalf’s “Govt of Jobbers gave licenses to certain mining Companies in that quarter without making arrangements with the Indians, and I have been occupied for the last two years in getting some compensation for them”.¹³³

Two days later, Elgin informed Earl Grey that he had dispatched soldiers to the eastern part of Lake Superior to protect miners from a threatened attack by Indians and other parties. Elgin explained that problems arose as a result of the provincial government allowing mining companies to undertake mineral explorations in the region in 1845. He noted that in 1846 grants for mining purposes were given to certain mining companies for tracts along the northeastern shore of Lake Superior. Shortly after Elgin’s arrival in the province, he received trespassing complaints from Indian tribes. Elgin had then authorized two investigations into the Indian claims. He expressed dissatisfaction with an earlier report of Crown Lands Commissioner Papineau and regretted that mining licences had been granted “by his predecessor” without a surrender of Indian lands having taken place.¹³⁴

On December 3, 1849, George Ironside, as Justice of the Peace in and for “the district aforesaid called the district of Lake Huron and Superior”, issued a warrant ordering the apprehension of certain men who had led the party that forcibly seized the mining location at Mica Bay.¹³⁵ The appointment of Ironside as a Justice of the Peace, and the issuance of the warrant, is an indication that the Province of Canada believed it had the ability to extend its legal jurisdiction into the lands north of Lake Superior.

The leaders of the Indians and “Halfbreeds” who had occupied Mica Bay were arrested and taken to Toronto. On December 19, 1849, Allan Macdonnell wrote to the Civil Secretary on behalf of the leaders arrested at Sault Ste. Marie and transported to

¹³² Meredith to George Ironside, November 20, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 612 pp. 404-406.

¹³³ James Bruce, Lord of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor General of Canada, to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, November 21, 1849. INAC File NCR-B 8275/P2 Vol. 1 Enclosure 7.

¹³⁴ James Bruce to Earl Grey, November 23, 1849. Arthur G. Doughty, ed., *The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852*, Volume IV, Appendix XVII (Ottawa, J. O. Patenaude, King's Printer, 1937), 1485-1486.

¹³⁵ Warrant issued by George Ironside, Justice of the Peace, District of Lakes Huron and Superior, December 3, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 612 pp. 420-421.

Toronto.¹³⁶ Subsequently, William Benjamin Robinson, M.P.P. for Simcoe and Commissioner of Public Works, intervened on behalf of the Indians and secured their release.¹³⁷

Vidal and Anderson Report

In early December 1849, Vidal and Anderson submitted a report about their investigation of the Indian claims to the lands on the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior to the Governor General in Council. They had managed to meet with sixteen of the twenty-two Chiefs “among whose bands the entire territory is divided”. At each meeting, the Commissioners would first explain the “nature and object” of their mission, and then inquire as to:

... the nature of the title, the extent or boundaries of the land claimed, -- its character, -- productions -- and capabilities of improvement; -- the number of individuals in the band, -- their mode of subsistence -- moral condition, -- future prospects, -- &c; -- and next their wishes and expectations concerning the proposed cession of their territory.¹³⁸

The two Commissioners reported that the Indians were generally in agreement to cede their lands to the government. The Commissioners concluded that the Indians of the region had valid claims to the land and had a right to be compensated for it. They also described the Ojibway’s general wish to cede all their territory, provided that they would not be required to move from their habitual places of residence.¹³⁹ The Indians asked that the government not interfere with their right to hunt and fish throughout all of the ceded territory in addition to their request for a perpetual annuity.¹⁴⁰

Vidal and Anderson highlighted the problem of valuing accurately the still unexplored lands that would be ceded by the Indians. Due to the Commissioners’ view that the Ojibway were “incompetent to negotiate” a fair settlement for the tract, they stated that it would be necessary for the government to decide the terms of the treaty. The

¹³⁶ Allan Macdonnell to Colonel Bruce, Civil Secretary, December 19, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 179 No. 4068.

¹³⁷ Lise C. Hansen, “Chiefs and Principal Men”, *Anthropologica* Vol. XXIX. 1987, 53.

¹³⁸ Report of Vidal-Anderson Commission to the Governor General, December 5, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 pp. 163121-163150 Reel C-12652.

¹³⁹ A dissenting view was given in a letter of January 7, 1850 from J. Anderson at Lake Nipigon, in which he stated, “I have never heard the Indians express a wish to cede their lands to the Crown. I have put the question to several of them and they all reply in the negative.” J. Anderson also provided his understanding about Indian perspectives concerning money when he stated, “As to the amount of Remuneration – it would be a difficult point with them, as they are unacquainted with the Value of Money – their only standard is Made Beaver.” See J. Anderson, Lake Nipigon, HBC, to Superintendent T. G. Anderson, January 7, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 Reel C-12652.

¹⁴⁰ Report of Vidal-Anderson Commission to the Governor General, December 5, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 pp. 163121-163150 Reel C-12652.

Commissioners pointed out that the purchase of such a “valueless territory” might be considered questionable. Yet they argued it was justified by “the necessity of giving compensation for the lands already taken possession of,” and that extinguishing the whole Indian title would allow the government to “act without embarrassment in the future disposal of the land”.¹⁴¹

In their report the Commissioners mentioned the situation concerning “halfbreeds” residing within the proposed treaty area:

...

Another subject which may involve a difficulty is that of determining how far halfbreeds are to be regarded as having a claim to share in the remuneration awarded to the Indians and (as they can scarcely be altogether excluded without injustice to some) where and how the distinction should be made between them; many of these are so closely connected with some of the Bands, and being generally better informed, exercised such an influence over them, that it may be found scarcely possible to make a separation, especially as a great number have been already so far recognized as Indians, as to have presents issued to them by the Government at the annual distribution at Manitowaning.¹⁴²

The remarks the two Commissioners made in regard to “Halfbreeds” bear repeating. Vidal and Anderson stated that many of the “Halfbreeds” were “so closely connected with some of the bands” that it was almost impossible to differentiate them from the Indians. Furthermore, great numbers of “Halfbreeds” had already been “so far recognized as Indians” by government officials that they received annual presents of peace and friendship. There seems to be little doubt that the “Halfbreeds” mentioned by Vidal and Anderson in the above passage lived a similar, if not identical lifeway as did the Ojibway Indians on the Lake Superior north shore.

On December 7, 1849, Vidal wrote a brief letter to the Commissioner of Crown Lands mentioning that the lateness of the season and consequent absence of the Indians limited the information that they (Vidal and Anderson) had been able to gather. He asked whether a special report would be required concerning the lands occupied by the Indians. Vidal mentioned that on the basis of the available information he deemed the land worthless and sterile.¹⁴³

A month later, the HBC factor on Lake Nipigon (north of the study region) provided information about the total number of men and women living in the vicinity of the post.

¹⁴¹ Report of Vidal-Anderson Commission to the Governor General, December 5, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 p. 163132 Reel C-12652.

¹⁴² Report of Vidal-Anderson Commission to the Governor General, December 5, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 p. 163132 Reel C-12652.

¹⁴³ Alexander Vidal, Commissioner and Deputy Provincial Surveyor, to J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, December 7, 1849. AO RG 1A-VII Vol. 6.

He specifically mentioned a “Nipigon woman married to a Canadian servant who had Four Boys and One Girl.” He also discussed a Halfbreed and his wife, both of whom were born on Lake Superior.¹⁴⁴

Government Instructions about Treaty Terms

On January 8, 1850, the Committee of the Executive Council on Matters of State passed an Order in Council authorizing W. B. Robinson to negotiate with the Indians of Lakes Huron and Superior in order to settle their land claims. The Committee instructed Robinson to inform the Indians about when he would travel to meet with them. The Committee further instructed that Robinson should make it known that the government would not agree to excessive compensation for the Indian lands partially occupied by miners who were “engaged in developing sources of wealth which they had themselves entirely neglected.”¹⁴⁵

Three days later, Colonel R. Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, informed the Honourable W. B. Robinson about his appointment and the associated instructions. Bruce explained that the Governor General in Council appointed Robinson to undertake negotiations with the Indians of Lakes Superior and Huron. Bruce then instructed Robinson on how to negotiate the treaty:

... for the adjustment of their claims to the lands in the vicinity of Lakes Superior and Huron or of such portion of them as may be required for mining purposes.

It is His Excellency’s desire that you should communicate to the Indians the fact of your appointment and that it is your intention to proceed to Lake Superior at such time as may be found most convenient for meeting the Chiefs and that you should impress the minds of the Indians that they ought not to expect excessive remuneration for the partial occupation of the territory heretofore used as Hunting Grounds by persons who have been engaged in developing sources of wealth which they had themselves entirely neglected.¹⁴⁶

On April 15, J. H. Price sent a letter to James Leslie, Provincial Secretary, within which he relayed a number of questions raised by W. B. Robinson concerning the manner of payment and compensation amount for the proposed land surrender. Price concluded his

¹⁴⁴ J. Anderson, Lake Nipigon, HBC, to Superintendent T. G. Anderson, January 7, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 Reel C-12652.

¹⁴⁵ Order in Council No. 31, January 8, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 180 File 4113.

¹⁴⁶ Colonel R. Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to W. B. Robinson, Treaty Commissioner, January 11, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 pp. 163160-163162 Reel C-12,652.

letter by asking for an immediate decision in regard to the questions. He also reminded Leslie that a £7500 credit existed from the mining locations.¹⁴⁷

The following day, an Order in Council from the Committee of the Executive Council on Matters of State provided Robinson with further instructions regarding treating with the Indians for the surrender of land in the vicinity of Lakes Superior and Huron. The Council stated that the money available for the treaty negotiations amounted to £7500. Additionally, treaty compensation would not include presents (manufactured goods) as the desired mode of compensation would be perpetual annuities.¹⁴⁸

The Executive Council then directed Robinson to “negotiate for the extinction of the Indian title to the whole territory on the North and North-Eastern Coasts of Lakes Huron and Superior.” Alternatively, Robinson could obtain a land cession of as many miles inland from the coast as possible. If neither of these objectives were attainable, he was instructed to negotiate for the coastal land encompassing mining locations at Mica Bay and Michipicoten.¹⁴⁹

Robinson Travels to Sault Ste. Marie

Following receipt of these instructions, Robinson proceeded to Sault Ste. Marie, arriving on April 28, 1850. Three days later, he reported meeting with some of the Chiefs of that area. The parties agreed to discuss a treaty at Garden River during the upcoming summer “immediately after issue of the presents & took their agreement in writing to that effect”.¹⁵⁰ On May 3, Robinson sent a letter to Governor Simpson informing him that the HBC officers on Lake Superior had been notified about the arrangements to meet with the Indians in August for treaty negotiation purposes.¹⁵¹ On May 8, 1850, Robinson wrote again to Simpson explaining that preliminary arrangements to negotiate a treaty in August of 1850 had been made with a number of Chiefs.¹⁵²

Robinson received a July 24 letter from Governor George Simpson informing him that HBC personnel would notify the Indians about the upcoming treaty council at the Sault. Simpson recounted that during his Lake Superior journey in the spring he spoke with

¹⁴⁷ J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, to J. Leslie, Provincial Secretary, April 15, 1850. LAC RG 5 C1 Vol. 290 No. 700 Reel H-2401.

¹⁴⁸ “Report of the Committee of Executive Council on Matters of State”, April 16, 1850. LAC RG 5 C1 Vol. 290 No. 700 Reel H-2401.

¹⁴⁹ “Report of the Committee of Executive Council on Matters of State”, April 16, 1850. LAC RG 5 C1 Vol. 290 No. 700 Reel H-2401.

¹⁵⁰ W. B. Robinson, Treaty Commissioner, “Transcript of Diary ...”, May 1, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

¹⁵¹ Robinson to Simpson, May 3, 1850. HBCA D.5/28 Reel 3M92 folio 192. Regrettably, the HBC Archives does not contain copies of correspondence sent to Company officers on Lake Superior, which Robinson refers to in his letter to Simpson.

¹⁵² Robinson to Simpson, May 8, 1850. HBCA D.5/28 Reel 3M92 folio 199.

many Indians about the subject and they promised to assemble in the Sault at the appointed time.¹⁵³

An Order in Council dated August 13, 1850 authorized Commissioner Robinson to distribute £5000 to the Indians as compensation for lands taken by the Province for mining purposes:

On a letter from the Honorable the Receiver General dated 13th Instant representing that it being deemed expedient that the sum of £5000 Currency should be distributed amongst the Indians on Lake Superior on account of the Lands taken by the Province and sold for mining purposes &c he requests that your Excellency would be pleased to cause a Warrant to issue on the consolidated Fund in favor of the Honble. W. B. Robinson Commissioner appointed for the settlement of the Indian Claims on Lake Superior for the above mentioned sum say _____ £5000. cy and 3/4⁰⁰ per Cent for freight of 4000 of same in specie 30
£5030 – cy
and for the distribution of which he Mr. Robinson will hereafter account.¹⁵⁴

On August 18, 1850, Robinson recorded in his diary that he arrived in Sault Ste. Marie. Five days later, he noted an encounter with Peau de Chat and other Chiefs and that all of them “seem well disposed to treat on fair terms”.¹⁵⁵ On August 25, 1850, Mr. Buchanan, HBC officer at Sault Ste. Marie, informed Governor Simpson about the arrival of people for the upcoming treaty negotiations. He explained that Colonel Bruce and a number of other gentlemen had arrived that day on board the *Gore* and the Governor General was expected the following day.¹⁵⁶

Buchanan also noted the arrival of a government official who had been sent to identify the best location for construction of military buildings for the troops. Buchanan explained that he had heard that the troops who had been sent to the Sault as a result of the Mica Bay insurrection were to be relieved by a detachment of the Canadian Rifles, but acknowledged that, “I have no certain information on this hand.”¹⁵⁷

Request for Recognition of “Halfbreed” rights

¹⁵³ Simpson to Robinson, July 24, 1850. HBCA D.4/42 Reel 3M13 folio 56.

¹⁵⁴ Executive Committee on Matters of State to Colonel Robert Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266 pp. 163173-163174 Reel C-12,652.

¹⁵⁵ W. B. Robinson, “Transcript of Diary...”, August 23, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

¹⁵⁶ Mr. Buchanan, HBC Officer, Sault Ste. Marie, to Simpson, August 25, 1850. HBCA D.5/28 Reel 3M92 folio 493.

¹⁵⁷ Buchanan to Simpson, August 25, 1850. HBCA D.5/28 Reel 3M92 folio 493.

On August 21, 1850, John Swanston wrote from Michipicoten to Simpson and argued for acknowledgement of the rights and claims of “Halfbreeds” in the upcoming treaty negotiations. Swanston contended that “Halfbreeds” should be eligible for a portion of the monetary compensation that would be paid for the lands to be surrendered in the treaty area. He pointed out that many of the “Halfbreeds” had been born and brought up in the region unlike many of the Indians:

... at present I am not certain whether the Government will acknowledge the rights and claims of the half breeds, to a share of the payments to be made for the lands about to be ceded by the Indians of Lake Superior, but should hope they would, as many of them have much juster [sic] claims than [sic] the Indians, they having been born and brought up on the land, which is not the case with many of the Indians, particularly the Sault Chiefs Shin gwa konse and Neh bai ne co ching, whose lands are situated on American Territory.¹⁵⁸

Negotiation of the Robinson-Superior Treaty

The main sources of information about the treaty negotiations are Robinson’s diary and subsequent official report.¹⁵⁹ From September 1 to September 9, 1850, Robinson recorded the treaty negotiations in his diary. Robinson recorded the fact that on September 6 one of the Lake Huron Chiefs, “Shinguacouse” of Garden River, demanded a larger annuity, and specifically requested a large reserve. Robinson would not agree to these requests. There is no evidence that the Lake Superior Chiefs objected to the treaty terms nor is there any evidence that they requested inclusion of “halfbreeds” in the treaty. On September 7, 1850, Chiefs Joseph Peau de Chat and John Ininway (L’Illinois) from Fort William, Chief Mishemuckqua from Nipigon, Chief Totomenai from Michipicoten, and five principal men, signed Treaty No. 60 (Robinson-Superior Treaty):

Satdy 7 – From 6 to 10 A.M. busy making two fair copies of the treaty for Peau de Chat. Crossed over to the Council. Had Peau de Chat & his Chiefs & principal men in the former’s lodge & the treaty was carefully read over & translated to them by Mr. G. Johnson & Mr. Keating. Made them fully comprehend all the provisions of it. They were all perfectly satisfied & said they were ready to sign it. Opened the Council about 11 ½ A.M. Peau de Chat & his Chiefs & the other Chiefs present. The former made a short speech, acknowledged he understood the terms of the treaty

¹⁵⁸ John Swanston, Michipicoten Post, to George Simpson, Governor, HBC, August 21, 1850, LAC MG 20 D.5-28 Reel 3M92 folios 465-466.

¹⁵⁹ James Morrison, “The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study” prepared for The Royal Commission On Aboriginal Peoples, August 31, 1996, 94.

& was satisfied. Said the amt he was to receive made no difference with him. He was already [sic] to obey the wishes of his Queen now, as he had always been. Did not wish to dictate to the Chiefs of the other Lake how they were to act. Was appointed by the tribes of Lake Superior to settle the business & had done what he thought for the best. He and 3 other Chiefs and principal men then signed the two copies in open council, ...¹⁶⁰

During the same meeting where the Lake Superior Indians accepted and signed the Robinson-Superior Treaty, discussion continued with the Lake Huron Indians:

Shinguacouse then addressed me at some length, repeating his former language. I told him that I could not alter my determination & as the majority of the Chiefs were in favour of my proposition I shd prepare the treaty & bring it over on Monday, that those who choosed [sic] might sign it. I wd not press anyone to sign. Those who signed wd get the money for their tribes & those who did not sign wd get none, & I shd take the remainder of the money back to Toronto, give it to the govt to take no further trouble about the treaty matter.¹⁶¹

Robinson again met with the Lake Huron Chiefs on September 9. At this time the Garden River Chiefs indicated they would not sign the treaty unless Robinson pledged to grant 100 acres of land to individual "Halfbreeds" mentioned in a list provided to the Treaty Commissioner. Once Robinson convinced the Indians that the government did not have the power to make these land grants, they agreed to the terms of the Robinson-Huron Treaty:

Monday 9 – Went over to the Council early with the treaty prepared for signature. Explained it to all the Chiefs present, who were satisfied & ready to sign. Shinguacouse & Nebenaigoching's came later in the day, objected to sign unless I pledged the Govt to give the halfbreeds mentioned in the list handed to me free grant of 100 acres of land. I confirmed certain old residents in the free & full possession of their lands on which they now reside. I told them I had nothing to do with anybody but the Indians & could not make a promise of land. The Chiefs had kept a large reserve & might if they pleased give their locations. Govt itself had no power to give free grants. I then had the treaty again read over aloud to them all & explained, when they all signed it, Shinguacouse and Nebengoching signing first.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Robinson, "Transcript of Diary...", September 6-7, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

¹⁶¹ Robinson, "Transcript of Diary...", September 6-7, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

¹⁶² Robinson, "Transcript of Diary...", September 9, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

Eight days later, Robinson verbally informed J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, that a settlement with the Indians had been reached.¹⁶³ On September 23, 1850, he wrote a letter to Governor George Simpson of the HBC informing the Governor of a few details about the treaty negotiations with the Lake Superior Indians. He expressed his appreciation for the services provided by John Swanston and Roderic McKenzie (Half-breed employees of the HBC) during the treaty negotiations and indicated approval of the idea of the HBC distributing annuity money each year.¹⁶⁴

The following day, Robinson submitted an official report to Colonel Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, detailing the treaty negotiations with the Lakes Superior and Huron Indians. Robinson explained that it was necessary to negotiate reasonable terms for the treaty as “the Indians had been advised by certain interested parties to insist on such extravagant terms as I felt it quite impossible to grant”.¹⁶⁵

The Treaty Commissioner made mention of “Halfbreeds” on Lake Superior in connection with a request for land from the Garden River Chiefs (see September 9 entry in Robinson diary). In regard to the latter request, Robinson explained that the two Chiefs requested a Robinson-Huron Treaty clause securing grants of land to “some sixty half-breeds”. It is interesting to note that further along in his report Robinson added eighty-four “Halfbreeds” into the total number of Indians (1,240) on Lake Superior and two hundred “Halfbreeds” into the total number of Indians (1,422) on Lake Huron:

When at Sault Ste. Marie last May, I took measures for ascertaining as nearly as possible the number of Indians inhabiting the north shore of the two lakes; and was fortunate to get a very correct census, particularly of Lake Superior. I found this information very useful at the council, as it enabled me successfully to contradict the assertion (made by those who were inciting the chiefs to resist my offers) that there were on Lake Superior alone, eight thousand Indians. **The number on that lake, including eighty-four half-breeds, is only twelve hundred and forty – and on Lake Huron, about fourteen and twenty-two, including probably two-hundred half-breeds;...**¹⁶⁶ [emphasis added]

While Robinson included a significant number of “Halfbreeds” within the total number of Indians to be treated with on Lakes Superior and Huron, he clearly differentiated between these “Halfbreeds” and others located at “Sault Ste. Marie and other places” who might seek recognition by Government for future treaty payments. It is not clear why he differentiated between claimant “half-breeds” though it might be the case that the ones he included within the treaty may have lived a more nomadic form of life with

¹⁶³ Robinson, “Transcript of Diary...”, September 19, 1850. AO J. C. Robinson Papers.

¹⁶⁴ Robinson to Simpson, September 23, 1850. HBCA D.5/28 Reel 3M92 folios 659-661.

¹⁶⁵ W. B. Robinson, Commissioner, to Colonel R. Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 24, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 191 pp. 111709-111717 Reel C-11513.

¹⁶⁶ Robinson to Bruce, September 24, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 191 pp. 111709-111717 Reel C-11513.

Indian bands, as described by Vidal and Anderson. The other “class of claimants” mentioned by Robinson, such as the group settled at Sault Ste. Marie, lived as settler-farmers and thus may have appeared in his eyes to be more European than Indian. Robinson dealt with this latter group of settled “half-breeds” as follows:

... it may be well that I should state here the answer that I gave to their demands on the present occasion. I told them I came to treat with the chiefs who were present, that the money would be paid to them – and their receipt was sufficient for me – that when in their possession they might give as much or as little to that class of claimants as they pleased. To this no one, not even their advisers, could object and I heard no more on the subject.¹⁶⁷

On September 26, Governor George Simpson readily agreed to the idea of HBC agents dispersing treaty annuity money for the Lake Superior Indians on behalf of the government. He also suggested that the annual presents could be distributed in the same manner and offered the additional inducement of free freight for transport of the presents from Sault Ste. Marie to the HBC posts. Simpson then requested “particular instructions for our guidance, with the names of all the Indians entitled to presents or a share of the annuity”.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Robinson to Bruce, September 24, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 191 pp. 111709-111717 Reel C-11513.

¹⁶⁸ Simpson to Robinson, September 26, 1850. LAC MG 20 D.4/42 Reel 3M13 folios 51d-52d.

Chapter 3: Government Activity

On July 23, 1840, the Queen authorized *The Union Act, 1840* which served to re-unite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The Act specified the composition and powers of the new legislature, and included provisions relating to boundaries of cities and towns, authority of the Governor, jurisdiction of courts, constitution of townships, etc. Lands encompassed by the new Province of Canada included the study region lands.¹⁶⁹

“Halfbreed” inclusion in Robinson-Superior Treaty Annuity Paylists

On September 21, 1850, John Swanston wrote to Governor Simpson in regard to monetary compensation for the treaty. He explained that at Michipicoten Post he distributed a portion of the £2,000 paid to the Indians of Lake Superior and “the share of every man, woman and child including halfbreeds is about 3£ each”.¹⁷⁰ Five days later, J. W. Keating offered his services to Colonel Bruce, Civil Secretary, as a Magistrate with jurisdiction over the extensive lands newly available for settlement along the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior.¹⁷¹

On October 16, 1850, Simpson wrote to Robinson proposing that the government allow the HBC to continue to distribute both treaty annuity money and annual presents on Lake Superior. The Governor also requested compensation for damages incurred at Sault Ste. Marie while government troops occupied HBC premises “for upwards of ten months” to prevent outbreaks of violence between the mining companies and the Indians and “Halfbreeds”.¹⁷²

The Robinson Treaties were ratified and confirmed by the Executive Council Committee on Land Applications on November 12, 1850.¹⁷³ In June of 1851, the Committee of the Executive Council recommended the survey of Indian reserves for the Indians of Lakes Huron and Superior. The Committee stated that this was a preliminary step in organizing the recently surrendered territory “with the view to raising funds to pay the Indian Annuity”.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ *The Union Act 1840*. 3 & 4 Victoria c. 35.

¹⁷⁰ John Swanston, Michipicoten, to George Simpson, Governor, HBC, September 21, 1850. PAM HBC D5/28 folios 92-93.

¹⁷¹ J. W. Keating to Col. Bruce, Civil Secretary, September 26, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 184 pp. 106949-106952 Reel C-11510.

¹⁷² Simpson to Robinson, October 16, 1850. HBCA D.4/42 Reel 3M13 folios 102-103.

¹⁷³ Committee of the Executive Council on Land Applications to the Provincial Secretary, November 12, 1850. LAC RG 10 Vol. 191 File 2043 Reel C-11,513.

¹⁷⁴ Report of a Committee of the Executive Council to the Governor General, June 14, 1851. LAC RG 1 E8 Vol. 40 pp. 107b-107c Reel H-1786.

In late October of 1851, Robinson sent a short letter to Colonel Bruce. He stated that the treaty negotiated with the Indians the previous year “was based on the same conditions as all preceding ones”. Robinson pointed out that these conditions were explained to the Indians and they were also clearly written into the treaty. Robinson then made a reference to “Halfbreeds” and the fact that he had not made any provision for them but told the Chiefs that they might “give them anything or nothing as they pleased”.¹⁷⁵ This latter comment appears to refer to the “Halfbreeds” residing at ‘Sault Ste. Marie and other places instead of the “Halfbreeds” who were incorporated by Robinson into the total number of Indians residing on the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior who had been dealt with during the treaty negotiations.

On April 9, 1852, Allan McDonnell corresponded with a Mr. Cameron about treaty issues. Within his letter he profiled the “Halfbreed” community at Sault Ste. Marie. These people cultivated land, were mostly of French origin, and most had been born in the area “of Indian mothers”. He described these people as “children of the soil” and argued they should be entitled to treaty benefits and annual payments. He noted that these “Halfbreeds” were the subject of a land grant request from the Lake Huron Indians during the treaty negotiations. McDonnell recalled that during the treaty negotiations Robinson told the Indians he would bring the request to the attention of the government.¹⁷⁶

An 1852 treaty payroll from Fort William contains a category for “Widows & Half Breeds”. Fourteen “Halfbreed” families with 61 people are listed for 1850 and 1851, and 56 “Halfbreeds” for 1852.¹⁷⁷ A Michipicoten annuity payroll covering 1850 and 1851 identifies twenty-eight “Halfbreed” families (86 people) and in 1852 there are ninety-one “Halfbreeds” listed.¹⁷⁸ At Long Lake (within the study region), the 1853 paylists does not contain a “Halfbreed” category but the families of Michel and Joseph Legarde Senior are included.¹⁷⁹ This family name is indicative of mixed-ancestry heritage.

The 1856 annuity paysheets for both Pic River and Long Lake contain a few French surnames such as “Morain”, “Legarde”, “Sabourin”, and “Louison”.¹⁸⁰ The 1858 *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada* contained a section dealing with “Scattered Bands On The Northern Shores of Lakes Huron and Superior”. Reference is made to eleven families (52 individuals) of mixed ancestry who were members of the Michipicoten Band. Commentary about Indians

¹⁷⁵ W. B. Robinson to Colonel Bruce, October 21, 1851. LAC RG 10 Vol. 192 File 5522.

¹⁷⁶ Allan MacDonnell, Lawyer, to Cameron, April 9, 1852. LAC RG 10 Vol. 266.

¹⁷⁷ F. Ermatinger, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort William, circa August 3, 1852. PAM HBCA B.129/d/7 fos. 5-6d.

¹⁷⁸ F. Ermatinger, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort William, August 3, 1852. LAC RG 10 Vol. 9497 Reel C-7167.

¹⁷⁹ Hudson's Bay Company Postmaster, Long Lake, circa September 30, 1853. PAM HBCA B.129/d/7 fos. 12-12d.

¹⁸⁰ Hudson's Bay Company Postmaster, Long Lake, circa September 30, 1856. PAM HBCA B.129/d/7 fos. 32-33; and Hudson's Bay Company Postmaster, Pic River, circa September 30, 1856. PAM HBCA B.129/d/7 fos. 31d-32.

at Pic River made mention of a white man who had “attached himself to this band, and claims a share of the annuity for his family, through his wife.”¹⁸¹ In 1859, the payroll for the Long Lake Band included two “Halfbreeds” and their families: Joseph Lagarde Senior and Joseph Lagarde Junior.¹⁸²

Postal Service in the Study Region

Prior to 1858, only the HBC could provide any form of postal service in the western Great Lakes and the North-West. HBC employees regularly delivered letters between posts and carried mail for non-employees. Starting in the 1840s, the HBC initiated a regular Lake Superior mail service for delivery as far as the Red River region. Michipicoten Post became a “transshipment centre for mail carried on the Red River settlement account.”¹⁸³

Evidently, as of 1858, the HBC ceased postal operation as during that year the nascent Canadian Postal Service contracted the steamer *Rescue* to carry mail on Lake Superior. The *Rescue* provided regular mail delivery to Michipicoten, Batchewana Bay, Pic River, Red Rock, and Fort William. As of 1867, Michipicoten was chosen as a Dominion postal service station.¹⁸⁴

Crown Activity between 1853 and 1867

In 1853, J.W. Bridgland, surveyor, received instructions to set out the reserves provided in the Robinson-Superior Treaty (a previous surveyor asked to be relieved of his duties for personal reasons). J. W. Keating assisted as the representative of the Department of Indian Affairs. However, in 1853, Bridgland and Keating produced a valid survey of only one reserve - Fort William.¹⁸⁵

Keating submitted an October 1853 report about the journey to ascertain boundaries of Indian reserves on Lake Superior. He mentioned significant geographic locales such as Otter's Head, White River, Pic River, Petits Ecris, River Wassajeuro, and Thunder Cape.

¹⁸¹ *Report of the Special Commissioners appointed on the 8th of September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada* (Toronto: Stewart Derbishire & George Desbarats, 1858).

¹⁸² G. Barnston, circa August 31, 1859. LAC RG 10 Vol. 9497 Reel C-7167.

¹⁸³ HBC, “Red River Settlement Postage Account, 1847,” Lake Superior District Accounts Books, 1847-1848. LAC HBCA B.129/d/4 Reel 1M521, cited in John Weiler, “Michipicoten: Hudson's Bay Company Post 1821-1904”, Historical Sites Branch Research Report No. 3, 1973, 47.

¹⁸⁴ HBC, “Letters from the Post Office Department of Canada to Michipicoten Post, 1873” Michipicoten, Accounts of the Lake Superior District, 1850-1901. AO MS Box 2 Encl. 5, cited in John Weiler, “Michipicoten: Hudson's Bay Company Post 1821-1904”, 47.

¹⁸⁵ J. W. Keating to Colonel Bruce, August 3, 1853. LAC RG 10 Vol. 204 No. 6973 Reel C-11,520.

While he described Pic River as “the most miserable place on the Lake”, he remarked on an excellent harbour for cargo vessels some two miles distant along the shore.¹⁸⁶

On September 11, 1856, John A. Macdonald wrote to the Provincial Secretary and pointed out the necessity of establishing “a complete judiciary system at Sault St Mary & on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. This will require legislative action. Mr. Wilson's suggestions will be taken into consideration in preparing the measure for Parl.”¹⁸⁷

The following year, the Honourable Joseph Cauchon, Commissioner of Crown Lands, submitted a memorandum to the Legislative Assembly concerning the “North-West Territories of Canada, Hudson’s Bay, the Indian Territories, and the Questions of Boundary and Jurisdiction connected therewith”. Cauchon noted that the main subject related to the renewal of a lease held by the HBC for the Indian Territories, “which were not considered to be within the bounds of Canada, though subject to Canadian jurisdiction.”¹⁸⁸

In February 1857, a Committee of the Executive Council recommended sending a Special Agent (Chief Justice Draper) to England to represent Canadian rights in respect of the HBC and boundary questions. The Committee noted the desirability of securing the North-West Territory and urged that limits be marked out to protect the lands above Lake Superior, around Red River and as far as the Pacific.¹⁸⁹ During August of 1858, the Canadian Parliament presented an Address to Queen Victoria regarding the HBC “License of Trade” over the Indian territories and the necessity for a final decision on the validity of the HBC Charter and the boundary of Canada on the north and the west.¹⁹⁰

The following year, the Crown enacted a statute entitled *An Act Respecting Civilization and Enfranchisement of Certain Indians*. The Act was designed to encourage the civilization of Indian tribes and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it within the Province of Canada. The Act contained a clause defining Indian people:

... the term ‘Indian’ means only Indians or persons of Indian blood or intermarried with Indians, acknowledged as members of Indian Tribes or

¹⁸⁶ J. W. Keating, October 24, 1853. AO RG 1 A-I-1 Vol. 66.

¹⁸⁷ John A. Macdonald to Provincial Secretary, September 11, 1856. J. K. Johnson, ed., *The Papers of the Prime Ministers*, Vol. I - The Letters of Sir John A. MacDonald 1836-1857 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968), 380. Note: Joseph Wilson became Postmaster, Collector of Debts, Crown Land Agent, and Justice of the Peace for the Algoma District.

¹⁸⁸ J. Cauchon, Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1857. *Correspondence, Papers and Documents of Dates from 1856 to 1882 Inclusive Relating to the Northerly and Westerly Boundaries of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1882), 6-31.

¹⁸⁹ Committee of the Executive Council, February 16, 1857. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1857, Vol. 15 No. 17.

¹⁹⁰ Canadian Parliament to Queen Victoria, August 13, 1858. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 23-24 (A-19).

Bands residing on lands which have never been surrendered to the Crown (or which having been so surrendered have been set apart or are then reserved for the use of any Tribe or Band of Indians in common)¹⁹¹

Also in 1859, the Crown passed *An Act respecting the Administration of Justice in the unorganized tracts*. This Act provided for the establishment of temporary judicial districts in unorganized territories, such as tracts of land bordering on and adjacent to Lake Superior, including islands.¹⁹² In August of 1859, the Crown passed *An Act to Make further Provision for the Regulation of the Trade with the Indians, and for the Administration of Justice in the North-western Territories of America*. This Act provided for Justices of the Peace “from Time to Time” to try in a summary way all crimes (except for the most serious capital crimes) in British American Indian Territories, as well as in Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁹³

It should be noted that *An Act to Make further Provision for the Regulation of the Trade with the Indians, and for the Administration of Justice in the North-western Territories of America* referred to two earlier English civil law acts passed in 1792 (*An Act Introducing English Civil Law Into Upper Canada, In The Thirty-Second Year of George The Third, 1792*, and *An Act Establishing Trial By Jury In Upper Canada, In The Thirty-Second Year Of George The Third, 1792*).¹⁹⁴ These two 1792 Acts had been implemented for better governance within the Province of Quebec (the boundaries of Quebec included the study area).

In 1859, the HBC established two more trading posts in the study area: one at Pays Plat and another at Red Rock. The HBC had previously operated a winter outpost at Pays Plat for approximately five years in the 1820s. By the late 1850s, a number of the HBC’s competitors were conducting business at Pays Plat. In 1858-59, an HBC clerk in charge of Lake Nipigon recommended that a guard post and fishing station be opened at Pays Plat. Governor George Simpson then authorized the Pays Plat Post as an outpost for Pic. The Pays Plat Post functioned as a fur trade outpost, guard post, and a fishing station for a few years; however, it is uncertain whether it operated after 1864.¹⁹⁵

The Red Rock Post, also established in 1859, operated as an outpost for Fort William for the purpose of guarding Nipigon House from independent fur traders. It functioned as a fur trade outpost and sales shop. In the 1860s, Red Rock became an important cargo transfer point. Goods, carried on larger vessels such as schooners and steamships from the lower lake regions, were transferred to canoes and other small boats for transportation

¹⁹¹ *An Act Respecting Civilization and Enfranchisement of Certain Indians*. S.C. 1859, 22 Vic., c. 9.

¹⁹² *An Act respecting the Administration of Justice in the unorganized tracts*. S.C. 1859, 22 Vic., c. 128, 997-1021.

¹⁹³ *An Act to make further Provision for the Regulation of the Trade with the Indians, and for the Administration of Justice in the North-western Territories of America*, August 13, 1859. S.C. 1859, 22 & 23 Vic., c. 26, 157-159.

¹⁹⁴ See footnotes 29 and 30.

¹⁹⁵ Archives of Manitoba - Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, keyword “Pays Plat” [accessed 2007/05/22].

up the Nipigon River to Nipigon House. Around 1864, Red Rock became an outpost of Nipigon House; in the following decade it was upgraded to a “post” and became the headquarters of the Nipigon District.¹⁹⁶

On March 20, 1860, the Toronto *Globe* newspaper reported on the controversial appointment of Colonel Prince to the judgeship of Algoma. Controversy arose due to political maneuvers whereby the government appointed a member of the Upper House “to a seat on the bench then withdrawing the nomination because they could not elect for his division a successor of their own political stripe.”¹⁹⁷

An inspector undertook an investigation of all mining locations on Lakes Huron and Superior in 1860. He reported that the white residents on the north shore of Lake Superior, excluding HBC posts, numbered seven men and two women.¹⁹⁸ Also in 1860, surveyor Thomas Wallis Herrick received instructions to explore the Lake Superior north shore from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William, to a depth of 25 miles from the shore. While he undertook a survey of the townships of Nee-Bing and Pai-Poonge in the Fort William area, there is no evidence that he surveyed any lands within the study area.¹⁹⁹

On March 1, 1863, Philip M. Vankoughnet, former Commissioner of Crown Lands, sent a letter to John A. Macdonald and informed him about previous Crown Lands policy in the North-West and along the Lake Superior shore. He explained that he had “laid out a town at Fort William and two townships into farm lots to form the outpost or commencement of settlement”. He had also ordered the exploration of the entire shore between the Sault and Fort William with “a view to its agricultural & mineral uses, & to making eventually of a road.” He noted that this exploratory assessment took place between 1860 and 1862. Vankoughnet claimed he had improved the roads around Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William and, in hopes of stimulating settlements, set the price of land at one shilling per acre. Vankoughnet pointed out that he had appointed a Crown Lands agent in Fort William, with the postmaster holding the position from 1861 to 1864.²⁰⁰

An 1865 “Statement of Mineral lands on Lake Superior” identified more than three dozen mining locations within the study area patented by the Crown Lands office to various

¹⁹⁶ Archives of Manitoba - Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, keyword “Red Rock” [accessed 2007/05/22].

¹⁹⁷ “Col. Prince's Judgeship”, March 20, 1860. R. Alan Douglas, ed., *John Prince, 1796-1870: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1980), 170-171.

¹⁹⁸ D. Y. Leslie, Mining Inspector, 1860. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 99-100 (D-12).

¹⁹⁹ T. W. Herrick, Surveyor, Report about survey of the Townships of Nee-Bing and Pai-Poonge, 1860. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 96-98 (D-10).

²⁰⁰ Philip M. Vankoughnet, former Commissioner of Crown Lands, to John A. Macdonald, March 1, 1863. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 101-102 (D-15).

individuals or mining concerns.²⁰¹ On August 6, 1866, the Executive Council passed an Order in Council establishing the boundary lines for townships “six miles square” on the north side of Lakes Huron and Superior. No road allowances were laid out on the boundary lines due to the rugged and unforgiving nature of the land. The Executive Council noted that due to the inferior quality of the land on the northerly shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, as well as the large amounts of land taken up as mining locations, it meant that “many years will elapse ere the townships enjoy the benefits of municipal corporations, and it is necessary to make provision for the establishment of roads”.²⁰²

Schedule B of the *Constitution Act, 1867* made provision for the Provisional Judicial District of Algoma, which incorporated land within the study region. In 1870, John A. Macdonald corresponded with John Sandfield Macdonald and remarked that the legislation with respect to Algoma was an experiment in order to encourage settlement. He noted that the experiment had not resulted in an influx of settlers.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Andrew Russell, Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, December 30, 1865. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 105-107 (D-18).

²⁰² Order in Council approved by the Executive Council, August 6, 1866. LAC RG 10 Vol. 1940 File 3978 Reel C-11116.

²⁰³ John A. Macdonald to John Sandfield Macdonald, November 29, 1870. R. Alan Douglas, ed., *John Prince, 1796-1870: A Collection of Documents*, 205.

Chapter 4: Settlement, Resource Development, and Government Administration within the Study Region, 1864-1901

Sessional Papers from the 1870s demonstrate that a number of fishing stations existed within the study region on Lake Superior. In the area under review in this paper, the early 1870s fishing stations included ones at Pays Plat, Grand Shaganash (an island off the southeastern tip of Black Bay Peninsula), and Silver Islet.²⁰⁴

In late 1871, or early 1872, A. H. Sibley, President, Silver Islet Mining Company, submitted to the Ontario government a defence to a challenge to the company's ownership of valuable mineral lands in the study region. Sibley noted that, in 1870, his company purchased mineral lands for \$225,000 from the Montreal Mining Company including a valuable location on Silver Islet. He explained that during 1871 the company expended some \$200,000 in developing the mining location on Silver Islet employing from 130 to 170 men. He pointed out that almost his entire workforce was comprised of Canadians and some Indians. Sibley mentioned that at an area called the Woods Location, some 5 miles east of Thunder Cape, the company had "established a colony of about 300 souls, almost all Canadians."²⁰⁵

In 1872, Canada invited Europeans and Americans to settle in the prairies with the passage of *The Dominion Lands Act (An Act Respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion)*. In a similar vein, the Ontario government, under the leadership of Oliver Mowat, offered many incentives to encourage settlement and/or resource development in northern and northwestern Ontario. During Mowat's administration (1872 to 1896), the Ontario government built colonization railways and subsidized the building of roads and bridges. The Government of Ontario projected that the land in the Thunder Bay vicinity would attract most of the settlement, and consequently, sent a number of surveyors there. As a result, in 1873, it created the municipality of Shuniah, which was comprised of Thunder Cape, the townships of McGregor, Pardee, Crooks, McTavish, McIntyre,

²⁰⁴ "Return of Fishing Stations, Yield, Value, Number of Men employed, Number of Nets ond [sic] Yards of Gill Fets [sic], in the Province of Ontario". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 8), 36 Victoria, A. 1872; "Return of Fishing Stations, Yield, Value, Number of Men employed, Number of Nets ond [sic] Yards of Gill Fets [sic], in the Province of Ontario". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 8), 36 Victoria, A. 1873, pp. 140-141; "Statement of the Number and Value of Vessels, Boats, Nets &c., together with the Yield and Value of Fish in the Province of Ontario". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 4), 37 Victoria, A. 1874; "Statement of the Number and Value of Vessels, Boats, Nets &c., together with the Yield and Value of Fish in the Province of Ontario". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 5), 38 Victoria, A. 1875, pp. 146-147; "Return showing the Number and Value of Vessels, Boats, Nets, &c. together with the Yield and Value of Fish in the Province of Ontario". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 5), 40 Victoria, A. 1876; and "Appendix No. 19 Return showing the Number and Value of Vessels, Boats, Nets, &c. together with the Yield and Value of Fish in the Province of Ontario, for the Year 1876". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 5), 40 Victoria, A. 1877.

²⁰⁵ A. H. Sibley, President, Silver Islet Mining Company, 1872 [circa]. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 142-145 (F-1).

Paipoonge, Neebing (which included Fort William), and the village of Prince Arthur's Landing.²⁰⁶

In 1874, Sibley Township was surveyed, the southern portion of which contained Black Bay, Thunder Cape, Silver Islet, and Ontario Mineral Lands Company land.²⁰⁷ However, in an effort to secure more control and order in the land granting procedure, it would not be opened for settlement until the free grants were surveyed.²⁰⁸ That same year, the Roman Catholic Mission at Lake Helen built a schoolhouse approximately four miles from where the majority of the Red Rock Indian Band's children lived. The school remained in existence fifteen years later, yet the Indian Agent noted that it was no longer "so well attended as it ought to be."²⁰⁹

Order in Council 1875-0316 established the Port Arthur Indian Agency on April 1, 1875.²¹⁰ It had long been discussed that an Indian Agent needed to take charge of the Indian lands in that region as there had been "no officer of the Department West of Sault Ste. Marie, to whom [the] Indians can refer for advice or assistance."²¹¹ The new Indian Agent would be stationed at Thunder Bay on Lake Superior and maintain responsibility for the Indian lands and the Indians from Batchewanning Bay on Lake Superior to Fort Francis.²¹² The Indian Agent received responsibility for Indian bands along the north shore of Lake Superior including Fort William, Nipigon, Red Rock, Pic, Pays Plat, and Long Lake.²¹³

The 1877 *Sessional Papers* identified fishing stations operating at Jackfish Bay and Fluor Island (located between St. Ignace Island and the east side of Black Bay Peninsula).²¹⁴ While the *Sessional Papers* do not provide an ethnic breakdown of the people harvesting fish, it seems highly likely that Indians and people of mixed ancestry would have participated in the fishing activity in addition to newly arrived settlers in the region.

²⁰⁶ "From Our Own Correspondent", January 10, 1884. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 191-192.

²⁰⁷ Based upon a plan at the Archives of Ontario dated January 22, 1847. AO C-271-3 File C-271-1-0-0-2 Folder N-1147. The plan could not be copied for conservation reasons.

²⁰⁸ Beth Boegh, ed., "Homesteading at Pass Lake, 1924-1934: A Memoir by Karl (Charles) Hansen", *Thunder Bay Museum Society Papers and Records*, Volume XXX (2002), 3.

²⁰⁹ J. P. Donnelly, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1889. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1889* (Ottawa: Brown & Chamberlain, 1890), 12.

²¹⁰ Order in Council 1875-0316, April 1, 1875. LAC RG 2 Vol. 332 Reel C-3311.

²¹¹ David Laird, Memorandum, March 31, 1875, attached to Order in Council, April 1, 1875, approving the action. LAC RG 2 Vol. 332 Reel C-3311.

²¹² David Laird, Memorandum, March 31, 1875, attached to Order in Council, April 1, 1875, approving the action. LAC RG 2 Vol. 332 Reel C-3311.

²¹³ Order in Council 1875-0316, April 1, 1875. LAC RG 2 Vol. 332 Reel C-3311.

²¹⁴ "Appendix No. 19 Return showing the Number and Value of Vessels, Boats, Nets, &c. together with the Yield and Value of Fish in the Province of Ontario, for the Year 1876". Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 5), 40 Victoria, A. 1877.

Certainly, Indian Affairs' *Annual Reports* in the 1880s indicate that the Indians in the area were dependant upon fishing as a food source.²¹⁵

The Indian Agent made some of the treaty annuity payments for Lake Superior Indians at Red Rock as, in 1879, the Nipigon Indians began to complain that Red Rock was too far for them to travel.²¹⁶ Red Rock seemed to be a centre of sorts as it appears to have one of the earliest post offices in the area. While the research to date has not confirmed the date of the establishment of a post office at Red Rock, there certainly was one in operation prior to 1886.²¹⁷ A review of Nipigon House post journals indicates that mail was being transported from Red Rock to Lake Nipigon as early as 1877.²¹⁸

Policing

In the research to date, we have been unable to discover when the first provincial police officer was stationed in the study area. In 1864, an Indian accused of committing a murder near the Nipigon River was at large. The head of the HBC post in the area (Fort William) stated that he could have the man captured and sent to Sault Ste. Marie, if a one hundred dollar reward were offered. An official of the Upper Canada Crown Law Department informed the Attorney General that if he would allow it, a warrant could be issued for the arrest and sent either to the sheriff in Sault Ste. Marie or himself. The official also recommended that the head of the Hudson's Bay Post, Mr. McIntyre, should be appointed as a magistrate for the area, as there was no magistrate "West or North West of the Sault."²¹⁹

By the late 1870s, the study region could still be construed as a developing settlement area based upon a diverse and transient population. It was not until the end of the 1870s that minor changes occurred in the administration of justice to reflect the application of law in the more settled areas. Local magistrates could now mete out summary justice and one commentator argued that the proceedings relating to a violent incident at Jackfish suggest that "... unless the victim of assault seemed on the point of death, criminal charges against his assailant might not be pressed."²²⁰

The year 1879 saw the appointment of the first sheriff for Thunder Bay, the first trials were held at Prince Arthur's Landing in 1880, and four years later, the judicial district of

²¹⁵ See, for example, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 31st December, 1888* (Ottawa: Brown & Chamberlain, 1890), Part I, pp. 12-13.

²¹⁶ Chief Windjab to S. J. Dawson, Indian Branch, Department of the Interior, September 3, 1879. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2072 File 10,711 Reel C-11,150.

²¹⁷ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, February 9, 1886. LAC RG 3 Vol. 112 File 1886-848 Reel T-2271.

²¹⁸ Nipigon House Post Journal entry, April 26, 1877. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

²¹⁹ Crown Law Department to John A. Macdonald, Attorney General, August 2, 1864. LAC RG 13 Vol. 11 File 1864-757.

²²⁰ Elizabeth Arthur, ed. *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, lxxxiv.

Thunder Bay was created.²²¹ On November 16, 1885, in Jackfish Bay, located east of Port Arthur along the CPR line, there was an incident between Edward McMartin and James McKay (the former bit off the finger of the latter). Evidently a police officer identified as Constable McIntyre went in search of McMartin. It appears that McMartin was later “shot and killed while resisting arrest in Cartier, January 12, 1886”.²²² There is no indication where Constable McIntyre was stationed, or if he was a provincial police officer or a town constable.

It appears that administrative changes relating to policing were not always effective. In the early 1890s, Thunder Bay’s newspaper, the *Sentinel*, noted the difficulty of catching criminals in a sparsely populated country, with bush surrounding the few settlements and a railway line providing a convenient means for escape.²²³

In an 1880 speech in the House of Commons, Simon J. Dawson, Algoma Member of Parliament, remarked that for many years Quebec and Upper Canada exercised concurrent jurisdiction in the lands north of Lake Superior. Dawson pointed out that prior to the 1840 Union of Canada, “Quebec had issued writs for execution on Lake Superior, in the vicinity of Fort William, as Upper Canada had also done.”²²⁴ These writs of execution demonstrate yet again that prior to 1840 the Province of Quebec, and subsequently Upper Canada, extended its legal administration into the study region area, and further west.

By 1880, the correspondence relating to some of the Indian groups in the Lake Superior study region indicate that people of mixed ancestry lived among the Indians. Several petitions in the 1880s were made on behalf of the “Indians and half breeds” of certain areas. For example, in June of 1880, the “Indians and half breeds of the Pic River, Lake Superior” petitioned for a reserve.²²⁵

On July 6, 1880, the Indians and “Halfbreeds” of Lake Nipigon sent a petition for money to pay for a school teacher. The petitioners claimed 20 families, with 32 children of school age, lived in the vicinity of the school house for most of the summer. Among the Nipigon Indian signatories, five people of mixed ancestry signed the petition: Henry, Alexandre, and Charles de LaRonde, as well as Louison and Gilbert Bouchard.²²⁶

A week later, the “Indians and half breeds of Lake Helen, near the Hudson’s Bay Company Post at Red Rock” stated in a petition that they had “cleared land and built

²²¹ Elizabeth Arthur, ed. *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, lxxxiii.

²²² “The Jackfish ‘Demi-Monde’”, November 27, 1885. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 193-196.

²²³ Elizabeth Arthur, ed. *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, lxxxiv.

²²⁴ Simon J. Dawson, M.P., February 18, 1880. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 25-26 (A-21).

²²⁵ Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of the Pic River, Lake Superior, June 23, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2137 File 27806 Reel C-11166.

²²⁶ Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of the Reservation of Lake Nipigon to the Governor General of Canada, July 6, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2095 File 16450 Reel C-11156.

houses close to each other on the shore of Lake Helen where we can always find good quality fish”.²²⁷ (Lake Helen is adjacent to the Town of Nipigon on the northern boundary of the study region). The petitioners pointed out that they had built a schoolhouse in the middle of the settlement with money allotted to them by Ontario. They requested a reserve in the vicinity of the Red Rock post and money for a school teacher. They claimed that 20 families lived within three miles of the school house and that there were 30 school age children. F. de LaRonde, Pierre Deschamps, Francois Bouchard, and Louis Bouchard are mixed ancestry people who signed the petition.²²⁸

As evidenced from the petitions from the “Indians and half breeds” of Lake Helen and Lake Nipigon, there were schools in the vicinity. The petitioners claimed they had constructed the school houses with money from the Government of Ontario’s Surplus Distribution Fund and were now requesting further funding from the federal government for the teachers’ salaries.²²⁹

Post Office and Railroad

In August 1883, a post office was established at Jackfish Bay (between Terrace Bay and Bottle Cove); however, it had an erratic start.²³⁰ Once the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) construction was completed in the vicinity, there was no longer a need for the post office and it was closed.²³¹ During this time, there appears to have been two or three doctors working within the study region based out of Port Arthur.²³²

In 1885, the CPR completed its railroad that ran along the north shore of Lake Superior.²³³ With the completion of the railway, small towns formed along its route. The railway brought more permanent residents, visitors, and goods to the area. For example, a small village developed at Jackfish Bay in the mid-1880s following railway completion.

²²⁷ Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of Lake Helen near Red Rock, July 13, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2095 File 16450 Reel C-11156. See Appendix A for further information about these mixed ancestry individuals.

²²⁸ Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of Lake Helen near Red Rock, July 13, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2095 File 16450 Reel C-11156. See Appendix A for further information about these mixed-ancestry individuals.

²²⁹ Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of the Reservation of Lake Nipigon to the Governor General of Canada, July 6, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2095 File 16450 Reel C-11156; and Petition of the Indians and half-breeds of Lake Helen near Red Rock, July 13, 1880. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2095 File 16450 Reel C-11156.

²³⁰ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, September 12, 1883. LAC RG 3 Vol. 110 File 1883-881 Reel T-2270.

²³¹ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, March 31, 1884. LAC RG 3 Vol. 110 File 1884-116 Reel T-2271.

²³² “From Our Own Correspondent”, January 10, 1884. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 191-192.

²³³ “Linking Canada, 1867-1891” [Plate 27] in Louise R. Gentilcore, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. II the Land Transformed 1800-1891* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 72-73.

As noted, in 1884, the post office was closed as it had operated primarily for the railway construction workers; however, by 1886, the Post Office Inspector recommended re-opening the Jackfish Bay post office to service the small village that had developed over two years.²³⁴ The new village was made up of 30 buildings (mostly private dwellings), a train station, a store, and offices for the CPR. The post office at Jackfish Bay officially re-opened the following year.²³⁵

Likewise, in 1886, a post office was established in the village of Schreiber,²³⁶ “for the convenience of the employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the vicinity of Schreiber station.”²³⁷ By 1901, the village had over 500 inhabitants, all of whom appeared to be of non-Aboriginal descent.²³⁸ In 1887, an official postmaster was also appointed for the town of Rosspport.²³⁹ By 1901, the village had a population of roughly 250 inhabitants, which included a number of people of mixed ancestry.²⁴⁰

In the mid-1880s, as towns began to develop along the railway line, some of the Indian bands in the area began to formalize their communities. In addition to requesting formal reserves and money to pay for school teachers, both the Red Rock and Pays Plat Bands elected their first Chiefs in 1885.²⁴¹ People of mixed ancestry participated in the election of the Chiefs. Jimmy Bouchard and Pierre Bonnett voted for Pierre Deschamps (mixed-ancestry) as Chief of the Red Rock Band.²⁴²

Pierre Deschamps resided among the Indian Mission residents on Lake Helen in 1888, while Chief of the Red Rock Indian Band.²⁴³ An 1888 petition from the “Red Rock Indians” declared that Pierre Deschamps “is altogether unfit to be our chief.”²⁴⁴ The petitioners

²³⁴ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, August 16, 1886. LAC RG 3 Vol. 112 File 1886-25 Reel C-2272.

²³⁵ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, March 8, 1887. LAC RG 3 Vol. 113 File 1887-216 Reel T-2272.

²³⁶ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, June 2, 1886. LAC RG 3 Vol. 112 File 1886-962 Reel T-2271.

²³⁷ M. Sweetman, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, February 9, 1886. LAC RG 3 Vol. 112 File 1886-848 Reel T-2271.

²³⁸ Algoma District Census - Schreiber Sub-district, 1901. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458. Note that LAC’s finding aids suggest that the village of Schreiber was included in the 1891 census; however, we were unable to find it with the source provided.

²³⁹ J. P. French, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, December 6, 1887. LAC RG 3 Vol. 96 File 1887-543 Reel T-2261.

²⁴⁰ Algoma District Census - Rosspport (Village) Sub-district, 1901. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

²⁴¹ J. P. Donnelly, Indian Agent, Port Arthur, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 9, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11,196.

²⁴² J. P. Donnelly to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 22, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

²⁴³ See Appendix A for further information about Pierre Deschamps.

²⁴⁴ Red Rock Indians to John A Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, May 16, 1888. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

intimated that he had been improperly elected by only a few people. Louis Bouchard and David Mainville were among those that signed the petition.²⁴⁵

On June 8, 1888, Indian Agent Donnelly, Port Arthur reported that only three of the petitioners were listed on the Red Rock Band treaty pay sheet. He also mentioned that there were not 50 or 60 “permanent residents as presented” in the 1888 petition.²⁴⁶ Donnelly reported that Chief Deschamps had been properly elected and that he had submitted evidence that two thirds of the band had been at the election. Nonetheless, he had informed the band that every three years they could hold elections for a new Chief, and that the following month Chief Deschamps’ three year term would expire.²⁴⁷

In the mid- to late-1880s, Dominion Land Surveyors surveyed a number of reserves in the Lake Superior area: Red Rock (Lake Helen), Pays Plat, Pic River, and Michipicoten River were surveyed by late 1885 and the Gull Bay (Lake Nipigon) and Long Lake Reserves were surveyed in 1887. In addition to having surveyed reserves, both the Dominion and Ontario governments began to take steps to construct a wagon road between Red Rock and Lake Nipigon.²⁴⁸

In 1888, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs recommended that the Department of Justice appoint the Indian Agent at Fort William as the Commissioner of the Dominion Police for the District of Algoma. His main primary duty would be to deal with liquor infractions and responsibilities would encompass policing for both Natives and non-Natives.²⁴⁹

In 1892, Pierre Deschamps, the mixed-ancestry Chief at Red Rock (Nipigon River), petitioned the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for a schoolhouse. He stated that while there already was a school at the Catholic Mission, it was only attended by a few children and it would be unsafe for the majority of the Band’s children to attend, as it was across Lake Helen from the reserve, at the Mission.²⁵⁰ By 1893, the Red Rock Reserve

²⁴⁵ Red Rock Band to John A. Macdonald, Minister of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

²⁴⁶ J. P. Donnelly, Indian Agent, to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 8, 1888, LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

²⁴⁷ J. P. Donnelly to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, June 8, 1888. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

²⁴⁸ “A. L. Russell’s Survey of Indian Reservations at Nipigon, 1887”. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 194-196.

²⁴⁹ L. Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to A. Power, Acting Deputy Minister of Justice, January 31, 1888. LAC RG 13 Vol. 69 File 1888-99.

²⁵⁰ Peter Deschamps, Chief, Indian Band, Nipigon River, to Edgar Dewdney, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1892. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2645 File 130522 Reel C-11256.

had a school and a teacher, John Deschamps (mixed-ancestry), had been appointed.²⁵¹ By this time, a school had also been operating on the Pays Plat Reserve.²⁵²

The continued growth of the small communities within the study area is evidenced by requests for post offices. In 1893, the village of Pearl River applied for the establishment of a post office. At that time, the community of “four families and thirty single men” was made up of “two Railway gangs and about fifteen miners.”²⁵³ By 1898, the community had grown to approximately 10 families and “a number of unmarried men.”²⁵⁴

Likewise, in 1895, the community of Ouimet Siding requested a post office. It argued that in addition to its own community, both the nearby townships of Dorion and McTavish had been opened for homesteading and contained good agricultural land.²⁵⁵ The approval for a post office in Ouimet Siding was denied, as the postmaster regarded the community as little more than a “railway siding” at which the trains did not even stop. The Post Office Department stated that until there were at least 10 families residing in Ouimet, a post office would not be opened.²⁵⁶ In 1897, 18 residents from both Pearl River and Ouimet Siding tried their luck once more at petitioning for a post office at Pearl River.²⁵⁷ Their request was denied the following year.²⁵⁸

Census Information and the Study Region

There were four censuses undertaken between 1871 and 1901. The area under study in this paper fell into the District of West Algoma for the purposes of the censuses. The District of Algoma was enormous in comparison to the districts in southern and eastern Ontario. It started at the border of Manitoba and went east to the Nipissing District boundary; it included all the land north of Lake Superior in Ontario at the time (i.e., to the District of Keewatin). Unfortunately, the maps included with the census information in the Archives do not break down Algoma into the sub-districts that are contained in the enumeration forms. As

²⁵¹ J. P. Donnelly to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1893. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2645 File 130522 Reel C-11256.

²⁵² J. P. Donnelly to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 2, 1893. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2645 File 130522 Reel C-11256.

²⁵³ J. D. [Barnel?], Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, Ottawa, March 20, 1893. LAC RG 3 Vol. 116 File 1893-248 Reel T-2274.

²⁵⁴ J. Henderson, Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, Ottawa, January 3, 1898. LAC RG 3 Vol. 118 File 1898-451 Reel T-2276.

²⁵⁵ A. R. Bain, Resident, Ouimet Siding, to the Postmaster General, January 18, 1895. LAC RG 10 Vol. 117 File 1895-171 Reel T-2275

²⁵⁶ R. M. [Barken?], Post Office Inspector, to the Postmaster General, Ottawa, February 27, 1895. LAC RG 10 Vol. 117 File 1895-171 Reel T-2275.

²⁵⁷ Residents of Ouimet and Pearl River, Ontario, to the Postmaster General, December 15, 1897. LAC RG 3 Vol. 118 File 1898-451 Reel T-2276.

²⁵⁸ A. E. Dymont to Wm. Mulock, Postmaster General, Ottawa, January 15, 1898. LAC RG 3 Vol. 118 File 1898-451 Reel T-2276

a result, it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly what area a census return applies to (see the problems below with respect to the early “Nipigon” censuses).

Despite the problems, the census forms do provide good information relating to the ethnicity of the populations of the budding townships. The 1871, 1881, and 1901 Censuses all provide specific information relating to the populations’ ethnicity. Columns such as “Origin,” “Colour,” and “Racial or Tribal origin” were used to record such information. The 1891 Census, however, stopped short of providing information relating to the racial makeup of the enumerated people.

The census information between 1871 and 1901 would suggest that there was no significant settled community of mixed-ancestry people living in the study area. The 1891 Census showed two families of mixed ancestry living in Nipigon Township, and the 1901 Census identified four families of mixed ancestry living in the Nipigon Township. The 1901 Census also documented a single family of mixed-ancestry people living in the Town of RosSPORT and it showed two families of mixed ancestry living among the Indians at Pays Plat.

1871, 1881, and 1891 Censuses – Nipigon Township

The municipal township of Nipigon is located at the mouth of the Nipigon River. It has a long history. In 1678, Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Dulhut, built Fort Camanistigoyan at the mouth of the river and from 1775-1785 the HBC operated Fort Nipigon at this location.²⁵⁹ The HBC reopened a fort at this location called Red Rock House in 1859. The township seems to have come into existence in the early 1870s, as Alan Rayburn’s book *Place Names of Ontario* states that the municipal township was named Red Rocks in 1872, and its name changed to Nipigon in 1889, with a spelling change in 1912 leading to “Nipigon”.²⁶⁰

It should be noted that the municipal township of Nipigon should not be confused with the “Sub-District” of West Algoma that was called “Nipigon” for the purposes of the 1871 and 1881 Censuses. For those two censuses, the sub-district of “Nipigon” appears to be limited to the Indians and the HBC personnel in the Lake Nipigon area (probably including both the Nipigon House Post and Poplar Lodge Post), which is outside of the study area.²⁶¹ Those two early censuses contain too many families for them to relate to the town of Red Rocks, which eventually was renamed Nipigon in 1889. For example, the 1871 Census lists 82 families, the vast majority of which are noted as being of “Indian” origin.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 243.

²⁶⁰ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 243.

²⁶¹ It is difficult to tell exactly where the Sub-District of Nipigon is located; the map provided for the census in LAC does not provide the districts that were enumerated north of Lake Superior.

²⁶² There was only one specific mention of a “Halfbreed,” in reference to a young girl, “J. Marcellas 3rd child.” See West Algoma District Census, Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, 22.

Additionally, Henry de La Ronde was included in the 1871 Census for the sub-district of Nipigon, and documents indicate that he was working at Lake Nipigon during the 1871 census period. He was the clerk at the Hudson's Bay Company's Poplar Lodge Post (located on the eastern coast of Lake Nipigon) between approximately 1868 and 1871.²⁶³ In 1871, he transferred to the post at "Nipigon" (i.e., Nipigon House Post, also on Lake Nipigon), and wrote his first entry in the post's journal on July 14, 1871.²⁶⁴ Henry de La Ronde was employed at the Nipigon House post until 1890.²⁶⁵ Consequently, despite there being no map detailing the exact location of the sub-district of Nipigon for the early censuses, it appears that the area dealt mostly with the Indians of Lake Nipigon.

It is unclear how accurately the 1871 Census reflected the Nipigon population. A note on the census stated that the enumerator had not paid "domiciliary visits" to the Indians; in other words, he may have obtained the information from church records, HBC personnel, or a few individual Indians, etc.²⁶⁶ The 1881 Census for the sub-district of Nipigon also appears to enumerate the people living at Lake Nipigon; it lists 94 families with a total population of 514, which at this time is far too large a population base for the budding town of Red Rocks (which later became the township of Nipigon).

In contrast, the 1891 Census may contain information relating to the budding community of "Nepigon" (as noted above, it was named Nepigon two years prior to the 1891 Census; it had been named Red Rocks between 1872 and 1889, and the Nepigon spelling would later be changed to Nipigon in 1912). In 1891, the Indians of Lake Nipigon appear to have been enumerated again but with the addition of the Pays Plat Indians.²⁶⁷ However, a further enumeration list is provided for the "Polling District of Nepigon," which most likely provides information for the town of Nepigon.²⁶⁸

Unfortunately, the enumeration forms for the 1891 Census were changed from the ones used in the two earlier censuses. The 1871 and 1881 Censuses used a column entitled "Origin" that was used to distinguish ethnicity. Terms such as "Indian," "Halfbreed," "Scotch," "English," "French," etc. were used in that column to denote the racial origins of the enumerated. While the 1891 Census did not use the "Origin" column, it employed columns such as "Country or Province of Birth," "French Canadian," "Place of Birth of Father," and

²⁶³ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon," *Thunder Bay Historical Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981) 41-41. Henry de La Ronde was Clerk at Poplar Lodge during at least part of the same period of time that Robert Crawford was Chief Trader at the Lake Nipigon Post, which was 1868-1871.

²⁶⁴ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon," *Thunder Bay Historical Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981): 42-43.

²⁶⁵ "Nipigon House". Archives of Manitoba – Keystone Archives Descriptive Database [accessed May 22, 2007].

²⁶⁶ West Algoma District Census, Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, pp. 1, 4, 22.

²⁶⁷ Algoma Western Division Census – Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians, No. 8, Nipigon Sub-district, 1891. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024.

²⁶⁸ The map relating to Algoma District included among the materials for the 1891 Census at LAC does not provide a breakdown of the sub-districts, so we have no information on the scope of the "Polling District of Nepigon."

“Place of Birth of Mother” to suggest some of the same information. However, those columns stop short of providing enough information to determine whether the enumerated are Indians, people of mixed ancestry, or non-Native.²⁶⁹

With a review of the names included on the 1891 Census for the Polling District of Nipigon, we were only able to determine two families that included people of mixed ancestry: Jane Michelson was a Swampy Cree from Moose Factory²⁷⁰ married to John Michelson; according to the earlier 1881 Census she had seven children (all listed as Canadian).²⁷¹ The 1891 Census also listed Mary Anne Watt, née de Laronde, a woman of mixed ancestry;²⁷² who had married John Watt.²⁷³ Consequently, it does not appear that the town of Nipigon contained or was derived from a significant mixed-ancestry population by the time of the 1891 Census.

1881 Census – Silver Islet

The Sibley Peninsula is a 35 kilometre peninsula that includes the township of Sibley, which was named in 1873 after Major Alexander Sibley of Detroit who bought the Silver Islet mine in 1869.²⁷⁴ In the 1881 Census, the enumeration listing for the sub-district St. Ignace includes information for Silver Islet. It shows three families, none of which contain people of mixed ancestry.²⁷⁵

1901 Census – Nipigon Township (including Dorion), Rosspport (including Pays Plat), and Schreiber

The 1901 Census saw a return to the recording of ethnicity with the use of a column entitled “Racial or Tribal origin” as well a column named “Colour,” in which a “W” or an

²⁶⁹ For example, knowing that a person was born in Ontario and that both parents were born in Ontario gives no clue to the person’s ethnicity in terms of being Native, of mixed ancestry, or non-Native. See Algoma Western Division Census - Polling District No. 8, Nipigon Sub-district, 1891. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024.

²⁷⁰ J. A. Macrae, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, Department of Indian Affairs, to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, "Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899", 28-29.

²⁷¹ Thunder Bay District Census, Nipigon Sub District, 1881. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 8.

²⁷² On the 1871 Census for Nipigon she is listed as “French & Indian” and on the 1881 Census she is listed as “French.” See West Algoma District Census, Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784; and Algoma Thunder Bay District Census, Nipigon Sub District, 1881. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 8

²⁷³ J. A. Macrae, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, Department of Indian Affairs, to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, "Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899", 25.

²⁷⁴ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 317.

²⁷⁵ Thunder Bay District Census, Silver Islet and St. Ignace Sub-Districts, 1881. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282. Note that most of the mixed families and individuals are found on pages 15-17.

“R” appears to denote “White” or “Red.” The 1901 Census provides enumeration sheets for the Nipigon Township, which definitely included the village of Nipigon.²⁷⁶ The two families of mixed ancestry recorded in 1891 for the polling district of Nipigon do not show up in the 1901 Census. However, the census does indicate that there were four families of mixed ancestry in Nipigon Township by 1901:

- Olsen family: consists of Norwegian head of family and his “Canadian” wife who is listed as “R” in the “colour” column.
- [Dick?] family: consists of a Scottish head of family and his three “Scotch Canadian” [daughters?] who are listed as “R” in the “colour” column.
- Matheson family: consists of a Scottish husband and his Cree wife. They have seven children, who are all listed as “R” in the “colour” column and “Cree S.B” in the “Racial or Tribal origin” column.
- Murchison family: The head of the household, John, is listed as Scandinavian and his two sons are all listed as “R” in the “colour” column and “Cree O.B” in the “Racial or Tribal origin” column.

The 1901 Census for Nipigon Township also contains the enumeration for the community of Dorion. It was a small township, approximately 65 kilometres northeast of Thunder Bay, and was named in 1873 for Sir Antoine-Aimé Dorion, co-Premier of the Province of Canada in 1858. By the time of the 1901 Census, Dorion had a population of 21 people, none of whom were recorded as being of mixed ancestry.²⁷⁷ As an indication of the growth of the community, the Dorion Station post office was not opened until 1912.²⁷⁸

Two other communities north of Lake Superior were also enumerated for the 1901 Census: Rosspport Village and Schreiber. Rosspport is a community approximately 20 kilometres west of Schreiber and was earlier called Gravel River and McKay’s Harbour. The name “McKay’s Harbour” was derived from Charles McKay, a mixed-ancestry person who arrived in the region in 1874.²⁷⁹ The town was re-named Rosspport in 1880, possibly for John Ross (railway contractor).²⁸⁰

There are three families of mixed ancestry listed in the 1901 Census for Rosspport; however, it should be noted that Rosspport Village census returns also included the enumeration of Indians at Pays Plat. Two of the families of mixed ancestry lived among the Indians at Pays Plat; one family lived in the village of Rosspport. The families of mixed origin in the 1901 Census for Rosspport (including Pays Plat Indians) were:

²⁷⁶ Algoma District Census – Nipigon Township, 1901. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

²⁷⁷ 1901 Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub-district. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

²⁷⁸ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario*. (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 94-95.

²⁷⁹ “From Our Own Correspondent”, January 10, 1884. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, footnote 36, 191-192.

²⁸⁰ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 297.

- Charles McKay, his wife Mary Ann, an Ojibwa, and their seven children, who were all listed as “Canadian” live in the village of Rosspport.
- Joseph Musquash, his wife Lizbeth, and their two children. The members of the Musquash family are listed as “Ojibway” and live within the Pays Plat Indian community.
- The Lasage family also live with the Pays Plat Indian community and are listed as “Ojibway F.B”²⁸¹

Schreiber’s original name was “Isbester’s Landing” in honour of Colonel Isbester who landed troops there during the first Riel Rebellion of 1869-1870. As of 1885, the railway reached Isbester’s Landing and a new settlement developed on the site of the CPR camp located about two miles inland from the original settlement. It was renamed Schreiber after Sir Collingwood Schreiber, a civil engineer who succeeded Sir Sandford Fleming as CPR Chief Engineer in 1880. The first permanent houses were constructed by the CPR.²⁸² The 1901 Census listed a relatively large community of 101 families, consisting of 510 people. According to the 1901 Census forms, there were no families of mixed ancestry in the township of Schreiber.²⁸³

Small townships not included in early Censuses

There is evidence of other small communities that do not seem to be specifically included with the censuses between 1871 and 1901; for example, Ouimet Canyon and Wolfe (later known as Hurkett). Ouimet Canyon is located approximately 60 kilometres northeast of Thunder Bay; it took its name from the nearby CPR station of Ouimet.²⁸⁴ As noted above, Ouimet was very small and in the late 1890s its request for a post office was denied as it did not have 10 families that the Post Office Department considered as a minimum for post office service.

Wolfe was a small community when the Canadian Northern railway was built along the shore of Black Bay on Lake Superior. Its name was changed to Hurkett in 1919.²⁸⁵ Both of these communities appear to have been too small to warrant their own listings in the early censuses. From the research to date we have been unable to determine whether they were included in the censuses of other sub-districts. As a result of their very small populations, it can be concluded that there was no significant mixed-ancestry population in these communities at the time of the censuses.

Other communities in the study area came into existence long after the first four censuses. For example, the town of Red Rock, located at the mouth of the Nipigon River some 10

²⁸¹ Algoma District Census - Rosspport (Village) Sub-district, 1901. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

²⁸² Nick and Helma Mika, *Places in Ontario* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1983), 366.

²⁸³ 1901 Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub-district. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

²⁸⁴ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario*, 260.

²⁸⁵ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario*, 164.

kilometres south of the town of Nipigon, did not have its first homesteaders until 1915.²⁸⁶
Terrace Bay was not founded until 1947, when a sulphite pulp mill was constructed.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Nick and Helma Mika, *Places in Ontario*, 287.

²⁸⁷ Alan Rayburn, *Place Names of Ontario*, 339.

Concluding Summary

Ethnogenesis

By the late seventeenth century, the population of the Lake Superior north shore study region, with virtually no exceptions, was Ojibway Indian. Europeans first came into contact with Ojibway Indians residing in the Lake Superior north shore study region during the first part of the 17th century. Following the 1760 conquest of New France, British fur traders began to extend their operations into the western Great Lakes region below the “height of the land”. Toward the end of the century the two dominant companies in the region were the Montreal headquartered NWC and the HBC, which amalgamated in 1821.

Missionary, HBC, NWC, and government records make evident that during the first half of the 19th century, the Lake Superior north shore was peopled by Ojibway Indians and a small number of fur traders, some of whom were mixed-ancestry people. Arguably, any mixed-ancestry ethnogenesis that might have occurred was “intimately tied to the fur trade”. Yet, within the study region it is not evident that a community, or communities, of mixed-ancestry people, who either shared the lifeways of the Ojibway Indians or developed distinctive cultural practices and traditions, evolved prior to the implementation of “effective European control”.

As noted earlier, French fur trade posts were established in and around the study region lands beginning in the 1680s. HBC and NWC posts were constructed in the latter part of the 18th and early decades of the 19th century. Historical documents indicate the presence of mixed-ancestry men and children at some of the NWC and HBC posts. The mixed-ancestry peoples were primarily composed of European-Ojibway “Halfbreeds” and “Canadians” or “French Canadese Indians” and mixed-ancestry descendants of other Indian groups. The common languages of the study region were Ojibway and English.

The historical evidence records a dearth of settlements and non-Aboriginal community development throughout the study region prior to the late 19th century. No evidence has been located identifying an emerging mixed-ancestry community in the study region prior to the evolution of “effective European control”.

Indicators of effective European control

While the French claimed all the lands around the western Great Lakes in 1671, there is little evidence that they exercised “effective European control”. However, following the conquest of New France, historical indicia relating to the evolution of “effective European control” throughout the lands on the Lake Superior north shore (including the study region) is evident throughout fur trade, missionary, and government records covering the latter decades of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century.

The *Quebec Act* of 1774 added lands around Lake Superior to the “height of the land” to the colony of Quebec. Eighteen years later, the British Crown authorized two Acts that extended English civil law and established the right to jury trials throughout the Province of Quebec (which included lands in the study region). As early as 1818, writs were passed in the region as exemplified by the capture and transportation of a man accused of murder in the “Indian Country” in the vicinity of present-day Thunder Bay. Jurisdiction of the court in Quebec City was questioned and expert evidence presented as to the westernmost boundary of the old Province of Quebec.

During the 1820s, exploratory parties of the British and American Boundary Commissions passed through the study region, although an international boundary between British North America and the United States was not agreed upon until 1842. Significantly, during the 1830s, the Provincial Parliament of the Province of Upper Canada passed an Act prohibiting the sale or barter of alcohol to Indians. HBC officials sent copies of the Act to a number of posts on the north shore of Lake Superior as early as 1836. Also in the 1830s, both the HBC and the American Fur Company engaged in commercial fishing operations on Lake Superior, in all likelihood including the rich fish bearing waters of the study region.

In July of 1840, the Queen authorized *The Union Act, 1840* which re-united the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Lands encompassed by the new Province of Canada included the study region lands. Shortly thereafter, the Province of Canada issued an Order in Council regulating “Mineral Lands of Lake Superior”, which is a clear demonstration of resource development regulatory power exhibited by the government.

Beginning in the 1840s, the HBC initiated postal service on the north shore of Lake Superior. This service continued until 1858, at which time the Canadian Postal Service chartered a ship for postal delivery on Lake Superior.

As of 1846, 27 mining locations (a number within the study region) were granted by the Province of Canada. Mining activity led to requests for a treaty relationship by a number of Indian Chiefs residing in the Sault Ste. Marie region. Two Commissioners (Vidal and Anderson) were instructed to conduct an exploratory investigation and determine the treaty expectations of the Indians on Lakes Huron and Superior.

A month prior to issuance of the December 1849 Vidal-Anderson Report, an armed party of Indians, “Halfbreeds”, and a few Whites took possession of a mining location at Mica Bay (east of the study region) on Lake Superior. Almost immediately, the Governor General authorized the dispatch of a military force to Lake Superior, in order to protect “the lives and properties of her Majesty’s subjects in that remote quarter of that

Province”.²⁸⁸ The leaders of the armed party were arrested and sent to Toronto and the military force remained garrisoned in Sault Ste. Marie for the next 10 months.

In September of 1850, Treaty Commissioner W. B. Robinson met with Indian representatives from Lakes Huron and Superior at Sault Ste. Marie and negotiated the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties. In exchange for a cash payment, perpetual annuities, and Indian reserve lands, the Indians agreed to “surrender, cede and release” their interests in all of the lands on the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior.

It must be recalled that eighty-four “Halfbreeds” were included in the census of Indians on Lake Superior for treaty purposes. These “Halfbreeds” lived an analogous existence to the Ojibway Indians, had previously received annual presents from the government, and would now receive treaty annuities and be treated in a similar fashion to Treaty Indians. At the same time, there was a community of settled “Halfbreeds” living at Sault Ste. Marie and unspecified other places whom Robinson made no provision for within the treaty.

Between the ratification of the Robinson Treaties in 1850, and the authorization of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, the Crown undertook reserve land surveys, began implementing a “complete judiciary system” on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and engaged in surveying boundary lines for townships. This time period may be construed as the culminating end-point in the evolution of “effective European control” in the lands along the north shore of Lake Superior.

The historical documents demonstrate that the evolution of effective European control within the study region began in 1774 and concluded in the 1850 to 1867 time period.

²⁸⁸ E. A. Meredith, Civil Secretary's Office, to George Ironside, Indian Superintendent, November 20, 1849. LAC RG 10 Vol. 612 pp. 404-406.

Appendix A: Individuals and families of mixed ancestry who worked and/or may have resided within the study region

Note: The documents do not allow us to identify every single mixed-ancestry person within the study region. Additionally, not everyone listed in this appendix had an association with the study area. A large number of the individuals listed have a strong connection to Lake Nipigon. However, a number of these people appear to have moved into and out of the study area. It should be noted that the families and individuals mentioned in this appendix and throughout the report are confirmed to have mixed ancestry.

The de Laronde family (de La Ronde, Laronde)

Louis Denis de Laronde

The family's patriarch was born in Lower Canada in approximately 1800.²⁸⁹ As a young man he first worked for the North West Company and after 1821 for the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁹⁰ While stationed at Osnaburgh he met and married a local Ojibwa woman in 1827 with whom he had a total of seven children, all of whom are of mixed ancestry.²⁹¹

J. A. Macrae states that although Louis and his eldest son were not paid annuities, other members of his family were paid with the Nipigon Band in both 1869 and 1871. Macrae also states that Louis Denis de Laronde did not follow "the Indian mode of life, nor resided amongst the Indians otherwise than as a trader, and that when he married he took his wife from her family and tribe ... that his children all had his status".²⁹² His children are listed below:

Henry de Laronde

Worked at the HBC Nipigon House post. He is listed as "French" on the 1871 Census for Nipigon²⁹³ and, in 1877, he was referred to as a "Half-breed" by Father Joseph Hebert.²⁹⁴ However, on the 1881 Census for Nipigon, Henry is listed as "French".²⁹⁵

²⁸⁹ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 39.

²⁹⁰ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 31-32.

²⁹¹ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 34-35.

²⁹² J. A. Macrae, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, Department of Indian Affairs, to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, "Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899", 22-23.

²⁹³ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p.1.

²⁹⁴ Elizabeth Arthur, "The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon", *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 44.

²⁹⁵ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 5.

Review of the Nipigon House post journals for 1882 indicates that Henry would travel to the Red Rock Post, where he would occasionally stay for an extended period of time.²⁹⁶ It is unknown if he hunted, fished, or trapped during these visits.

Charlie de Laronde

Employed with the HBC as a labourer and is listed as “French & Indian” on the 1871 Census for Nipigon.²⁹⁷ In 1880, he married an Indian woman, with whom he had children.²⁹⁸ On the census for that year he is listed as “French” and his wife Mary is listed as “Indian”, as are their children.²⁹⁹ During the early 1880s, Charlie de Laronde adopted a boy named Potan.³⁰⁰

The family moved to Red Rock in 1889, at which time Charlie left the service of the HBC “and moved to Red Rock-Nepigon Station where he settled. He does not live upon the reserve.”³⁰¹

It appears he became the Postmaster at Nipigon/Red Rock when the family moved there in 1889 (the post office was located in the Hudson’s Bay trading post at Red Rock).³⁰² Although Charlie de Laronde did not receive annuity payments, his family was listed on the Nipigon Band payroll as number 19 and paid annuities. Coinciding with the move to Red Rock, his family was transferred to number 17 on the Red Rock Band’s payroll.³⁰³

As of 1900 Charlie was employed as overseer of the Nipigon River and was responsible for patrolling and ensuring the “provisions of the law” were maintained.³⁰⁴

Alexander de Laronde

Resided in the United States for several years and upon returning to Canada he worked at the Nipigon House Post for three years and then moved to “Red Rock or Nepigon (sic)”. He married an Indian woman in 1877 (daughter of Windjab of the Nipigon Band), with

²⁹⁶ For example, Nipigon Post journal entry, June 17, 1882. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013. Henry left for Red Rock on June 17 and returned on July 26.

²⁹⁷ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p.22.

²⁹⁸ Nipigon Post, journal entry, April 5, 1880. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

²⁹⁹ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784.

³⁰⁰ Nipigon Post, journal entry, December 16, 1882 and April 4, 1883. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³⁰¹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 25.

³⁰² Red Rock Post Report, 1889. LAC MG 20 B.336/e/2 Reel 1M1258 p. 14.

³⁰³ Nipigon Paylist, 1889. LAC RG 10 Vol. 9501 Reel C-7167 pp. 224-230. See also Red Rock paylists for 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900. LAC RG 10 Series C-V-1 Reel T-11942.

³⁰⁴ Legislative Assembly of Ontario, *Second Annual Report of the Department of Fisheries of the Province of Ontario*, 1900 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1901), 25.

whom he had children.³⁰⁵ On the 1881 census for Nipigon, he is listed as “French” and his wife Theresa is listed as “Indian”.³⁰⁶

Although it is not clear exactly when he moved to Red Rock, it is known he was living there by 1885. He remained in the Nipigon/Red Rock area until at least 1898 (the time at which Macrae’s report was written). While living in the vicinity of Red Rock, Alexander would on occasion bring mail up to the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Nipigon House Post.³⁰⁷

Catherine de Laronde

Listed as “French & Indian” on the 1871 Census for Nipigon,³⁰⁸ and on the 1881 Census as “French”.³⁰⁹ She transferred from number 20 on the Nipigon Band payroll to number 63 on the Red Rock payroll in 1889.³¹⁰ Prior to 1897, she adopted Indian children who were entitled to annuities.³¹¹

Angelique de Laronde

Listed as “French & Indian” on the 1871 Census for Nipigon³¹² and on the 1881 Census as “French”.³¹³ Angelique is included on the Red Rock Band payroll during the years 1895 to 1900 (although not listed on the 1889 Nipigon Band payroll with other family members).

Louise de Laronde

Married Red Rock Chief Pierriche (Pierre) Deschamps, who is also a mixed-ancestry person.³¹⁴

Mary Anne de Laronde

Macrae stated that she, “married a white man named Watt from Albany, Hudson’s Bay.”³¹⁵ On the 1871 Census for Nipigon she is listed as “French & Indian” and on the 1881 Census she is listed as “French.”³¹⁶ The 1891 Census for the Nipigon polling

³⁰⁵ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 23.

³⁰⁶ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282. p. 5.

³⁰⁷ Nipigon Post, journal entry, March 19, 1885. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³⁰⁸ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 22.

³⁰⁹ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 – Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 5.

³¹⁰ Nipigon Paylist, 1889. LAC RG 10 Vol. 9501 Reel C-7167 pp. 224-230.

³¹¹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 24.

³¹² Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p.22.

³¹³ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 5.

³¹⁴ Elizabeth Arthur, “The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon”, *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 39.

³¹⁵ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 25.

³¹⁶ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784; and Algoma District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 8.

district does not indicate ethnicity, and in this year she is listed as the wife of John Watt with her mother listed as originating from Ontario, and her father from Quebec.³¹⁷

The Bouchard family

Louis Bouchard Sr.

Included on the 1853 paylist of the Michipicoten Indian Band.³¹⁸ Employed at Nipigon House between 1859 and 1872 and described by Macrae as “a Frenchman” who married the “Indian-sister of Chief Manitoshainse, who subscribed to the Robinson Treaty.”³¹⁹ It appears Louis Bouchard and his wife had at least seven children.

Louis Bouchard Jr.

Born in approximately 1837 and lived at the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Nipigon House Post until he was sixteen years old. Married a woman of mixed ancestry from Rupert’s House, with whom he had two children.³²⁰ His wife and children are listed on the 1871 Census as “French & Indian”.³²¹

Louisa Bouchard

In 1883, she married a “Halfbreed” from Sault Ste. Marie named David Maville.³²²

Joseph Bouchard

As a child he resided at the HBC Nipigon House Post. In 1883, he married Angelique de Laronde, with whom he had at least one child (as of 1898). This family received treaty annuity payments at Nipigon House.³²³

As early as 1884 Joseph lived at Red Rock and was known to deliver mail to the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Nipigon House Post.³²⁴ In 1887, he was living on the Red Rock Band’s Lake Helen Reserve and noted as being one of the best guides in the

³¹⁷ Algoma District Census - Polling District No. 8, Nipigon, April 9, 1891. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024.

³¹⁸ “Payments to Michipicoten Indians 1853”, September 1853. PAM HBCA B.129/d/7 fos. 9-10.

³¹⁹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 16.

³²⁰ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 16.

³²¹ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 4.

³²² Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 19.

³²³ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 17-18.

³²⁴ Nipigon Post, journal entries, January 20 and 23, 1884. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

Nipigon River area.³²⁵ As of 1889, he still resided at Red Rock, presumably on the reserve.³²⁶

Jimmy Bouchard

Resided at the HBC Nipigon House Post with his father and “adhered to white society”. He married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band, who was “of questionable paternity”.³²⁷

Francois Bouchard

Married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band in 1881 and “adopted the Indian mode of life” but likely did not live on the Gull Bay Reserve. Macrae did not think he had joined, “any Indian society or community.” He is listed on the 1871 Census as “French & ~~Indian~~” and his wife is listed as “Indian; their two children are listed as “F[rench] & ~~Indian~~”.³²⁸ Francois Bouchard died in 1882.³²⁹

Nicholas Bouchard

Born at Nipigon House in approximately 1848 and married a “Halfbreed” woman from Michipicoten, possibly in 1860, with whom he had six children. With the exception of one year, he always lived at Nipigon House.³³⁰ On the 1871 Census, Nicholas, his wife, and children are all listed as “French & ~~Indian~~”.³³¹

Nicholas’ family appears to have spent at least some time at Red Rock, as an 1879 Nipigon House journal entry states, “N. Bouchard family came in from Red Rock”.³³²

Gilbert Bouchard

Born at Nipigon House in approximately 1853 and married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band in approximately 1871. On the 1871 Census, Gilbert is listed as French & ~~Indian~~” and his wife is listed as “Indian”.³³³ It does not appear he “attached himself to

³²⁵ “A. L. Russell’s Survey of Indian Reservations at Nipigon, 1887”. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 194-196.

³²⁶ Report of Red Rock Post, July 1889. LAC MG 20 B.336/e/2 Reel 1M1258.

³²⁷ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 20.

³²⁸ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 4.

³²⁹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 17.

³³⁰ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 20.

³³¹ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 4.

³³² Nipigon Post, journal entry, October 14, 1879. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³³³ Algoma District Census - Nipigon Sub District, 1871. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 4.

any Indian society or community”. Gilbert adopted an Indian child prior to 1891.³³⁴ Gilbert wintered at Red Rock in 1882 and possibly 1883.³³⁵

Second Generation Bouchards

- Michel** His father is Louis Bouchard Jr. He was married twice; his second wife was an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band.³³⁶
- Antoine** His father is Louis Bouchard Jr. He married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band.³³⁷
- Moise** His father is Nicholas Bouchard. He married a woman from the Nipigon Band in 1891, and then married an American Indian in 1897.³³⁸
- Ambrose** His father is Nicholas Bouchard. He married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band in approximately 1895.³³⁹
- Mrs. Blais** Her father is Nicholas Bouchard and her husband was “a Frenchman”.³⁴⁰

The Deschamps family

Jean Baptiste Deschamps

A Frenchman who worked at Fort William. It was suggested that he was “a French Canadian from Lower Canada [and that] like Bouchard, he married an Indian and his descendants continue to appear in the Nipigon records later in the century”.³⁴¹ It is

³³⁴ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 29-30.

³³⁵ Nipigon Post, journal entry, May 24, 1882. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013; and Nipigon Post, journal entry, February 11, 1883. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³³⁶ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 21.

³³⁷ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 21.

³³⁸ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 21-22.

³³⁹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 22.

³⁴⁰ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 22.

³⁴¹ “McMurray in Command at the Pic”, June 2, 1834. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, fn 32, 39-40.

known that Jean Baptiste and his Cree wife had three children.³⁴² However, Pierre is the only one for which any details have been found.

Pierre Deschamps

Also known as Pierriche and Peter. Appears to be the child of a French man named Baptiste Deschamps and a Saskatchewan Cree woman. Pierre Deschamps lived at Fort William, Pic, Nipigon House (for 20 years)³⁴³, and in 1870 he and his family moved to Red Rock.³⁴⁴

He married Louise de Laronde, a woman of mixed ancestry.³⁴⁵ Pierre is listed on the 1871 Census as “French & Indian”, as is his wife Louise, and their children Michel, Alexander, Charles, Henry, and Denis. The census lists Pierre’s occupation as “Indian Trader” and his children as “Servants to his father”.³⁴⁶ On the 1881 Census, the ancestry of Pierre (listed as Perish) is not included. The census does list his “origin” as Fort William. The origin of his son John, however, is Red Rock.

In 1885, he became Chief of the Red Rock Band. After being elected Chief for a 3-year term in 1885, Pierre moved his house from the mission at Lake Helen to 100 acres of government land that he had purchased along the Nipigon River.³⁴⁷ He was elected Chief of the Red Rock Band once again in 1899.³⁴⁸

On the 1891 Census for the Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians, Pierre (“Peter”) is listed as being the son of a man from Quebec and a woman from Manitoba.³⁴⁹

Denis Deschamps

Also known as Denys, is the son of Pierre Deschamps, and therefore of mixed ancestry. He is listed as “French & Indian” on the 1871 Census.³⁵⁰ He married an Indian woman from the Fort William Band in approximately 1888 or 1889 and had children with her.³⁵¹

³⁴² Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 28.

³⁴³ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 28.

³⁴⁴ Elizabeth Arthur, “The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon”, *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 42-43.

³⁴⁵ Elizabeth Arthur, “The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon”, *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 34, 39, and 42. See also Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 28.

³⁴⁶ Algoma District Census 1871 – Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 22.

³⁴⁷ J. P. Donnelly, Indian Agent, to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, June 8, 1888. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

³⁴⁸ Elizabeth Arthur, “The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon”, *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* Volume IX (1981), 44.

³⁴⁹ Algoma District Census 1891 – Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024, p. 4.

³⁵⁰ Algoma District Census 1871 – Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 22.

³⁵¹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 28.

In 1887, he was noted as living at the Lake Helen Reserve and among the best guides in the Nipigon River region.³⁵²

John Deschamps

It is unknown if he is the third son of Jean Baptiste Deschamps or the son of Pierre Deschamps. It seems more plausible that it is the latter, as Pierre had a son named John who in 1881 was 8 years old [and thus making him 21 in 1894, when he would have been teaching].³⁵³ In 1894, John Deschamps was the teacher at the “Nipigon River” school.³⁵⁴

Michel Deschamps

The son of Pierre Deschamps. In the late 1870s he often delivered mail between Red Rock and Nipigon House, occasionally accompanied by James Bouchard.³⁵⁵ He appears to still be associated with the Red Rock Post into the late-1880s.³⁵⁶

Miscellaneous mixed-ancestry individuals, or individuals who have mixed-ancestry children

Paul Auger

Parentage referred to as “by a Frenchman” on the 1899 Pays Plat payroll.³⁵⁷ He is four years of age on the 1891 Census for the Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians. This census does not provide any information regarding ancestry, and simply indicates that both his parents were from Ontario.³⁵⁸ The 1901 Census lists him as the son of Joseph Musquash and states his origin as “Ojibway”.³⁵⁹

Pierre Bonnacarré

An 1877 Nipigon Post journal entry states Pierre returned to his home “at Red Rock”.³⁶⁰ In 1885, there is an individual named “Pierre Bonnett” who lived at Red Rock with Pierre Deschamps.³⁶¹ In 1887, Pierre Bonnacarré is noted as living at Lake Helen Reserve and

³⁵² Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 194-196.

³⁵³ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ J. P. Donnelly to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1894. LAC RG 10 Vol. 6017 File 9-8-1 Pt. 1 Reel C-8142.

³⁵⁵ HBC Nipigon Post journal entry, May 29, 1879. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³⁵⁶ HBC Nipigon Post journal entry, April 25, 1887. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³⁵⁷ Pays Plat payroll, 1899. LAC RG 10 Series C-V-1 Reel T-11942.

³⁵⁸ Algoma District Census 1891 – Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024, p. 6.

³⁵⁹ 1901 Algoma District Census, Rosspoint Village. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

³⁶⁰ Nipigon Post journal entry, April 2, 1877. LAC MG 20 B.149/a/24 Reel 1M1013.

³⁶¹ J. P. Donnelly to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

is identified as one of the best guides in the Nipigon River region.³⁶² He is described as a “Half-breed Hunter” in the 1891 Red Rock Post inspection report.³⁶³

He appears as band member number 11 on the 1895 and 1897 Red Rock paylists and is identified as “Pierre Bonocora”.³⁶⁴ There is an individual on the 1881 Census listed as “Bonet Carrie” who is a 47 year old “French” man, employed as a carpenter. He is listed with the Henry de Laronde family.³⁶⁵

[Peter Bonacora]

There is an individual with this name who lived with Pierre Deschamps at Red Rock. There also is an individual with this name listed on the 1891 Census as “Peter Bonetcarie”, and based on the “order of visitation” undertaken by the census takers, he resides near other individuals and families of known mixed ancestry.³⁶⁶ He is listed as number 11 on the Red Rock Paylist for 1898, 1899, and 1900; however, as noted above, the name appears as “Pierre” on the 1895 and 1897 payroll. It seems reasonable to assume that this is the same individual.

The names “Pierre” and “Peter” seem to be interchanged – for example, Pierre Deschamps, Chief of the Red Rock Band in 1885, is also referred to as “Peter Deschamps” during the same period.³⁶⁷

Joseph Esquimau

Described as a “Half Breed Hunter” and “school teacher” in the 1889 inspection report for the Red Rock Post.³⁶⁸ He is listed on the 1881 Census as “Indian”³⁶⁹ and on the 1891 Census his parents are listed as originating from the US and Ontario. Interestingly, based on the “order of visitation”, he resides near other individuals and families of known mixed ancestry.³⁷⁰

³⁶² “A. L. Russell’s Survey of Indian Reservations at Nipigon, 1887”. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 194-196.

³⁶³ Inspection Report, Red Rock Post, Nipigon District, August, 1891. LAC MG 20 B.336/e/4 Reel 1M1258, 7.

³⁶⁴ Red Rock Band payroll, July 1895 and July 1897. LAC RG 10 Series C-V-1 Reel T-11942.

³⁶⁵ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nepigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 5.

³⁶⁶ Algoma District Census 1891 – Pays Plat and Nepigon Indians. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024, p. 4.

³⁶⁷ See J. P. Donnelly to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1895. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2782 File 156468 Reel C-11277, which lists “Peter Deschamps” Chief, elected August 13, 1885. However, documents concerning this election refer to “Pierre Deschamps”. See J. P. Donnelly to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, December 22, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

³⁶⁸ Report Red Rock Post, July 1889. LAC MG 20 B.336/e/2 Reel 1M1258, pp. 11-14.

³⁶⁹ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 – Nepigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 9.

³⁷⁰ Algoma District Census 1891 – Pays Plat and Nepigon Indians. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024, p. 4.

Joseph Lasarge

Likely born at Pays Plat in and around 1873. He is the son of a “Halfbreed” named Botique Lasarge, who came to Pays Plat approximately in 1860, whereupon he married an Indian woman. Joseph Lasarge married an Indian woman whose parents may have been with the Pic Band. They had children.³⁷¹

A Joseph “Lagarde” appears on the 1871 Census for the Nipigon Sub-District as an “Indian” labourer for the Hudson’s Bay Company; his wife is also listed as both an “Indian” and labourer for the HBC. It is presumed that this is not the same individual as Joseph Lasarge. [Note: there are other “Legarde” families listed on this census.]³⁷²

A “Joseph Lasage” was elected Chief of the Pays Plat Band in 1895 and is listed as either “Joseph Lasarge” or “Joseph Lasage” on the Pays Plat Band paylists.³⁷³

David Mainville

A mixed-ancestry man from Sault Ste. Marie who married Louisa Bouchard in 1885. He signed an 1885 petition from the “Indians and Half breeds of Nepigon (Red Rock)”, which disputed the election of Pierre Deschamps as Chief.³⁷⁴

Charles McKay

His father was Alexander William McKay “a half breed of the Chippaway Nation” at Lake Huron. His son Charles McKay became the lighthouse keeper at Battle Island on Lake Superior in 1877 “having rowed up from Sault Ste. Marie in a punt.”³⁷⁵

McKay lived with the Indians (likely those at Pays Plat) for several years before becoming the lighthouse keeper.³⁷⁶

James McRay

Listed on the 1871 Census as “Scotch and Indian”. His wife is listed as “Indian” and their two children as “Scotch”.³⁷⁷ On the 1891 Census he is listed as “Scottish”. Interestingly,

³⁷¹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 31-32.

³⁷² Algoma District Census 1871 – Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 10.

³⁷³ J. P. Donnelly to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 1, 1896. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2782 File 156468-14 Reel C-11277. See also Pays Plat Band Paylists.

³⁷⁴ Red Rock Band to John A. Macdonald, Minister of Indian Affairs, November 26, 1885. LAC RG 10 Vol. 2292 File 58211 Reel C-11196.

³⁷⁵ Jean Morrison, “Fur Trade Families in the lake Superior-Rainy Lake Region”, *Lake Superior to Rainy Lake: Three Centuries of Fur Trade History*, Ed. Jean Morrison (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Inc., 2003), 96-97.

³⁷⁶ “From Our Own Correspondent”, January 10, 1884. Elizabeth Arthur, ed., *Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892: A Collection of Documents*, 201 (fn 55).

³⁷⁷ Algoma District Census 1871 – Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-12784, p. 22.

based on the “order of visitation”, he appears to reside near other individuals and families of known mixed ancestry.³⁷⁸ (He is not listed on the 1881 Census.)

Jane Michelson

Identified as a Swampy Cree from Moose Factory, she married John Michelson, the lighthouse keeper at Lamb Island (east side of the Black Bay Peninsula) and had children.³⁷⁹ On the 1881 Census she is listed as “Indian” and her seven children are listed as “Canadian”.³⁸⁰ Mrs. Michelson also appears as number 22 on the Red Rock paylists for 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, and 1900.³⁸¹

J. B. Morriseau

A mixed-ancestry individual whose parents were Pierre Morriseau and an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band. J. B. Morriseau married an Indian woman from the Nipigon Band, with whom he had a child.³⁸² He appears on the Nipigon Band payroll in 1886.³⁸³

Alex Musquash

American Indian background but drew treaty annuity at Silver Islet, Red Rock, and Pays Plat. Appears to have married (in approximately 1886) while on the Pays Plat Band payroll.³⁸⁴ Census for 1901 indicates that he had two children, one of whom is Paul Auger.³⁸⁵

Julian Poulin

Born in approximately 1869 (not located on the 1871 Census), his origin on the 1881 Census, at which time he is 10 years old, is listed as “Red Rock”.³⁸⁶ Macrae stated that he is the son of a “Frenchman ... by his wife, a whitewoman, sister to the late John Watt.” Julian married an Indian woman of the Nipigon Band in approximately 1894, and as of 1898, they had one child together. (His uncle, John Watt, was married to Mary Ann de Laronde.)³⁸⁷

³⁷⁸ Algoma District Census 1891 – Pays Plat and Nipigon Indians. LAC RG 31 Reel C-10024.

³⁷⁹ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 28-29.

³⁸⁰ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 8.

³⁸¹ See Red Rock Band Paylists for these years.

³⁸² Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 30-31.

³⁸³ Nipigon Band Paylist, 1886. LAC RG 10 Vol. 9501 Reel C-7167 p. 201.

³⁸⁴ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 32.

³⁸⁵ 1901 Algoma District Census, Rosspoint Village. LAC RG 31 Reel T-6458.

³⁸⁶ Thunder Bay District Census 1881 Nipigon Sub-District. LAC RG 31 Reel C-13282, p. 2.

³⁸⁷ Macrae Report, February 9, 1898. INAC Genealogical Research Unit, “Reports on Robinson Treaty Annuities 1898-1899”, 29.

Appendix B: Reference List

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 - RG 3 Vol. 96 File 1887-543 Reel T-2261
 - RG 3 Vol. 96 File 1887-553 Reel T-2261
 - RG 31 Algoma District Census Reels C-10023 & C-10024
 - RG 31 Reel C-10024
 - RG 31 Reel C-13,282
 - RG 31 Reel T-6324
 - RG 31 Reel T-6458
 - RG 45 Geological Survey of Canada 1842-1966
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 - Item S.10. Harrington, Carolyn. *Development of a half-breed community in the Upper Great Lakes.*
 - Item S.12. Gorham, Harriet. *Families of Mixed Descent in the Western Great Lakes Region.*
 - Item S.29. Matters of Half-Breeds: Historical Letters

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