

FINAL REPORT

HISTORIC MÉTIS
IN THE RAINY RIVER AND KENORA
DISTRICTS OF ONTARIO:
FISHING PRACTICES AND
OFF-RESERVE RESIDENCE

Prepared for:

Native Affairs Unit
ONTARIO MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES
300 Water Street, P.O. Box 7000
Peterborough, Ontario
K9J 8M5

July 29, 2002

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Submitted to:

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1. INTRODUCTION

PRAXIS Research Associates is pleased to submit a historical research report presenting findings on the following two issues regarding métis in the Rainy River and Kenora Districts of Ontario:

1. The fishing practices of métis on Rainy Lake, Rainy River and Lake of the Woods with particular focus on the commercial character of fishing by métis during the 19th century, and;
2. The identification and characteristics of local métis who did not join the beneficiary group of the Treaty No.3 “Adhesion by Half-breeds of Rainy River and Lake” (1875).

This introductory chapter provides background to the project, an outline of the research objectives, and a description of the methodology in fulfilling the research requirements.

1.1 RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS

The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (“OMNR”) is faced with two judicial review applications in which the applicants, the Tuckers and the O’Connors, claim to hold métis aboriginal or treaty rights to fish commercially on Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods respectively. The OMNR is in need of further research addressing the historical foundations of such a claim. The following sections outline the specific research requirements for each of the two issues listed above.

1.1.1 Métis Fishing Practices

- A description of the fishing practices of the mixed ancestry (European and aboriginal) population present at Fort Frances and present day Kenora during the 19th century. In particular, descriptions of the fishing practices during the following periods:
 - ▶ the signing of Treaty No.3 and the “Half-breed Adhesion” to Treaty No.3, and;
 - ▶ the advent of significant European settlement in the area.
- Delineation of the origins of any practices described above especially in terms of their connection to either aboriginal or European influences.
- An outline of the principles by which anthropologists evaluate whether an activity should be characterized as commercial and the application of such principles to the description of métis fishing practices.

1.1.2 Local métis and the “Half-breed Adhesion” to Treaty No.3

- A description of the nature and scope of a local métis presence in the Fort Frances and Kenora areas outside of the treaty adhesion group after the “Half-breed” adhesion to Treaty No.3, with regard to the following issues:
 - ▶ whether these people formed a discernible ethnic community;
 - ▶ whether they were generally orientated towards a particular way of life or culture (i.e. oriented to an aboriginal or European mode of life);
 - ▶ any evidence explaining why these people may have remained outside the adhesion group, and;
 - ▶ the fishing practices of these people.
- A description of the significance, if any, of remaining outside the Adhesion as attributed by interested or responsible parties (i.e. potential métis adherents, Indian agents) at the time of the “Half-breed Adhesion” or after. For example, did métis remain outside the Adhesion as a matter of eligibility for any benefits or particular consideration associated with Indian or aboriginal identity?

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Of relevance to this project are several studies conducted by *PRAXIS* Research Associates for the OMNR which pertain to Aboriginal commercial fishing, to Aboriginal fisheries in Lake of the Woods and to historic métis in the Rainy Lake/Lake of the Woods region. The reports reviewed for this present assignment include:

- *Report on Lake of the Woods Aboriginal Fisheries* (May 1996)
- *Report on Aboriginal Commercial Fisheries, Part Two: Economic Anthropology – Commercial Resource Harvesting* (June 1996)
- *Historical Research on Isinglass Production by Lake of the Woods Ojibwa* (October 1996)
- *Summary Report: Key Findings Pertaining to Lake of the Woods Aboriginal Fisheries* (March 1997)
- *Historic Métis in Ontario: Rainy River District and Kenora District* (October 1999)
- *Memorandum of Findings: Genealogical Review and Research re: O’Connor Ancestry in*

The present project involves three basic lines of inquiry:

1. The documentation and analysis contained in the six reports listed above have been reviewed, including relevant archival documents and secondary sources both cited and consulted for each report. The Appendix to the May 1996 report which listed excerpts referring to fish and fishing at Lac la Pluie is revised and re-printed here as Appendix A.
2. As the archival documents collected for previous projects were originally searched for information specific to questions different from this present study, it has been necessary to return to some of the original records in order to search for data relevant to métis fishing practices in the study area. In particular, Hudson's Bay Company records have been searched again for more precise data related to fishing activity at Rat Portage and Lac la Pluie fur trade posts. This data is presented in Tables 2.1 - 2.4 and in Appendices B and C. As well, the 1901 Census records have been re-examined with regard to the off-reserve métis population (in Appendix E).
3. Finally, a search for additional historical records relevant to these issues has also been conducted. Government records related to fishing licenses issued for Lake of the Woods during the 1890s have been examined with respect to métis involvement in commercial fishing. As well, Census records for 1881 and 1891 have been thoroughly analysed with regard to the issue of local métis who chose to remain outside the "Half-breed Adhesion." Compilations of this data are provided in Appendices D, E and F.

The chapters which follow present the results of these inquiries. Chapter 2 describes the involvement of métis in fishing during the fur trade period and during the period of industrialization and immigration into the 1890s. The chapter concludes by evaluating this data according to anthropological criteria of commercial activity. Chapter 3 focusses on the identification of métis who did not join the Half-breed Adhesion group and analyses available data that may shed light on why métis remained outside the Treaty. Chapter 4 summarizes the main findings of historical data and analysis relevant to these two issues.

2. FISHING BY MÉTIS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY: LAKE OF THE WOODS AND RAINY RIVER / RAINY LAKE

This chapter provides a description of the fishing practices of the European/Aboriginal mixed ancestry population during the 19th century, in waters near present-day Kenora and Fort Frances, Ontario. The discussion of métis fishing practices below is organized according to three time periods:

- ▶ 1800-1870s: the fur trade period, marking the origins of métis fishing practices in the area;
- ▶ 1870s: the treaty period, including negotiation and signing of Treaty No.3 and the “Half-breed Adhesion” to Treaty No.3, and;
- ▶ 1880s-early 1900s: the settlement period, characterized by significant numbers of Europeans immigrating and settling in Kenora and Fort Frances.

2.1 THE FUR TRADE PERIOD, 1800-1870

A population of mixed Indian/European ancestry developed as a result of the fur trade which began in the Rainy River and Kenora districts in the late 1700s (*PRAXIS* 1999). The North West Company established posts in the area beginning in 1780, and the HBC followed soon after by establishing a post at Fort Frances in 1790 and near Kenora area in the early 1800s. In 1821 the Lac la Pluie district was part of the Northern Department with headquarters at York Factory.¹

Information about fishing practices during the fur trade period is available primarily from HBC post records at Lac la Pluie (Fort Frances) and Rat Portage (Kenora). Fish are mentioned in post records within the context of the several types of activity: fish produced as a result of post-operated fisheries; fish acquired through trade from individuals or groups who did not work for the post; fish distributed as rations to post servants, and; fish given to Indians in need of food. The description of métis fishing practices presented below follows three lines of analysis:

1. Qualitative analysis of the purpose and types of fishing practices carried on at the fur trade posts as indicated in daily journals (at Lac la Pluie);

¹ Lac la Pluie servants appear on the York Factory lists beginning in 1821. The HBC Department to which Lac la Pluie district belonged prior to amalgamation with the NWC in 1821 is not known at the time of writing.

2. Quantitative analysis of fish production at Lac la Pluie for the Outfits (fiscal year) 1829-1831 and 1837-1838 (Table 2.1), and of fish acquisition and distribution at Rat Portage for Outfit 1856-1857 (Tables 2.2 - 2.4);
3. Cross-tabulation analysis of names associated with fishing as entered in post journals, with lists of servants in York Factory headquarter records. This analysis allows confirmation about whether fishermen were HBC servants (employees), and in many cases also identifies their origin as European, métis² or Indian (Appendix B).

2.1.1 Evidence of Fishing at Lac la Pluie, ca. 1790s

Daily post journals kept at Lac la Pluie during the 1790s record numerous instances of fishing by post employees. Unfortunately, servants records for this period either have not been found, or do not indicate the origin of men who fished, making cross-tabulation analysis impossible. Between 1793-1797, several names of men stand out as engaged in fishing for the Lac la Pluie post: Samuel Harvey (or Henry), Thomas Norn, Tom Favell (the Interpreter), and Jasper Corrigan (Docs.1-4). In particular, Norn and Favell are mentioned repeatedly and while there are no hints as to Norn's identity, the fact that Favell was the post interpreter – an occupational niche often filled by métis – increases the likelihood that he was of mixed ancestry. One reference to Favell and Norn as “the hunters” records their efforts to procure more fish by “changing nets to other places” (Doc.4:fo.12). The dual reference to these men as both hunters and fishermen indicates they were primary post provisioners. Samuel Harvey is also described as one of the posts' main “fishermen and net makers” (Doc.1:fo.6d; Doc.2:fos.2,10). These men were commonly sent in pairs or groups to operate a fall fishery “at the mouth of the river”, where Rainy River drains into Lake of the Woods and where an outpost named “Hungry Hall” was later established (eg., Doc.2:fos.2,3,5d,6d,10,12d).

In addition to fish caught by HBC men, local Indians traded fish to the post, particularly sturgeon. There was an active trade for sturgeon in 1793-94 as the post fishermen were unable to procure any in their own nets. For example, in September 1793 the post traded sturgeon from women who were operating a fishery about “a mile above the fall” and in October a days worth of sturgeon was traded from “the Chief” (Doc.1:fos.6d-7d; see also Doc.2:fo.5d).

Most of the fish caught was used as subsistence for the post population. An entry on March 29, 1796 indicates that 500 pounds of fish were served to the men in that month alone (Doc.3:fo.27d). Fish was also “given to Indians” (Doc.3:27d-28). At the end of Outfit 1796-97 prior to leaving the post for the summer, the HBC men “set the nets to maintain Indian women and

² Generally indicated in the HBC records as “Native”, “Native of the Country”, or “Hudson's Bay”. In York Factory records for 1824-25, the category “Canada” is used to identify métis, but changed to “Native” or “Red River” the following Outfit, and “Native” thereafter. The category “Native” is distinct from “Indian” in HBC records.

children left at the post” (Doc.4:fo.20d). Production and acquisition of fish was critical to the survival of the post population. This is evident in the numerous references to fishing which indicate significant amounts of time and man-power allocated to the post fisheries, particularly in the autumn (whitefish fishery) and spring (sturgeon fishery). Journal entries also correlate fish directly with the state of “post provisions”: when fish were scarce the post master wrote they were “unable to procure [their] own provisions” (Doc.1:fo.17); when fish were abundant, they together with rabbits comprised “most of the post provisions” (Doc.2:fo.10). An account of post expenses in 1795 indicates that about 10% of disbursements (54£ of a total of 526£) were spent on twine for nets, fish hooks and related fishing gear (Doc.2:fo.26).

2.1.2 Evidence of Fishing by Métis at Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage, ca. 1820-1860s

While it is possible to associate specific names with fishing activity in post journals, the majority of entries are general references to “the fishermen”, “the men”, or simply an indication that various amounts of “fish were caught” (see for example entries transcribed in Appendix A). Nevertheless, a sufficient number of specific entries associating certain men with post fishing activity does allow for some analysis of the nature and extent of métis involvement in fishing during the pre-treaty period.

Of fifteen names associated with fishing in Lac la Pluie post journal entries between 1818-1823, Robert Dudley is most frequently mentioned as both fisherman and net maker (Doc.5:fo.5; Doc.6, fos.6d-9; see Appendix B).³ However, there is no indication of Dudley’s parish of origin and it is unknown whether he was métis. Only Louis Goulez is positively identified as métis (“Native”), although in later records a servant of the same name is from Montreal. It is probable that Michel Bousquet and Pierre Therrien were also métis. Bousquet was the post interpreter, and Therrien’s parish of “Canada” on the 1824-25 list is the same as for other men later assigned the parish “Native.”

Records are more complete for the group of men at Lac la Pluie in the late 1820s to the 1840s. Of 17 names associated with fishing in these years, 12 are confirmed as HBC servants, 6 of whom are positively identified as métis (see Appendix B). Names repeatedly linked to fishing are Auger, Chatelain, LaChappel, LaFrenier, McKay, and Rice (or Guimon) and St. Denis. Of these men, Auger, Chatelain and McKay are positively identified as métis. The 1825-26 Lac la Pluie district

³ Three of the names – Cadotte, Carpenter, and Parrant – are not found on available lists of servants for the 1819-1820 Outfit in which their names appear. However, this does not necessarily mean that these men were not HBC employees. York Factory lists do not begin to record Lac la Pluie servants until after amalgamation in 1821 and at present it is unknown which Department kept Lac la Pluie records prior to 1821. Also missing from available lists is the name “Felix” which appears only once in the 1822-23 journal records on file. Journal entries indicate that these men were all servants of the post and that they were assigned by the Post Master to attend post fisheries along with other post employees (Doc.8:fos.43,59; Doc.9:fo.13).

report describes Nicholas Chatelain – who later became the leader of the ‘Fort Frances Halfbreeds’ – as a particularly active and “good fisherman;” William McKay is described as “a superior fisherman”(Doc.12:fo.13d). Louis LaChappel was also an active post fisherman, but York Factory records indicate that he was French Canadian from Montreal (Doc.18:p.17; cf. Appendix B). Jacques St. Denis was also from Montreal (Doc.23:p.27; cf. Appendix B). Europeans Charles Bouck and William Clousten were also noted for their fishing abilities, the latter described as a “fisherman of the first rate” (Doc.12:fos.13-13d).

Joseph Guimon dit Rice [sic] stands out as the only HBC servant at Lac la Pluie throughout these years to have the official assignation of “Fisherman” in the York Factory records (Doc.27:fo.4d). While none of the servants’ accounts identify Guimon’s parish, an entry in the 1830 post journal refers to him as a “Brulé” (Doc.17:fo.39d). In 1850 Guimon retired from the service and remained in the Lac la Pluie district, and there is no record of him supplying the post with fish after retirement (Doc.28:p.11). However, records from the 1860s-70s show that his son, Joseph Guimon Jr. inherited the fishing responsibilities at Lac la Pluie; Guimon Jr.’s official capacity at the post was as “Fisherman” and he is positively identified as métis (Doc.32:fo.18; Doc.35:p.77). Post journals from 1879-1884 contain numerous references to “Josie” establishing and operating post fisheries, and by 1880 entries indicate that his son assisted him in fishing duties (see Appendix A). Joseph Guimon (III) was employed by the HBC in 1890 as an Outpost manager at Northwest Bay on Rainy Lake, and in 1891 as an assistant at the Fort Frances store (Doc.48:p.8; Doc.49:p.8). In this instance, there is clear evidence of the fishing profession spanning into three generations of a local métis family in the Fort Frances area. Joseph Guimon Jr. and his family – including his son Joseph III – are enumerated in Fort Frances area Census records for 1881 and 1891, and in 1901 as residents of the Rainy Lake (Couchiching) Reserve (see Appendix E.5). The 1901 Census indicates their origin as métis (“FHO” - French Half Ojibwa, Doc.86:p.11).

Three names associated with fishing at Lac la Pluie appear to belong to local Indians who were hired temporarily to assist with the post fishery. Apparently some of these Indians were of mixed ancestry. Akiewance’s brother, for example, is described in 1829 by Post Master J.D. Cameron as “a halfbreed, a hired servant, one of my Fishermen” (Doc.15:fo.10d). The practice of hiring non-servants on a temporary basis to assist in various post-related tasks was common. At both Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage, freemen (former Company servants) and Indian men and women were contracted for seasonal tasks such as assisting in the operation of the fall fishery, canoe brigades, harvesting potatoes, making snowshoes, etc. (Doc.24:fo.12d; Doc.25:fos.5d,11-11d; Doc.30:fos.12d-13,17d,26). However, there are no examples in the journals of métis freemen contracted to fish for the post.

Finally, one individual named “L’Esperance” brought a large catch to the Lac la Pluie post in November 1826: “L’Esperance came to inform me that he has 400 Fish of all kinds of which there is 200 White Fish” (Doc.13:fo.6). This name does not appear on any HBC lists of servants, nor is there any indication that this individual had been hired by the post to assist in its fishery. Hence, this may represent an instance where an independent fisherman produced a catch with specific intent to sell fish to the post. The identity of L’Esperance as métis, Indian or European (freeman) is not

known.

The majority of fish consumed at Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage was produced from post fisheries operated by HBC men, sometimes assisted by hired help. Post-produced fish were caught by two methods: 1) intensive seasonal seine fisheries a distance from the post, operated in the spring and fall for sturgeon and whitefish, and; 2) continuous fishing near the post with nets, angles, or spears (eg., Appendix A). In both instances it appears that the post supplied all of the necessary fishing gear, accounted for under “Fort Expenses” (eg., Doc.30:p.24 - Sept.28, 1856). In addition to that harvested from post fisheries, a much smaller quantity of fish – particularly sturgeon – were traded or purchased from Indians (eg., Doc.10:fos.4,10,13d).

In addition to the numerous references to fishing in HBC post journals, there are records which quantify the vital contribution of fish to post provisions at both Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage.⁴ A tabulation of the amount and types of fish caught as entered in the Lac la Pluie post journals for 1829-1831 and 1837-1838 is presented in Table 2.1 below. The figures in Table 2.1 represent fish caught by HBC men (and hired help) specifically for the post. In addition to these catches, the post purchased 6 bales of dry sturgeon” in Outfit 1830/31 and “7 bundles of dry sturgeon” in Outfit 1837/38, plus some fresh fish were traded from Indians (Appendix A).

Table 2.1
Fish Production, Lac la Pluie HBC Post
Outfits 1829/30, 1830/31, 1837/38

SPECIES	1829-1830	1830-1831	1837-1838	TOTAL
Sturgeon	266	145	380	791
Whitefish	315	576	1,155*	2046
Dories, Goldeye Perch, Pike, Suckers	107	10	41	158
“Fish” (unspecified)	520	1314	292	2126
TOTAL	1208	2045	1868	5121

Source: HBCA B.105/a/14; a/15; a/20 (see Appendix A; see also Docs.17, 19, 25)

* This figure includes weekly estimates of whitefish catches described as “more must have been caught this week than in the last”, “daily a good supply” and “enough... for all hands during this week” (see Appendix A, September 11, October 9 & 16, 1837).

Note: The figures above do not include repeated references to catches of “a few fish” or “a meal” of fish.

⁴ It is not possible to cross-tabulate métis fishermen with amounts of fish caught, as there are insufficient post journal entries that directly link the number of fish caught to the individual(s) doing the fishing. Entries recording large catches are most commonly worded as “the seine produced” or “we took from our nets” numbers of fish.

Fish was a staple in the post population diet at both Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage. Fish constituted one of four main “country-foods” which also included wild rice produced by and traded from Lake of the Woods Ojibwa, ducks and geese acquired mainly through trade, and rabbits traded mainly from Indians but supplemented to a small degree from snares set by post employees. A quantitative comparison of these four types of locally produced post provisions acquired through trade at Rat Portage for Outfit 1856/57 is presented in Table 2.2 below. Less than a quarter of the total amount of fish consumed by the post population that year was provided through trade. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 (following pages) show that most (77%) of the fish consumed in that year will have been provided by the Rat Portage post fisheries, primarily the whitefish fishery. Because post journals are not available, it is impossible to identify the primary fishermen at Rat Portage. However, servants’ records from 1861-62 list the Parish “Native” for all employees at Rat Portage, indicating that the post fisheries were operated *de facto* by métis men (Docs.31, 32).

Table 2.2
“Provision Trade”¹ at Rat Portage, Outfit 1856-1857

MONTH	FISH	RICE (Bags)	DUCKS & GEESE	RABBITS
September	20	63	20	160
October			115	40
November				210
December	30			90
January	304			240
February	230			280
March	192			60
April			19	50
May			131	
TOTAL	776	63	285	1130
Post Distribution ³	3388	?	152	1332
Post Production	2612	0	?	202

Source: HBC Rat Portage Account Book 1856-1857 (HBCA B.175/d/1 [Doc.30])

- Notes: 1. The standard currency in payment for provisions was generally rum and/or tobacco, and occasionally ammunition and/or twine.
 2. In September, 44 Indian men were supplied for “rice making” (under “Provision Trade”, p.2).
 3. Rations to Servants throughout this Outfit 1856/57 were commonly in multiples of 7: 14 fish, 14 rabbits, 21 fish, 35 rabbits, etc (eg., December 21, pp.34-35). This may indicate that Rat Portage post employed a total of 7 servants, a number consistent with records for Outfit 1861/62 (see Appendix C).

Table 2.3
Acquisition and Consumption of Fish
Rat Portage, Outfit 1856-1857

OUTFIT 1856-1857 MONTH	PROVISION TRADE (Number of fish acquired)	FORT EXPENSES (Number of fish distributed)				
		Rations to Servants	To the Mess ¹	To Men on trips	Indians on arrival or departure	For the Dogs
September	20	11	30			
October		91	49		1	
November		255	52		5	
December	30	143	28	46	42	42
January	304	750		42	29	
February	230	726		105	40	20
March	192			37	2	34
April		6212		24		
May		163				
TOTAL	776	2760	159	254	119	96
Fish acquired through Provision Trade = 23% of total consumption		Total Number of Fish Consumed: 3,388				

Source: HBC Rat Portage Account Book 1856-1857 (HBCA B.175/d/1 [Doc.30])

- Notes: 1. The distinction between “the Mess” and “Rations to Servants” is not defined in the records. Likely the mess refers to provisions for group meals (servants eating together), while rations to servants refer to provisions for the personal use of each servant (and his family if he had one at the post).
2. Total for both March and April (page 51 [folio 26] - April 30, 1857).

Table 2.4
Species of Fish Acquired and Consumed
Rat Portage, Outfit 1856-1857

FISH SPECIES	PROVISION TRADE (Number acquired)	FORT EXPENSES (Number distributed)	Distribution				
			Rations	Mess	Trips	Indians	Dogs
Whitefish		2312	1865	159	107	119	62
Jack Fish	114	334	177		123		34
Pike	317						
Trout	14						
Sturgeon	3	1	1				
“Fish of sorts”	328	741	717		24		
TOTAL	776	3388					

Source: HBC Rat Portage Account Book 1856-1857 (HBCA B.175/d/1 [Doc.30])

2.2 THE TREATY PERIOD, 1870s

Post journals from the 1870s do not exist for either Fort Frances or Rat Portage and there is consequently almost no information regarding fishing at these posts during the Treaty No. 3 period. York Factory lists of servants for the treaty period continue to use the category “fisherman” to describe the capacity of active servants, but this label is not applied to any servants in the Lac la Pluie district in these records (Doc.36). However, the Lac la Pluie District Report for 1872-73 shows that Joseph Guimon Jr. continued in the position of “Fisherman” at Fort Frances (Doc.35:p.77). A margin note in the abstract of accounts indicates that Guimon’s service was “Temporary” possibly due to the fact that his contract expired in 1873.

Nicholas Chatelain [“Chastellain”] who had been one of the post’s primary fishermen during the 1830s - 1840s, is listed in these same accounts as a “Freeman.” He continued to live in the Fort Frances vicinity, along with Michel Morriseau and John Jourdain, also Freeman (*ibid.*). David Chastellain – probably a descendant (son) of Nicholas – is also listed as a Freeman; David served under the management of Rat Portage during the 1860s, and in 1869 he managed the Lake of the Woods outpost (Doc.33, p.386). George McPherson – a long-time métis resident and post master at Rat Portage – was also a Freeman at this time (Doc.36:p.50). There is no indication that any of these métis men fished to supply the post after their retirement.

In the absence of any descriptive evidence of fishing on Rainy River or Lake of the Woods

from the fur trade records during the treaty period, it is possible only to extrapolate from the decades that preceded it, as discussed above. Métis servants continued to live and work at the Lac la Pluie district posts, and the evidence that Guimon was on salary as a fisherman indicates that at Fort Frances at least, post fisheries were still in operation. There is nothing to indicate that this was not true at Rat Portage as well.

However, the scale and demand of post fisheries may have decreased slightly in proportion to a decline in HBC post populations in the Lac la Pluie district over the previous decade. Lists from 1861/62 servants' accounts show a total of 36 active servants (including clerks and postmasters) stationed in the District, compared with 21 active men in Outfit 1872-73 (Docs.32, 36).⁵ It is also possible that post fisheries produced less as a result of declining fish stocks. An earlier report by *PRAXIS* (1996a:20-23) which examines Ojibwa fisheries in Lake of the Woods and Rainy River during the Treaty period provides some evidence that non-Aboriginal commercial fishing may have already impacted fish stocks in these waters. At the very least, these commercial operations appear to have posed a threat in the minds of local Ojibwa bands, evident in their leaders' persistent demands that "the river should be left as it was formed from the beginning" (in *ibid.*:21).

2.3 THE SETTLEMENT PERIOD, 1880s-early 1900s

Beginning in the late 1870s to early 1880s, the lumber industry and railroad construction brought immigrant settlers of a broad range of ethnic origins into the Kenora and Rainy River districts (*PRAXIS* 1999:59-62). By the mid-1890s, many of these immigrants were applying for commercial gill-net and pound-net licenses either to fish as independents or under contract to larger commercial operations. However, commercial fish harvesting in Lake of the Woods had begun by 1884, mainly by American interests that took advantage of the CPR at Rat Portage to which the fish products were barged, then packed, frozen, and shipped by rail. In light of decreasing sturgeon stocks and in an effort to protect Ojibwa fisheries, a commercial closure of Canadian fisheries was effected in 1889 but American-based fisheries continued to exploit the Lake of the Woods, Rainy River and Rainy Lake.

Predictably, Rat Portage's commercial fishing interests lobbied adamantly to re-open Canadian waters, and in 1892 the Department of Marine and Fisheries acquiesced, issuing ten commercial licences to resident fishermen (Doc.57:p.2; Doc.58). From this point on, the commercial fishing interests on lake of the Woods and Rainy River expanded at a rapid rate, evident in a record number of 183 licenses (plus 10 unconfirmed applications) issued in 1895 (see Appendix D). After this year, fewer licenses were issued but this may not mean that fewer nets were being cast. It appears that in 1896 the Department of Marine and Fisheries began to replace individual licenses

⁵ However, it appears that the number of "Freemen" (former servants no longer under contract with the HBC) who remained in the Lac la Pluie district rose sharply from 4 in 1861 to 25 in 1872. These freemen had lines of credit with the post, but were not supported with post provisions, per se.

(issued in the fisherman's name whether or not he was harvesting for a larger operation), with multiple-net licenses issued in the name of established commercial firms such as the Norman Fish Company (12 nets), Reid Fish Company (25 nets) and Boudreau's fishery (8 nets), as well as partnerships such as Thomas & O'Connor (6 nets) (Doc.67).

In April 1894 the Department of Marine and Fisheries issued instructions based on a decision that Lake of the Woods be "thrown open for a limited amount of pound net and gill net fishing" (Doc.59). Regulations were specific to two types of fishery licenses – Commercial and Domestic – both to be issued to "resident British subjects only... and the bona fide⁶ owners of the fishing gear to be included in such licenses" (Doc.59:frame 88, underline original). Of interest here is the specific inclusion of the category "half-breed" in the regulations regarding Domestic licenses:

*Every farmer, settler, Indian or **half-breed**, being an actual resident of the locality where he intends fishing on the Lake of the Woods, shall be entitled to one Domestic License, with the privilege of fishing not more than three hundred (300) yards of gill nets, measuring not less than five inches extension measure, for which he shall pay a fee of two dollars (\$2.00). (Doc.59:frame 87, emphasis added)*

Evidently a métis population distinct from white and Indian populations was recognized by Marine and Fisheries to have a domestic interest in the fisheries. A letter dated January 21, 1895 asking the Department for clarification on the names and locations of Falcon and High Lakes also singles out the métis population:

*It is most confusing the names of lakes... The reason why it is confusing is that the People of Rat Portage & along the CPR line have one set of names for lakes. The [illegible] Indians and **half breeds** of the Country before the line of the CPR was built have another set of names. (Doc.62:frame 40, emphasis added)*

An examination of commercial fishing license records from the 1890s indicates that only a minor amount of commercial fishing was carried on by métis in the Kenora and Rainy River districts. Appendix D provides a list of individuals who applied for and/or were issued commercial licenses between 1892 and 1898.⁷ From a total of 270 licensed commercial fishermen between 1892-1898, eleven (11) are positively identified as métis:

⁶ The reason given for several fishing license applications which were rejected (indicated "AR" in Appendix D) was that these were Canadian individuals (sometimes non-fishermen) applying for licenses to be used by Canadian firms unable to obtain their desired number of licenses, or by American firms (eg., Doc.67).

⁷ Appendix D cannot be guaranteed to represent a complete account of all licenses and applications for these years. Names are taken from available fishing licence records for Lake of the Woods, found at the Archives of Ontario and at the National Archives of Canada.

Métis Fisherman	Year(s) Licensed	Residence (Census / App. E)
Begg, Duncan F.	1893-1895	Rat P. (1881); Rainy R. (1891)
Begg, John	1895	Rat Portage - Outside (1901)
Godin, Tom	1895 (-1896?)	Keewatin Tp. (1901)
Kippling, Edward Jr.	1894-95, 1898	Rat Portage - Outside (1901)
McDonald, Archibald	1895	McIrvine (1901)
McIvor, Donald	1897	Keewatin Terr. (1881)
McPherson, George Jr.	1892, 1895	Rat Portage - Outside (1901)
Moor, Thomas	1894-1895	Tp Fort Frances (1891)
Morrison, Jonathan	1895	Beaudro Fishery (1901)
Morrison, John G.	1895	Beaudro Fishery (1901)
Morrison, William	1895	Beaudro Fishery (1901)

In addition to the ten métis fishermen listed above, it is probable that Angus and Daniel Morrison were also métis, but available records do not allow for confirmation of their ethnic or racial origin. John Isbistor who was enumerated on the Rainy Lake (Couchiching) Indian Reserve in 1881 may also have been métis. The Begg, McPherson, Moor [Moore or Moar] and Morrison [or Morriseau] surnames can all be linked to the Lac la Pluie fur trade (see *PRAXIS* 1999; 2001).

The Morrison [Morriseau] men listed above fished for Joseph E. Boudreau (variously spelled), and from 1896 onward may have been licensed under his operation. Boudreau's fishing grounds were north and south of Burton Island (near Sable Island), and his operation was located at "Stephen's Point" near the mouth of the Rainy River, Lake of the Woods (Doc.66:frame 32; Doc.67:frame 113). The settlement named "Beaudro Fishery" was enumerated in the 1901 Census as having a total population of 242 (plus 331 Indians resident on a nearby Reserve). The fishing village included resident métis (FB) families of Michel, Jonathan, John G. and William Morrison (Doc.74).

In 1895, Indians were petitioning Ottawa and Washington regarding the depletion of fish in Lake of the Woods, as recorded in the Rat Portage Indian Agency daily journal for March 20, 1895:

Wednesday 20: ...The Chiefs and Indians of Lake of the Woods have sent a petition to Ottawa, and also one to Washington, in reference to the Fisheries, in Lake of the Woods, stating that the fishermen are depleting the Lake of Fish, principally Sturgeon and Whitefish. (Doc.63).

At the same time, however, local Indians apparently found seasonal employment with commercial fishermen, as evident in an entry for June 19, 1895; reporting on his inspection of schools, the Indian Agent reported that "7 of the pupils are at Grassy River with their parents who are working for the fishermen" (Doc.63). During this time, Indians were also harvesting fish to sell to mining companies being established in the Fort Frances area. In June 1898, the Olive Gold Company of Seine River informed the government that "the Indians supply us, and all other companies working here in this section of the country with large quantities of sturgeon, during the summer months" (Doc.71: see

also Doc.72). For this reason, the mining company submitted written objection to the granting of commercial pound-net licenses on Rainy Lake, as “these will certainly deplete the waters of sturgeon and other edible fish” (Doc.71). No specific mention of métis is made in any of these references to Indian fishing activity.

By the end of the first decade of the 20th century the sturgeon fisheries on Lake of the Woods had collapsed due to overfishing, and whitefish followed by yellow pickerel (walleye) became the primary species fished commercially in the Lake (in *PRAXIS* 1999:60). In 1909, the “half-breeds of Couchiching reservation” petitioned the government for special consideration with regard to their treaty fishing rights, which they claimed “amounts to nothing because the Rainy Lake in front of our reservation is nearly depopulated... by American companies...” (Doc.88).

The 1881 Census does not list any person in the Kenora and Fort Frances areas as a ‘Fisherman’ or as engaged in ‘Fishing’ in the column for “Profession, Occupation or Trade”. In 1891, only one man – métis Robert Calder at Fort Frances – is listed as a “mariner” (fisherman, see Note 1, below). This almost complete absence of fishermen is consistent with the fact that commercial fishing did not really begin until the mid-1880s and that the 1889 ban in Canadian waters was not lifted until 1892. In the 1901 Census, however, the occupation of several métis men is identified as fishermen, three of whom pursued commercial fishing as independent of larger companies, as listed below (Docs.74, 79, 82):⁸

Name	Residence	Occupation	Capacity
Morrison, William	Beaudro Fishery	Fisherman	Employee
Allan, Alfred	McIrvine	Mariner ¹	Employee
Calder, Robert	McIrvine	Mariner	Employee
Calder, William	McIrvine	Mariner	Employee
Calder, Edward	McIrvine	Mariner	Employee
Savoyard, John	Rat Portage (Outside)	Trapper/Fisherman	Own Account ²
McPherson, George	Rat Portage (Outside)	Trapper/Fisherman	Own Account
McPherson, John	Rat Portage (Outside)	Trapper/Fishing	Own Account

- Notes: 1. The category “Fisherman” is not used in the McIrvine enumerations; it is assumed (but uncertain) that the term “Mariner” refers to fishing.
 2. The full category title is “Working on own account”, that is, self-employed.

2.4 ANALYSIS OF MÉTIS FISHING AS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

In previous reports, the application of commercial criteria to historical fishing practices on

⁸ As an aside, Patrick O’Connor was also enumerated as a Lighthouse Keeper and Fisherman (Employee) in the 1901 Census for Rat Portage (Outside). He is identified as Irish, his wife Sarah as Scotch Breed, and his children (John, Thomas and Luke) as Irish Breed (Doc.82).

Lake of the Woods focussed primarily on the nature of **exchange** of fish and fish by-products between Ojibwa and European explorers and traders (*PRAXIS* 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; 1997). The criteria of commercial economy examined in these analyses can be summarized as follows:

- ▶ the extent to which exchanges of fish occurred in a market environment (eg., standard rates of exchange);
- ▶ the extent to which fish harvesting (production) was aimed at maximized exchange aimed at profit;
- ▶ whether the production, consumption and distribution of fish involved exports to markets beyond the local area;
- ▶ whether the economic value of fish was determined by supply and demand factors independent of its usefulness in satisfying subsistence needs.

These analyses concluded that except for the production and trade of isinglass (*PRAXIS* 1996c), the trade in fish between Ojibwa and Europeans during the 19th century in the Treaty 3 area failed to meet most criteria characterizing commercial types of exchange. In large part this conclusion is based on evidence that Ojibwa did not maximize their fish harvesting for trade purposes, and that the exchange of fish remained outside the market activity of the fur trade, despite the fact that posts acquired some fish for domestic consumption. On the whole trade posts harvested their own fish and in fact aimed to preserve enough to supply local Indian trappers over the winter if necessary.

With respect to métis fishermen during the fur trade period, the evidence presented in this report suggests that métis fishing activity was not exchange based. Rather, métis harvested fish as employees of the trade post, primarily for the consumption of the post at which they were resident. That is, post fisheries were domestic fisheries. While there is evidence of métis servants as the primary post fishermen at Lac la Pluie – and in the instance of Joseph Guimond, a métis man was the ‘official’ (assigned) post fisherman – these men fished as employees of the HBC and not as independent fishermen who sold or traded their harvest to the HBC. Regardless of how many fish they caught, métis servants were paid a pre-determined salary by the HBC based on their “capacity” (eg., interpreter, middleman, etc.). Fishing was one of several post-provisioning tasks assigned by the post manager to métis and non-métis servants alike. Post managers also hired additional help on a temporary basis to assist in large operations such as the fall fishery, but again these Indian and sometimes métis assistants fished as employees of the post, and not as independent fishermen. Furthermore, the fishing gear used by servants and hired assistants belonged to the post (listed as a “Fort Expense”), and the entire harvest of fish belonged to the post to be distributed and consumed under the control of the post manager.

While the harvest of fish was essential to the survival of the post population, its production was aimed solely at subsistence rather than commerce. Evidence from Rat Portage during Outfit 1856-57 shows that fish was acquired in two ways: 1) over three-quarters of the year’s fish supply

was harvested from post-operated fisheries, and; 2) less than one-quarter was acquired through the “Provision Trade”. This latter activity generally involved Indian trappers bringing small amounts of fish to the post in exchange for rum and tobacco. About 3.5% of the post’s total fish supply was distributed to non-resident Indian trappers and their families, but these fish are accounted for in terms of “gratis” (gifts to Indians) and cannot be characterized as exchange. There is no evidence that the fish harvested by métis servants at Lac la Pluie or at Rat Portage was used as a commodity in the local fur trade.

One possible exception to the non-commercial character of métis fishing during the fur trade period may involve fishing activity and exchange by freemen who remained in the area after they retired from the HBC service. However, while there is evidence of métis freemen who had fished for the post while under HBC service, there is no evidence that these men continued to fish independently or that they sold or traded fish to the post. Likewise where there is evidence of independent fishermen involved in trade with the post – L’Esperance, for example – there is no evidence of their identity as métis, Indian, or European. The scant amount of indirect data to suggest the possibility of independent métis fishermen involved in a market-type exchange of fish during the fur trade period does not allow for the analysis of this activity according to the commercial criteria listed above.

With the decline of the fur trade and the growth of industry and immigration in the Treaty 3 area at the end of the 19th century, fishing took on a distinctly commercial character. This was particularly true in Lake of the Woods, where large American commercial fisheries were blamed for a depletion of fish and where fishing in Canadian waters became a matter of strict regulation during the 1890s. The data presented above with respect to fishing licences issued between 1892 - 1898 shows that several métis men became involved in commercial fishing during this time, applying for licenses and operating according to the regulations dictated by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. These men fished either as independent fishermen or as employees of larger operations such as Beaudro Fishery. There is no evidence that métis as individuals or as groups attempted to gain any special exemptions with regard to commercial fishing licenses, nor is there evidence that the Fishery Overseer applied special privilege to local métis applying for commercial licenses. The only reference by the Department of Marine and Fisheries specific to métis are the instructions to Overseers with respect to Domestic Licenses which were to be issued to “every farmer, settler, Indian or half-breed” resident in the local area.

3. MÉTIS OUTSIDE THE TREATY No.3 ‘HALF-BREED ADHESION’

This chapter presents the available historical evidence concerning local métis populations in the Fort Frances and Kenora areas who remained outside of the Treaty No.3 Half-breed Adhesion (1875). Not all métis in the region elected to join the Fort Frances group as beneficiaries under the Treaty No.3 Adhesion, nor did all local métis families live on the Reserve. As the fur trade waned and the regional economy changed with the influx of immigrants, métis neighbourhoods remained within the growing towns of Fort Frances, Rainy River and Kenora. The nature and scope of this local non-treaty métis presence is the focus of the discussion below.

3.1 NON-BENEFICIARIES TO THE TREATY NO. 3 HALF-BREED ADHESION

During Treaty No.3 negotiations in 1873, Chief Mawedopenais from Fort Frances proposed that certain métis be admitted to the Treaty, implying in his statement that some métis lived among the Ojibwa, while others did not:

*CHIEF – “I should not feel happy if I was not to mess with some of my children that are around me – those children that we call the Half-breed – those that have been born of our women of Indian blood. We wish that they should be counted with us, and have their share of what you have promised. We wish you to accept our demands. It is **the Half-breeds that are actually living amongst us** – those that are married to our women.” (Doc.45:69, emphasis added)*

Morris later reported that the métis to whom Mawedopenais referred numbered “ten to twenty families of half-breeds who were recognized as Indians” (*ibid.*:50). While there is no direct evidence to indicate a link between the “ten to twenty” families and those named in the 1871 annuity list, the fact that the list of nine “Halfbreed” families is appended at the end of the “Indians of Rainy Lake” account suggests that they likely belonged to the same métis group to whom Chief Mawedopenais referred in 1873 (Doc.34). In response to this request, and in light of the important role Morris believed métis had played in a difficult Treaty negotiation process now in its third attempt, he promised to recommend that Mawedopenais’ group of métis families be given the option to treat as Indians. Evidence from the 1876 annuity list shows that seven métis families comprised of 48 individuals chose to join the Treaty under the specific Half-breed Adhesion (Doc. 41).

Nicholas Chatelain, represented the métis in the Fort Frances and Rainy River area who wished to join the Treaty (Doc.39). Although he was considered the “Chief” of the Fort Frances Half-breeds, Chatelain himself did not enlist as a beneficiary of the Treaty No. 3 Adhesion. Chatelain, along with several other fur trade métis families, did not take annuity money and hence were not admitted into the Treaty:

The Half Breeds of Fort Frances who have not taken pay as Indians are Nicholas Chastellain, Louis Chastellain, John Linklater, Wife and six children. There are other Half Breeds here but they belong to Red River or Winnipeg and are entitled to Land in that Vicinity. (Doc.44).

The 1881 Census indicates that in addition to the Chatelain⁹ and Linklater families, several other Fort Frances métis also did not immediately join the Treaty, including the Bruyere and Calder families (Appendix E.4). However, Alex Bruyere and his son Gabriel apparently joined the Rainy Lake Reserve at some later point, as this is where they were enumerated in 1901 (Appendix E.5). Why the Calder family remained outside the treaty is unknown, but in 1901 they were enumerated in McIrvine where most Fort Frances off-reserve métis resided (Appendix E.4). Nicholas Chatelain may have chosen not to join the Treaty for the same reason he did not wish to be Chief of the Fort Frances métis: he perceived a conflict of interest with his position as Government Interpreter for the local Indian Agency. In correspondence to Indian Affairs in Ottawa in 1876, Chatelain clearly states, “for my part, since I hold an Official position, I would not like to be appointed Chief of the Fort Frances Half Breed” (Doc.40).

Little historical data has been found to explain why some métis joined the treaty while others did not. Available documentation from the Treaty period suggest the following two explanations:

- ▶ The Half-Breed Adhesion was intended as exclusive to métis families directly related to the Couchiching band. Hence, some métis were not considered eligible to enter treaty, or did not consider themselves as members of the eligible group;
- ▶ Métis were compelled to choose between either joining the treaty as Indians or opting for land (scrip) under the Manitoba Act. As they could not benefit from both, some métis chose scrip.

The first explanation is supported by Chief Mawedopenais’ request during Treaty No. 3 negotiations which suggests that only some métis were to be allowed admission to the Treaty, that is métis families who were related by marriage to members of his band and who already lived with the band. From this perspective, the 1875 Half-Breed Adhesion was intended (and possibly

⁹ David Chatelaine [Chabellain] lived on the reserve in 1881. In 1894 he requested a membership transfer from the Couchiching Band to his wife’s band at White Fish Bay (NAC RG10, Volume 3934, File 118324 – notes on file).

understood) to be exclusive to a particular group of métis.¹⁰ Alexander Morris understood this métis group to consist of “ten to twenty families of half-breeds who were recognized as Indians, and lived with them” (Doc.45:50). According to this understanding, the Fort Frances half breeds who joined the Treaty No. 3 Adhesion will have been classified within Morris’ “second class” of Half-breeds living in the Territories in the 1870s, as follows:

The Half-breeds in the territories are of three classes – 1st, those who, as at St. Laurent, near Prince Albert, the Qu’Appelle Lakes and Edmonton, have their farms and homes; 2nd, those who are entirely identified with the Indians, living with them, and speaking their language; 3rd, those who do not farm, but live after the habits of the Indians, by the pursuit of the buffalo and the chase.

As to the first class, the question is an easy one. They will, of course, be recognized as possessors of the soil, and confirmed by the Government in their holdings, and will continue to make their living by farming and trading.

The second class have been recognized as Indians, and have passed into the bands among whom they reside.

The position of the third class is more difficult. The loss of the means of livelihood by the destruction of buffalo, presses upon them, as upon our Indian tribes; and with regard to them I reported in 1876, and I have seen no reason to change my views... (Doc.45:294-295)

Taylor (1983:161) interprets Morris’ classification of métis as recognition of the principle that some métis – those who belonged to an Indian community – should be considered, and granted the same legal status, as Indians in order to preserve the integrity of that community. However, the great majority of métis were not to be taken into Indian treaties. Taylor further argues that the “ten or twenty” families referred to in the course of Treaty No.3 negotiations were those included in the Half-Breed Adhesion of 1875, a number consistent with the size of the reserve allotted to them (*ibid.*:162). A letter from Simon Dawson in March 1874 to address issues of implementation of Treaty No. 3 and the establishment of Reserves, indirectly supports the supposition that an exclusive group of métis were to be considered as eligible under the treaty, stating that: “The few half breed families living among the Saulteaux certainly expressed a desire to be treated as Indians” (Doc.37:p.5).

The second possible explanation is that not all métis wished to join the treaty because this

¹⁰ There exists an incomplete copy of correspondence from 1874-75 that appears to raise the issue of which métis were to be included in the treaty, and the need for that point to be clarified. The first page(s) of the letter is missing on the microfilm, but a following page begins, “said ‘it was the half Breeds that are actually among us those that are married to our women,’ that they desired to include - I would like the point to be decided” (NAC RG10, Vol.1922, File 2970, letter following that dated Feb.23, 1874 [Reel C-11,111] – notes on file). An examination of the original paper file confirms that the first page(s) of this letter have not survived in the archival record.

meant a relinquishment of rights under the Manitoba Act for Half-breed scrip and allotments of land. It is important to note that at this time, the Kenora and Fort Frances areas were considered an extension of Manitoba, evidenced by the census enumerations of 1881 (see Section 3.2). This group of non-Treaty métis would have been considered by Morris to belong to the “first class” of Half-breeds who owned land, farmed and traded (see quote above). Dawson’s 1874 letter suggests that all métis were given the choice between treaty or scrip:

The few half-breed families living among the Saulteaux certainly expressed a desire to be treated as Indians, but I think they may safely be allowed a little time for reflection for they may not know that in joining an Indian Band and receiving annuities, they would become minors, could neither acquire nor alienate property except with the consent of the Band and the Government, and would forfeit that most estimable of all advantages to half-breeds, the privilege of voting at elections. Their judgement must have been influenced last fall, by the presents which they saw the Indians receiving while they got nothing. (Doc.37:p.5).

Draft correspondence in 1874 from Indian Affairs in Ottawa to J.N. Provencher, Visiting Superintendent at Fort Garry confirms that uncertainty existed among métis as to the consequences of joining the treaty, and that the choice to take scrip was also available to métis at Fort Frances:

There is reason to believe that many of the halfbreeds in Manitoba especially in the Parish of St Peters have identified themselves with the Indians and have taken the Treaty money as such, and that elsewhere Half Breeds have claimed the right to receive money as Indians.

It is probable that in doing this the Half Breeds were ignorant that they thereby forfeited their own and children’s claim to consideration in the allotment of lands to halfbreeds under the Manitoba Act, a claim probably of much more value to them than any annuities or presents they would receive by declaring themselves Indians.

It will therefore be well that you should take the opportunity, when paying the Indians their next Treaty money, of fully explaining to any halfbreeds who have heretofore received or who may then claim to do so for the first time that they must at once elect whether they shall be treated as halfbreeds or Indians and that they cannot at the same time share in the allotment of lands as halfbreeds and in the payments and presents made to the Indians, and that in future, any halfbreed who receives any annuity or presents as an Indian thereby disqualifies himself and his children from receiving an allotment of land as a Halfbreed.

It should be stated at the same time that Half Breeds who have heretofore received annuities and presents as members of an Indian Band, not being aware that they thereby forfeited their claim to allotments of land as Halfbreeds, may if they see fit, now elect to be struck off the strength of such band, and such Halfbreeds should thence forth be treated as other halfbreeds who have never received Indian money and be similarly entitled to share in the allotment of lands under the Manitoba Act.

It is further repeated that inland of Manitoba especially about Fort Frances there are a few families of Half Breeds who have married Indian women and [illegible] of the Indians, and who desire to be included [illegible] and treated as Indians. There can be no objection to allowing these Half Breeds to elect whether they shall be treated as Half Breeds or Indians, but it should be explained to them that in the event of their election to be considered Indians, although they will [illegible] forfeit a claim (an allotment of land like the Half Breeds in Manitoba) they would render themselves minors and be unable to acquire or alienate property except with the consent of the Band & the [illegible] and would also lose the right of voting at Elections. (Doc.38, inserts and emphasis added)

By 1877, métis who chose not to join the treaty – Nicholas Chatelain for example – were requesting confirmation from the Indian Department of its intent “to give them an allotment of Land or allow them to take Homesteads as Whites” (Doc.42). In reply, Indian Agent Pither was asked to “report on the number of such halfbreeds asking for a grant of land at or in the vicinity of Fort Frances” (Doc.43). Pither reported that to date, land grants had been requested only by Nicholas and Louis Chastellain, and John Linklater’s family (Doc.44).

3.2 THE OFF-RESERVE MÉTIS POPULATION, 1881 - 1901

3.2.1 A Methodological Note regarding Census Records

Census enumerations from 1881, 1891 and 1901 allow for métis populations in the Treaty No.3 area to be traced for the three decades following the 1875 Half-Breed Adhesion. A full account of métis enumerated in these census records is provided in Appendix E.

Methodologically, the three censuses are not perfectly comparable in terms of geographic districts and sub-districts. For 1881 and 1891, it is difficult to know with certainty the exact residence location of métis families. In 1881, the entire region from Fort Frances to Kenora was enumerated as the “Eastern Extension” of Manitoba. While the district was enumerated in four sub-divisions, the geographic extent of each is unclear in contemporary terms. In 1891 the region was part of Ontario, and enumerated as five townships, which do not exactly correspond to the 1881 sub-divisions. The 1901 Census allows for a more accurate identification of residence, but again, the 15 sub-districts in which métis resided do not correspond to those in 1891 or 1881. Cross-tabulation with fur trade and other records allow for some certainty as to the residence of métis families in 1881 and 1891. However, in the 1891 Census the boundary between Rainy River and Rat Portage townships remains unclear, as fur trade names (eg., McPherson) found in Rat Portage in 1881 appear in Rainy River in 1891, and then back in Rat Portage in 1901. Approximate correlations of districts and sub-districts enumerated in 1881, 1891 and 1901 are presented in Appendix F.

A second issue regards the lack of origin identification in the 1881 and 1891 Census records, making it difficult and sometimes impossible to identify individuals and families as métis, Indian

or European. In rare instances, enumerators made errors by writing in “Halfbreed” or “Native” which was later crossed out by another census official (see for example, 1881 entries for the wives and children of Robert Laurenson and John Williamson, Appendix E.1). In many instances, the problem of identification is overcome by cross-tabulating individuals who are indicated as working for the HBC, with York Factory Servants Accounts (eg., William Calder, Appendix E.1). In other instances, the identity of an individual enumerated in the 1881 and/or 1891 Census records, is confirmed as métis in the 1901 Census. The records compiled in Appendix E are the result of these types of cross-tabulation in an attempt to provide a generally valid representation of the métis population in 1881 and 1891.

A final methodological note concerns some discrepancies between census data presented in Appendix E and the discussion below, and that provided in the *PRAXIS* report, *Historic Métis in Ontario: Rainy River District and Kenora Districts* (October 1999). The métis population totals provided in Sections 3.5 and 4.3 of the 1999 report were taken from official census calculations found on Table XI - Origins of the People, published in Volume I, *Census of Canada 1901* (Canada 1902). The data presented in this present report are taken directly from the enumeration sheets, and in several instances these totals do not exactly accord with the official totals. This is not uncommon, as similar discrepancies have been found in the course of other studies using 1901 Census records. The reason for these discrepancies is not known at the time of writing, but it appears that Census officials who calculated total population figures made adjustments to compensate for what they viewed as enumerator errors.

3.2.2 Off-Reserve Métis Populations in Fort Frances and Environs¹¹

Including the métis children of mixed Aboriginal/European marriages, the non-treaty métis population at Fort Frances in 1881 numbered approximately 39 individuals in 10 households (Doc.47). A decade later, natural growth among these families as well as some regional movement of métis increased the Fort Frances off-reserve population to 61 individuals in 13 households (Docs.51, 52). By 1901, that population had grown to 110 persons, summarized as follows (Docs.73, 77, 79; see Appendix E.4):

- ▶ 20 persons (3 Calder households) were of the original Fort Frances families enumerated in 1881¹²;
- ▶ 41 persons were members or descendants of métis and mixed marriage families who had lived in the region prior to 1891 (eg., the families of Patrick Cyr and John Henry Lyons were enumerated in the Rat Portage area in 1881);

¹¹ For completeness sake, the métis on-reserve population at Couchiching from 1881 to 1901 is listed in Appendix E.5 (Docs.47, 50-51, 86).

¹² There were no Linklaters enumerated at Fort Frances in the 1901 Census; two Linklater families were enumerated as Scotch Breeds at Rat Portage in 1901 (Appendix E.1).

- ▶ 49 persons were either first generation métis whose European fathers were recent immigrants, or who belonged to métis families that were relatively new to the Fort Frances area (i.e. since 1891).

Of significance to the issue of ethnicity among off-reserve métis is that almost all were concentrated in McIrvine, a village annexed to the town of Fort Frances in 1948 (see *PRAXIS* 1999:63). Of the 110 métis enumerated off-reserve in 1901, 99 lived in McIrvine.¹³ Although there is no listing of HBC property on Schedule 2 – “Buildings and Lands”, there is some indication that the McIrvine neighbourhood had an historical connection to the fur trade (Doc.79). Both William Calder and John Henry Lyons – enumerated in Fort Frances township as HBC traders in 1891 – were also enumerated at McIrvine in 1901, suggesting that McIrvine was the site of the HBC post.

There is some evidence that métis who originated from the Red River settlement lived in the Fort Frances area around the time of the Half-breed Adhesion. An Indian Affairs document from Couchiching Agency in 1877 states that “There are other Half Breeds here but they belong to Red River or Winnipeg and are entitled to land in that vicinity” (Doc.#44). The 1901 census records indicate that about a dozen métis families were of Cree Aboriginal ancestry with birthplaces listed in Manitoba, who came to the Fort Frances area in the 1880s - 1890s (see Appendix E.4). None of these families lived on the reserve, and the relationship between these “immigrant” Manitoba families and the local métis community is unclear. One possibility is that some métis said Manitoba was their birthplace while actually referring to locations which by 1901 belonged to Ontario. Another is that some métis families in fact came to Fort Frances from Manitoba. Historically, there had long been a connection between Red River and Fort Frances, as evidenced in Lac la Pluie post journals from the 1820s onward which frequently mention contact and travel between the two locations. For example, the fur brigades from Lac la Pluie necessarily passed through Red River on their way to York Factory, and travellers on their way from Red River east to Fort William (Thunder Bay) necessarily passed through Fort Frances (Doc.#20:fo.21; Doc.22:fo.17; Doc.25:fos.2,4). By the mid-1830s, views were expressed that the Lac la Pluie district be provisioned directly from Red River (Doc.24:fo.5).

3.2.3 Off-Reserve Métis Populations in Lake of the Woods, Kenora and Environs

Outside the Fort Frances area, another 103 métis did not join the Treaty Adhesion in 1875, and lived off reserves in the Lake of the Woods region (Appendix E.1). Although the 1881 census is difficult to separate into geographic zones (see Section 3.2.1 above) it appears that these métis lived primarily near Rat Portage (Doc.46, 47). By 1891 this métis population numbered 120, a slight increase due mainly to natural population growth among families who had earlier moved into the area during the fur trade era (eg., Begg, Cyr, Fiddler, Finlayson, Kipling, McPherson and Morriveau families) (Docs.52, 55, 56). Several of these métis men continued to work for the HBC or as

¹³ In 1901, the total population of McIrvine was 697, of which 14.2% were métis (see Appendix F).

independent fur traders, while others became involved in the lumber industry or farming. Some movement among métis families occurred within the general region, between Rat Portage and Fort Frances for example.

By 1901, the Lake of the Woods / Kenora off-reserve métis population had more than doubled to 270 persons. These métis originated from three main sources (Docs.78, 80, 82-84; see Appendix E.1):

- ▶ 113 persons belonged to métis families original to the region (i.e. enumerated there in 1881);
- ▶ 91 persons belonged to métis families (22 households) who had moved into the region from Manitoba or elsewhere in Ontario after 1881;
- ▶ 66 métis were the wives and children of mixed marriages where the head of the household was European and a recent immigrant to the region.

Most métis (171) in the region lived at or near Rat Portage: 112 lived in the town (Doc.83), 23 in Rat Portage “Outside” (Doc.82), and the remaining 36 at Mikado Mine (Doc.80), Sultana Mine (Doc.84) and in Keewatin township (Doc.78). The 23 métis enumerated at Rat Portage “outside” may have lived near the site of the original HBC post. Schedule 2 – Buildings and Lands lists HBC lots and this is where the families of fur traders Robert Laurenson and George McPherson were enumerated (Doc.82)

In terms solely of residence pattern, there is less indication of métis ethnicity at Rat Portage than is evident for Fort Frances where the vast majority of off-reserve métis lived in the same neighbourhood. Of the 112 métis enumerated in the town of Rat Portage, there does not appear to be any one neighbourhood in which they concentrated. The town was divided into five polling divisions, and métis resided in Polling Divisions 2 - 5, as follows (Doc.83):

<u>Rat Portage Town</u>	<u># métis enumerated (1901)</u>
Polling Division 1	0
Polling Division 2	18
Polling Division 3	54
Polling Division 4	22
Polling Division 5	18

The largest concentration of métis were in Polling Division 3, where Schedule 2 – Buildings and Lands lists several HBC lots as well as Rideout lots. In the 1880s the HBC purchased a store from E.M. Rideout in order to take advantage of the CP Railway and “Rideout” is the section of town identified by present-day Kenora métis as historically a métis neighbourhood (*PRAXIS* 1999:63; Doc.83, Polling Division 3 - Schedule 2). Elsewhere in the region, 32 métis lived further east at Dryden / Wabigoon (Docs.76 and 85 respectively; see Appendix E.2), and 67 lived at the south end

of Lake of the Woods near Rainy River (Docs. 74-75, 81; see Appendix E.3).

Thirteen of the métis households new to the Kenora area since 1891 indicated their birth place as Manitoba. While it is possible that some came from the Red River settlement, this cannot be confirmed from enumeration records which identify only province or country of origin. However, as discussed in the previous report on Rainy River/Kenora métis, contemporary local history suggests that métis from Red River settled at Northwest Angle after the Riel Rebellion (*PRAXIS* 1999:57).

3.2.4 Occupational Profile of Off-Reserve Métis

Among the off-reserve population at Fort Frances in the decade after Treaty No.3, métis men were employed as fur traders and general labourers. In 1891 some métis continued to work as fur traders and labourers, but the occupational profile broadened in range to include métis tradesmen such as carpenters and steamboat/ferry pilots, as well as farmers. Only one man, métis Robert Calder, is listed as a fisherman (“mariner”) in 1891. By 1901, 6 métis men worked in the lumber industry, 4 as mariners or fishermen (see Section 2.3 above), 3 were farmers and one each was a ferryman, shipbuilder, guide and shoemaker (see Appendix E.4).

In the Rainy River area in 1891, métis men were involved in the fur trade, several of the Morriseau family had begun farming, and two métis men were working in the lumber trade. By 1901 there appears to have been few (6) métis men living in the Rainy River vicinity. The Morriseau men (now at Beaudro Fishery) had abandoned farming in favour of working on the Lake/River system as Lighthouse Keepers, Fishermen, and boat pilots. George Sinclair was at Pinewood working as a lumberman (Appendix E.3).

At Rat Portage, most métis men in 1881 were engaged in the fur trade. The Cyr families were farming as was Michel Morriseau’s family. George McPherson was in the position of Indian Agent. By 1891 several métis men continued to work for the HBC or as independent fur traders, while others became involved in the lumber industry or farming. As at Fort Frances, the occupational profile at Kenora had broadened by 1901. Métis men were working in the lumber industry, general labourers, mining, contracting, and three were involved in commercial fishing (Appendix E.1; see also Section 2.3 above). At Dryden and Wabigoon in 1901, métis men are listed as hunters, farmers, teamsters and lumbermen (Appendix E.2).

4. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the main findings of historical research presented in this report. Conclusions are presented for the two main issues discussed with regard to historic métis in the Kenora and Fort Frances regions during the 19th century: 1) evidence concerning fishing by métis in the area, particularly in Lake of the Woods, and; 2) evidence about métis who did not join the Treaty No.3 Halfbreed Adhesion of 1875 and who lived off the reserve.

4.1 FINDINGS RE: MÉTIS FISHING IN THE LAKE OF THE WOODS

- Throughout the 19th century fur trade, métis employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company at Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage fished for post-provisions. HBC records document métis men operating large seasonal fisheries, as well as angling and spearing fish throughout the year. However, fishing was not exclusive to métis employees, and non-Aboriginal HBC servants were also assigned the task of fishing.
- Generally fishing was a post-related task assigned to any number of servants who were under contract with the HBC in other official capacities. Only in the instance of Joseph Guimon dit Rice and his son Joseph Guimon Jr. is the capacity of “Fisherman” assigned, meaning that operation of post fisheries was their primary responsibility at Lac la Pluie.
- The fisheries at both Lac la Pluie and Rat Portage were domestic fisheries. Whitefish in particular was a staple in the post population diet at both posts, and it appears that all fish harvested from post fisheries was consumed by the post population as well by Indian traders and their families who were given fish during times of scarcity. Approximately 75% of fish consumed at Rat Portage was produced from post fisheries operated by HBC men; 25% of the fish consumed was acquired through the “Provision Trade.”
- Métis fishing during the fur trade period does not meet the criteria of commercial activity, essentially because it was not exchange based. Métis servants who fished for the posts did so as employees of the HBC and not as independent fishermen who sold or traded their harvest. Furthermore, fish production at the post was aimed solely at subsistence, rather than commerce. Post journals and account books provide no evidence that fish harvested by métis servants at Lac la Pluie or at Rat Portage was used as a commodity in the local fur trade.
- One possible exception to the non-commercial character of métis fishing during the fur trade period may involve exchanges of fish by freemen. However, there exists only a small quantity of evidence about such independent fishermen, and none was found to identify them as métis. As well, there is insufficient data to evaluate this activity according to commercial criteria.

- During the 1890s, several métis men acquired commercial fishing licenses for Lake of the Woods. Of a total of 270 licensed commercial fishermen between 1892 - 1898, eleven are positively identified as métis, while another two or three men likely were métis. Three métis commercial fishermen appear to have operated independent fishing operations, while the remainder worked for larger operations such as Beaudro Fishery.
- Métis commercial fishermen did not appear to seek, nor were they granted any special consideration with regard to licensing. The available evidence indicates that métis commercial fishermen in the 1890s operated according to the licensing and fishing regulations implemented by the Department of Marine & Fisheries.

4.2 FINDINGS RE: NON-TREATY / OFF RESERVE MÉTIS

- Evidence from the 1881 Census indicates that the majority of métis living in the Kenora / Fort Frances area immediately following the Halfbreed Adhesion (1875), were not Treaty beneficiaries. Of an estimated total of 192 métis in the area in 1881, 50 took treaty and lived on the Rainy Lake reserve, 39 lived off-reserve in Fort Frances township, and 103 lived near Rat Portage.
- Available documentation from the Treaty No.3 period suggest two explanations as to why some métis joined the treaty while others did not:
 - ▶ The Half-Breed Adhesion was intended as exclusive to métis families directly related to the Couchiching band. Hence, some métis were not considered eligible to enter treaty, or did not consider themselves as members of the eligible group;
 - ▶ Métis were compelled to choose between either joining the treaty as Indians or opting for land (scrip) under the Manitoba Act. As they could not benefit from both, some métis chose scrip as they considered the economic advantages from land ownership as greater than from annuities.
- By 1901, the off-reserve métis population had grown to 380 persons. The métis population was a mix of descendants of original families from the fur trade period, métis families who had moved into the region from other parts of Ontario and from Manitoba, as well as the wives and children of recent European immigrants. A connection between the Kenora / Fort Frances métis population and the Red River métis settlement is possible but unclear.
- The only evidence of ethnic identity among off-reserve métis groups is found in 1901 Census records which indicate “neighbourhood” concentrations of métis:
 - ▶ This is most evident at Fort Frances where almost all (90%) of off-reserve métis were concentrated in McIrvine, a village later annexed to the town of Fort Frances. There

is some indication that the McIrvine neighbourhood had an historical connection to the fur trade, perhaps the site of the HBC post.

- ▶ Most métis in the Kenora region lived at or near Rat Portage. About 15% of Kenora métis lived outside town near the old HBC post site while the remainder lived in town. In terms solely of residence pattern, there is less indication of métis ethnicity at Rat Portage than is evident for Fort Frances. Métis were spread among four of five polling divisions in the town of Rat Portage, there does not appear to be any distinct neighbourhood in which they concentrated.
- Occupationally, métis enumerated in the region from 1881 to 1901 were engaged in a variety of trades and labour. Fishing was but one of several occupations listed, engaged in by nine métis men in the region in 1901 (4 at Rat Portage, 1 at Beaudro Fishery, and 4 at McIrvine).

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32/37/20 Correspondence, memoranda, lists of fishing licenses, Province of Ontario fishing licences (11), 1894-8, certificates, conviction papers, Feb.19, 1896 issue of Rat Portage Semi- Weekly Records, notes of interview with Mr. Magrath, 1896.
32/37/21 Fishing licenses, notes, memoranda, correspondence relative to fishing rights in the North West Angle, 1896, 1898, 1903.

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1871 *First Census of Canada, 1871*

1881 *Second Census of Canada, 1881*, Manitoba Extension (No.192), “b. of T - Eastern”, [Reel C-13,283]

B¹ From Rat Portage to Eastern Boundary of District No. 192B along line of CP Railway

B² Rat Portage / Lake of the Woods [Note: microfilm too faint to make copies]

B³ From Winnipeg River to Western Boundary District No. 192B along CPR

B⁴ For the entire sub-district excepting Rat Portage and line of CP Railway

1891 *Third Census of Canada, 1891*, Algoma District (No.46), [Reels T-6323-6324]

BB¹ - BB² Tp. Fort Frances

LL¹ - LL² Tp. Norman

PP¹ - PP² Tp. Rainy River

QQ Tp. Rat Portage East

RR Tp. Rat Portage West

Canada, Census Office, continued...

1901 *Fourth Census of Canada 1901*, Algoma District (No.44), [Reel T-6458]

g¹ Alberton
i¹ Aylesworth
j¹ Beaudro Fishery (“Hungary Hall”)
k¹ Beaver Mills
m¹ Dryden
q¹ Tp. Fort Frances
w¹ Keewatin Tp.
z¹ McIrvine
b² Mikado Mine
i² Pinewood / Fort Frances
l² Tp. Rat Portage (Outside)
m² Rat Portage, Town-Ville (Kenora)
u² Sultana Mine
x² Wabigoon

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Volume 6961, File 485/20-2, Pt.1 [Reel C-12,926]

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(Listed in chronological order)

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 HBCA Hudson's Bay Company Archives
 NAC National Archives of Canada

Doc. #	Date	Description	Source/Reference
1	1793-1794	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: John McKay	HBCA B.105/a/1
2	1794-1795	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: John McKay	HBCA B.105/a/2
3	1795-1796	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: John McKay	HBCA B.105/a/3
4	1796-1797	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: John McKay	HBCA B.105/a/4
5	1817-1818	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: Don McPherson	HBCA B.105/a/5
6	1818-1819	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: Don McPherson	HBCA B.105/a/6
7	1818-1819	Lac la Pluie Account Book	HBCA B.105/d/1
8	1819-1820	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: Rob McKenzie	HBCA B.105/a/7
9	1822-1823	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. McLaughton	HBCA B.105/a/8
10	1824-1825	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/10
11	1824-1825	York Factory Abstracts of Servants' Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/4
12	1825-1826	District Report - Lac La Pluie Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/e/6
13	1826-1828	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/12
14	1826-1827	York Factory Abstracts of Servants' Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/6
15	1828-1829	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/13
16	1828-1829	York Factory Abstracts of Servants' Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/8
17	1829-1830	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/14

Doc. #	Date	Description	Source/Reference
18	1829-1830	York Factory Abstracts of Servants Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/9
19	1830-1831	Lac La Pluie Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/15
20	1831-1832	Fort Frances (Lac La Pluie) Post Journal Post Master: J. D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/16
21	1831-1832	York Factory Abstracts of Servants' Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/11
22	1832-1833	Fort Frances (Lac La Pluie) Post Journal Post Master: J.D. Cameron	HBCA B.105/a/17
23	1832-1833	York Factory Abstracts of Servants Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/12
24	1834-1835	Fort Frances (Lac La Pluie) Post Journal Post Master: Unknown	HBCA B.105/a/19
25	1837-1838	Fort Frances (Lac La Pluie) Post Journal Post Master: Unknown	HBCA B.105/a/20
26	1838	York Factory List of Servants	HBCA B.239/f/17
27	1839	York Factory List of Servants	HBCA B.239/f/19
28	1850	York Factory List of Servants	HBCA B.239/f/37
29	1850-1851	York Factory List of Servants	HBCA B.239/f/38
30	1856-1857	Rat Portage Account Book	HBCA B.175/d/1
31	1861-1862	Rat Portage Account Book	HBCA B.175/d/2
32	1861-1862	York Factory Abstracts of Servants Accounts	HBCA B.239/g/41
33	1861-1862 1868-1869	York Factory Northern Department - Minutes of Council	HBCA B.239/k/3, pp. 230, 386
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35	1872-1873	Lac la Pluie Account Book	HBCA B.105/d/90
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41	1876 15 October	Couchiching Agency - Treaty payments to half-breeds and a reserve for their use. (Manitoba Superintendency)	NAC RG10, Vol. 3558, File 30
42	1877 4 January	Couchiching Agency - Treaty payments to half-breeds and a reserve for their use. (Manitoba Superintendency)	NAC RG10, Vol. 3558, File 30
43	1877 12 February	Couchiching Agency - Treaty payments to half-breeds and a reserve for their use. (Manitoba Superintendency)	NAC RG10, Vol. 3558, File 30
44	1877 28 February	Couchiching Agency - Treaty payments to half-breeds and a reserve for their use. (Manitoba Superintendency)	NAC RG10, Vol. 3558, File 30
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47	1881	1881 Census: Manitoba - Eastern Extension B ⁴ "For the entire sub-district excepting Rat Portage and line of CP Railway"	NAC Reel C-13,283
48	1890 22-23 August	Lac la Pluie District Report	HBCA B.105/e/17
49	1891 19-20 October	Lac la Pluie District Report	HBCA B.105/e/18
50	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 BB1 - Tp. Fort Frances	NAC Reel-6323
51	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 BB2 - Tp. Fort Frances	NAC Reel-6323
52	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 LL1 - Tp. Norman	NAC Reel-6324
53	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 PP1 - Tp. Rainy River	NAC Reel-6324
54	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 PP2 - Tp. Rainy River	NAC Reel-6324
55	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 QQ - Tp. Rat Portage East	NAC Reel-6324
56	1891	1891 Census: Algoma District 46 RR - Tp. Rat Portage West	NAC Reel-6324

Doc. #	Date	Description	Source/Reference
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58	1892 17 May	Irving Papers Northwest Angle Treaty Letter from Wm. Smith to J.W. Colcleugh	AO MS 2575, 31/37/16 (1)
59	1894 11 April	Letter from Deputy Minister of Marine & Fisheries To C.W. Chadwick, Fishery Overseer, Rat Portage Instructions re: Commercial and Domestic licences	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.1, fr.87-89
60	1894	Commercial Fishing Applications & Licenses Lake of the Woods	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.1
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62	1895 21 January	Letter to John Hardie, Acting Minister of Marine & Fisheries, re: Indians & Halfbreeds have own names for lakes near Rat Portage	NAC RG23, Vol.223 File 1224, fr.40-41
63	1895 March - June	Indian Affairs, Rat Portage Inspectorate Records Daily Journal, 1895	AO MS216, Reel 9
64	1895 30 May	Testimony of C.W. Chadwick, Fishery Overseer for District of Rainy River - G. McPherson had licence as Sabaskong Bay	NAC RG23, Vol.223 File 1224, Pt.1, fr.74-76
65	1895	Special Fishery Licence To Daniel Morrison, Rat Portage for 1 pound net in Lake of the Woods	AO F1027-1-3 Item 32/37/20
66	1895	Commercial Fishing Applications & Licenses Lake of the Woods	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.2
67	1896 14 April	Memorandum from E.E. Prince, Commissioner Fisheries Re: Application for Pound Nets in Lake of the Woods	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.3, fr.112-116
68	1896-1897	Commercial Fishing Applications & Licenses Lake of the Woods	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.3
69	1897 19 January	Letter from Rat Portage Fishery Overseer To Deputy Ministry - Marine & Fisheries Re: Joseph Beaudro & other fishermen test-fishing	NAC RG23, Volume 223 File 1224, fr.148-150
70	1897-1911	Commercial Fishing Applications & Licenses Lake of the Woods	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.4
71	1898 10 June	Letter from Olive Gold Company of Seine River Re: Indians supply fish to mining companies	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.4, fr.56-57

Doc. #	Date	Description	Source/Reference
72	1898 2-8 July	Marine & Fisheries Correspondence Re: injurious effect of fishing at mouth of Seine River	NAC RG23, Vol.140 File 329, Pt.4, fr.64,68-71
73	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Alberton District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "g ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
74	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Beaudro Fishery (Hungry Hall) District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "j ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
75	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Beaver Mills District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "k ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
76	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Dryden District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "m ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
77	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Fort Frances District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "q ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
78	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Keewatin District 44 (Algoma); Sub-District "w ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
79	1901	1901 Census - Tp. McIrvine District 44 (Algoma); Sub-District "z ¹ "	NAC Reel T-6458
80	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Mikado Mine District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "b ² "	NAC Reel T-6458
81	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Pinewood District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "i ² "	NAC Reel T-6458
82	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Rat Portage (Outside) District 44 (Algoma); Sub-District "l ² "	NAC Reel T-6458
83	1901	1901 Census - Town, Rat Portage District 44 (Algoma); Sub-District "m ² " (Nos. 1-5)	NAC Reel T-6458
84	1901	1901 Census - Sultana Mine Tp. District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "u ² "	NAC Reel T-6458
85	1901	1901 Census - Tp. Wabigoon District 44 (Algoma), Sub-District "x ² "	NAC Reel T-6458
86	1901	1901 Census - Indian Reserves, Ontario District 44 (Algoma), Couchiching Agency - Rainy Lake	NAC Reel T-6554
87	1903 4 February	Letter from D. Laird, Indian Commissioner, NWT Re: Begg family of "Halfbreeds" [Transcript from Gale 1998, Doc.128, pp.124-124]	NAC RG10, Volume3572 File 132, Pt.G.
88	1909 23 September	Petition from "half-breeds of Couchiching" to Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs	NAC RG10, Volume 6961, File 485/20-2, Pt.1