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'So, where are you from?'  
Glimpsing the history of Ottawa-Gatineau's Urban Indian Communities

by  
Karyn Pugliese, B.J.

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

Carleton University  
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**'So, where are you from?'**

**Glimpsing the history of Ottawa-Gatineau's Urban Indian Communities**

submitted by

Karyn S. Pugliese, B.J. (Hons)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

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19 May 2005

## Abstract

Literature studying urban Indians before 1970 concentrated on developing theories about acculturation and economic integration. As better data became available, statistical studies appeared. The texts rarely included a historical understanding of the people they studied. In the period, 1800 to 1972, at least three urban Indian communities associated themselves with Ottawa and Gatineau. The communities overlapped, but each had a separate history. They originated for different reasons; organized themselves to suit specific interests; and each had a distinct reason to associate with the cities. Ottawa's status as capital city often played an important role. The communities are complex, because Indians are a multi-national group, and the communities had an itinerant quality, meaning their community history unfolded both inside and outside city borders.

## Acknowledgements

First, the author needs to thank her son Zackery Liberty who learned the economic theory of opportunity cost while the author studied history. Hey Zac, Mommy has finally finished grade 22! Thanks also to Zac's dad, Michael Liberty, for helping me balance my schedule. Greg Taylor, thank you for patiently reading each chapter, encouraging me, feeding me, and for brewing a thousand cups of coffee. Dan David (who will always be a better writer than me) and Jennifer Sinclair (who paddles straighter than me) thanks for your ears, kind encouragement, thoughts and advice. Rita Deverell, thanks for letting me schedule my time at APTN in away that let me finish this project. I also owe special thanks to Joan White, Graduate Secretary and problem-solving wizard, who is an expert at helping students through the tangles of administration and technicalities. Ken Stunel and Laurie Stewart at the Alternative High School Program, thank you for coaxing me back into high school. Thanks to my mom, my aunt Doris and all the other folks who contributed their time and stories to this project. With any luck, it brings back memories. Thank you also to my father who passed into the spirit world, for teaching me to finish what I started.

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## Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Plates	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Glimpsing a Community of Nations, 1600-1840.	20
Chapter 2: Ottawa-Gatineau's Itinerant Indians: Hunters, Shantymen and 'La reserve de Hull'	68
Chapter 3: Their 'pertinacity is perfectly amazing': The Making of Ottawa's Indian Crown Community	94
Chapter 4: Leaving home, Glimpsing Urban Indian migration in Canada, 1900 to 1970	177
Chapter 5: 'So, where are you from?' Ottawa's Indian 'town' communities 1903-1972	218
Conclusion	278
Bibliography	283

## List of Tables

		Page
I	Percentage of income earned in various industries by Indians on reserve	180
II	Lumber Camp romance	181
III	Details of income earned in various industries by Indians on reserve	182
IV	Income earned from farming	187
V	A Profile: Ozawadj Uwesi	193
VI	School Enrolment	195
VII	Loans by Province Veterans relocating off-reserve	201
VIII	Enrolment Figures	210
IX	A Profile: Harvey Williams	211
X	Shattered Dreams	212
XI	Indian living in towns and cities	214
XII	Early Indian Clubs and Friendship Centres	217

## List of Plates

		Page
1	My Urban Indian family	1
2	My Mother	1
3	Indians and Squaws of Lower Canada, 1848	20
4	Detailed Map of the Ottawa River	21
5	Location of the Algonquin groups and a few neighbouring nations at the beginning of the 17 <sup>th</sup> Century.	24
6	Indian Village Lake of Two Mountains, 1840	34
7	Location of Mohawk reserves	40
8	Great Lakes Métis Settlements, 1763-1830	60
9	Indian Camp at Falls, Quebec,	68
10	A view of the Mill and the Tavern of Philemon Wright, 1823	69
11	Map of the Ottawa River as it flowed through Bytown.	74
12	Timber Raft on the Ottawa River-1899 / Ottawa, Ont. (vicinity)	77
13	Indian leaders attend Conference in Ottawa	166
14	National Indian Advisory Board	173
15	Mohawk Construction Workers, early 1900s.	183
16	Stony Indians load wood at Morley Station, 1901	183
17	Miss Irene Hoff	224
18	The Bernard Sisters, 1975	227
19	Upgrading course	234
20	Sidney Snow trains as a doctor at Ottawa University, 1962	236
21	Indian civil servants	243
22	Ladies Broomball	256
23	Bowling	257
24	Cree Friends	258
25	High school students at orientation course	258
26	NIB staff:	263
27	Jean Goodwill at the Odawa Powwow	272

## Introduction

The idea was simple enough: to search back in time and trace Indian connections to the cities of Ottawa-Gatineau,\* the relationship between Indians in the cities, and finally to describe the results. The topic sprung from personal interest. My grandfather was an urban Indian, my mother and her siblings grew up in the city, where they married and raised their children. I grew up in the city knowing other families like my own. Our urban-living Indian family was not unique. While the trials, battles, life histories, culture and community of our on-reserve cousins - and the policies that governed their lives - are recorded, debated and discussed in professional magazines and thick wordy texts, off-reserve Indians have no Dewey decimal point

to call their own, just a book-ender and empty shelf space. So, yes, the idea was simple, but as several professors warned, it would not be easy. The topic is wrapped in theories about just what is a community, and, yes, the debate of 'who is an Indian?' It uses both documentary evidence and oral history, each of which has its own complexities. A lack of secondary source material complicated the research further. Even in primary sources, the most obvious keeper of records, the Department of Indian Affairs, rarely kept track of Indians living off reserve. Sometimes the author picked over whole books, series of newspapers and reels of microfilm, to find one or two tidbits of



### 1. My urban Indian family.

Above (right to left) aunt Sylvia (Bernard) Leclair makes a speech while aunt Doris (née Bernard) and Paul Bilodeau celebrate their 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In the background the band Phoenix, Rob Leclair and Mike Leclair, my cousins. - Photo by Beverlee Bernard.

### 2. My mother: (Below) Beverlee (née Bernard) Pugliese –Photo by Hubert



information. Sometimes the author came out empty-handed. Essentially, the project is needle-in-a-haystack history. One cannot possibly write a needle-in-a-haystack history completely; one writes needle-in-a-hay-stack history as completely as possible. Thus the admission in the title: the thesis is only 'glimpsing' the history of Indian communities in Ottawa. The goal of the work was never to be the final word on the subject, only the first words of a conversation, an idea with which to begin.

After picking over all the sources, after digesting all the theories, after scrawling pages upon pages of notes and tucking them safely into binders, came the nightmarish task of untangling the mess of historiography, theory and methodology, limitations and problemization, into some form of sensible introduction. The author asks that you bear with her as she wades through the rather brain-bending exercise of introducing her work one baby step at a time.

To begin, typing the keywords 'urban Indian history' into a library database produces a whirl and a hum, but little else. Canadian histories are almost silent on the subject. In Ottawa and Gatineau Indians usually drop from urban histories with the arrival of settlers.<sup>1</sup> Chad Gaffield's *History of the Outaouais*<sup>2</sup> takes on a broader geographic scope that allows the author to inter-splice some Algonquin history, but the discussion stays close to the reserve at Kitigan Zibi.

Similarly, Ian Radforth's essay, "The Shantymen" recognizes that aboriginal peoples worked in

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\* The modern "mega-cities" names are meant here.

<sup>1</sup> Lucien Brault *Hull, 1800-1950* (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1950) and *Ottawa, old & new* (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946) mention Indians only in passing. Shirley Woods, *Ottawa, The Capital of Canada*. (Toronto: Garden City, 1980) mentions aboriginal people only up to the arrival of Philomen Wright in Hull. The group of records in Richard Reid's *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855: a collection of documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society in cooperation with the Government of Ontario, 1990.) has only a few references. John Taylor's *Ottawa an Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1986) has none. Pamphlets that touch on lumber, where one might expect to find an Indian presence do not mention Indian people, for example James McCrostie, *Being poor in Ottawa in the winter of 1891: a research essay* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1997) Sydney Clarke Bateman, *J. R. Booth: a lumber baron of the Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa = Société historique d'Ottawa, 1990) This is also true of many books describing the history of lumbering in the Ottawa Valley.

<sup>2</sup> Chad Gaffield, *History of the Outaouais* (Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1997)

lumbering, but adds their role as labourers needs further study.<sup>3</sup> Probably the most successful attempts to write Indians into the history of Ottawa and Gatineau are Phil Jenkins *An Acre of Time* (1996)<sup>4</sup> which draws on the RG10 files, and Michael Newton's short study *Some Notes on Bytown and the Fur Trade* (1991) which draws on Hudson's Bay Company records.<sup>5</sup>

This is perhaps not surprising given the sparse records. Ottawa's lumber barons and city records rarely mention if a person was Indian. Indian names, like Baptiste, Bernard and David sometimes appear on lumber payroll lists, but these names could also easily belong to non-aboriginals. This means Indians can rarely be identified in city archives. In addition, the wish to study urban Indians is, itself, a recent phenomenon. When anthropologist Frank Speck visited Kitigan Zibi (a.k.a. Maniwaki or the Algonquins of Desert River) in 1929, he noted: "Many of them engage as labourers, lumberjacks; others are migrants, leaving the reserve for some years, then returning or locating, as many have done more or less permanently in towns throughout the province."<sup>6</sup> Speck did not pursue any further study of Indians living off-reserve because: "their lives as civilized Indians ceases to be of any ethnological interest to us."<sup>7</sup>

While urban-living has not always been well studied, the study of urbanization, especially through labour histories is growing. Rolph Knight's groundbreaking labour history, *Indians at Work: An informal history of Native labour in BC, 1858 - 1930* (1978)<sup>8</sup> builds on a very simple thesis: Indians worked for wages. He found Indians migrating to towns and cities, working in every sector of B.C.'s economy during the industrialization period. Building on Knight's work, historians in B.C. have been in the forefront of studying aboriginal labour, including John Lutz, "After the fur trade:

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<sup>3</sup> Ian Radforth, "The Shantyemen" in Paul Crave [ed.] *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) p 206 mentions ethnicity, see endnotes for his comments on further study.

<sup>4</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre of Time* (Toronto: MacFarlane, Walter and Ross, 1996)

<sup>5</sup> Michael Newton, *Some notes on Bytown and the Fur Trade* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1991)

<sup>6</sup> Frank Speck, "Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the River Desert Algonquin" in *Indian Notes* 6 (2) 1929 p 114-115

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

the aboriginal labouring class of British Columbia, 1849-1890<sup>9</sup> which asks why Indians worked for wages. Robin Fisher's *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*<sup>10</sup> also examines urbanization. Robert MacDonald's *Making Vancouver*<sup>11</sup> includes a chapter on First Nations labour in a broader study of social identity that seeks to move beyond ethnicity and class and into other identities.

Regarding Ontario, Harvey McCue's essay "The Modern Age, 1945-1980,"<sup>12</sup> discusses Indians living on and off-reserve in Ontario, but only with broad brush strokes. The essay is intended to be an overview, not an in-depth study. McCue does, however, devote a section to the evolution of provincial programs for urban Indians. At least one urban Indian institution, The Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, tells its own story in *The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto in Celebration of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto's 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary* (1997).<sup>13</sup> The book briefly outlines the history of the centre and profiles a few key members of the institution. Finally, just as the author was finishing her thesis, Hugh Shewell's study *Enough to keep them Alive* was published.<sup>14</sup> Primarily a study of the assimilative motives behind government relief and social welfare policies, Shewell begins in a different direction than labour studies but includes Indians living off-reserve.

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<sup>8</sup> Rolph Knight, *Indians at Work: An informal history of Native labour in BC, 1858 - 1930* (Vancouver: NewStar Books, 1978)

<sup>9</sup> John Lutz, "After the fur trade: the aboriginal labouring class of British Columbia, 1849-1890<sup>9</sup> in *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* v. 3, 1992

<sup>10</sup> Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: 1977)

<sup>11</sup> Robert MacDonald, *Making Vancouver 1873-1965* (UBC Press 1996)

<sup>12</sup> Harvey McCue, "The Modern Age, 1945-1980" in Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith *Historical Perspectives on the First Nations* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994) see especially p 386-391.

<sup>13</sup> Frances Sanderson and Heather Howard-Bobiwash [eds.] *The Meeting Place: Aboriginal Life in Toronto in Celebration of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto's 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary* (Toronto: Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, 1997)

<sup>14</sup> Hugh Shewell *'Enough to Keep them Alive' Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) Shewell also takes a less conventional and more holistic approach to history, which is praiseworthy.

Aside from professional histories, there are also autobiographies, like Maria Campbell's *Half-Breed* (1976)<sup>15</sup> and Lee Maracle's *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* (1990).<sup>16</sup> These texts offer personal stories of individuals living in, and experiencing, urban aboriginal communities, although the books have garnered more attention for their literary style than their historic content. Searching for literature specific to the region of Ottawa-Gatineau, there is one autobiography, Minnie Aodla Freeman's *Life Among the Quallunaat* (1978)<sup>17</sup> an Inuk woman, who recounts how she adjusted to life as a civil servant in Ottawa.

As the search for secondary source material continued, what began as a topic of personal interest began to look more like a gap in history, and one that was worth rediscovering. The people glimpsed, here and there in history texts, have made their mark in federal government policy, business, and the courts. The Hawthorn Report in 1966-67<sup>18</sup> and, subsequent reports up to the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, analyze urban Aboriginal life.<sup>19</sup> Provincial and municipal governments<sup>20</sup> – and even a few private companies<sup>21</sup> – set up special programs targeting urban Indians in the 1970s. Statistics gathered in the 1990s estimated that one-third to

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<sup>15</sup> Maria Campbell, *Half-breed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973)

<sup>16</sup> Lee Maracle, *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1990)

<sup>17</sup> Minnie Aodla Freeman, *Life among the Quallunaat* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1978) (Quallunaat is Inuktitut for 'white people')

<sup>18</sup> Harry B. Hawthorn, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policy* 2 vols. (Ottawa: Indian Affairs, 1966-67)

<sup>19</sup> See *Aboriginal peoples in urban centres: report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1991) and *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* 6 vols. (Ottawa: Indian Affairs, 1996) The information on urban Indians is integrated under titles such as health, rather than being isolated in a separate chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Such programs are described in: S. Clathworthy, *Native Housing Conditions in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1981); Jennifer W.L. Chu "Urban Native Housing Problems, Policies, Programs and Prospects" Unpublished Masters of City Planning Thesis, Department of City Planning University of Manitoba 1991.

<sup>20</sup> Gail Grant, *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Workforce* (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1983); S. Clathworthy, *Issues Concerning the role of Native women in the Winnipeg Labour Market* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1981)

<sup>21</sup> Pamela Sloan and Roger Hill *Corporate Aboriginal Relations: Best Practices Study* (Toronto: Hill Sloan Associates, inc., 1995)

one-half of Canada's aboriginal population (including Métis and Inuit) lived off-reserve.<sup>22</sup> Urban reserves have appeared in Vancouver and Saskatchewan, and anthropologists, ethnologists, and political scientists took an immediate interest.<sup>23</sup> Recently, the Supreme Court of Canada awarded Indians living off-reserve the right to vote in band elections. In 2003, when the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs took yet another shot at rewriting the Indian Act, they consulted more urban Indians than their on-reserve kin. If there are no history texts focused on urban Indians, it is not because urban Indians did not exist, they were just over-looked. As Rolph Knight stated in a footnote: "To my knowledge there exists no historical study of Indian people in urban areas but it is not a new phenomenon."<sup>24</sup>

Of course, this doesn't mean urban Indians were never studied by academics. Turning back to the allegorical library computer, one might try typing the keywords "urban Indian" and leave out the word history. Two-dozen-or-so Canadian anthropologies and ethnologies studying urban Indians will appear, the majority written between 1950 and 1980. The literature arose when Canadian academics became aware of some work and theories developed south of the border which studied U.S. government's withdrawal and relocation programs.<sup>25</sup> Following the old adage of you-get-what-you-ask-for, the Canadian literature is not history. In fact, it is often surprising how little sense of history the texts have.

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<sup>22</sup> For an excellent analysis of statistics see Evelyn J. Peters "Demographics of Aboriginal People in Urban Areas," in *Aboriginal Self-government in Urban Areas: Proceedings of a Workshop, May 25 and 26 1994* (Kingston: Institute of Inter-governmental Relations, 1995)

<sup>23</sup> F. Laurie Barron and Joseph Garcea [eds.] *Urban Indian Reserves: Forging New Relationships in Regina and Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 1999)

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* p 285 note 6

<sup>25</sup> For a history of American policy regarding termination and relocation see: James E. Officer "The American Indian and Federal Policy" in Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson [eds.] *The American Indian in Urban Society* (Boston: Little Brown Company, 1971) pp 41-66; Donald L. Fixico "The federal Indian Policy of termination and Relocation, 1945-1960" in *The American Indian Experience* (Illinois, Forum Press, 1988) pp 260-277; Graham D. Taylor "The Divided Heart: The Indian New Deal" in *Ibid.* pp 240-259; Larry W. Bart *Tribalism and Crisis, Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961* (Albuquerque, 1982) Donald L. Fixico *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy 1945-1960* (Albuquerque, 1986) and Donald L. Fixico, *The urban Indian Experience in America* (University of New Mexico Press, 2000)

Most of the texts assume Aboriginal people must assimilate or fail in the cities. The theses wrap people up in theories of assimilation, acculturation, and disorientation.<sup>26</sup> The works tend to be ahistorical.<sup>27</sup> For example, in Mark Nagler's oft-quoted *Indians in the City* (1970)<sup>28</sup> he concludes that unemployment among aboriginal peoples living in modern Toronto, sprung from the 18<sup>th</sup> Ojibwa's non-linear concept of time. He does not down-stream or upstream, but pastes the understandings of a single Nation living in a previous century onto a diverse group of contemporary people. Essentially Nagler's theory boils down to: Aboriginal people don't understand time as it is conceptualized in cities, therefore they can't hold down a job. Those who work are assimilated and, presumably, no longer real Indians.<sup>29</sup> Such tautology offers more insight into the prejudices of the author than the lives of his subjects. Nagler's analysis is typical of most of the books written before 1970. Other texts, like E.J. Dosman's *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (1971),<sup>30</sup> study political and economic structures and take a problem-solving approach to the poor and the unemployed.

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<sup>26</sup> See "Minority Values and economic Achievement: The case of the North American Indian" In Mark Nagler [ed.] *Perspectives on the North American Indians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974) especially p 138 J.K. Boek and W.G. Boek, "The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg" in Jean Lagassé [ed.] *A study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959) and Arthur K. Davis "Edging into the Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan" in *A Northern Dilemma: Reference papers* (Washington: Washington State College, 1965) Henry Zenter *The Indian Identity Crisis: Inquires into the problems and prospects of societal development among Native peoples* (Calgary: Strayer Publications, 1973)

<sup>27</sup> For discussion on the methodology of the era, Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L. A.* (Urbana: University of Illinois press, 1991) pp 64-69; For an analysis of methodology and theory, Richard White, "Indian People and the Natural World: Asking the right questions" in Donald L. Fixico [ed.] *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) pp 87-100

<sup>28</sup> Mark Nagler's *Indians in the City* (Ottawa: St Paul's University, 1970) continues to be cited, although not always favourably. See S. Clathworthy, *The effects of urban residency on Native labour market behavior* (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1982) pp 1-3

<sup>29</sup> Mark Nagler *Indians in the City* pp 19-25; it is worth noting the only works he consulted to determine cultural traits that he deemed universal were three works on the Ojibwa, one of which studied witchcraft. Henry Zenter's arguments about how Christianity verses traditional spirituality outfit Indians for survival or failure in the labour force draw much the same conclusions as Nagler's concept of time. He either ignored Christian Indians or did not consider them to be Indian by virtue of their acceptance of Christianity. See Henry Zenter, *The Indian Identity Crisis: Inquires into the problems and prospects of societal development among Native peoples* (Calgary: Strayer Publications, 1973) pp i-ix

<sup>30</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); Similar works were written by H. Brody, *Indians on Skid Row* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1971); James Kerri, "The economic adjustments of Urban Indians in Winnipeg Canada" in *Urban Anthropology* 5 (1976) pp 351-365 and J. Stansbury, *Success and Failure* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975)

Unfortunately, few of the books say much about Aboriginal life in the city. Histories have not centered on urban Indians. They do not describe how Indian people met, socialized, kept abreast of news back home, or maintained a sense of identity. Anthropologists and ethnologists often noted that aboriginal people in the city knew each other, but do not describe or even question how they met.<sup>31</sup> They remarked that aboriginal people had strong kinship ties, but they also observed that Indians tended to spread out in the city, rather than settling in an ethnic neighborhood. Based on this fact, and not much else, the anthropologists concluded that urban Indians had no community to call their own.<sup>32</sup> Only two texts are exceptional in this sense.

The first, anthropologist Jeanne Guilleman's *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of America's Indians* (1975),<sup>33</sup> studied Mi'kmaq labourers who migrated from the Maritimes to the U.S.. Guilleman suggested that the kinship ties noted by other authors represented an adaptation to preserve culture and community in the city. According to Guilleman, elders versed youngsters on reserve in culture and taught the value of kinship ties. As youth became adults, they migrated to the U.S. to work and, through kinship ties, maintained their culture, kept in touch with family back home and extended help to newcomers. They returned to the reserve as elders and helped to socialize a new generation.<sup>34</sup>

More recently, Joan Weibel-Orlando devoted an entire book to developing a theory that could describe what Indians in Los Angeles meant when they called themselves a community. In

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<sup>31</sup> Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City* p xiv Nagler remarks that the Indians he encountered in Toronto knew each other but were somewhat secretive about the location of their peers. In Dosman's *Indians the Urban Dilemma*, he notes that Indians often gathered in houses for parties in Saskatoon. In the process of gathering research for J. Stansbury's very thorough *Success and Failure* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975) his researchers found particular bars and bingo parlours attracted crowds of Indians pp 6-15

<sup>32</sup> For example Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City* and E.J. Dosman, *The Urban Dilemma*

<sup>33</sup> Jeanne Guilleman, *Urban Renegades: Cultural strategy of America's Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid pp 66-125

*Indian Country*, L. A. (1991)<sup>35</sup> she writes that anthropologists could not find a community because they held too rigidly to the idea that specific institutions equal community. Weibel-Orlando argued that community was really a set of relationships. She defined the Indian community in Los Angeles as: "...all those Indians in Los Angeles who seek out other Indians, no matter how infrequently for political, economic, health, religious, affectational and recreational reasons."<sup>36</sup> Tied to this, she noted, was the belief that Indians deserved Indian-specific services no matter where they live.<sup>37</sup>

Guilleman and Weibel-Orlando were not really redefining community. Immigration historians explain "chain migration" by studying kinship ties across the boundaries of cities and countries, much as Guilleman did. Similarly, sociologists Paul Craven and Barry Wellman, and anthropologists Thomas Weaver and Douglas White, have shown that urban communities are networks of personal relationships that stretch across and beyond city limits.<sup>38</sup> Weibel-Orlando's argument that community can be defined as a set of relationships, not just a set of "social forms," such as ethnic neighborhoods, is also well supported. Craven and Wellmen agree that neighborhoods do not make a community; they are only expressions of community.<sup>39</sup> Even then, there is room for argument. As another social scientist observed, people can live beside each other, and know very little about their neighbours.<sup>40</sup>

Studying a community sounds easy enough until it comes down to the nitty-gritty of summing up what exactly makes a community, especially in a paragraph or two. Social scientists narrow the matter down into two types of communities. The first is a personal community, one

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<sup>35</sup> Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country*, L. A. (Urbana: University of Illinois press, 1991)

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid* p 61

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>38</sup> Paul Craven and Barry Wellman, *The Network City* Research paper no. 59 (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies and Department of Sociology, 1973) p 25 Thomas Weaver and Douglas White, "Anthropological approaches to urban and complex society" in Weaver and White [eds.] *The Anthropology of Urban Environments* (Colorado: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1972) pp 108-110, p 118

<sup>39</sup> Craven and Wellman, p 37

person's relationships, and connections. The second type, and what this thesis proposes to study, is what Craven and Wellman call a "community of interest." Communities of interest are more than personal networks, they involve people who group themselves together into overlapping relationships because they share a common interest. The group may behave in specific ways, according to specific customs or social rules.<sup>41</sup>

In *Culture and Community* (1965), Conrad M. Arsenburg and Solon T. Kimball offer a similar definition, stating that a community has contact, interaction and communication between people, and that people share specific behaviors, activities and leadership.<sup>42</sup> To this Orlando-Weibel might add that people in a community have a sense of belonging, or see themselves as a community.<sup>43</sup>

Of course theory is just theory. Alone it all sounds a little vague, because there are no relationships or behaviours that one can pick, wrap up in a few sentences and claim are true in every community once-and-for-all-time. For example, in studying American pioneer communities Arsenberg and Kimball saw "mutual aid" as one community relationship.<sup>44</sup> It does not follow that all communities provide "mutual-aid." History complicates matters, because relationships, behaviours, how people group themselves and what makes a common interest, change over time. Instead of taking a textbook definition and applying it to historic people to see if they fit, the author looks at how Indian people in the city grouped themselves, related to each other and what common interests they shared. More importantly, the thesis asks how people made or unmade communities, how and why communities changed over time and how many communities there might be.

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<sup>40</sup> Pertti J. Pelto "Research Strategies in the study of complex societies: The "Ciudad Industrial Project." In Thomas Weaver and Douglas White [eds.] *The Anthropology of Urban Environments* p 5

<sup>41</sup> Craven and Wellman, pp 34-36

<sup>42</sup> Conrad M. Arsenburg and Solon T. Kimball *Culture and Community* (New York: Harcourt Press, 1965), pp 319-332

<sup>43</sup> Joan Weibel-Orlando, p 46 and p 69

<sup>44</sup> Conrad M. Arsenburg and Solon T. Kimball, p 90

Finding the relationships in the records becomes a question of methodology. Craven and Wellman suggest communities can be studied by picking a few typical individuals as examples and using interviews and questionnaires to trace and define their network of relationships. The idea is that a few examples can capture the bigger picture.<sup>45</sup> While this thesis used Craven and Wellman's method in the later chapters that cover more recent years, the method was problematic for the earlier periods, when the people studied are no longer living. In these earlier periods, this method proved even harder to follow because some record keepers refer to people only as unnamed "Indians" or "halfbreeds". The method adopted for the earlier years is akin to the methodology of Arsenberg and Kimball. In studying the Irish countryside and American pioneer communities, they look for common relationships and patterns of behaviour.<sup>46</sup> Their method was really just a slightly different way of accomplishing the same goal. The methodology is to ask how did people group themselves? Did they share relationships, and do those relationships explain common patterns of behaviour? Who shared these relationships? Did they group have a common interest? Most importantly, would they have seen themselves as a community? The relationships are, then, traced over time.

Eventually, if one is tracing links between people, the question of boundaries comes up. Who is outside the community? Some studies cut relationships off at city limits, but as many social scientists have pointed out, city boundaries are artificial. The present study tried to take a more organic approach. It looked at Aboriginal people in the city and looked for the relationships that formed a community. The cut off points were places where the relationships between people grew weaker. This meant that, at times, the thesis moves away from the setting of Ottawa and Gatineau

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<sup>45</sup> Craven and Wellman, p 16-19

<sup>46</sup> Conrad M. Arsenburg and Solon T. Kimball p 90-110

because the Indian community living in the city was only part of a sojourner community whose base lay elsewhere.

Another tension in defining the community was the issue of ethnicity. If it is the study of an Indian community, then who is an Indian, who can be a member of the community? Who is included or excluded from the study? It seems like a silly question until one considers that the federal government has tried to legislate Indian identity. Furthermore, Métis and Inuit identify as aboriginal peoples, but not as Indians. Aboriginal peoples have had very different histories, after all. At times differences led to separate interests, identity and community development.

Indians or First Nations people are at the centre of this essay. The history of the Métis and Inuit communities developed so differently in Ottawa and Gatineau that it seemed impossible to give their history equal treatment in a single thesis, and unfair to claim it is even possible to do so. For this reason Métis and Inuit people are included in the study only when individuals, or their communities, were linked to the Indian communities being studied. Legal status, and the legal identity imposed by the crown was considered only at the times when it appeared important to the people being studied. Some people were card-carrying Indians but never participated in the community. They are not included in the present study. It is beyond the scope of this essay, to trace the history of individuals who chose not to participate in a community.

Written records provided much of the evidence gathered. Newspapers and the RG10 files at the National Library and Archives of Canada (LAC)\*\* proved to be better sources than city records or the collection of records left behind by lumbering families like the Wrights, largely because the latter rarely identified people as Indians. Other possible sources of information, like the records of the Odawa Friendship Centre are not yet open to the public. Like others who study

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\*\* Unless otherwise noted all archival material is taken from the National Library and Archives Canada (LAC) formerly the Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

Native history, the author often had to gather information recorded by people outside the community. She concentrated, whenever possible, on records written by Indian people. In later chapters the *Indian News* was used extensively, because it was often self-referential despite the fact that senior bureaucrats at Indian Affairs attempted to censor their Indian writers. Interestingly, even that battle for self-expression became part of the *Indian News* and part of the 'town' community's story. Oral history was also used to help give voice and overcome a lack of records in the last chapter.

One the subject of oral history it is necessary to make a distinction. Normally, the oral history associated with aboriginal people, are stories and historic information passed down one or more generations, through an oral tradition.<sup>47</sup> Time and a lack of resources made it impossible for the author to travel to communities to collect this type of oral history, which is regrettable in Chapter One. Fortunately, the author was able to draw from a series of secondary sources which had already incorporated this type of oral history. The oral history used in the present thesis is different, however. It is personal history, interviews with people about their own lives, that was collected orally. The interviews were not collected without considering the theoretical and methodological problems often associated with oral history. Usually the three big questions associated with oral history are: is it accurate, how should it be collected, and how should it be used?

One means of ensuring oral history is as accurate as possible is choosing appropriate people as sources. A few historians in the U.S. have erred by interviewing people who made great claims, only to find out later that their sources were virtually unknown to the community being

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<sup>47</sup> David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (New York: Longman, 1982) and Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.) define oral tradition as history passed down more than one or two generations. For Angela Cavender Wilson, oral tradition is a specific learned way of passing information through generations. See Angela Cavender Wilson "Power of the Spoken Word" pp 102-103.

studied.<sup>48</sup> To avoid making a similar error, the author asked people in the community for sources who would have appropriate knowledge and expertise. A second method used to ensure accuracy, especially against errors in memory such as selective recollection and selective retention,<sup>49</sup> was to search for supporting evidence whenever possible. Written records, city directories, birth certificates, photographs were used to verify information whenever possible. When oral history disagrees with other evidence, discrepancies are noted.

In gathering the evidence, the method used was a casual interview using open-ended questions. First, open-ended questions are more culturally appropriate.<sup>50</sup> Secondly, open-ended questions also tend to solicit the most information. Finally, open-ended questions tend to elicit information that is more accurate. Closed-ended and leading questions may allow the researcher to accidentally, or purposefully, taint the information gathered.<sup>51</sup> Social scientists who use oral history often cite these reasons for adopting this method.<sup>52</sup> Interviews were recorded on audiotape, and then transcribed. Questionnaires were not used because they are really just closed questions on paper. At any rate, most aboriginal people, including the author, have a healthy dislike of questionnaires and the limitations they put on context.<sup>53</sup>

On the issue of how oral history was used, the thesis is not a collection of oral testimonies. Oral history was sometimes used to verify the author's interpretation of written documents. When

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<sup>48</sup> White, Richard "Indian People and the Natural World: Asking the right questions" in Donald L. Fixico [ed.] *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) pp 87-100 and Angela Cavender Wilson "Power of the Spoken Word" in *Ibid* pp 101-116

<sup>49</sup> Eugene Webb, Terry Salancik "The only Wheel in town" *Journalism Monographs* no 2 November 1966 pp 1-49

<sup>50</sup> Here the author agrees with and Angela Cavender Wilson "Power of the Spoken Word" in *Ibid* pp 109. Elders find people who interrupt them rude.

<sup>51</sup> Eugene Webb, Terry Salancik "The only Wheel in town"; Valerie Raleigh Yow pp 172-180 and pp 182-183

<sup>52</sup> David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (New York: Longman Inc., 1982) pp 39-55; Valerie Raleigh Yow *Recording Oral History: A practical Guide for social scientists* (California: Sage Publications, 1994) pp 55-83.

<sup>53</sup> See the difficulties encountered by E.J. Dosman pp 8-9; Mark Nagler p 5 and Stansbury's research team p 12 "people may rap and tell you all of their problems, but open any kind of paper to write it down and they will close up." Recently some reserves in the U.S. have banned academics stating that they are tired of being guinea pigs for social science theories. See "Introduction" in Devon A. Mihesuah [ed.] *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) p 11

oral testimonies were compared to the author's interpretation of documents, did her interpretation sound right, or off-base? Sometimes interviews led the author to search for documentary evidence that she would otherwise have never discovered. Mostly oral history was used to provide detail on written records, or to fill gaps when written records were unavailable.

One weakness of the thesis that will be apparent from early on is the lack of population statistics. Rarely is there any accurate way to gauge the numbers of individuals in the towns. Also, the Indian population would not necessarily equal the size of a community. Sometimes the way statistics were gathered creates a problem. For example, trying to identify the number of aboriginal civil servants was easy enough when records asked a person to identify their nationality.<sup>54</sup> Sometimes records only asked for citizenship, making most Indian employees invisible. Thrown into the mix are political issues. At times Indian people refused to identify themselves on the census, even risking arrest, because they resisted participating in a foreign government's survey.<sup>55</sup> As recently as the 1996, 77 aboriginal communities refused to let the Canadian Government collect statistics.<sup>56</sup>

Another problem with numbers is that statistics often conflict and, as a result, vastly different interpretations of events can be drawn. Anthropologists looking at census information concluded that more and more people were migrating from reserves to cities after the 1950s.<sup>57</sup> Recently, Statistics Canada noted that aboriginal people are highly mobile, moving on average four times in one year. What's more, today's urban living Indian will often move back home tomorrow, making it hard to tell if aboriginal people have really been coming or going over the years.<sup>58</sup> To further complicate an already complicated accounting issue, up until 1985 there were thousands of

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<sup>54</sup> RG 10 v 2175 Reel C-11174 file 36174

<sup>55</sup> See for example RG10 v 3161 file 365 009-3 also "Canadian Indian Claims." *Evening Standard*, July 8 1931

<sup>56</sup> Statistics Canada, *The Daily: 1996 Census Aboriginal Data*, Tuesday, January 13, 1998

<sup>57</sup> Nagler includes a census chart in *Indians in the City* but nearly all the authors noted in this essay remarked on the trend.

urban Indians who the Department of Indian Affairs never counted in their registry. The department only started counting them after 1985 when an amendment to the Indian Act known as Bill C-31 restored their status as government-recognized Indians. In the year 2000, the government estimated that they'd added about 114, 512 Indians – mostly urban Indians and mostly women.<sup>59</sup> Métis were not counted at all before the 1990s.<sup>60</sup> The thesis includes numbers when they are available, seeks to explain why numbers may conflict at times, and does its best to qualify their accuracy and relevance.

To sum up, the thesis is asking how did communities form between Indian people sojourning to or living in Ottawa-Gatineau, what did those communities look like and how did they change over time? It tries to find each community's origin, explain its relationships and estimate how widely Indian people participated in the community. It does not try to anthropologize, or build theories concerning urbanization or assimilation. The thesis does not attempt to draw comparisons with Indians living in other cities or other ethnic groups in Ottawa. The thesis draws on community theory, but is not an attempt to create any new theoretical model. Finally, this is not a history of Ottawa and Gatineau with Indians added in, but a history of Indian communities that connected to the cities.

In the period, 1800 to 1972, at least three urban Indian communities associated with Ottawa and Gatineau. The communities overlapped, but each had a separate history. They originated for different reasons; organized themselves to suit specific interests; and each had a distinct reason to associate with the cities. Ottawa's status as capital city often played an important role. The communities are complex, because Indians are a multi-national group, and the

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<sup>58</sup> Statistics Canada, *The Daily: 1996 Census Aboriginal Data*, Tuesday, January 13, 1998

<sup>59</sup> Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, *Basic Departmental Data: Section 1, Demographics* p 4, 6, and 8

<sup>60</sup> Statistics Canada, *The Daily: 1996 Census Aboriginal Data*, Tuesday, January 13, 1998

communities had an itinerant quality, meaning their history unfolded both inside and outside city borders.

Chapter 1: 'Glimpsing a Community of Nations' argues Ottawa-Gatineau's first Indian community did not come to the towns; instead, the towns grew inside a pre-existing Indian community. The Indian community formed out of a peace agreement between three nations, the Algonquins, the Mohawks and the Nipissing. The centre of the Community of Nations was at Lake of Two Mountains (Oka to the Algonquins, Kanehsatake to the Mohawks) but the community was mobile and spanned the Ottawa Valley. Because historians have only started to study the connections between the Algonquins, Nipissing and Mohawks living at Lake of Two Mountains the chapter tries to trace the origins of the community, its internal relationships, and mediate between some historical records that have offered conflicting views on what the relationship was like.

Chapter 2: Ottawa-Gatineau's Itinerant Indians: Hunters, Shantymen and 'La reserve de Hull' focuses more closely on how the 'Community of Nations' associated with the lumber towns growing in its borders. On one hand, the lumber towns negatively affected the fur Community of Nations economy. On the other hand, the nations were drawn to Ottawa (Bytown) for economic reasons and participated in lumbering. Sojourning in the towns for labour and trade became part of the community's migration pattern and led to the establishment of a small Indian village, La Reserve de Hull, from 1860s to 1903. The chapter argues La reserve de Hull was a satellite of the Community of Nations, and even an adaptation to political, economic pressures on the larger community.

After 1867, Ottawa was home to the federalist Dominion. As Indian labourers visited Ottawa to do business with the town, Indian leaders and concerned citizens sojourned to Ottawa to do 'business with the crown'. Business with the crown often meant discussing breaches in treaties or trying to lobby the Indian Department to change its made-in-Ottawa policies. Unlike Canadian

citizens, the BNA Act made Indians wards of the crown and a federal responsibility. This led to the creation of new Indian political communities. These new political communities could be called 'crown communities' because they were not concerned with the usual Indian-nation-to-Indian-nation business, but came together for the sole purpose of doing business with the crown. Certainly, historians like Brian Titley<sup>61</sup> and J.R. Miller<sup>62</sup>, to name a few, have followed the rise and fall of individual leaders and regional politics. Chapter 3: 'Their "pertinacity is perfectly amazing": The Making of Ottawa's Indian Crown Community, does not seek to re-invent the historical wheel. Rather it asks how the regional crown communities behind the leaders came to be, and how regional crown communities intersected. Finally it asks how, why and when, the shape of crown communities changed from popular movements to a small elite group of leaders. While it is true that majority of people participating in Crown communities never set foot in Ottawa – they usually sent a small group of representatives to the city – the communities were all about Ottawa and Indian's political relationship to the city. This theme is revisited in Chapter 5.

Migration from reserves continued in the 1900s. Indians had barely settled on reserves when they began sojourning or resettling in towns and cities. However, migration in the 1900s differed from the group migration pattern seen in Chapter 2. In the 1900s, Indians tended to trickle in to cities individually. Chapter 4: Leaving home, Glimpsing Urban Indian migration in Canada, 1900 to 1970 examines some common reasons Indians left their reserves during those years. The evidence also suggests leaving home was not always a permanent decision, but that Indians moved back and forth. The chapter is designed to provide some context for the next community described in Chapter 5.

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<sup>61</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986)

<sup>62</sup> J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991)

Chapter 5: 'So, where are you from?' Ottawa's Indian town communities 1903-1972, traces the development of a community among Indians who migrated to Ottawa during the period. The first urban Indian communities in the new century were really 'personal communities', or kinship ties between urban-dwellers who knew each other from home, and friends and family on reserve. Indians in the city, students and civil servants, politicians, and later the bureaucracy of the NIB met each other in the 1960s through their connections to the Department of Indian Affairs. Although they were a diverse group, often from different nations, they found they shared common traits: they were mostly young, socially conscious about conditions back home and educated. Importantly, they also shared an identity as Indians. They began to define their relationship to each other as a community, which they expressed by sharing social activities, clubs, and by making space for themselves in the city.

## Chapter One: Glimpsing a Community of Nations, 1600-1840.

In March of 1800, at the age of 39, Philemon Wright trekked out of Montreal, with his wife and children, four other families, a group of workers, some farm animals and seven sleighs loaded with supplies. The road ended at the foot of the Long Sault rapids, and the party slid onto the frozen Ottawa River, journeying another 80 miles west. Wright had left his father's farm in Woburn, Massachusetts, intending to found a community of self-sufficient farmers.<sup>1</sup> A few years earlier, he'd picked and purchased land on the north shore of the Ottawa, near the Chaudière Falls. During this trek upriver, an Indian and his wife spied Wright's caravan, and, in an act of kindness, the Indian led Wright's crew the rest of the way, sounding the ice with his axe, to ensure no one fell through.

Upon arriving at a site near Lac Leamy, Wright's men began felling trees to make a shelter. The ringing of the axes attracted Indian visitors from a nearby village. The settlers also attracted two chiefs of two tribes from the Indian village of Lake of Two Mountains, near Montreal. The chiefs sent for a translator and proceeded to question Wright on the legality of his settlement and his intentions towards lumbering and hunting. While not



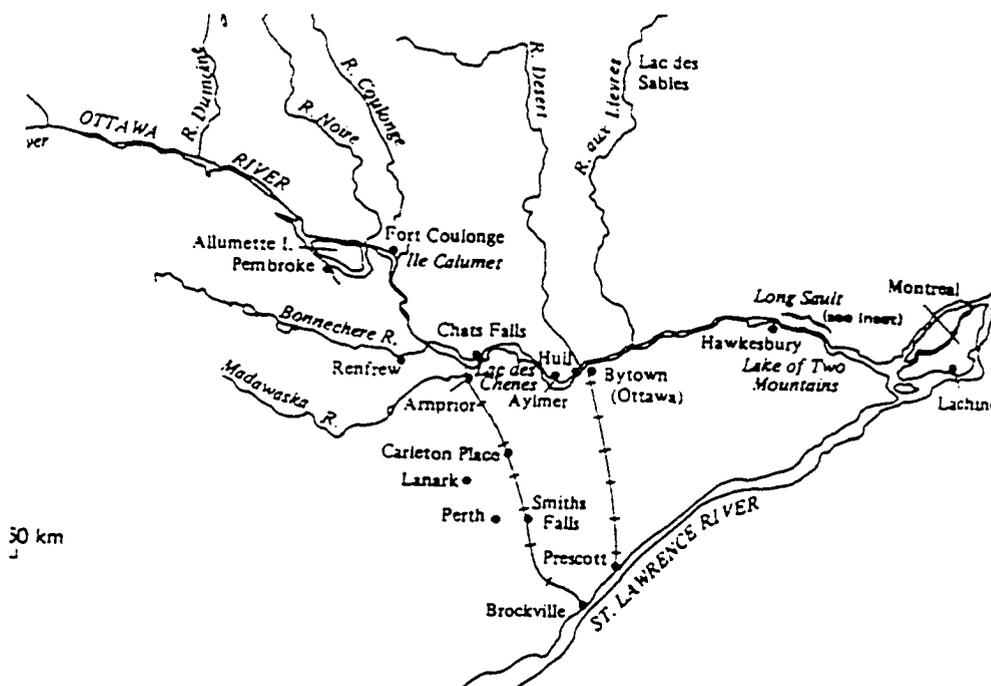
**3. Indians and Squaws of Lower Canada, 1848**  
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<sup>1</sup> Bruce S. Elliott, "The Famous Township of Hull: Image and Aspirations of a Pioneer Quebec Community" in *Social History/Histoire Social* v. XII (24) (University of Ottawa Press, November 1969) pp 339- 366 and John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1986). Both argue that Wright was not initially interested in lumbering, but intended to found a utopian farming community.

all the issues were resolved to the satisfaction of the chiefs, they did receive a little less than five pounds from Wright for their sugar bush, and they agreed there should be no trouble between their people and the immigrants.<sup>2</sup>

Most histories of Ottawa –Gatineau\* retell this story, recognizing that Wright planted the seeds of the future cities in an Indian sugar bush that day. Histories then follow Wright, and later, new settlers who arrived on the south shore of the river, at the site of the future city of Ottawa. Histories have left unanswered the questions: who were the Indians, and where did they go?



4. Detailed Map of the Ottawa River, showing its Tributaries Lake of Two Mountains and early towns of the 1800s. Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown* p 4

<sup>2</sup> Historians have interpreted the Algonquin claim on the land differently. Phil Jenkins, *An Acre of Time* (Toronto: MacFarlane, Walter and Ross, 1996) is the only urban historian to tie the issues of unceded land and the Proclamation Act to Philemon Wright's account. Shirley Woods, *Ottawa, the Capital of Canada* (Toronto: Garden City, 1980) does provide some pre-immigration history. Other historians have made a hero of Wright for refusing to pay the whole thirty pounds the chief asked for, see for example, Blodwen Davies, *The Charm of Ottawa* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1932) p 40; see also Lucien Brault, *Ottawa, Old & New* (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946). The original tale, retold by Philemon Wright, twenty years after the fact, is in the Library and Archives of Canada LAC MG 24 D8 v. 136 Papers of Ruggles Wright: "An Account of the First Settlement of the Township of Hull on the Ottawa River Lower Canada, by Philemon Wright Esq."

\* The boundaries of the modern mega-cities are meant here.

The Indians Wright encountered that day belonged to a 'community of nations' that was based at Lake of Two Mountains. Members of three nations lived in the village, Algonquins, Nipissing and the Mohawks. The nations were, however, highly mobile and still connected with their kin along the Ottawa River and its watersheds, north to Timiscaming, and west to Lake Nipissing. The three nations shared political, social and economic relationships that extended through the Ottawa valley and revolved around the fur trade. As Wright's account shows, this community did not come to the towns. The towns grew inside their borders.

Most histories have studied each nation separately, and for good reason. Lake of Two Mountains was not a melting pot, each nation maintained a separate identity and its own political structure. The Mohawks of Lake of Two Mountains were part of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (People of the Longhouse), a complex alliance of five nations (six after 1715). \*\* Two good works outlining the structure and history of the Confederacy are Francis Jennings (et al.), *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* (1985) and William N. Fenton's very detailed *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (1988). Peter Hessel's book *The Algonkin Nation* (1993) and Stephen McGregor's *Since Time Immemorial: "Our Story,"* examine the politics and social history of the Algonquin nation. Less studied are the Nipissing, although Bruce Trigger and Gordon Day<sup>3</sup> have published an essay that examines their relationship to the Algonquin. Based on this groundwork, some authors have begun studying the relationship between nations. Gerorges E. Sioui has pointed out that while the Haudenosaunee Confederacy has received much attention, the "Commonwealth

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\*\* Sometimes called the Five Nations Confederacy or the Six Nations Confederacy after the Tuscarora gained a partial membership in 1715. To avoid confusion between the Six Nations Reserve and the Six Nations Confederacy, the reserve is referred to by its other name, the Grand River Reserve, while the confederacy is called the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" In Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith [eds.] *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations* (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1994) pp 68-73

autochtone” that existed between nations living north of the Confederacy needs further study.<sup>4</sup> Other academics have begun to zero in on the special relationship between the three groups, at Lake of Two Mountains after the 1701 peace treaty, including Jean M. Black<sup>5</sup> who has studied the nations’ concepts of identity and ethnicity. Victor Lytwyn looks at the treaty relationships between the nations.<sup>6</sup> This chapter traces the origins of the Community of Nations, its political social and economic relationships.

Between 1629 and 1701, the era of the fur wars, the Algonquins and Nipissing were allies. The Algonquin Nation was a collection of bands living east of Lake Nipissing along the shores of the Ottawa River and its tributaries as far north as Grand Lac and Timiscaming.<sup>7</sup> Seasonal villages make for terrible accounting, but observers in the early 1600s estimated the Algonquin Nation numbered about 6,000.<sup>8</sup> The Nipissing were a small nation of maybe 800 warriors, divided into four bands. They hunted near the lake that bears their name, although the extent of their territories is unknown.<sup>9</sup> The two nations were allies, sharing a similar language – really just a dialectical difference – and a similar culture.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Georges E. Sioui, “Nadoueks et Algonquiens: La première civilisation du Canada” Papier presenter au Causerie du midi, Institut d’études canadiennes Université d’Ottawa le 10 mars 2005.

<sup>5</sup> M. Jean Black, “A Tale of Two Ethnicities: Identity and Ethnicity at Lake of Two Mountains, 1721-1850.” In William Cowan [ed.] *Papers of the Twenty-fourth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1993); M. Jean Black, *Algonquin Ethnobotany: An Interpretation of Aboriginal Adaptation in Southwestern Quebec* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1980) and M. Jean Black, “Nineteenth Century Algonquin Culture Change.” In William Cowan [ed.] *Papers of the Twentieth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa Carleton University, 1988)

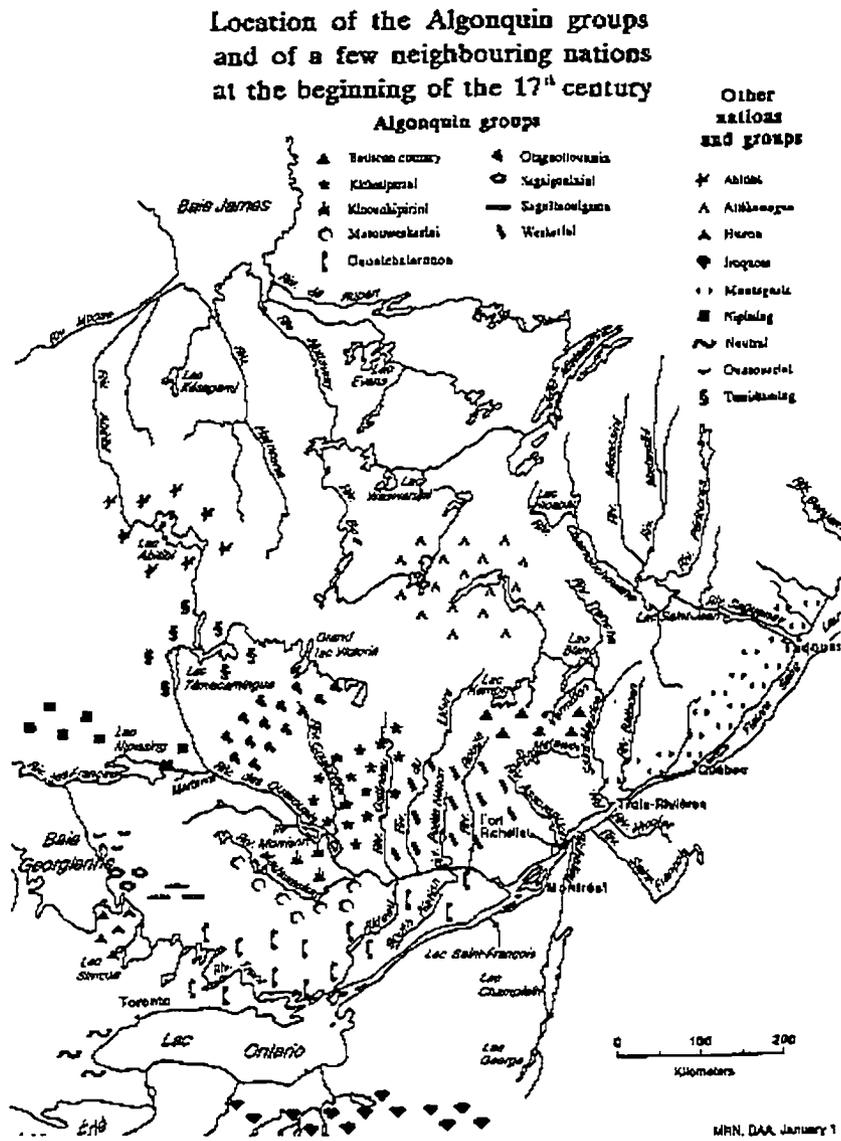
<sup>6</sup> Victor P. Lytwyn, “A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreements in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region.” In David H. Pentland [ed.] *Papers of the Twenty-eighth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1996) pp 210-218

<sup>7</sup> Frank Speck, “Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley” In Edward S. Rogers [ed.] *A Northern Algonquin Sourcebook* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985) p 11

<sup>8</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonkin Nation: The Algonkins of the Ottawa Valley, An Historical Outline* (Kichesippi Books, 1993) p 94

<sup>9</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, “Southern Algonquin Middlemen” p 64-65

<sup>10</sup> M. Jean Black, “A Tale of Two Ethnicities” p 4



5. Location of the Algonquin groups and a few neighbouring nations at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Source: Maurice Ratelle, "Location of the Algonquins from 1534 to 1650" In Daniel Clement [ed.] *The Algonquins* (Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996) p 44

Algonquins and Nipissing lived as hunters and gatherers in the winter months, with families breaking apart to hunt on designated hunting grounds.<sup>11</sup> They also harvested wild plants, like wild rice for food, and others for medicine.<sup>12</sup> A few grew corn, the Nipissing using the unstable practice of farming around girdled trees in the Spring, hoping crops would grow in their absence, then harvesting in the Fall.<sup>13</sup> Mostly, the Algonquin and Nipissing traded with the Huron for agricultural goods.<sup>14</sup> In the Spring Algonquins gathered into sugaring villages harvesting sap from Maples.<sup>15</sup>

While little is known about Nipissing politics during the era,<sup>16</sup> the Algonquins took care of political business during the summer when families gathered into bands, band names usually being descriptive of the gathering place. For example, in the 1600s, the band calling themselves the Kichesippirini, or 'People of the Grand River', lived along the Ottawa River and gathered at Morrison Island, near modern-day Arnprior. Elder men advised a hereditary chief on matters of shared interest. Chiefs acted as spokesmen in nation-to-nation relationships, but had few other duties and powers.<sup>17</sup>

For the first decades of the 1600s, the Algonquins enjoyed a brief position as intermediaries in the trade. The Montagnais had reluctantly given the Algonquins a direct link to the French, in exchange for an alliance against nations to the south of the St. Lawrence who were disrupting the trade. The Algonquins became middlemen, a profitable position, and they tried to

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<sup>11</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" pp 66-69

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Arthur Ray, in Ontario Court, (Provincial Division) Her Majesty the Queen against Steve Powley and Roddy C. Powley. "Excerpts from Trial" (Saulte Ste. Marie: April 30<sup>th</sup> and May 1 and 4," 1998) No. 999 93 3220 v. 2 p 176

<sup>14</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" pp 66-69

<sup>15</sup> M. Jean Black, "Nineteenth Century Algonquin Culture Change" pp 62-69; Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" pp 64-70

<sup>16</sup> The difficulties in honing in on the Nipissing Nation are discussed in Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" and M. Jean Black, "A Tale of Two Ethnicities" p 4; Many of these gaps might be filled through the collection of oral history, which unfortunately was not possible due to time and financial constraints. The author wishes to acknowledge this gap.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid; and also Murray Leatherdale, *Nipissing from Brule to Booth* (n.p. 1975) p 66 and p 86; Peter Hessel, *The Algonkin Nation* pp 14-16 and 23-24. There is an excellent description of the Algonquin political process during the 1800s in John McLean's *Notes of a Twenty-five years service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932) p110. It's uncertain, however, if what McLean observed in the 1800s was true in the 1600s.

maintain their standing by blocking Samuel de Champlain from Huronia,<sup>18</sup> and discouraging him from visiting the Nipissing, describing them as “wicked sorcerers, people of the small spirit, cowardly and useless in war.”<sup>19</sup> The Algonquins soon needed their own alliances against southern raiders. By 1610, they gave up their middleman position, and offered the Nipissing and the Huron direct trading links with the French in exchange for joint war efforts.<sup>20</sup> These social economic and political connections between Algonkian-speaking peoples expressed in the fur trade pre-dated the arrival of Europeans, as Geroge E. Sioui describes: “un Commonwealth autochtone unissant entre elles depuis encore plus longtemps des certaines de nations des Terre Boiséés, grandes et petites.”<sup>21</sup> Sioui argues that for many centuries the Huron lay at the centre of this commonwealth, while the Inations south of the St. Lawrence were excluded.<sup>22</sup>

Algonquin war parties of the 1600s were battling peoples who would become their neighbours at Lake of Two Mountains by the 1700s. The nations causing Algonquins the most trouble were the Mohawks (People of the Flint). Before the smallpox epidemic of 1630 took its toll, about 8,100<sup>23</sup> Mohawks lived in semi-permanent farm villages in the middle of the Mohawk Valley. Mohawks also hunted, and they wanted in on the trade. They were not alone in this desire, and did not act alone in the squirmishes, muggings, and warfare that began in the 1570's against the Algonquins, Nipissing, and other peoples north of the St. Lawrence.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, “Southern Algonquin Middlemen” pp 68-69

<sup>19</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 29

<sup>20</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, “Southern Algonquin Middlemen” p 69

<sup>21</sup> Georges E. Sioui, “Nadoueks et Algonquiens: La première civilisation du Canada” Papier presenter au Causerie du midi, Institut d'études canadiennes, Université d'Ottawa le 10 mars, 2005, p 4

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. pp 4-5

<sup>23</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998) p 21

<sup>24</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, “The Five (Later Six Nations Confederacy, 1550-1784.” In Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith [eds.] *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations* (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1994) pp 79-80; David S. Blanchard *Kahnawake: A historical sketch* (Kahnawake: Kanien'kehaka Raotittiohkwa Cultural Centre, 1980) p 3

Prior to contact the Mohawks had joined the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and allied with four other nations: the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and Seneca, whose joint territory stretched from the present New York-Pennsylvania line, North to the St. Lawrence Valley.<sup>25</sup> Originally, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy united under the Huron prophet Deganawai:dah, also known as Peacemaker, to stop inter-tribal warring between member nations. The nations integrated politically under the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Council, which also bound them together in law and customs with spiritual overtones. Deganawai: dah's 'Great Law' created familial-like clan ties between the nations, and an intricate political structure whereby head-clan-women of each tribe appointed (and, when necessary, removed) Confederacy Council chiefs.<sup>26</sup> Theoretically, the council made decisions by consensus. In *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, William Fenton's research suggests factionalism was the norm during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, with consensus arriving only in moments of crises.<sup>27</sup> (Some Haudenosaunee would take a more optimistic view, pointing out that consensus takes time, and the length of the discussion only testifies to the patience of the Haudenosaunee people.)<sup>28</sup> The Confederacy also proved useful in amassing warriors for battle against other groups, but it was flexible enough to allow each member nation and even local councils the ability to amass war parties or enter treaties.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey: Trials Tribulations and Triumphs of Gibson Band of the Mohawk Tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy*. (Muskoka Publications Lmt, 1986) p 13; Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" p 70; David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake: A Historical Sketch* pp 3-4; Frank G. Speck, *The Iroquois* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1955) p 15. For early descriptions of Mohawks see Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William R. Starna *Early Narratives about a Native People* (NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996)

<sup>26</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) Volume 1: Looking Forward Looking Back*, (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996) pp 52-58 offers a description of the Confederacy from the world view and oral testimony of Haudenosaunee people. Frank Speck, *The Iroquois* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1955) pp15-25 offers an anthropological interpretation. William N. Fenton combined an exhaustive search of documents plus interviews with Haudenosaunee to trace the workings of the Confederacy in *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998)

<sup>27</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* pp 5-12; see also the description in *RCAP volume 1* pp 52-58

<sup>28</sup> Professor Brant Bardy, First Nations Technical Institute and Mohawk of Tyendinaga, in "The Governance Act: Part 3" Producer Karyn Pugliese. *APTN National News*. September 2002

<sup>29</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* pp 5-12; see also the description in *RCAP volume 1* p 58

The Haudenosaunee began raiding their northern neighbours because they wanted greater access to French goods and traders. Archeological evidence suggests the Haudenosaunee had traded furs for goods before the Dutch reached their territory and by mid-1600s, European trade-goods were staples. The Haudenosaunee appreciated the autonomy that came from being able to play the Dutch (and after 1664, the British at Albany) against the French. At first, the Confederacy wanted to divert French trade from the Ottawa River, in Algonquin territory, into their own lands via St. Lawrence River.<sup>30</sup> By the 1640's, the Haudenosaunee also wanted land. Over-hunting and encroachment by settlers was depleting fur-bearing game in the St. Lawrence Valley, plus the pelts north of the Ottawa River were thicker and more prized by European traders.<sup>31</sup> Early on, the Oneida co-operated with the Mohawks in the raids, but the Mohawks soon alienated their Oneida allies by exercising their own strict controls on trade with the Dutch. Mohawks became the main aggressors in the struggle to dominate the Ottawa River trade and the surrounding lands.<sup>32</sup>

Naturally, the Algonquin and Nipissing (and other northern groups) objected to raids and other forays into their territories. Moreover, their land management system didn't permit outsiders like the Haudenosaunee, to come north, hunting and trapping indiscriminately. Algonquin hunting territories were not communal, but owned by the male head of family and passed father to son. Algonquins marked the boundaries of their hunting grounds by blazing the trees. Families kept track of the moose, deer and beaver populations in their territories. They also practiced conservation, for example killing only beaver kittens, allowing the breeders to produce a new litter

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<sup>30</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six Nations) Confederacy" pp 80-83

<sup>31</sup> Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" pp 210-213; Elisabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six Nations) Confederacy" p 80

<sup>32</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* p 10; Elisabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six Nations) Confederacy" p 80; Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" p 68

the following year. Trespasses were punishable by death or conjuring.<sup>33</sup> Only with permission, and usually in dire cases of starvation, might families allow a trespass for a moose or deer.<sup>34</sup> Some historians say the fur-trade made restrictions even tighter and that trespasses for fur-bearing game were off-limits.<sup>35</sup> The Ojibwa and Nipissing had similar practices.<sup>36</sup> The Haudenosaunee could only get northern hunting grounds by fighting for them.

From the records of missionaries, explorers and evidence gathered by archeologists, historians Bruce Trigger and Gordon Day have recreated an almost blow-by-blow account of the raids, muggings and general warfare, that lasted almost a century.<sup>37</sup> The French, Dutch and British, who had their own motives, often leapt into the fray. Fenton recreates a comprehensive look at the fur wars from inside Haudenosaunee country.<sup>38</sup> These battles took their toll over the century. Shifting alliances, conversion and the loss of lives created incentives for peace.

Peace negotiations began shortly after the first serious aggressions, and often involved other nations. In 1624, Samuel de Champlain observed groups of Algonquins and Montagnais meeting with an unidentified group of Haudenosaunee. The early attempt failed,<sup>39</sup> but the incentives for peace grew as the years passed. By the 1640s, Mohawk aggressions were seriously disrupting the lives of hunters living north of the St. Lawrence. In 1649, the Mohawks sacked Huronia, destroying a valuable alliance for both the Algonquins and the Nipissing. Some Nipissing,

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<sup>33</sup> Frank Speck, "Family Hunting Territories" pp 4-5

<sup>34</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg: The territory and economic activities of the River Desert (Maniwaki) Algonquins 1850-1950 In Daniel Clement [ed.] *The Algonquins* (Hull: The Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 1996) p 79

<sup>35</sup> Some historians argue that controls over hunting territories became stricter after the fur-trade. While this argument has not been directly applied to Algonquins, see Edward S. Rogers studies of the Cree and Ojibwa. *The Round Lake Ojibwa* (Toronto: Ontario Department of Land and Forests, 1962) and *The hunting group-hunting territory complex among the Mistassini Indians* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963)

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" pp 64-70

<sup>38</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998)

<sup>39</sup> Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" pp 210-213

who camped near Huronia during the summer, relocated to Lake Nipigon.<sup>40</sup> The following year, the Mohawks led an offensive that pushed as far north as Lac St. Jean, Quebec.<sup>41</sup> Some Algonquins and Nipissing relocated to Montreal and Trois Rivières near French Catholic missions where they converted to Catholicism, perhaps more out of pragmatism and the need of French protection than any spiritual want. <sup>42</sup> Conversions didn't always stick, but the Algonquins and Nipissing did remain allies of the French.<sup>43</sup>

The Mohawks weren't faring much better. War casualties and epidemics led to more deaths than they could offset with births or the customary taking of prisoners to replace lives lost in wars. The Mohawks had allied with the British in Albany, and led raids against the French, but they'd failed to take a French village. The French, on the other hand had twice succeeded in burning Haudenosaunee villages to the ground. <sup>44</sup> By 1660, the Mohawks had only 400 warriors available for battle, <sup>45</sup> and the number fell again by 1675. In 1698, in the whole of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, there were only 1,320 warriors, and 1,000 of those warriors were Seneca.<sup>46</sup> By the mid-1600's factions of the Haudenosaunee began favouring a peace, even an alliance with New France. Pro-French factions not only caused division in the Confederacy, but cut through individual nations. <sup>47</sup>

Many players joined in the peace game and each aimed to win their own hand. In peace negotiations held with northern Indian nations in 1634 and 1645-46, the Haudenosaunee wanted 'a dish with one spoon' – a metaphorical reference that, in the Great Law, meant shared hunting

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<sup>40</sup> Murray Leatherdale, *Nipissing from Brule to Booth* (n.p., 1975) p 66

<sup>41</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" p 70

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* p 86

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid* p 70

<sup>44</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* pp 449-460

<sup>45</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six Nations) Confederacy" p 80

<sup>46</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* p 329

<sup>47</sup> Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon: pp 210-213; Francis Jennings, "Iroquois Alliances in American History" in Francis Jennings et al. *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* pp 37-65; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* pp 324, 409, 443-444, 449

grounds. "We shall have one dish", said Deganawai:dah, "in which shall be placed one beaver's tail, and we shall have coequal right to it..."<sup>48</sup> The Algonquin and the Nipissing wanted to end the raids, but not at the price of their hunting territories. After 1645, they secured a short-lived peace by agreeing the Mohawks could hunt freely in neutral territory, probably north of the St. Lawrence and south of the Ottawa River.<sup>49</sup> The Mohawk chief at the negotiations told the Algonquins: "...you who are clear-sighted, you have but to throw a javelin, and the animal falls. This present invites you to hunt, we shall benefit from your skill; we shall roast the animals on the same spit and we shall eat on one side and you on the other."<sup>50</sup> That peace did not last, either. The Mohawks drove the Algonquin out of their territories in 1650, but by the 1680s, it was clear the Mohawks did not have enough warriors to control such a vast territory.<sup>51</sup>

Even though New France had allied with the Algonquins, Nipissing, Ottawa and Montagnais, the French had their own terms for peace. New France wanted two things: first, Haudenosaunee neutrality in conflicts against the British. European alliances were tangled with spiritual overtones, and the French also wanted the Haudenosaunee to convert to Catholicism. The conditions of the 1645 peace negotiations show the extent New France would go to achieve these goals. The negotiations included the Kichesippirini, yet the French made a secret agreement with the Mohawks that allowed them to kill non-Christian Algonquins without reprisals from New France.<sup>52</sup>

Factionalism and conversion made for strange bedfellows. In 1666, the French negotiated a treaty with the Haudenosaunee, and by 1668, the Jesuits had missions in each of the five

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<sup>48</sup> *RCAP volume 1* p 59

<sup>49</sup> Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) p 653

<sup>50</sup> Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" pp 210-213

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>52</sup> Francis Jenning et al., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* p 127-130, the Latin translation is on p 153; see also Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 52

nations.<sup>53</sup> In 1667, the Jesuits tempted a group of Mohawk and Oneida converts to move north and resettle on their land grant at LaPrairie (Kahnawake, meaning on the rapids). By 1732, more than half the Mohawk nation lived as émigrés in St. Lawrence missions.<sup>54</sup> Professor DuVernet's claim that the other Haudenosaunee outlawed the praying émigrés<sup>55</sup> is probably an overstatement. Fenton's research shows that the émigrés occasionally returned home for condolence ceremonies, and at least one important chief title, Tekarihoken, was held by an émigré in Kahnawake.<sup>56</sup> Many times the Haudenosaunee back home pressured the émigrés to return, but without success.<sup>57</sup> Still, good feelings should not be over-stated either. The émigrés abetted New France in two raids on Haudenosaunee territory, although they sent advance warnings to their Mohawk kin.<sup>58</sup> In 1683, the 210 Indians at the Mont Royal Mission were a mix of Mohawk émigrés and their former enemies, including many Algonquins.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, back on Lake Nipissing, some families returned to their former hunting grounds after 1645. At first factions of the Haudenosaunee tried to trade with them, but in 1677 and 1680, they reverted to raids.<sup>60</sup>

By 1700, the Indian Nations were all suffering from war exhaustion, their numbers further reduced by disease. Conversions and tentative alliances had brought former enemies in arm's length of each other, without solving the land hunger that often led to hostilities. More than 1000 people representing more than 30 nations, including the French, met in peace negotiations from 1699-1701.<sup>61</sup> New France traded a promise to protect Indian land for Haudenosaunee neutrality.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, "The Five (Later Six Nations) Confederacy" p 84

<sup>54</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada" in Francis Jennings et al. *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* p 69

<sup>55</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 14

<sup>56</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* p 158-208

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid* p 324, 350, 449

<sup>58</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada"; Francis Jennings et al., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* p 68-69; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* p 316

<sup>59</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 18

<sup>60</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" p 73

<sup>61</sup> Victor Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" p 218

<sup>62</sup> *RCAP Volume One* p 123

For the most part, the Haudenosaunee upheld their end of the bargain. They only reluctantly supported the British in the squirmishes of 1744, 1748, and the Seven Years War (1754-1761).<sup>63</sup> If Fenton is right, the Haudenosaunee were only partly motivated by the treaty. Factionalism and the loss of warriors meant the Confederacy could no longer muster the power they'd wielded a century earlier.<sup>64</sup>

As for the Indian nations, the 1701 treaty resolved the land hunger. Nations living north of the St. Lawrence bought peace by offering the Haudenosaunee a hunting territory. Victor Lytwyn believes the Haudenosaunee tried to describe this territory when they met with British colonial officials at Albany in 1701. In that meeting, delegates described a beaver hunting territory 400 miles in breadth and 800 miles in length. Unfortunately, area markers make it impossible to decipher the territory, and Lytwyn admits it seems too large a tract. Still, Lytwyn feels strongly the Haudenosaunee were trying to describe the area agreed to in the 1701 Treaty.<sup>65</sup> The nations were still renewing the treaty as late as the 1840s,<sup>66</sup> however Indian treaties evolve with circumstance, and the specific terms may have changed over time.<sup>67</sup>

The Treaty of 1701 ended the fur wars, brought peace to the Indian nations and even made it possible for former enemies to live side-by-side in a shared village. In 1696, the nations at the Mont Royal mission had parted ways, with the Mohawks relocating to Rivières des Prairies near Sault-au-Récollets, the Algonquins to Baie d'Urfe, and the Nipissing to Ile aux Tourtes.<sup>68</sup> In 1717, perhaps inspired by the peace treaty, the Sulpicians asked Louis XV for land, at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, where they could reunite their converts. They received a

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<sup>63</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada" Francis Jennings et al. *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* p 68-69

<sup>64</sup> William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* pp 7-10, p 618

<sup>65</sup> Victor Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" p 218

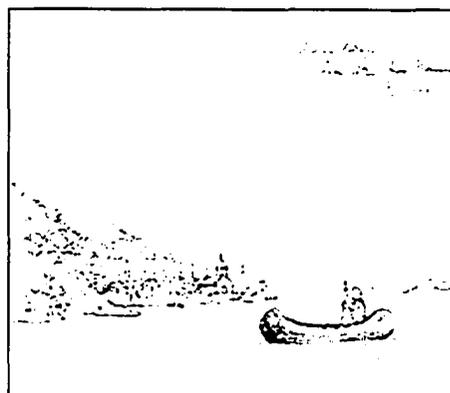
<sup>66</sup> Victor Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" pp 221-224

<sup>67</sup> *RCAP Volume One* p 129

<sup>68</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 18

tract to measuring 11 miles square, to be used as an Indian mission. Francois Vachon, a private benefactor, is rumoured to have spent a fortune on relocating 900 Indians to the new mission site.<sup>69</sup> Between 1742 and 1747, 300 more Algonquin and Nipissing joined Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>70</sup> Along with the Algonquins, Mohawks and Nipissing, some Fox, Pawnee Sioux and Huron were included in the move.<sup>71</sup> The Nipissing, the Algonquin and the Mohawks assimilated many of the smaller groups through intermarriage.<sup>72</sup> Robert J. Surtees writes that by 1800 more than 20 smaller groups “took on a predominantly Mohawk temperament”<sup>73</sup> and even the missionaries stopped listing Cayugas, Onondagas and, by the 1850s, Hurons as separate ethnicities in their records. Of these smaller groups, only the Abenaki and the Ottawa at the mission remained ethnically distinct, but they seem to have considered the mission a place to visit, rather than home. <sup>74</sup> By the 1800s, three nations lived at Lake of Two Mountains: the Algonquins, the Nipissing, and the Mohawks.

The community of three nations at Lake of Two Mountains is not simply described. It conjures up the old analogy of the three-leafed clover: three heads that ultimately bind together. To examine the community, it's perhaps best to carefully examine each leaf, or nation, before tracing the network down to the stem, where the three bind into one. By the time Wright arrived in 1800,



**6. Indian Village, Lake of Two Mountains, 1840**  
Pencil on Paper,  
LAC- Acc. 1965-76-79  
Reproduction: C-031236

the three nations had lived side-by-side for about 83 years, and during that time, they remained

<sup>69</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed (Oxford University Press, 1997) p 319

<sup>70</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 55

<sup>71</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 319

<sup>72</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 31

<sup>73</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada" in Francis Jenning et al. *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* p 68

<sup>74</sup> M. Jean Black, "A Tale of Two Ethnicities" p 3-4

ethnically, culturally and politically distinct. The Algonquins – mostly christianized Kichesippirini and Weskarini (from the land near the Nations River)<sup>75</sup> numbered about 374 in 1838. <sup>76</sup> They lived in a village on the east side of the village. About 372 Nipissing lived in a separate village, also on the east side, beside the Algonquins. The Sulpician Seminary stood in the centre of the village and 343 Mohawk villagers lived to the west. Each nation also had its own council house, for political business.<sup>77</sup> The nations even divided labour ethnically. Some Mohawks hunted, but most worked as voyageurs or farmers, cultivating two-thirds of the farmland.<sup>78</sup> The Algonquins and Nipissing continued to live seasonally as hunters, but probably shared the remaining farmland. <sup>79</sup> In August, Algonquin and Nipissing families left the village, leaving behind only the infirm and the elderly, returning in the spring for about six weeks. <sup>80</sup> The three nations attended mass separately on Sundays, with the masses delivered in their own languages. <sup>81</sup> This was especially practical for the Mohawks, whose language was as different from the Algonquin and Nipissing tongues as English is to Japanese. The missionaries also taught reading and writing in each nation's own language. <sup>82</sup> Proximity did not mean the three nations melted into a single culture, nor did living at an Indian mission isolate them. Each nation kept a separate identity and had contact with kin living beyond the borders of the seminary.

The Kichesippirini and Weskarini, living at Lake of Two Mountains (or in anishanabek language, 'Oka,' meaning pickerel) divided into family hunting units for seven months each year,

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<sup>75</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 15

<sup>76</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 56

<sup>77</sup> Bruce G. Trigger and Gordon M. Day, "Southern Algonquin Middlemen" p 72; Alexander MacKenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the St. Lawrence River (University Microfilms, 1966)* pp xxix-xxx; see also the description that one chief was appointed by each nation to be responsible for their individual village, RG10 v .2778 file 156,074 Letter. Jose Perillard Indian Agent Oka Quebec July 16<sup>th</sup> 1900

<sup>78</sup> Alexander MacKenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the St. Lawrence River* pp xxix-xxx; Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 57

<sup>79</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 57

<sup>80</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 16; see also Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 92

<sup>81</sup> Alexander MacKenzie, *Voyages from Montreal* pp xxix-xxx

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

and during that time, they met with other Algonquin bands. At the Fort Coulonge, between modern day Pembroke and Arnprior, Oka families met Algonquins from Lake Timiscaming, (Head of the Lake People) who by-passed their local HBC post, presumably to get a better price for their furs.<sup>83</sup> The Tête de Boule or 'Men of the Woods' likewise traded at Coulonge. 'Men of the Woods' originally lived in the Timiscaming region, but by the 1800s they were hunting along the northern portion of the Gatineau River, near Grand Lac, and Lac Barrière.<sup>84</sup> These territories bordered next to some Oka Algonquins who also hunted along the Gatineau, and the groups met at the Maniwaki and Grand Lac trading posts.<sup>85</sup> Occasionally, HBC Man John McLean, who worked the Lake of Two Mountain post in 1819, reported seeing a Man of the Woods in an Oka hunting party.<sup>86</sup> After 1853, when some Okas settled a reserve, Kitigan Zibi (River of Farms/Gardens) near the Maniwaki Post, the Men of the Woods visited them seasonally, although few Men of the Woods ever settled there.<sup>87</sup> Oka Algonquins also had contact with bands at Fort duLièvre, Chat Falls, and Golden Lake and Fort William (Allumette Island).<sup>88</sup> McLean describes other meeting places, like a sugaring village near the Chats Post<sup>89</sup> and of course, Philemon Wright 'found' a village in a sugar bush at Lac Leamy, in March of 1800.

This contact between Algonquin bands has made some historians wonder just how tight or loose band membership really was. Anthropologist Frank Speck had visited bands in the era where they'd settled onto reserve, and saw membership as firm. Still, the bands he visited in the early 1900s were not isolated. They knew each other's names, locations and bits of other bands

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<sup>83</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) p 139

<sup>84</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 35-40

<sup>85</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming* p 139

<sup>86</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 35-40

<sup>87</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1880) pp 33-34; Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg: The territory and economy of the River Desert (Maniwaki)" In Daniel Clement [ed.] *The Algonquins* (Hull: The Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 1996) pp 79-82

<sup>88</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 92

<sup>89</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 73

histories.<sup>90</sup> Jean Black believes that in the 1800s, especially in the pre-reserve period, band identity was informal, and membership was fluid.<sup>91</sup> It's almost impossible to have a final word on the subject because there are too many considerations like intermarriage, conversion and land hunger, plus there is good evidence to support both points of view. For example, to support Speck, the 'Men of the Woods' knew the Okas, and visited Kitigan Zibi, but few families ever settled there. For the most part, the Men of the Woods remained a separate band and held out for their own reserves at Lac Barrière (1949), and Grand Lac<sup>92</sup> (where a reserve is still under negotiation.) Other evidence from the same era supports Black's view. The Demoine Band of Algonquins (Turn Back the Lake People) lost their separate identity in mixing with other groups at Fort William (Allumette Island).<sup>93</sup> Later in the century, families from various bands at Fort Coulonge settled off-reserve and formed landless bands that still exist today: the Antoine First Nation near Mattawa, and the Ardoch First nation near Sharbot Lake.<sup>94</sup> What is clear, on both sides of the debate, is that the bands had extensive contact, until perhaps, the last decades of the 1800s.

The associations probably included political decision-making, although the extent of co-operation between bands is not clear. The Algonquins at Lake of Two Mountains held their political council every summer. McLean described a Grand chief, or Kitchi Okima, presiding over a council of lesser chiefs and elder men. According to McLean, the Grand Chief chose the topic of discussion, then each chief and elder voiced an opinion. They voted on the matter with the majority

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<sup>90</sup> Frank Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life" p 9

<sup>91</sup> Jean Black, "Nineteenth Century Culture Change" p 67-68

<sup>92</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1880) pp 33-34; The application for land at Lac Barrière is in RG10 v 2953 file 202318 From Chief Michael Zages 1876. Although the reserve was only created in the 1940s. Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg: The territory and economy of the River Desert (Maniwaki)" In Daniel Clement [ed.] *The Algonquins* (Hull: The Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 1996) pp 79-82

<sup>93</sup> Frank Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social" p 9

<sup>94</sup> Joan M. Holmes, "Hidden Communities: Difficulties encountered researching non-Status Algonquin in the Ottawa Valley" in David H. Pentland (ed.) *Papers of the Thirtieth Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1999) pp 130-131; Frank Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life" p 1-2

ruling.<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately, written records do not say if chiefs from other bands who did not generally travel to the Lake, attended the meetings. There is some circumstantial evidence, however, that they did. In the late 1800s, Harry Nottaway, a 'man of the woods' at Lac Barrière held three wampums that originated at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>96</sup> (Both the Algonquins and Mohawks claim ownership of the wampums.) So although McLean wrote that the non-Christian 'Men of the Woods' did not travel to Two Mountains as a group,<sup>97</sup> chiefs and individuals may have. At the very least, they were schooled enough in Two Mountain's political-history to be trusted to interpret the wampums.

Tracing the history of the Nipissing nation - their movements, contacts and politics - is troubling because records make it difficult to separate Nipissing from their Algonquin peers. Observers like John McLean did not distinguish between the two nations, and counted them all as Algonquins.<sup>98</sup> Missionaries distinguished between Algonquins and Nipissing, but were inconsistent. They sometimes recorded a family as Nipissing, later listing the same family as Algonquin. Jean Black believes the missionaries might have recorded ethnicity based on where the family hunted, rather than how the family identified itself.<sup>99</sup> Intermarriage is a second possible reason. Black even proposes that the Algonquins and Nipissing had no separate identity until the missionaries imposed one upon them.<sup>100</sup> That suggestion probably goes too far, given that the Algonquins and Nipissing had defined themselves separately since before the time of Champlain. It's more likely that missionaries and other outside observers simply had trouble distinguishing

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<sup>95</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 110

<sup>96</sup> Pauline Joly DeLotbinère, "Of Wampums and Little People" In Daniel Clement [ed.] *The Algonquins* (Hull: The Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 1996) p 113

<sup>97</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 35-40

<sup>98</sup> John McLean *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 12

<sup>99</sup> M. Jean Black, "A Tale of Two Ethnicities" pp 2-5

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid* p 6

between people who spoke similar languages – some modern linguists believe Ottawa Valley Algonquin is, in fact, Nipissing<sup>101</sup> - and lived similar lifestyles.

In terms of Nipissing politics, the Nipissing had three chiefs at Lake of Two Mountains during the 1800s,<sup>102</sup> with one chief responsible for the Nipissing village,<sup>103</sup> probably Francois Papineau,<sup>104</sup> followed by Pierre Djanki, who died around 1894, and finally, Francois Dicker.<sup>105</sup> It's not known who the two remaining chiefs represented, or if some Nipissing bands remained on the land rather than traveling to Lake of Two Mountains. Some Nipissing did trade at Fort Timiscaming,<sup>106</sup> but these hunters may have been trading locally before making the journey east.

The Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains (or Kanehsatake) also kept contact with their kin at other settlements. The population of émigrés had grown and shifted over the 1700s, bringing newcomers and creating new territories. At Kahnawake, the Mohawks moved four times within the Jesuit land grant before finally settling at their modern location in 1763.<sup>107</sup> Land hunger drove some families to leave Kahnawake in 1750, and build a second village a short distance away, at Akwesasne (a.k.a where the Partridge drums).<sup>108</sup> When the American Revolution ended in 1783, Britain negotiated a border that upset Haudenosaunee loyalists in New York, because it placed their territories in the United States. Fearing reprisals, the British purchased 80,000 acres along the Grand River, (Brantford) in Ontario for Joseph Brant's group of loyalists. Captain John Deseronto led a second group north. Deseronto had a healthy dislike of Brant, and asked to settle at Kahnawake. British leaders, however, considered the Catholic Mohawks suspect and offered Captain John land at the Bay of Quinte (Tyendinaga) instead. Not only was the land appealing

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid p 4

<sup>102</sup> RG10 v 1965 file 5054 Reel C-11123 Lease 1834

<sup>103</sup> RG10 v 2778 Reel C-12793 File 156,074 From Jacques Murray, Oka. November 12, 1894.

<sup>104</sup> RG10 v1965 file 5054 Reel C-11123 Lease 1834.

<sup>105</sup> RG10 v2778 Reel C-12793 file 156,074 Oka May 26 1895

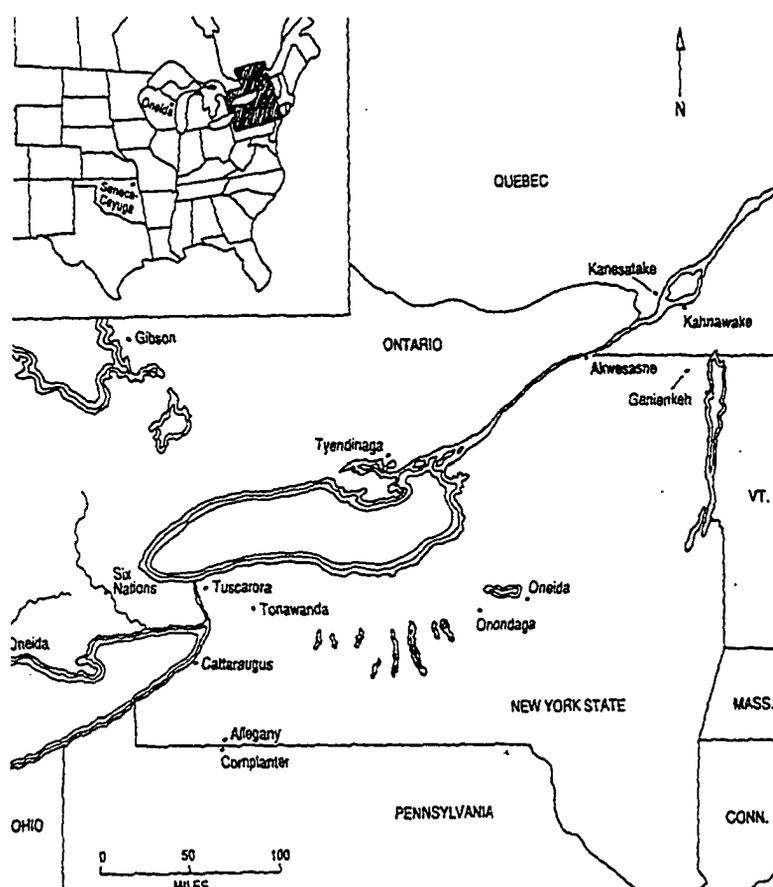
<sup>106</sup> Murray Leatherdale, *Nipissing from Brule to Booth* p 66

<sup>107</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 4

<sup>108</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada"pp 68-69

because oral history said it was the birthplace of the Peacemaker,<sup>109</sup> but Captain John seemed to appreciate having a big lake between his people and the Americans. He accepted, creating a fifth Haudenosaunee territory.<sup>110</sup>

**7. Location of Mohawk reserves.** Source: Bruce E. Johansen *Life and Death in Mohawk Country* (Colorado: North American Press, 1993) p xxv



<sup>109</sup> *RCAP Volume One* p 54

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid* p 73-74

Contact between the Mohawks of Two Mountains, Tyendinaga and Grand River appears to have been sporadic. When the war of 1812 threatened Haudenosaunee territory, warriors from Kanehsatake, Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Grand River formed their own regiments and fought in the battles of Chateauguay and the Beaver Dams.<sup>111</sup> In the mid-1800s when the Two Mountains Mohawks began converting to Methodism, they read the good word in Bibles translated by Peter Jones, a Grand River Mohawk.<sup>112</sup> In 1900, a Mohawk-language newspaper *Onkweonwe: Aterientarajera naah ne Kasatstensera (Real People: Knowledge for Strength)*\*\*\* appeared in Ottawa, carrying news from all five territories, but failed after the first issue. Certainly there was a sense of kinship, between the groups, but in other important circumstances, likely links are missing. In the mid-1800s, when the Haudenosaunee at Grand River joined with some Ojibwa to create the General Council of Ontario and Quebec Indians,<sup>113</sup> they discussed a long-standing land dispute between the Mohawks and Sulpicians at Two Mountains, yet there's no evidence the Mohawks of Two Mountains ever attended their meetings.<sup>114</sup> The Haudenosaunee prophet,

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid p 70-71; David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 11

<sup>112</sup> John McLean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: Mission Society of the Methodist Church, 1918) pp 5-13 offers a biography of Peter Jones; Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 45, p 25 says the Bibles arrived at Lake of To Mountains via kin from the Grand River reserve.

\*\*\* The author wishes to thank elder Ernie Benedict of Akwesasne for translating portions of the newspaper. The newspaper is available in the LAC.

<sup>113</sup> For a description of the General Council see Rick J. Ponting and Roger Gibbons *Out of Irrelevance: A socio-political introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980) p 7 and Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986) pp 94-96

<sup>114</sup> Minutes of the meetings along with lists of delegates are stored in the RG10 files. See for example RG10 v 2652 f 131802 "Minutes of the Eleventh Grand Council held upon the New Credit Indian Reserve" October 11th 1890. The Oka Land Question was discussed in a meeting held in 1890, and the Council tried to collect membership fees off various reserves. There is no evidence that Kanehsatake paid, although Akwesasne was approached for payments. See RG10 v 2544 file 111, 678. Circular Letter. November 24? 1890 notes the land question was discussed. The issue of fees comes up in Ibid: Letter to John MacKray? Esq. Indian Agent AlderVille Agency from S. Logan; and Letter from George Long to Deputy Superintendent General December 1890.

Handsome Lake's revelations, which began with visions in 1799, influenced Grand River quickly, but didn't impact the Montreal-cluster of reserves until the 1920s.<sup>115</sup>

The Lake of Two Mountains Mohawks did keep close ties to Kahnawake, Akwesasne and, after 1880, the Gibson Reserve in Ontario. Politically, socially and economically, records offer repeated instances when the three communities connected. For example, the communities shared land interests. Unlike the lands in Ontario, which the Mohawks accepted in treaties, the Quebec reserves were grants given by the French Crown. After the Conquest of New France, the British generally redistributed French land grants, but this did not happen with the Mohawk reserves.<sup>116</sup> Debate broke out over whether the French Crown had awarded the land to the missionaries or to the Mohawks. (It is still a topic of debate.)<sup>117</sup> In 1807, the Mohawks of Kahnawake and Lake of Two Mountains sent a joint delegation to England to argue their case before Lord Castlereagh.<sup>118</sup> Akwesasne and Kahnawake settled their claims by the 1840s,<sup>119</sup> leaving only the Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains without a clear title to their land. The unresolved claim led to a conflict over land with the Sulpicians. In 1853-54 the government offered a land grant, the Doncaster, to cool the dispute, hoping the Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains would relocate.<sup>120</sup> According to David Blanchard of Kahnawake, the Mohawks saw Doncaster as a trade for land they'd loaned to

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<sup>115</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 26; For more on Handsome Lake see David Ezzo "Shawnee prophet and Handsome Lake" In William Cowan ed *Papers of the Twentieth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa Carleton University, 1988) pp 108-129; and also, Frank Speck *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London, University of Nebraska Press, 1995)

<sup>116</sup> *RCAP Volume One* p 142-144; DuVernet *An Indian Odyssey* p 21

<sup>117</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 31 revives an argument recorded in 1807: that the land was originally given to the Mohawks, but that the Sulpicians asked them for temporary control of the land saying the title would be safer with them. The Sulpicians took the original lease and never returned it. DuVernet, however, does not appear to believe this version of events. She reprints the 1717 lease to the Sulpicians on p 23. Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 319-320 points out the heart of the dispute is that the French Crown gave the land to the Sulpicians only on the condition that it would be used as an Indian Mission. If the Indians left, the Crown wanted the land returned. This supports the Mohawk argument that the Sulpicians only held the lands in trust, and did not have title to them. The argument appearing in 1807 may simply reflect a metaphor of the deal, or a problem in interpreting from the Mohawk language to French, then into English, which is how the argument was presented.

<sup>118</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 31

<sup>119</sup> Robert J. Surtees, "The Iroquois in Canada" p 72

<sup>120</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 319-320; see also RG10 v 2071 file 10616 Letter from Cherrier to Dear Sir, November 2, 1878 for evidence the Department expected the Mohawks to relocate.

the government to build a railway.<sup>121</sup> Whatever the intention of the grant, the Mohawks at Kahnawake, Lake of Two Mountains and Akwesasne shared authority over the Doncaster and preserved the land as a hunting territory.<sup>122</sup> Later, in 1880, the government offered a second grant, in Gibson, Ontario, again hoping to ease land tensions at Lake of Two Mountains. A dozen families relocated to the new land. Afterwards the Montreal-cluster shared authority over the Doncaster with Gibson as well.<sup>123</sup>

The Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains also kept close social ties with Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Gibson. The Mohawks intermarried and families sometimes relocated from one community to the other. Simon Onwakennhen, born before church records, married Therese Konwanowentha in 1783 at Oka, but their children grew up at Kahnawake. Although it probably wasn't the normal mode of travel, their grandchild, 'Big John' Canadian returned to Lake of Two Mountains in 1859 by skating down the river, a feat that John's son, George Canadian, repeated in 1914.<sup>124</sup> Chief Joseph Onasakenrat, a former layman for the Sulpicians who had turned land activist in the 1840s - and, perhaps worse in the minds of the Sulpicians, turned Methodist<sup>125</sup> - married a woman from Kahnawake. They moved to Kahnawake in the 1870s along with three other families.<sup>126</sup> Meanwhile, Gibson families were disappointed in 1881, when they discovered there was no postal service and they could not send Christmas cards to their relatives at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>127</sup> In the 1890s, a few families returned to Lake of Two Mountains, and the Indian Agent at Gibson estimated that about a third of the families at Gibson would follow suit if the

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<sup>121</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 21-22

<sup>122</sup> Ibid

<sup>123</sup> RG10 v 2163 file 34070, Letter to the Hon. T. Mayne Daly October 13 1873; Letter Gibson Reserve May 8, 1894; Letter May 7, 1894.

<sup>124</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *Kahnawake: A Mohawk Look at Canada* (Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1985) p 9-10

<sup>125</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 32

<sup>126</sup> RG10 v 2070 Reel C-11149 file 10560 Letter from Chief Joseph Onasakenrat 1878; RG10 v 2071 file 10616 Letter from Cherrier to Dear Sir, November 2, 1878

<sup>127</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 63

Department let them.<sup>128</sup> Gibson families were also disappointed in the 1890s, when Indian Affairs tried to impose a band government system at Lake of Two Mountains. The Gibson families wanted to vote in the elections, but the Department wouldn't allow it.<sup>129</sup> Mohawks from the Montreal-cluster also connected in the fur trade, with the majority of men working as voyageurs for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and later running provisions up to lumber shanties.<sup>130</sup> As late as the 1900s, when anthropologist Frank Speck visited Lake of Two Mountains, he noted the four communities kept close ties.<sup>131</sup>

Until the 1900s, the Two Mountain Mohawks governed themselves without interference from the Department of Indian Affairs.<sup>132</sup> They continued using a clan system where a Grand Chief presided over three clans: the Turtle, Wolf and Bear. Clan mothers chose three chiefs to represent each clan, and could remove their title if necessary. Families and clans could make decisions on their own, but for matters affecting the whole group, the three clans had to arrive at a consensus.<sup>133</sup> Factionalism began after 1840, when some Mohawks became frustrated with the Sulpicians and turned to Methodism. The Methodist convert, Joseph Onasakenrat moved from Two Mountains to Kahnawake because of religious tension.<sup>134</sup> It seems that the Catholic-Methodist split was, at least partially behind Chief John Twieshaw's decision to leave Lake of Two Mountains in 1894, and

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<sup>128</sup> RG10 v 2707 file 142,875 Letter to S. Halton? Indian Department at Parry Sound, October 31, 1893; and Letter To Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1893

<sup>129</sup> RG 10 v 2778 Reel C-12793 file 156,074 From Deputy Superintendent General to Chief Timothy Arirher, July 8, 1895. RG10 v 2778 f 156, 074, Extract from Letter of Timothy A. June 21 1895, and Deputy Superintendent General to Timothy Arirher July 8, 1895

<sup>130</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 12, 14, 18 and Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming* p 203 Primary sources on Mohawk Voyageurs include: "Our oldest inhabitants" *Ottawa Daily Free Press* Friday November 15<sup>th</sup> 1878; John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 13-14; in the lumber trade *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) Lake of Two Mountains p 27; Kahnawake p 25; (1890) Akwesasne p xxi

<sup>131</sup> Frank Speck, "Algonquin Cultural Influence upon Iroquois Social Organization" in *American Anthropologist* v. 25 (2) p 221

<sup>132</sup> RG10 v 2778 f 156, 074, From the Iroquois Indians to the Honourable T.M. Daily, June 12, 1895.

<sup>133</sup> Brant Bardy, in "Governance Act: Part 3" Letters in the Beta collection bear the signatures of a grand chief and eight lesser chiefs or councilors, see for example the letter in Beta *A contribution to a Proper Understanding* Letter Montreal. October 27<sup>th</sup> 1869, p 68

<sup>134</sup> RG10 v2070 file 10,560 L'honourable Ministre de L'interieur de G. Cherrier, October 1878.

his to petition Indian Affairs to remove fellow chief Timothy Arirher, the following year.<sup>135</sup> During the 1890s, groups of Catholics and Anglicans began petitioning Indian Affairs for their own chiefs.<sup>136</sup> Up until that time, the Mohawks noted that: “the department has never interfered in our mode of electing and deposing chiefs in this place.”<sup>137</sup>

The three nations at Lake of Two Mountains remained distinct, but they were not isolated. The Two Mountains Indians belonged to the Seven Nations Confederacy, an alliance of Catholic mission Indians, formed in the mid-1700s as fears and grievances arose over the immigrant problem. In 1786, the Seven Nations Confederacy had about 2000 members, which grew to 3,301 by 1841, and included parties from Kahnawake, Akwesasne, St. Francis (Abenaki), Lorette (Huron) and Restigouish (Mi'kmaq), and various Montagnais, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Ottawa peoples.<sup>138</sup> Members of the Seven Nations visited Lake of Two Mountains community periodically between 1821 and 1831.<sup>139</sup> McLean observed the visits and noted the Indians at Lake of Two Mountains always took up a collect of goods and cash to entertain the delegates.<sup>140</sup> Along with political alliances, the three nations at Lake of Two Mountains lived in a cosmopolitan social atmosphere. More than 2000 ‘panis’ (slaves) and Indian migrants from the Mississippi Valley, lived in the greater Montreal area. Sulpician records show that inter-marriage to Ottawa, Abenaki, or the ‘panis’ was common, especially among the Mohawk.<sup>141</sup> These political and social relationships connected the Indians at Two Mountains to other peoples, but the three nations at Lake of Two Mountains shared a special relationship. They divvied up the land and economy, socialized and intermarried. These

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<sup>135</sup> See the conflict between the chiefs in RG10 v2778 file 156, 074 Hayter Reed to Chief Timothy Arirher February 7 1895. and *ibid* To the Honourable T.M. Daily from the Iroquois Indians June 12 1895. For John Tweishaw living off reserve see: RG10 v 2757 file 149, 498 Chief John Tweishaw to Dear Gentlemen May 19, 1894.

<sup>136</sup> See the series of letters in RG10 v 2778 file 156, 074

<sup>137</sup> RG10 v2778 file 156, 074 To the Honourable T.M. Daily from the Iroquois Indians June 12 1895.

<sup>138</sup> Victor Lytwyn, “A Dish with One Spoon” pp 221-224; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 155

<sup>139</sup> M. Jean Black, “Nineteenth Century Algonquin Culture Change” p 64

<sup>140</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 111

<sup>141</sup> M. Jean Black, “A Tale of Two Ethnicities” pp 4-5

connections extended beyond the borders of the Seminary and through the Ottawa Valley, binding the nations to one another like the stem of a proverbial clover.

The three nations had divided Lake of Two Mountains into three separate and self-governing villages, but in the 1800s when the immigrant problem reached the mission, it began to upset their village land arrangement. The ‘immigrant problem’ at Lake of Two Mountains began with the Sulpicians encouraging French Canadians to settle on mission lands, even giving away Indian farms.<sup>142</sup> These newcomers reportedly trespassed on Indian farms, cut down their sugar bushes and “abused in the most cruel way the horses and cows and other animals” belonging to the villagers.<sup>143</sup> The Mohawks had long maintained that King Louis the XV had granted the land to them, the Sulpicians were only holding the land in trust.<sup>144</sup> After the Conquest, the British had left the Land Grant under the original deed<sup>145</sup> and after 1867; Canada upheld the Sulpician’s claim.<sup>146</sup> The Mohawks were not alone in this battle, but found allies in the Nipissing and Algonquins at Lake of Two Mountains and Mohawks at other reserves.

For most of the century, the Algonquins and Nipissing at Lake of Two Mountains supported the Mohawks in their legal, and sometimes, physical, battles for title to the mission lands. In 1781, when the Mohawks took their records – the Two Dog wampum, which proved their title – to court Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs were present and supported the Mohawk’s interpretation of the belt.<sup>147</sup> The court rejected their claim.<sup>148</sup> The Algonquin and Nipissing chiefs also supported the

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid p 63; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations* p 320; RG10 v 2088, 13,496 Oka May 21 1879, John M. ? Indian agent

<sup>143</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) p 27

<sup>144</sup> See Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, p 319; A copy of the 1717 lease is available in Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 23; Perspectives on the land question are available in RG10 v 2778 f 156, 074, Sept ? 1894 to Deputy Superintendent; see also *Historic Caughnawaga* p 339

<sup>145</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 21

<sup>146</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, p 320; Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 21

<sup>147</sup> Pauline Joly de Lotbinière, “Of Wampum and Little People” pp 99-100

<sup>148</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, p 320; Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 20

Mohawks interpretation of the belt when they read it to the Director of Indian Affairs in 1878.<sup>149</sup> Likewise, the Algonquins and Nipissing supported the Mohawks through petitions to the Crown demanding they clarify the title on the mission lands.<sup>150</sup> According to the Mayor of the French village of Oka, the chiefs of the three nations at Lake of Two Mountains encouraged their people in terrorizing the French villagers and trying to push them off the land.<sup>151</sup> He wrote: "Pour Toutes ces raisons nous demandons que tous sauvages de cette localité soient disarmés, que leurs chefs soient casés et qu'ils non {?} pas d'autres que affairs de la municipalité."<sup>152</sup>

The Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains also received support from their kin on other reserves. According to the local Indian Agent, the Mohawks at Kahnawake and Akwesasne were also involved in agitating against the settlers.<sup>153</sup> Around the 1840s, The Haudenosaunee of Grand River encouraged Indians at Lake of Two Mountains to convert to Methodism.<sup>154</sup> The Algonquins considered converting too, even meeting with the missionary Peter Jones, but in the end, the Algonquins remained Catholic. For the Mohawk Methodists, conversions were more political than spiritual in nature. As Methodists, the Mohawks could play on the sympathies of Anglo-protestant Montrealers.<sup>155</sup> A group of these Montrealers formed the Aborigines Protection Society which helped lobby for Mohawk land title,<sup>156</sup> and articles appearing in *The Montreal Witness* accused the Sulpicians of abusing the Indians under bold headlines like: "Are the Protestant Indians of Oka to starve?"<sup>157</sup> As the Algonquins and Nipissing left Lake of Two Mountains (1850-1914), the land dispute became confined to the Mohawk nation. At times, the question of land title and authority

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<sup>149</sup> Pauline Joly de Lotbinière, "Of Wampum and Little People" p 100

<sup>150</sup> Several of the letters and petitions involving the land case are reprinted in Beta (psued.) *A contribution to the proper understanding of the Oka question and a help to its equitable and speedy settlement* (Montreal: s.n., 1879)

<sup>151</sup> RG10 v 1961 file 4937 A L'hon. Excellence, la gouveneur Général du Canada.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid

<sup>153</sup> RG10 v 3048 file 237, 660 To Sir September 27, 1901

<sup>154</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 25

<sup>155</sup> Ibid p 22; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 320

<sup>156</sup> RG10 v 1967 file 5170 Aborigine Protection Society, 1875-1878

<sup>157</sup> "Are the Protestant Indians of Oka to Starve?" *Montreal Witness* November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1875

has simmered, but remains unsettled. Other land arrangements of the 1800s revolved around Algonquin and Nipissing lands in the Ottawa Valley.

Land agreements were not accidental, but political arrangements designed to keep the peace between the three nations as the fur trade continued to bind wealth to land. Beginning in 1770, the North West Company began to seriously compete with Hudson's Bay Company, creating a peak in the trade that lasted until the two companies merged in 1821.<sup>158</sup> The trade still dominated the Ottawa Valley economy until 1840, when lumber took over. Even after 1840, the furs remained important to the Indian economy.<sup>159</sup> While specific details on the land agreement reached in 1701 are not available, the behavior of the nations in the 1800s shows how the three nations divided the land and economy.

After the fur wars the Algonquins and Nipissing reclaimed their hunting territories in the Ottawa Valley. Shortly after the 1763 Proclamation Act, Sir William Johnson visited Lake of Two Mountains to explain the relevant provisions – essentially Indians could continue to hunt freely on their territories and that land would not be taken without compensation, and then only by the Crown. Nipissing and Algonquin Chiefs showed Sir William Johnson a map of their hunting territories, which had not changed since the 1600s.<sup>160</sup> Unfortunately, due to what amounts to a clerical error, William Chevette, the Acting surveyor General in 1794, purchased the Ottawa Valley from the wrong nation. Chevette reasoned that if the Algonquins live on a French land grant, they must be refugees, and asked the Mississauga to cede the valley instead.<sup>161</sup> The error resulted in settlers arriving, without paying the compensation guaranteed under the Proclamation Act.

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<sup>158</sup> Dr. Arthur Ray in Powley v 2 p 146

<sup>159</sup> See Arthur J Ray *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)

<sup>160</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre of Time* p 80-84

<sup>161</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 69 noted Algonquins never ceded the land. Phil Jenkins, *An Acre of Time* p 74-76 writes that the Mississauga ceded some land, but not the whole Valley. A copy of Chevette's letter is in RG10 v 1965 f 5054 William Chevette Esq. 1794

To offset their 'immigrant problem' the Algonquins and Nipissing chiefs joined forces to collect compensation from settlers in the form of rents. The five pounds Philemon Wright' paid for the sugar bush was not the only payment the Algonquins and Nipissing collected. As the two chiefs told Wright, their notary, Pierre Lukin, had drafted a lease for Studdier's island near the Long Sault Rapids and they were already collecting rents.<sup>162</sup> In 1819, Algonquins living at Golden Lake made lumberman Alexandre McDonnell sign a treaty to explore timberland along the Madawaska River.<sup>163</sup> In 1834, Hawkesbury lumber baron George Hamilton signed a 99-year rental lease and paid the Algonquins and Nipissing \$42 a year in rents, plus a supply of pine lumber. John Hamilton inherited his father's business and continued paying the rent as late as 1890.<sup>164</sup> The three Nipissing and three Algonquin Chief of Lake of Two Mountains charged Mr. H.Q. Coram of Montreal, who had a summerhouse in Hawkesbury, \$27 a year,<sup>165</sup> and they also collected rents off lumbermen H.R. Egan and Robinson.<sup>166</sup> They were not always successful in collecting rents, for example, the Hawkesbury Lumber Company refused to pay rents in 1894.<sup>167</sup> According to the Algonquin Chief Decaire, chiefs collected the rents then distributed them among Algonquin and Nipissing at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>168</sup> Apparently Mohawks did not collect rents, or share in the moneys collected.

Not only did the Algonquins exert their authority by returning to their hunting territories and collecting rents off newcomers, they continued to petition the government for the compensation promised in the 1763 Act. The Algonquins knew how settlement had affected Mohawk territory in

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<sup>162</sup> MG 24 D8 v 136 Papers of Ruggles Wright: "An Account of the First Settlement of the Township of Hull on the Ottawa River Lower Canada, by Philemon Wright Esq." p 6-8

<sup>163</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonquins* p 70

<sup>164</sup> RG10 v 1965 file 5054 John Hamilton notes he was still paying the rent in a letter: John Hamilton to E.A. Meredith 1873; See details of the lease in *Ibid.* Audrey White Esq. July 18<sup>th</sup> 1894. In the series of letters that follows it appears the Hamiltons' continued to pay rents up to 1930.

<sup>165</sup> RG10 v 1965 file 5054 Letter May 7<sup>th</sup> 1894

<sup>166</sup> RG10 v 1965 file 5054 September 27, 1878 and Letter from Caughnawaga October 20<sup>th</sup> 1899

<sup>167</sup> RG10 v. 1965 file 5054 Letter May 7 1894.

<sup>168</sup> RG10 v. 1965 file 5054 Letter September 27 1898

the St. Lawrence Valley, and they wanted some land preserved for hunting, plus compensation for the lands being settled.<sup>169</sup> In 1798, the Algonquins and the Nipissing wrote to Johnson, reminding him of the Proclamation Act promises. They said they were willing to sell a limited amount of land along the Ottawa River, which the government could use for settlement. The rest of their land would provide enough game for hunting.<sup>170</sup> Throughout the 1800s, the Algonquins continued to petition the government, saying they knew the price of timber, their lands were valuable and that the crown had paid other nations for their lands. Unfortunately, the government remained convinced the land had been properly ceded, until they uncovered the error in the 1890s. That's when the Crown lands department discovered it had no deeds of cession for lands on the Upper Canada side of the Ottawa River.<sup>171</sup> So, the Algonquins and Nipissing claimed ownership over the Ottawa Valley, and exerted their authority, but they did not shut their Mohawk neighbours out of the land or economy.

In 1911, the Mohawks at Lake of two Mountains told anthropologist Frank Speck that they had hunting rights on lands east of the Red River, based on an old agreement.<sup>172</sup> McLean's record supports the oral evidence of a border, he noted Mohawks made excellent hunts by trapping beavers along the main rivers and the outskirts of Algonquin land.<sup>173</sup> This agreement may explain why Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains adopted certain Algonquin practices in hunting, for example: passing territories father to son, blazing trees to mark their borders and punishing trespasses by conjuring. Mohawks also adopted the practice of depositing beaver bones into the river,<sup>174</sup> an Algonquin custom that cured ill-luck in hunting.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Jean Black, *Algonquin Ethnobotany* p 2

<sup>170</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in Time* pp 82-83

<sup>171</sup> Ibid p 84; The discovery of the error is documented in RG10 v 1965 file 5054 To Audrey White Esq. July 18, 1894

<sup>172</sup> Frank Speck, "Algonquin Cultural Influence" p 221

<sup>173</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 24

<sup>174</sup> Frank Speck, "Algonquin Cultural Influence" p 222

<sup>175</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 108

The hunting grounds arrangement seems to have broken down only once during the 1800s. Lt-Col McKay, an Indian Superintendent at Drummond Island accidentally re-kindled the old conflict when he visited Lake of Two Mountains in 1830. In a speech to the Mohawks, he asked them to live amicably with the other nations of the village who “ate out of the same dish.”<sup>176</sup> It's unlikely that McKay understood that the ‘dish’ metaphor signified common hunting grounds in the Great Law. The Mohawks believed McKay had just told them they had free reign to hunt on Algonquin lands. According to McLean the Mohawks began hunting outside their borders, stating: “Our father tells us we eat out of the same dish with the Algonquins – he means we have an equal right to the hunting grounds.”<sup>177</sup> The Mohawks began hunting outside their territories and in the tension that followed the Mohawks and Algonquins nearly came to blows. McLean does not say how the troubles were resolved, only that the government stepped in,<sup>178</sup> but it appears the nations agreed to restore the previous borders.

Along with hunting grounds, Mohawks could also pass freely through Algonquin and Nipissing territory. As Mohawk historian David S. Blanchard, sums it up - the fur wars were caused by a depletion of game in the St. Lawrence valley; the Nipissing were saved from conflict because the Mohawks took up voyaging.<sup>179</sup> Most voyageurs came from Kahnawake, as they had a knack for shooting the Long Sault rapids, but a number of Mohawk men from Akwesasne and Two Mountains also worked as voyageurs, traveling as far as the Rocky Mountains, in which case their

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid p 198

<sup>177</sup> Ibid

<sup>178</sup> Ibid

<sup>179</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 12

wages were paid to their families.<sup>180</sup> After 1840, their skills transferred well into the lumbering industry and they ran provisions up to remote lumber shanties.<sup>181</sup>

Naturally, the Algonquins and Nipissing gave free passage to fur traders and certain useful Europeans, but the implications of allowing their former enemies, the Mohawks, to travel freely though their territory required a certain amount of trust, and that should not be over-looked. Many nations kept memories of the fur wars alive through oral history and still feared Mohawks attacks in 1800s. The Passamaquody living in Kwonuskwamkuk (St. Andrews New Brunswick) told of a Mohawk invasion that occurred in the 1740s, after a Mohawk chief's son died during a visit to a Passamaquody village. The Passamaquody at Pleasant Point, Maine, still recalled the story in the 1820s and spent a week preparing for a Mohawk raid. Elijah Kellogg was visiting the community, and wrote of women fleeing the village, while warriors took their posts, and even fired shots into the dark at what they imagined were Mohawk warriors.<sup>182</sup> The Malecites, and Penobscots and Wabanaki also believed Mohawk raids were a possibility in the 1800s.<sup>183</sup> Algonquins had not forgotten the fur wars either. In the 1900s, they still told the legend of Iroquois Falls, a tale of an Algonquin woman, who is kidnapped by Mohawk warriors intent on raiding her village. When the Mohawks press her for the location, she lies and tricks them into following a river that leads them over a waterfall and to their deaths. She dies too, but dies a hero for saving her village.<sup>184</sup>

Naturally, the story is an inflated war tale, because it leaves no character alive to re-tell the tale, but

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid See also Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming* p 203 Primary sources on Mohawk Voyageurs include: "Our oldest inhabitants" *Ottawa Daily Free Press* Friday November 15<sup>th</sup> 1878; John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 13-14;

<sup>181</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming* p 203; *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) Lake of Two Mountains p 27; Kahnawake p 25; (1890) Akwesasne p xxi

<sup>182</sup> Vincent Erickson, "The Mohawks are coming! Elijah Kellogg's observation." In William Cowan [ed] *Papers of the Fourteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1983) pp 41-46

<sup>183</sup> Ibid See also Nicole N. Smith, "The Wabanaki-Mohawk Conflict" In William Cowan [ed.] *Papers of the Fourteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1983) pp 49-55

<sup>184</sup> Frank Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life" p 26-27 Speck recorded the tale from the Ojibwa, but noted that Algonquins Cree and Abenaki also told the story.

memories of the war lived on, and the wars had often been brutal.<sup>185</sup> While other nations continued to fear Mohawk invasions in the 1800s, the Algonquin and Nipissing did not. In fact, by the 1800s, Algonquins and Nipissing were intermarrying and socializing, with the Mohawks.

For many years, historians have lived by one of McLean's statements, that Mohawks and Algonquins rarely intermarried. Recently, M. Jean Black found the Sulpician church records and they show intermarriage was common after 1800.<sup>186</sup> In the ten-year period from 1821-31, the number of Algonquin-Iroquois marriages equaled the number of Algonquin-Nipissing marriages.<sup>187</sup> A few offspring of mixed marriages appear from time to time in other records. Stanislaus "Tanisse" Langevin, or Papigosh (one who laughs/makes people laugh) was a six-foot tall Algonquin-Iroquois born without records. He drove steamboats up the Ottawa for a living, and drummed at Lake Kipawa. In 1850, he married Philemène "Grand-Louis" Commandant and settled at Mattawan. They had eight children between 1869-1890 all bearing the surname Langevin. Some of the children settled at Mattawa and Kippewa.<sup>188</sup> Marie Wapikous, a Mohawk widow living at Lake of Two Mountains in 1908, had survived her Algonquin husband and chose a Mohawk man the second time around.<sup>189</sup> Brothers Dominic and Michel Buckshot, who settled at Kitigan Zibi, were also offspring of an Algonquin-Mohawk marriage.<sup>190</sup> Abraham Jacquot, a Nipissing chief at Oka in 1897, was half-Nipissing, half-Mohawk.<sup>191</sup> Along with church marriages, it's possible custom marriages took place as well.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonkin Nation* offers some heart-wrenching tales of the battles

<sup>186</sup> M. Jean Black, "A Tale of Two Ethnicities" p 4

<sup>187</sup> M. Jean Black "Nineteenth Century Algonquin Culture Change" p 65

<sup>188</sup> Rita Drouin, with collaboration of the women of Kipawa *Algonquin Women anecdotes* (Temiscamingue: R. Drouin, 1989?) p 34-36

<sup>189</sup> RG10 v 1986 f 5054 Oka August 9<sup>th</sup> 1908

<sup>190</sup> Frank Speck, "Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the of the River Desert Algonquin" In *Indian Notes* v.6 no 2 April 1929 p 109

<sup>191</sup> RG10 v 2778 file 156,074 From Michael A. Jacobs Oka November 16<sup>th</sup> 1897

<sup>192</sup> RG10 v. 6816 file 486-2-8 pt 1. Several letters in the file show Indian Agents complaining of 'immoral unions' happening outside the church. What particularly bothered the agents is the Department told them that because of the

The idea that Mohawks, intermarried with Algonquins and Nipissing casts doubt on another of McLean's observations: that Algonquins and Mohawks could not speak to each other. He wrote: "with few exceptions, [they] cannot converse together, the language of the one being unintelligible to the other."<sup>193</sup> Black interprets the statement optimistically, pointing out that 'few exceptions' means that some individuals did speak both languages. She adds that intermarriage may have led to bilingualism.<sup>194</sup> Mohawks and Algonquins were also inter-marrying with the French, which creates another possible language of communication.<sup>195</sup> The Sulpicians at Lake of Two Mountains and the Jesuits at Kahnawake and Akwesasne were also teaching French, although they had trouble keeping their students in school.<sup>196</sup> In 1807, the Mohawks of Kahnawake used a French translator to argue their land claim before Lord Castlereagh.<sup>197</sup> In 1877, (the later Hon.) John J. McLaren, taught 15 French-speaking Mohawks, accused of firing a cannon at the Sulpician church, to speak English so they could have their case heard before a more sympathetic jury.<sup>198</sup> Still, the possibility of French as a language of communication should not be over-stated. The Methodist minister Armand Parent who preached for the Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains in the 1870s noted that his sermons had to be translated into Mohawk because many could not speak French.<sup>199</sup> Finally, interaction with the Hudson's Bay Company would have introduced the English language. Evidence suggests that by the 1800s, more than a few Indians at Lake of Two

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1867 case of Connolly vs. Woolwich which gave custom marriages legal standing the department could not prevent the unions. Intermarriage is not mentioned, but the letters show that it was possible since custom marriages continued.

<sup>193</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 12

<sup>194</sup> M. Jean Black, "A Tale of Two Ethnicities" p 4

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid* p 3

<sup>196</sup> Beta (psued.), *A contribution to the proper understanding of the Oka question and a help to its equitable and speedy settlement* (Montreal: s.n., 1879) p 45-49; and *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1886) p 23; (1887) p 29; (1888) p 311; (1889) p 32

<sup>197</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 31

<sup>198</sup> Albert R. Hassard, "When the Oka Seminary went up in flames" in *Famous Canadian Trials* (Toronto: Carswell Company Limited, 1924) p 106-123

<sup>199</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 63

Mountains could speak a European tongue. McLean had guides who spoke English.<sup>200</sup> Joseph Onasakenrat, who'd studied at the college in Montreal, spoke and read French fluently.<sup>201</sup> Papigosh, the Algonquin-Mohawk steamboat driver was tri-lingual, speaking Algonquin, French and English.<sup>202</sup> John Murphy, a Scott, who worked at Deschenes in the 1820s for traders John McGillvray and Ithimar Day, recalled that he sometimes had to translate between Algonquins and Mohawks who met at the rapids, but added: "they could not understand each other as a general thing, but had more or less a smattering of English and French."<sup>203</sup>

By the 1800s, a sense of social community developed among the three nations at Lake of Two Mountains. Every spring when the Algonquin and Nipissing hunters returned from their hunt, they celebrated with the Mohawks, McLean observed:

That period to them was a continued carnival... After mass on Sunday, they played ball and ran foot races.... They took opposite sides in the games, small stakes were allowed merely to create an interest in the issue of the contest. The chiefs of both tribes sat smoking their pipes together, viewing the sports in silent gravity and acting as empires in cases of doubt between parties. They in fact led a glorious life during the three months they remained at the village....<sup>204</sup>

He added that after the hunters departed in August: "a death-like stillness prevailed, where but only a few days before all was activity and bustle and animation."<sup>205</sup> John Murphy witnessed a similar celebration every spring when Algonquin and Nipissing hunters heading for Lake of Two Mountains met Kahnawake voyageurs at the Deschenes rapids, and held a weeklong celebration. He described Algonquin hunters and Mohawk voyageurs competing in foot races. (Murphy bragged

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<sup>200</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 82

<sup>201</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 45

<sup>202</sup> Rita Drouin, with collaboration of the women of Kipawa *Algonquin Women anecdotes* (Temiscamingue: R. Drouin, 1989?) p 34-36

<sup>203</sup> "Our oldest inhabitants" *Ottawa Daily Free Press* Friday November 15<sup>th</sup> 1878

<sup>204</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 14-15

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid* p 14-15

that they called him Kejakahatauge or swift runner, because he could best any 'red man.')<sup>206</sup>

Murphy described:

In the evenings, they lit a log fire, the women asking the clerks at the store to tuck their babies away inside. They'd collect them the next morning. Often as many as a dozen babies stayed inside the store. They'd spend the evening dancing and singing while a drummer used a kettle or tin pan.... As soon as the couple in the middle of the arena would get tired out, two more of the party would take their place and so go on for hours and hours, all the while getting merrier and merrier, through the influence of rum until drunken and fagged out, one by one they would slope away in the early morning hours to their wigwams or double up in some quiet place and sleep off the effects of the liquor.<sup>207</sup>

MacLean observed other gatherings along the Ottawa. For example, in 1821-22, he described parties held at the Chats Post. Unfortunately, he provided few details.<sup>208</sup>

The three nations also mixed business with pleasure, as their kinship ties, through intermarriage or friendship, transferred into the economy of the fur trade. Sylvia Van Kirk<sup>209</sup> and Jennifer S.H. Brown<sup>210</sup> have demonstrated how kinship ties worked in the western trade. In the eastern trade, HBC man John McLean often noted that earning a hunter's respect was crucial to trading. McLean vividly described the HBC men and petty traders rushing to the shore to greet hunters as they arrived by canoe on spring evenings. Servants unpacked their luggage, kindled a fire and cooked a meal, while the traders pressed around the hunters: "to persuade them of the superior claims each had on his love and gratitude."<sup>211</sup> Before unpacking their furs, or committing to trade, the hunters visited each house, enjoying whatever hospitality the home could offer.<sup>212</sup> For nine years, McLean also apprenticed at various posts along the Ottawa River.<sup>213</sup> Up until the 1840s, the HBC maintained inland posts to secure as many furs as possible before the Indians

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<sup>206</sup> "Our oldest inhabitants" *Ottawa Daily Free Press* Friday November 15<sup>th</sup> 1878

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>208</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 20-21

<sup>209</sup> Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983)

<sup>210</sup> Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in the Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980)

<sup>211</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 13-14

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid* pxiii

reached the highly competitive Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>214</sup> (After 1840, Bytown gave American traders a cheap back door into the inland trade.<sup>215</sup>) The HBC tried to secure first dibs on a hunter's furs by supplying the hunter on credit in the fall, and insisting the hunter repay the debt, in furs, in the spring. The credit system rarely worked for McLean, as hunters reacted haughtily to any reminder of their debt. McLean said it was necessary to use "suppliant tones" and still the hunter would usually defer the debt to a future day.<sup>216</sup> McLean added: "If your opponent is present you do not dare open your lips in objection to the delay, for you may offend his [ the hunter's] dignity and consequently lose all his furs." <sup>217</sup>

The respect hunters demanded meant that traders with family or friendship ties had an advantage in the trade, and the HBC knew it. One group of Mohawks managed to out-trade McLean on two occasions while he worked the interior posts. The Mohawks had set up a petty opposition - a logical move, since the HBC only hired Indians seasonally, making it nearly impossible for Indians to climb to management positions in the company.<sup>218</sup> McLean left his post at the Chats in the 1820s to 'trip' to a nearby Algonquin village. The Mohawk traders beat him to the site. What stunned McLean was that the hunters had not held back a portion of their hunt, which was the custom: "The Iroquois had not only secured all the Indians furs, but had so completely ingratiated themselves with them that we were scarcely noticed." <sup>219</sup> McLean pointed out that at least one of the hunters owed him a heavy debt.<sup>220</sup> He saw the Mohawks again a few days later at a second village: "they had several parcels of beaver which they took no pains to conceal from

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<sup>214</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming* p 54

<sup>215</sup> Ibid See also Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown and the Fur Trade* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1991) p 3

<sup>216</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 52

<sup>217</sup> Ibid

<sup>218</sup> Arthur Ray, in Powley p 147

<sup>219</sup> John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service* p 58

<sup>220</sup> Ibid p 70-72

me.”<sup>221</sup> In the spring of 1822 or 1823, McLean spied the traders traveling upriver with 18 packs of furs, valued at 60 pounds each.<sup>222</sup>

In 1824, James Cameron of Fort Timiscaming visited Montreal and heard from some Mohawk voyageurs that group of their kin were trading at Timiscaming to test the profits. If the profits were good, they'd return with a larger group the following year. Cameron reported the rumour to his superiors. The HBC prized the furs that came from the Timiscaming region, and took any threat to their monopoly in the region seriously. In response to the rumours, the London Committee shifted the route they used to supply Timiscaming, so that goods would travel from Fort Moose rather than Montreal. The maneuver meant they could cut their use of Mohawk voyageurs.<sup>223</sup> By 1858, the HBC had stopped using Mohawks to run supplies to Timiscaming<sup>224</sup> and fought with Lower Canada to keep Mohawks out of the region. They had varying degrees of success over the years.<sup>225</sup>

What worked for the Mohawks traders also worked for one group of Nipissing traders. Michael L'Aigle, a.k.a Dukis, left the HBC and joined forces with four other Nipissing. They set up a competition at the head of the French River in 1845. The HBC tried to lure him back into their service several times but he refused. Dukis operated until 1867 when he went out of business competing with the Matchewan Post. The point where he settled is just east of the mouth of the Sturgeon River, and is known as Dukis point. <sup>226</sup>

Of course, there was another group, closely related to the three nations, who connected with their kin in the fur trade. During the 1800s Montreal fur trade families formed communities along the Ottawa River, up the Mattawa into James Bay, and down the St. Lawrence to the Great

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid p 73

<sup>222</sup> Ibid p 77

<sup>223</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming* p 140

<sup>224</sup> Ibid p 203

<sup>225</sup> Ibid p 157

<sup>226</sup> Ibid p 222

Lakes region.<sup>227</sup> Olive Dickason argues eastern marriages worked much like those in the west. A trader chose a woman, that suited his liking, to dress his pelts and sell his merchandise for a specified length of time and negotiated the terms with her father. Dickason says Indians did not expect the marriages to be permanent,<sup>228</sup> although one mixed-blood man upset his estranged father's will in an 1869 legal case, that gave custom marriages some legal standing.<sup>229</sup> Other traders married their Indian wives in church ceremonies, like former HBC man, David Thompson, who married Charlotte Small at the Presbyterian Church on Gabriel Street in Montreal. HBC man James Halcro also married his Indian wife Catherine at the same church in 1813, before settling in Vaudreuil.<sup>230</sup>

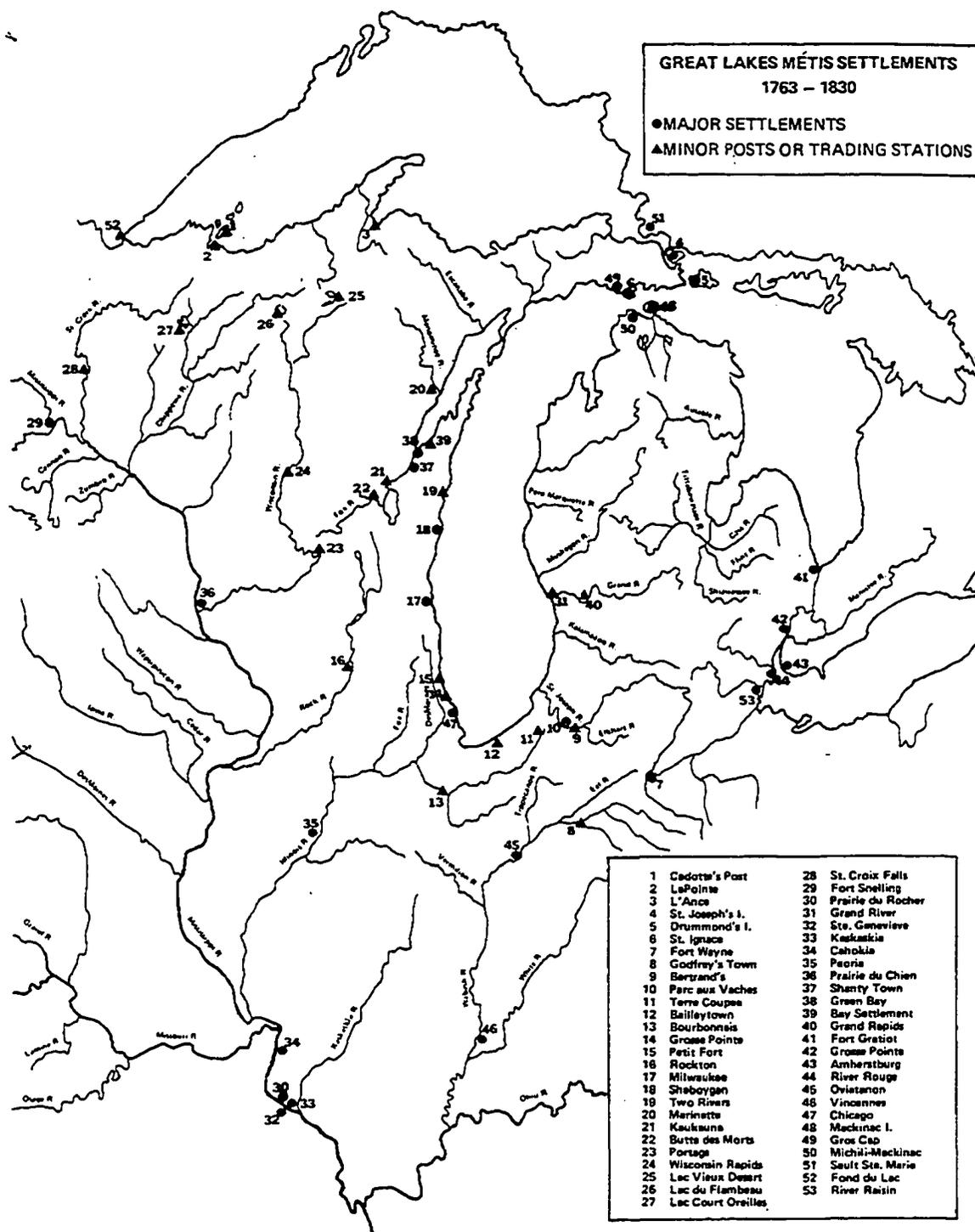
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<sup>227</sup> Tony Belcourt, in Powley p 51; Jacqueline Peterson "Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815" In Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. Brown [eds.] *The New Peoples Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (University of Manitoba Press, 1985)

<sup>228</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, "From 'One Nation' in the Northeast to 'New Nation' in the Northwest: A look at the emergence of the métis" In Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. Brown [eds.] *The New Peoples Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (University of Manitoba Press, 1985) p 24

<sup>229</sup> Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada, Citizens Minus* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1978) p 17, see also Stewart Wallace, *The Peddlers from Quebec* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954) pp 68-69; see also letters from Indian agents in RG10 v. 6816 file 486-2-8 pt 1 that custom marriages persisted and the Department's interpretation of the Connolly vs Woolrich case.

<sup>230</sup> Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Diverging Identities: The Presbyterian Métis of St. Gabriel Street" In Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. Brown [eds.] *The New Peoples Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (University of Manitoba Press, 1985) p 200-203



Map 1  
Great Lakes métis settlements, 1763–1830. (Map by Connie Peterson.)

8. Great Lakes métis settlements, 1763-1830. Source: Jacqueline Peterson "Many Roads to Red River: Métis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815" in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. Brown [eds.] *The New Peoples Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (University of Manitoba Press, 1985) p 44

Mixed-bloods with their family connections to Indian hunters were both a boon and a menace to the HBC. Unlike Indians, the HBC hired mixed-bloods on a year-round basis, and before the company merged with the North West Company (NWC) in 1821, mixed bloods could rise to management positions, as officers of the company. After the merger, advancement opportunities became rare.<sup>231</sup> Chief Trader John Siveright remarked mixed-bloods could out-trade the competition, and were more effective at quashing petty traders than Canadians.<sup>232</sup> The problem for the HBC was that men like Edward Seyer and Alexander McKay would work for the company for a season or two and then go into competition.<sup>233</sup> James Cameron of Fort Timiskaming wrote a long letter to Governor Simpson in 1835, ranting about the marriages and long-term relationships. He apparently did not object to short relationships that produced no children. Cameron told Simpson that Indian women had too much influence over their husbands, and interfered in business. His biggest objection however was that their half-breed sons would grow up to be the company's biggest threat.<sup>234</sup> Cameron wasn't the first to say so. In 1806, the NWC had passed a resolution forbidding officers from taking Indian wives, for precisely that reason. The penalty was a fine of 100 pounds - to be paid in cash. The NWC levied two such fines in 1809, but overall the rules seemed ineffective, considering the number of mixed-blood sons who appear in the records bearing their father's name.<sup>235</sup> According to Jacqueline Peterson about 10,000 mixed-bloods lived in the Great Lakes area at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>236</sup>

One of the intellectual problems in mixed-blood history is trying to determine how they felt about themselves, and how they related to Indian communities, outside the much-studied fur trade.

Some mixed-bloods clearly identified as Indians, or Europeans. Olive Patricia Dickason, Ruth

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<sup>231</sup> Ray in Powley p 151

<sup>232</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming* p 139

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid* p 158

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid* p 160

<sup>235</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming* p 160

<sup>236</sup> Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River" p 45

Swan and Edward A. Jerome argue treaty rights, and colonial pressures forced mixed-bloods in the east to assimilate rather than forge a separate identity.<sup>237</sup> Before the 1876 Indian Act imposed a narrow definition of Indians based on blood quantum and intermarriage, mixed-bloods were free to settle on reserves if they wished.<sup>238</sup> Amable and Angus McDougall, the mixed-blood sons of Nor'wester Alexander McDougall who once served at Fort Timiscaming, both married native women. Their children appeared in the Kitigan Zibi register in 1861, listed as Indians and hunters.<sup>239</sup> A group of mixed-bloods settled at Kahnawake in the 1880s, according to Indian Agent Cherrier.<sup>240</sup> The mixed-bloods who assimilated into the three nations probably identified with their peers and adopted their customs. In fact, by 1800 it would have been difficult to find many Indians who didn't have at least one European in their family tree. Many mixed-bloods, no doubt, assimilated into the French-Canadian culture. If Jacques Rousseau, the eminent Quebec biologist, is right forty per cent of French Canadians have an aboriginal ancestor.<sup>241</sup>

Still, during the 1800s other mixed-bloods began forging their own identity as a people, in a way that even outside observers could sense. For one, the federal government somehow managed to make the distinction. After the 1876 Act restricted certain mixed-bloods from claiming Indian status, many mixed-bloods remained on treaty lists. During the 1880's and 1890s, as stragglers continued to move onto reserves, the government spent more on treaty rights each year. By the 1880s, monies spent on treaty rights climbed to \$140,000 per year. In the House of Commons, the government had to admit to the opposition, that it had no idea when the bill would

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<sup>237</sup> Ruth Swan and Edward A. Jerome, "The Collin family at Thunderbay: A case study of Metissage" in David H. Pentland [ed] *Papers of the twenty-ninth Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1998) p 311-327, Olive Patricia Dickason, "From One nation"

<sup>238</sup> Rick Ponting, *Out of Irrelevance* pp 4-15

<sup>239</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown and the Fur Trade* p 14

<sup>240</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1881) p 12

<sup>241</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, "From One nation" p 19

stop climbing. No one had actually bothered to take a census of Indians.<sup>242</sup> When the Ojibwa of the Huron-Robinson treaty demanded an augmentation payment, officials discovered a number of mixed-bloods on the treaty list. To lower the cost of treaty payments they invented a non-transmission clause. Essentially, mixed-bloods on the list could continue to collect payments, but their children could not.<sup>243</sup> What's odd, and impossible to determine, is just how officials distinguished between Half-breeds and Indians after hundreds of years of intermarriage. As one observer, passing through Ontario and Quebec, remarked in 1895: "The red men of Ontario and Quebec are a hybrid race, many of them Halfbreeds, yet they are all classed together as Indians. There exist few pure-blood men in the provinces."<sup>244</sup>

Perhaps what the government discovered was the sense of identity and cultural differences that separated half-breed Indians from mixed-bloods. Ethnographer Johann Kohl separated the two identities when he visited a mixed-blood family in Sault Ste. Marie during the 1850s.<sup>245</sup> The word *métis* was not used in New France, but mixed-bloods called themselves: 'bois brûlés' and Chicot (after the half-burnt stumps used in girdled farming), Apeytogosan (people who take care of themselves) or Nahio (of the people). The Cree word for the mixed-bloods was Otay-pym-sewak 'People who lived over there on their own' while other groups called the mixed-bloods Freeman, Voyageurs, Halfbreeds or Canadiens<sup>246</sup> Historians Arthur Ray, Jacqueline Peterson, and linguist Peter Bakker argue mixed-bloods expressed a distinct identity through language and culture. An early strain of Michif, a mix of Ojibwa and French, which may be the language the

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<sup>242</sup> Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* p 37-38

<sup>243</sup> Victor Lytwyn, in Ontario Court, (Provincial Division) Her Majesty the Queen against Steve Powley and Roddy C. Powley. "Excerpts from Trial" (Saulte Ste. Marie: April 30<sup>th</sup> and May 1 and 4," 1998) No. 999 93 3220 v 3 p 86-89

<sup>244</sup> John Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk; the native tribes of Canada* (Toronto: Briggs, 1896) p 296-297

<sup>245</sup> Arthur Ray in Powley v 2, p 184

<sup>246</sup> Tony Belcourt in Ontario Court, (Provincial Division) Her Majesty the Queen against Steve Powley and Roddy C. Powley. "Excerpts from Trial" (Saulte Ste. Marie: April 30<sup>th</sup> and May 1 and 4," 1998) No. 999 93 3220 v. 1, p 43; RCAP v 2 p 148; Dickason "From One Nation" pp 21-23; John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five years service*

French called 'braillais,' had developed north of the Great Lakes region, by the 1800s.<sup>247</sup> By then, the 'sash', an adaptation of the Haudenosaunee burden strap, was a well-established tradition.<sup>248</sup> Trader Alexander MacKenzie described voyageurs using the burden straps along the portages of the Ottawa River in the early decades.<sup>249</sup> Blue-blanket coats, flags bearing the infinity symbol (with a red background if the family allied with the NWC, blue for the HBC) and songs that mixed music in a particular fashion separated these mixed-bloods from their Indian cousins.<sup>250</sup>

Many of the mixed blood communities that emerged had family and kinship ties to the nations at Lake of Two Mountains. Alexander MacKenzie was born to a halfbreed woman, Mary Traversy at Trois Rivières, Quebec. At the age of four, his father took him to Scotland where he lived for 15 years before enlisting in the HBC service. In 1875, he married a woman named Elizabeth at Battle River. In 1888, he retired to take up farming. He along with four of his five children applied for scrip in the 1890s.<sup>251</sup> Mohawk voyageurs married into mixed blood communities at the Saulte and beyond.<sup>252</sup> Jacques du La Rondell's mixed-blood daughter married a son of Joseph Belcourt, a Mohawk from Kahnawake. She took scrip and settled at Lac Ste. Anne in 1887. One of their descendants, Tony Belcourt, born in 1943, would grow up in the Métis community at Ste. Anne. He moved to Ontario in the 1980s to become the president of the Métis Nation of Ontario.<sup>253</sup> When the NWC was divested, in the 1820s, about 15 % of its employees were fur trade families and they retired to Red River, which the HBC had set aside for them as a

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<sup>247</sup> Peter Bakker, "The Ojibwa element in Michif" in ed William Cowan *Papers of the Twenty-Second Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University) p 11-13, 19

<sup>248</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 143

<sup>249</sup> Alexander MacKenzie, *Voyages from Montreal* pp xxx

<sup>250</sup> Annette Chrétien, "Mattawa, Where the Waters Meet." Unpublished Masters Thesis Ottawa University, 1996; Tony Belcourt in Powley v. 1, p 44, p 52; Ray in Ibid v. 2, p 180; *RCAP Volume Two: Restructuring the Relationship: Part One* p 150

<sup>251</sup> RG15 Interior Series, D-11-8-C v 1357 Scrip application.

<sup>252</sup> *RCAP* volume Two Part One p 150; Arthur Ray in Powley v 2 p 196, pp 145-146, p 238

<sup>253</sup> Tony Belcourt in Powley v 1 p 21-27

retirement community of sorts.<sup>254</sup> Genealogical charts show a number of the families originated in Lower Canada (Quebec).<sup>255</sup>

Outside the fur trade, no one has studied the relationship of mixed-bloods to Indian nations in the Ottawa Valley. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this paper to do more than make a few observations. The mixed-blood community at Sault Ste. Marie appeared to have a land sharing arrangement for their farms and hunting territories with their Ojibwa neighbours. During the negotiations of the Robinson-Huron Treaty in 1850, the two Ojibwa chiefs argued that the mixed-bloods should be included in the treaty. They did so at the request of a council of mixed-blood men. The Ojibwa and mixed-bloods also co-operated in the occupation of a mine at Mica bay in 1849.<sup>256</sup> The actions seem to suggest that, at least in that region, the communities worked together on matters of joint interest. In other areas, relationships appeared to be less pleasant. Indian Agent, Cherrier blamed tensions between the mixed-bloods and Mohawks at Kahnawake for the burning of a barn in 1880.<sup>257</sup> The Mohawks evicted the mixed-bloods from Kahnawake in the 1930s.<sup>258</sup> Likewise, in Ontario, the Chippewa of the Thames tried to have mixed-blood children with a white or coloured parent exiled from their reserve, leading Indian Agent McDougall to wryly note that: "If none but original full-blooded Chippewas were to be counted as members of the Chippewa of the Thames band, I doubt if there is fifty on the reserve."<sup>259</sup> Upriver from Lake of Two Mountains, a

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<sup>254</sup> Arthur Ray in Powley v 2 p 151

<sup>255</sup> D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, *Genealogy of the First Métis Nation The development and dispersal of the Red river Settlement, 1820-1900* (Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, 1983);

<sup>256</sup> Tony in Powley v 2 p 39; RCAP Volume Two Part One p 150

<sup>257</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1881) p 12

<sup>258</sup> Accession 1968-140 Reproduction PA-107978, Photo from *The Montreal Gazette*, "Family in front of shack on Caughnawaga Reserve after being evicted and returning" 1939; also Accession 1968-140 Reproduction Photo from the *Montreal Gazette*, "White and half-breed children being fed by Red Cross after being evicted from Caughnawaga Reserve."

<sup>259</sup> RG10 v 2897 file 183, 056 Letter Indian Office Melbourne February 25<sup>th</sup> 1897.

mixed blood community grew at Mattawa.<sup>260</sup> That they interacted with the three nations is certain, but the nature of that relationship is a matter for further study.

Wright glimpsed this complicated little network of peoples in 1800, and it surrounded him for more than twenty years. The Indian who guided him, whose name Wright never recorded, was likely a Weskarini from Lake of Two Mountains making a last hunt before the fur-bearing game began molting. The Indian sugaring village was likely a group of Kichesippirini, who would have lived in the village for the two months maples provide the proper sap for sugaring. The two chiefs of the two nations of Lake of Two Mountains were probably the Algonquin and Nipissing chief, who acted as spokesmen for their peoples and the land. The translator was a trader who'd married into one of the bands. Wright's assertion that the Indians had ceded the land came from the Indian Department who were, of course, wrong. The chiefs expressed concern over logging and hunting, because they knew from their Mohawk neighbours how settlers had changed the St. Lawrence Valley.

Perhaps more importantly, Wright had not met solitary individuals, or a secluded village, but the fringe of a self-governing community of nations which had been a few hundred years in the making. McLean's journal describing the village has been an invaluable historic source, but he seems to have erred in some of his observations. According to McLean, Mohawks and Algonquins rarely interacted and rarely intermarried. This led historians to believe that the two nations had a cool relationship at best, until recently. In the last decade, Black and Lytwyn have begun re-examining the relationships between the nations. Black for example discovered through marriage registries that Algonquins married Mohawks at least as frequently as they married their old allies, the Nipissing. While McLean's journal remains valuable, it must be read with caution as his understanding of the village appears to have been limited. For example, he believed there were

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<sup>260</sup> Annette Chrétien, "Mattawa, Where the Waters Meet." Unpublished Masters Thesis Ottawa University, 1996

only two Nations at the village, Mohawks and Algonquins. Some of his observations are also contradictory. For example, after concluding the two nations rarely interacted, he described a two-month long festival that reoccurred every year when the Algonquins and Nipissing lived at the village.

Up until 1900 the nations shared economic agreements, kinship ties, political alliances and social activities that played out not only at Lake of Two Mountains but through the Ottawa Valley as they migrated. One gathering place lay on the north shore of the Ottawa, near Wrights settlement, across the river from the Bytown. That community, which became known as La reserve de Hull, also demonstrates how the Community of Nations adapted to a series of changes in immigration, the economy, and political power over the land.

**Chapter 2**  
**Ottawa-Gatineau's Itinerant Indians:**  
**Hunters, Shantymen and La reserve de Hull**

From 1900 to 1910, Wright's village on the Ottawa remained an anomaly. Few settlers moved past the five seigneuries near the junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers.<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa Valley was still Indian country, home to the community of Algonquin and Nipissing hunters, a handful of traders who bartered for their furs, and mixed-bloods and Mohawks who worked as voyageurs. Algonquin hunters from the



9. Indian Camp at Falls, Quebec, 1846-72  
Oil on canvas by Cornelius Krieghoff.  
LAC Acc: 1989-508-1, Rep: C-010693

Kichesippirini, Kipawa and Demoines (Turn back the Lake People) bands had hunting grounds near Wright, along the north and south shores of the Chaudière Falls, and along the southern portion of the Gatineau.<sup>2</sup> Some, who traveled to Lake of Two Mountains rested at Victoria Island, or made tobacco offerings to Spirits at Falls, for even the christianized Indians had not entirely given up on the old ways.<sup>3</sup>

Briefly, from the HBC-NWC merger in 1821, until the building of the Rideau Canal from 1826 to 1832, the HBC enjoyed a near monopoly on the Ottawa River trade. However, Wright's village on the north shore shut the HBC out from the Chaudière Falls area. The HBC had stable posts at Maniwaki, Lac Des Allumettes (Arnprior) and Lake of Two Mountains. The posts nearest to the Chaudière were Chats Falls and Lac Des Sables (Buckingham).<sup>4</sup> Few petty traders ventured

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<sup>1</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*, p 12

<sup>2</sup> Frank Speck, "Boundaries and Hunting Groups of the River Desert Algonquin" p 101; and "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life" p 10-11

<sup>3</sup> John McLean, *Some notes on a Twenty-five year service*, p 108

<sup>4</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown*, p 1-2

upriver, unable to compete with the HBC or to afford the expense of running supplies upriver from Montreal.<sup>5</sup> Before 1829, only Ithimar Day, an old NWC man, and his partner Murdoch McGillvray, managed a post near Wright. In 1821, they bought Lot 15 in the Hull Township, and established a post where Indians traveling to Lake of Two Mountains portaged around the Deschenes rapids.<sup>6</sup>

As for Wright, by 1806 his little farming community was failing. He'd dug about \$20,000 out of his purse and

poured it into infrastructure, but he soon realized that he needed to make the land pay or go broke.<sup>7</sup> In 1800, he'd told the two Indian chiefs from Lake of Two Mountains that he had no intention of lumbering, and according to historian Bruce Elliott, Wright meant it at the time.<sup>8</sup> Six years later, thrift forced Wright to change his mind. He built a raft of square timber and sailed it down the Ottawa to markets in Quebec City. He arrived late and didn't get his price. Still, the Napoleonic wars had created a demand for colonial timber - Napoleon had blocked the British from their usual timber suppliers in the Baltic,<sup>9</sup> and, in 1809, Britain raised the tariffs on foreign timber, letting only colonial wood in tax-free.<sup>10</sup> Wright's venture took off. In 1819, 300,000 tons of timber left Canada for Britain.<sup>11</sup> Newcomers interested in farming or timbering joined Wright on the north shore. By the 1820s, Wright's settlement numbered about 1000, with about 1000 other settlers



**10. A view of the Mill and the Tavern of Philemon Wright, 1823**

By Henry Duvernet. Gouache/wove paper  
LAC Accession: 1989-402 -1  
Reproduction: C-000608

<sup>5</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming*, p 143

<sup>6</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown*, p 9

<sup>7</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, p 126

<sup>8</sup> Bruce Elliott, "The Famous Township of Hull: Image and Aspirations of a Pioneer Quebec Community" in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* v. XII no 25 (University of Ottawa Press, 1979)

<sup>9</sup> R. Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* (Historical Society of Ottawa, 1985) Bytown Pamphlet Series no 14 p 1

<sup>10</sup> Jean Black, *Ethnobotany* p 8

<sup>11</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, pp 126-127

forming satellites around him.<sup>12</sup> By 1840, Wright's modest farming community had morphed into a logging town.

In 1800, only three immigrant families lived across from Wright on the south shore. Cedar swamps made the land more valuable to beaver trappers than would-be farmers from across the ocean.<sup>13</sup> One of Wright's workers, an Irishman named Nicholas Sparks, purchased 120 acres of the slough, sight unseen. It is said that when he finally visited his land and saw what he'd purchased, he wept. <sup>14</sup> Fortunately, for Sparks, his investment appreciated. After the war of 1812, Britain wanted an alternate route between Montreal and Lake Ontario and a military presence on the south shore, in event of another U.S. invasion. They encouraged the 100<sup>th</sup> regiment, scheduled for demobilization, to settle Richmond Landing, near Jock River, 20 miles south of the Ottawa River. When military engineer Lt.-Colonel By ordered the swamps near the Chaudière drained for canal construction in 1827, many of the soldiers trekked back to the shores of the Ottawa, forming a community of Protestant gentility.<sup>15</sup> Canal construction brought labourers and land speculators, boosting the population from a dozen settlers to more than 100 by 1820, and 1000 by 1830. <sup>16</sup> A thousand more immigrants lived in the nearby townships of March, Richmond and Perth. <sup>17</sup> That meant that in the 1830s the immigrant population of the towns and their satellites almost matched the number of aboriginal people passing through. By the 1850s, the stable immigrant population in the towns had climbed to more than 15,000, finally, and permanently, outnumbering Indians and mixed-bloods in the region.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 30

<sup>13</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, pp 94 and 115; John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 11

<sup>14</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 35

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid* p 12

<sup>16</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, p 120, p 123; John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*, p 30

<sup>17</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*, p 14

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* p 43

Urban historian John Taylor points out that the towns had two populations. First, there was the fixed population of lumber barons, the retailers who supplied them, and a small group of professionals.<sup>19</sup> Urban histories tend to focus on this fixed population. Taylor's second and less studied population was an itinerating group who lived in Ottawa seasonally.<sup>20</sup> It is in this itinerant group that one finds an urban Indian community. As the towns grew, the 'community of nations' visited the towns to trade, to work for wages in the lumber industry. Many returned to their social and political centers outside the town's boundaries, while a few others stayed and staked out a small village on the north shore.

The town growing on the south shore, known as Bytown after 1827, became the preferred place of trade for hunters. The construction of the Rideau Canal, which began in 1826, boosted Bytown's population from a dozen immigrant families to 1000 by 1830. Taylor writes that the majority of the stable population in Bytown supplied the growing timber trade. By the 1840s, the town had 50 merchant shops, 7 storehouses, and a number of unlicensed taverns.<sup>21</sup> A byproduct of having this handy supply of retailers along the Ottawa River was that it halved the distance petty traders had to travel for goods.<sup>22</sup> Petty traders supplied themselves at Bytown, then traveled to the interior to trade. Before he became the mayor of Ottawa, Murdoch McGillvray's brother, Edward, supplemented his income by trading furs on the side.<sup>23</sup> In the 1830s HBC man John McLean of the At the Lac Des Sables post, found himself competing with the McGillvrays and McTavish and Thaine and Company.<sup>24</sup> From the 1830s until 1844, Gabriel Foubert and his wife supplied themselves at Bytown and ran a post at the Lièvre River. Likewise, the 'Fleuries' shipped supplies from Bytown to their Maniwaki post. The McConnell family on Aylmer road took over McGillvray

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid p 63

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa an Illustrated History*, p 25

<sup>22</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown*, p 1

<sup>23</sup> Ibid p 5

<sup>24</sup> John McLean, *Some notes on a Twenty-five years Service*, p 83

and Day's post at Deschenes in 1836.<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Andrew McPherson, (a.k.a. Marie Pineau Pineriokjiko) an Algonquin from Grand Lac, partnered with a Mohawk named Étienne. The duo supplied themselves at Bytown and traded along the Ottawa for at least a decade. She died and was buried in Aylmer in 1844.<sup>26</sup>

As for hunters, they preferred Bytown traders to the HBC for two reasons: higher prices and cash payments. The HBC preferred to trade in kind, meaning hunters disposed of their furs and picked through the available supply of goods, which might include cloth or pans, kettles and liquor.<sup>27</sup> HBC posts suffered when goods ran in short supply. In the 1830s when leather was scarce at Fort Timiscaming, the 'Head of the Lake People' frightened traders by threatening to make shoes out of their beaver pelts.<sup>28</sup> Trader John Siveright was wary of the introduction of flour into the trade, noting that once it became a staple, hunters would demand it.<sup>29</sup> Of course, poor weather, and low water could make goods equally scarce in Bytown where supplies arrived by steamer. In April 1837, there wasn't a single sack of flour for sale in town.<sup>30</sup> Still, as Siveright pointed out, hunters would travel good distances to get the goods they wanted, for the price they wanted, even bypassing Bytown to trade at Montreal.<sup>31</sup> By the 1830s, the HBC men had a terrible time trying to offer hunters anything but cash; records show instances of hunters flat out refusing to trade for goods.<sup>32</sup> In the words of Thomas Taylor, a clerk at the Des Sables post in 1845: "This confounded Bytown is the ruin of the trade of the place, nothing can be done here of any

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<sup>25</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown*, p 16

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* pp 9-10

<sup>27</sup> John McLean, *Some notes on a Twenty-five years Service* p 52; Elaine Allan Mitchell *Fort Tmiskaming*, p 159 Upper Canada tried to ban liquor in the trade in 1837, but without success.

<sup>28</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming*, p 134

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* p 191

<sup>30</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa an Illustrated History*, p 30

<sup>31</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming*, p 191

<sup>32</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown* p11

consequence now without cash to attain furs at all, we must have cash and we must also give them the price our opponents give them."<sup>33</sup>

At first traders, like the Fleuries supplied themselves at Bytown then traveled into the interior, trading for cash and re-selling Bytown goods at low prices.<sup>34</sup> By the 1840s, traders found they no longer had to travel. Hunters came to trade and shop in town. Those traveling east to Lake of Two Mountains had to pass by Bytown anyway and probably found it convenient. Moreover, cash flowed and there was usually a broader choice of goods than what the HBC could offer at its interior posts. At the Lac DesSables Post, Allan Cameron fretted over an American trader in Bytown who was offering \$6 cash for Prime Otters and \$1 for Martens. John McDougall, the clerk at the Chats Post kept track of two Yankee traders who were paying cash for beaver pelts in Bytown.<sup>35</sup>

By the 1840s, hunters' preference for Bytown meant the HBC was losing money on the Ottawa River trade. By 1850 they shut down posts at Chat's falls, Lake of Two Mountains, Maniwaki and Lac Des Sables, replacing them with small retail shops, leaving only Lac Des Allumettes and Fort Timiscaming operating until 1860 and 1902.<sup>36</sup> Governor Simpson built a house at the mouth of the Lièvre River, where he watched the Kichesippirini and Men of the Woods travel down the Ottawa or the Gatineau Rivers to Bytown.<sup>37</sup> There is no record that Algonquins or Nipissing influenced the renaming of Bytown in 1855, so perhaps it's only a trick of history that the town took the name 'Ottawa' which means 'a place to trade'.

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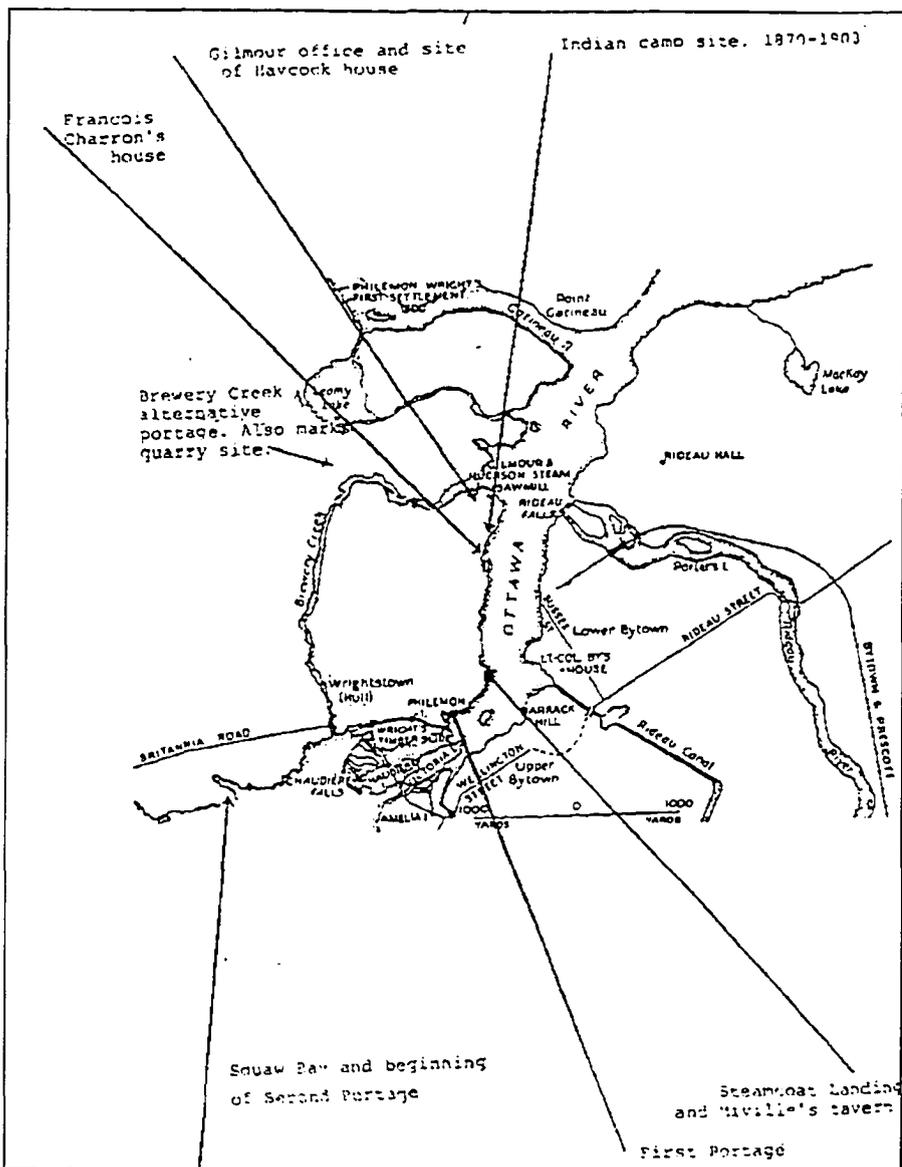
<sup>33</sup> As quoted in *Ibid* p 17

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid* p 10

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>36</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming* p 219; Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown* p 2

<sup>37</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown* p 18



11. Map of the Ottawa River as it flowed through Bytown.

Source: Michael Newton *Bytown* p 7

During the same period, 1800-1840, timber was replacing the fur trade as the core of the Ottawa Valley economy. Wright's 1806 venture had grown into a business. By 1816 he was already timbering a ways down the Rideau River. By 1826, when Colonel By arrived, Wright's cuts had thinned the trees where Parliament Hill now stands.<sup>38</sup> Other entrepreneurs joined Wright in the square-timber business. In 1837, Georges Hamilton obtained a license to cut along the Gatineau River, where his business operated from 1844 to 1888. In 1834, Tiberius Wright junior had a lumbering shanty near Maniwaki.<sup>39</sup> Ruggles Wright, RH Klock, Joseph Armand, Alan Gilmour, James Skead, Daniel McLachlin, Peter Ayles (half of whom were paying rent to the Algonquins and Nipissing) all had operations of varying size in the valley,<sup>40</sup> cutting an area one-and-a half times larger than PEI.<sup>41</sup> In 1838, timber and raw wood equaled 80 percent of the value of exports leaving upper and Lower Canada. By the 1840s, timber had replaced fur as the centre of the Ottawa Valley economy. In 1845, lumber barons harvested 18.2 million cubic feet of timber in Ontario and Quebec, and 70 percent of it sailed down the Ottawa.<sup>42</sup>

The growth of the timber industry created a paradox in the aboriginal economy. As timber barons cut large swatches through hunting territories, Indians needed wage labour. The Ottawa Valley economy thus forced hunters to work in the same industry that was destroying their hunting grounds. Timbering destroyed beaver meadows, and as beaver became scarce, trapping became more labour-intensive. When beaver become less populated, they do not move their dams closer together, so hunters had to travel farther in their territories to secure a lesser number of pelts.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, p 126-128

<sup>39</sup> Jean Black, *Ethnobotany*, p 20-21

<sup>40</sup> R. Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley timber Trade*, p 8

<sup>41</sup> J.W. Hughson and C.C.J. Bond, *Hurling down the pine 2<sup>nd</sup>*. Ed (revised) (Old Chelsea: Historical Society of Gatineau, 1965) p v

<sup>42</sup> R. Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley timber Trade* p 3

<sup>43</sup> John McLean, *Some Notes of a Twenty-five years Service* p 113

The loss of beaver affected the moose population, a staple in the local diet.<sup>44</sup> As beaver meadows disappeared, the moose who fed on long marshy grasses also grew scarce. As cutting moved north in the 1880s, other food and leather sources like deer became scarce as well.<sup>45</sup>

Hunters and trappers saw their standards of living fall. In 1819, McLean said Algonquin and Nipissing hunters had “the best fare the country afforded, the best attire that money could procure... every individual belonging to the tribe might have acquired an independent fortune.”<sup>46</sup> Twenty years later, their fortunes had changed. Constant Penence, the Grand chief of the Lake of Two Mountains Algonquins, whose name appears on most of the leases signed with lumber barons,<sup>47</sup> had hunting grounds at the height of the Rideau River. In 1829, Penence saw a notice advertising his hunting grounds for sale. By that point, timbering and encroachment by settlers had nearly ruined his land. Still he tried to stop the sale by filing a petition. His petition, like others, was ignored because the Crown believed the lands had been properly ceded.<sup>48</sup> HBC Trader John McLean observed that the Algonquins had lost the southern and western territories to settlers by 1832.<sup>49</sup> In 1847, Indian Agent James Hughs observed: “Great parts of their hunting grounds have been assumed by the government and laid out into townships; a vast extent has been taken possession of by squatters and the rest almost entirely ruined by lumbermen.”<sup>50</sup> By 1864, some Kichesipirini traveled more than 350 miles west of their base at Lake of Two Mountains to hunt, and said the cost of traveling ate away at their profits:<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1881) p 18

<sup>45</sup> Jacques Frenette, “Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg” p 74

<sup>46</sup> John McLean, *Some notes of a Twenty-five years Service* pp 14-15

<sup>47</sup> RG10 v 1965 file 5054 John Hamilton to E.A. Meredith 1873; in *Ibid* Audrey White Esq. July 18 1894

<sup>48</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time*, pp 88-92

<sup>49</sup> John McLean, *Some notes of a Twenty-five years Service* p 107

<sup>50</sup> Jacques Frenette, “Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg” p 74

<sup>51</sup> RG10 v 2401 file 83203, July 21 1864 to His Excellency the Right Honourable Charles Stanley Viscount Monck

...owing to that country having become thickly settled ... their old hunting grounds having been taken possession of and rendered useless there appears no prospect before them but that of starvation, misery and death.<sup>52</sup>

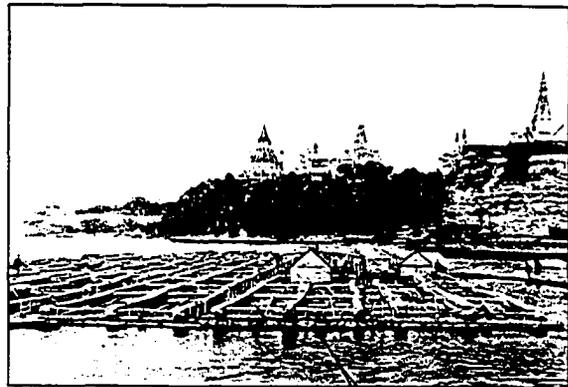
Having lost his hunting territory, Constance Penence joined 150 Kichesippirini and Nipissing families of who had relocated to the Madawaska River.<sup>53</sup> By 1876, he was a pauper and

dependant on his daughter for support. That year the local Indian Agent, George Rochester, wrote to the Indian Department and requested they pay Constance a small pension amounting to forty dollars a year. George was

the son of John Rochester, one of the 27 Americans credited with founding Bytown, and

the Mayor of Ottawa in 1870. Ironically, the senior Rochester had made his fortune by developing Penence's lost hunting territory.<sup>54</sup> In his essay on Indian labour in British Columbia, John Lutz argues Indians chose wage labour over traditional work, because it provided more wealth for gift-giving ceremonies like the potlatch.<sup>55</sup> The Ottawa Valley was different. Given the circumstances of the changing economy and its impact on the eco-system, it appears Indians had little choice.

Although the Ottawa Valley timber barons did little processing, the harvesting of timber was labour-intensive. Axe-men felled red and white pine, sawed off the tops and hacked the remainder into a square shape. Horses or oxen dragged the hewn logs, which averaged 60 feet in length, to the riverside. For a good part of the century, lumbermen assembled the logs into cribs,



**12. Timber Raft on the Ottawa River-1899 / Ottawa, Ont. (vicinity)**

LAC: ACCESSION 1978-092, REP: PA-144140

Credit: William James Topley

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> RG10 v 2401 f 83203 July 25-1868, and February 2 1888

<sup>54</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time* p 92

<sup>55</sup> John Lutz, "After the fur trade: the aboriginal labouring class of British Columbia, 1849-1890" in *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* v. 3, 1992. See also Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: 1977); and Rolph Knight, *Indians at Work*

bound the cribs into rafts with cooking enclosures, sails and oars. Rafts generally measured about 92,000 square feet. Lumbermen sailed the rafts downriver, stopping wherever rapids, waterfalls, or later timber slides barred the way. At several points along the Ottawa River, natural barriers forced lumbermen to stop, break the raft apart, tow the logs to the opposite side of the obstruction, then rebuild the raft.<sup>56</sup> According to Sandra J. Gillis, the industry employed 2000 men in 1829; 5,700 men a year in the 1840s.<sup>57</sup> Some historians have given put the number of men working in the lumber trade in Upper Canada at 8,000 in 1836, a number Ian Radforth believes is too high. Radforth estimates that 3,500 would be a more accurate count.<sup>58</sup> In 1849, Bytown boasted 54 boarder houses, lumber hotels, and shanties, all of which housed seasonal workers. Lumbering also employed voyageurs to carry supplies to remote lumber shanties. In 1850, voyageurs carried 29,000 barrels of pork as well as fodder for the horses and oxen from Bytown up the Gatineau.<sup>59</sup>

After 1850, the U.S. would take over as the major consumer of Canadian lumber. A building boom in the U.S. meant they needed rough sawn lumber, “with the emphasis on quantity not quality,” for railroads and putting floors and walls on New York buildings.<sup>60</sup> A Reciprocity Treaty with the US in 1854, let Canadian lumber in tax-free.<sup>61</sup> The sawn lumber business would slump as demand fell near the end of the century, before being damaged by the Hull fire of 1900. During this period, the work remained labour intensive, with the biggest technological changes being the appearance of sawmills, and, eventually, the replacement of canoe brigades with steamers and railways.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* pp 2- 5

<sup>57</sup> Sandra J. Gillis *The Timber Trade in the Ottawa Valley, 1806-54* (Parks Canada, DIAND, 1975) p 115

<sup>58</sup> Ian Radforth “The Shantymen” p 211

<sup>59</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa, an Illustrated History* p 25

<sup>60</sup> Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* p 2

<sup>61</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time* p 140

<sup>62</sup> Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* p 9-10

Many historians have described the lumberjacks, shanty men, voyageurs and rafters connected to the Bytown timber trade as sons as French farmers.<sup>63</sup> Sandra J. Gillis is more careful, but more vague, calling them “professional landless shanty men.”<sup>64</sup> More recently Ian Radforth wrote the lumbermen were a much more diverse group or French-Canadians, Irish, Scottish, Polish and aboriginal, although he notes aboriginal participation needs further study.<sup>65</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no numbers available to determine exactly what portion of the shantymen, lumberjacks and voyageurs were Indians or mixed-bloods. It is also difficult in to find Indians in the records kept by the lumberbarons, who didn't record ethnicity. French sounding names like Baptiste could equally be Indian, Métis or French. According to one record left behind by Wright, the Mohawks of Kahnawake had been involved from the start. By Wright's account, when his first crib hit the Long Sault Rapids in 1806, he hired men from Kahnawake to help him break apart and reassemble his cribs.<sup>66</sup> Other records offer further evidence of the extent to which Indians worked in the lumber trade. In the 1840s, Governor Simpson complained, and may have over-stated the case, that half the shanty-men were related to Indians and trading furs on the side.<sup>67</sup> In fact, he found himself visiting Bytown to barter for furs with shanty-men, who supplemented their income by trapping or who acted as middle-men between hunters and the HBC. <sup>68</sup> In 1864, seven Algonquin chiefs and a Mohawk chief living on the Madawaska River asked the department for a reserve to support 400 families, near the township of Lawrence noting that: “our friends the Lumber Merchants in the Ottawa have promised to rect [erect?] us a church to

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid p 4

<sup>64</sup> Sandra J. Gillis, *The Timber Trade* p 115

<sup>65</sup> Ian Radforth “The Shantymen” p 206

<sup>66</sup> Canada MG 24 D8 v. 136 Papers of Ruggles Wright: “An Account of the First Settlement of the Township of Hull on the Ottawa River Lower Canada, by Philemon Wright Esq.”

<sup>67</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Tmiskaming* p 137

<sup>68</sup> Michael Newton, *Some Notes on Bytown* p 18

aid us in our new settlement and to protect our rights should our prayers be accepted.”<sup>69</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, when Indian agents were appointed to manage and report on reserve economies, agents for Kanehsatake, Akwesasne and Kahnawake reported that farming remained a third industry behind hunting, and wage labour, the majority of men working as raftsmen, voyageurs and shanty men.<sup>70</sup> From 1850 to 1870, a few of these river men shifted into driving steamboats and ferries, which began replacing canoes as the mode of travel. Angus Oriwakennhen (1808-44) of Kahnawake was one of the first Mohawks to pilot a ferry.<sup>71</sup> It is said that when Angus' son Big John Canadian began driving steamboats down the St. Lawrence he liked nothing better than wear his traditional costume to thrill the tourists.<sup>72</sup> Jean-Baptiste Taiake Rice of Kahnawake piloted a side-wheeler near Montreal in the 1850s<sup>73</sup> and Stanislaus “Tanesse” Langevin, (Papigosh), an Algonquin-Mohawk drove stream boats up and down the Ottawa in the 1860s.<sup>74</sup> Only one report filed by Agent Brosseau at Kahnawake offers a figure. He estimated that about 300 men, (which was about half of Kahnawake’s adult male population) left to work in shanties in 1882-83.<sup>75</sup> The agent for the Maniwaki region, Charles Logue, noted that the two Algonquin bands in his region, ‘men of the woods’ and Kichesippirini had worked for lumbermen for some time by the 1880s.<sup>76</sup> In 1885 he reported:

So thoroughly do they understand operation in the woods that several of them have had contracts on their own account during the past winter, for taking out saw logs for Messrs. Gilmour and Company. The agent from that firm told me that those Indians attended closely to their duties and carried out their agreements in a very satisfactory manner.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> RG10 v 2401 f 83203, July 21 1864 to His Excellency the Right Honourable Charles Stanley Viscount Monck

<sup>70</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) p 27, and (1881) p 12

<sup>71</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake: A historical Sketch* (Kahnawake, Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Centre, 1980) p 10

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid* p 12

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid* p 101

<sup>74</sup> Rita Drouin et al., *Algonquin Women anecdotes* pp 34-36

<sup>75</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1883) p 21

<sup>76</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1881) p 18, (1883) p 11

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid* (1885) p 34

Indian and mixed blood shantymen shifted in between the fur trade and the timber trade, wherever wages were highest, because both industries were subject to booms and busts. For example, in 1814 Philemon Wright paid workers \$12 a month, the same men earned as little as \$6 per month in 1822. Wages rose back to \$12 per month in 1825.<sup>78</sup> A decline in the demand for beaver hats caused a temporary slump for the fur trade in 1846-47.<sup>79</sup> Amable and Angus McDougall, two mixed-blood brothers, worked for the HBC at the Lac Des Sables post until 1838, when they left to work for Philemon Wright and sons, canoeing provisions to shanty men.<sup>80</sup> In 1842, a trader at the Des Sables post noted that Indians he identified as the "Christeneaux" could not get supplies off McGillvray, who was operating in the red that year. They took work with Francois Naud, making saw logs for Hamilton and Low, instead. Francois Naud was the half-breed son-in-law of the 'man of the woods' trader Marie Pineau Pineriokijikoke.<sup>81</sup> Skilled Mohawk and mixed-blood canoeists also shifted between the industries. In April 1833, when trader McLean moved west, he traveled from LaChine to Hull by steamboat, then noted: "the traveler in those days was obliged to wait his passage by the canoes of the shantymen or hire a boat himself."<sup>82</sup> MacLean chose to hire three Montreal canoes at Hull, staffed by 'Canadians' (some of whom appear to have been mixed-bloods), and Mohawks.<sup>83</sup>

By the 1850s, Indians who traded or worked at Bytown had a village on the north shore of the Ottawa River in Hull. Mohawk historian Johnny Beauvais writes: "There was an Indian Community in those days, just behind the parliament buildings along the Ottawa River. The

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<sup>78</sup> Sandra J. Gillis, *The Timber Trade* p 121; For some records of boom and bust years in timber, see Forbes Hirsh, *The Ottawa Valley* p 5; John Taylor, *Ottawa, an Illustrated History* p 30

<sup>79</sup> Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Triskaming* p 192

<sup>80</sup> Michael Newton, *Some notes on Bytown*, p 14

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid* p 11

<sup>82</sup> John MacLean, *Some notes on a Twenty-five years Service*, p 115

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid* p 115

residents were from all over Canada, but mostly Algonquins from Maniwaki. [Kichesippirini]"<sup>84</sup>The Kichesippirini arrived seasonally by canoe to dispose of their hunts. From their camp they could paddle across the river, and dock at the wharf by the canal locks where Bytown traders set up a convenient cluster of shops to accommodate them. Edward McGillvray, Jacob Dennison, John Eduke, James Peacock and John O'Brien all had trading outlets along Sussex near George Street.<sup>85</sup> In the 1860s, some of the villagers passed the summer in Bytown, selling crafts such as moccasins, baskets, canes, and birch bark canoes on the Byward market.<sup>86</sup> Aside from the canes, the majority of these goods were women's crafts, or in the case of canoes involved a good measure of women's labour.<sup>87</sup> (In times of depression, especially the 1890s and 1930s women's craftwork supported household economies.)<sup>88</sup> In 1881, the Indian Agent for the Maniwaki region noted that moccasins fetched such good prices that women could "purchase all the necessities of life."<sup>89</sup>

Sometime in the 1860s or 1870s, a group of Mohawk families joined the village. In census taken at Lake of Two Mountains in 1873, the Indian Agent noted: "Depuis quelques annés un dizaine de familles Iroquois de lac des deux montagnes vivent (camper?) près de Hull au autour l'Ottawa"<sup>90</sup> The families settled on the hilltop property (now the Université de Hull)<sup>91</sup> which had been inherited by Tiberius Wright in 1939. Upon his death in 1841, the land was transferred to his daughter Nancy Louisa Scott, also the wife of Ottawa's first mayor, John Scott.<sup>92</sup> According to the

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<sup>84</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *Kahnawake: A Mohawk look at Canada*, p 77-78

<sup>85</sup> Michael Newton, *Some notes on Bytown*, p 18-19

<sup>86</sup> Lucien Brault, *Ottawa the Old and the New* (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Institute, 1949) p 39

<sup>87</sup> See David Gidmark, *Birchbark Canoe: Living among the Algonquins* (Firefly Books Ltd, 1997) and David Gidmark, *The Indian Crafts of William and Mary Commanda*. (Scarborough: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980.)

<sup>88</sup> Kanatakta, Director, Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center. in "Women's work." Producer Karyn Pugliese. InVision/APTN National News. April 2001

<sup>89</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, (1881) p 18

<sup>90</sup> RG10 v 1913 Reel C-11110 file 2567, Census at Oka 1873

<sup>91</sup> Interview Jean Larose, also the *Ottawa City Directory* 1899, p 537 lists Louis Jackson, Louis Eustache and Louis Laforce as living on the west side of Dalhousie (now Joliet)

<sup>92</sup> Diane Aldred, *The Aylmer Road: An illustrated history* (1994) p 78, p 86

1871 census the Mohawk families consisted of 22 adults and 24 children. For the most part, the villagers worked as wage labourers, although a few families had laid out farms. Ignace Anenbaushon claimed 40 acres of land, and had a barn and a shanty. Antoine Toronhiathe and his wife, Cecile Ratissenhaki had a hundred acres of land, while Louis Aagougou's family had two acres and two dwellings. Others in the community, like Louis LaForce and Orite Eustache were hunters, and trapped muskrat.<sup>93</sup> By that time, the seal population had diminished and dyers in Germany had perfected a dying method to convert muskrat into an imitation of seal skin, known as Hudson Bay Seal.<sup>94</sup> They also worked in the nearby lumber mills.<sup>95</sup> The census takers did not record the women's contribution to the household in the 1871 census, with one exception. Mearci, who lived with her 78-year-old father, Mearoa Annenharishon [sp?] worked as a hunter, and had 40 muskrat furs in her possession.<sup>96</sup>

What makes the history of the small village problematic is that it was in the town, but not of the town. The village was really a satellite of the 'community of nations' but especially, the Lake of Two Mountains group. As at Lake of Two Mountains, the town Indians did not form a uniform group. The history of the Algonquins and the Mohawks in the Hull village is interwoven, yet distinct, and inevitably linked to events that occurred back home.

At Lake of Two Mountains, in the 1850s, the Algonquin village was splintering under the pressures of settlement and the destruction of hunting territories. The Sulpicians had tired of ministering to Indians, and had stopped traveling to the interior to offer services as they had in past years. Plus they now charged Indians at home for services like marriage, baptism and

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<sup>93</sup> RG 31 1871 Census District #43 Subdistric Township of Hull b-4 p 62

<sup>94</sup> Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* p 61-62

<sup>95</sup> *Ottawa City Directory 1897-1898* (Ottawa: The might Company of Toronto Lmt.)

<sup>96</sup> RG 31 1871 Census District #43 Subdistric Township of Hull b-4 p 62

confession.<sup>97</sup> The Sulpicians turned their attention to French settlers, giving them Indian farms whenever the Indians were absent, and siding with the newcomers in the resulting land disputes. For a time the Algonquins and Nipissing allied with the Mohawks fighting for the land legally and, sometimes, physically.<sup>98</sup> The Algonquins even considered converting to Methodism, as their Mohawk brethren had, to secure allies among English Protestant Montrealers. The Algonquins met with Peter Jones at Lac Des Sauleaux. Jones was the Grand River Mohawk-turned-preacher, who had played a role in converting the Mohawks at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>99</sup> The Algonquins, however, chose to remain Catholic, and eventually allied with the Oblates in Bytown instead.<sup>100</sup> They'd likely met the Oblates while visiting Bytown to trade. A number of Indians and mixed-bloods married at the Notre Dame Cathedral in the 1830s.<sup>101</sup> At times, religion created factionalism and conflict between the Catholic and Methodist Indians at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, settlement throughout the Valley put pressure on hunting grounds, forcing hunters to travel further west to new, or subdivided, territories. The cost of traveling made it more convenient for Lake of Two Mountain Algonquins to stay at Timiscaming, Matawan, Fort William and Maniwaki.<sup>103</sup> In short, land hunger, poor hunting and worse neighbours pushed the Algonquins and Nipissing out of the village. Fewer made the yearly trek to Lake of Two Mountains in 1870s. In 1873, only 66 Algonquins and 33 Nipissing made the journey.<sup>104</sup> By 1880, only 25 Algonquins or four families still had homes there.<sup>105</sup> In 1894, the Nipissing numbered two or three families.<sup>106</sup> Lake of Two

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<sup>97</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 32

<sup>98</sup> Ibid p 63; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 320; RG10 v 2088, 13,496 John m.? Indian agent, Oka May 21 1879

<sup>99</sup> Sylvia DuVernet, *An Indian Odyssey* p 59

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. See also Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg" p 71

<sup>101</sup> Michael Newton, Some notes on Bytown, p 14

<sup>102</sup> RG10 v 3048 file 237, 660 To Sir September 27, 1901

<sup>103</sup> RG10 v 1913 file 2567 Census of Oka, 1873

<sup>104</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg" p 76

<sup>105</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) p 27

<sup>106</sup> RG10 v 2778 file 156, 074 Oka November 1894

Mountains' heyday as a gathering place, declined then ended. The last Algonquins left Lake of Two Mountains in 1918.<sup>107</sup>

As Lake of Two Mountains lost prominence, the Algonquins sought other gathering places, usually close to their hunting grounds. Paganowatik (also spelled Pakinawatik), a second chief for the Kichesippirini at Lake of Two Mountains, represented Kichesippirini families with hunting territories along the Gatineau River. In 1822 he and his brothers, Passenjewa and Pigiw laid out farms near the near the HBC trading post in Maniwaki.<sup>108</sup> About forty to sixty other families with hunting grounds in the area joined him, calling the community 'Kitigan Zibi' meaning 'Garden of farms.' With the help of Eugene Guiges, an Oblate missionary operating out of Bytown, they secured a 45, 750 acre reserve at Kitigan Zibi in 1853.<sup>109</sup> Poor soil meant that farming never replaced timbering and hunting as a dominant trade.<sup>110</sup> Another group of Two Mountains Kichesippirini, who had Nipissing families in their company, managed hunting territories further west. They petitioned for land at Pikwakanagan (Golden Lake) and obtained a reserve in 1870. The largest group of Nipissing secured a reserve near North Bay. Other Kichesippirini and Nipissing from Lake of Two Mountains remained landless. They formed non-reserve communities around Mattawa (the Antoine First Nation) and Sharbot Lake (which still exist today). Church registers dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century confirm these bands originated from Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Donald B. Smith, "The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France" in *Le sauvage* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974) p 131

<sup>108</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg" p 71; Pauline Joly de Lotbinière, "Of Wampums and Little People" pp 103

<sup>109</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg" p 75

<sup>110</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of India Affairs* (1883) p 26

<sup>111</sup> Joan M. Holmes, "Hidden Communities" p 140

Despite acquiring new land bases, few Algonquins actually settled on to the reserves in the 1800s. Only 75 men women and children had permanent homes at Pikwakanagan in 1883.<sup>112</sup> This small settled population called themselves 'inwez' meaning 'we who live here alone.'<sup>113</sup> Similarly, in 1873, the Indian agent listed 142 inhabitants of Kitigan Zibi as regulars, while 284 Algonquins lived there occasionally.<sup>114</sup> In 1883, only 47 dwellings stood on the reserve. In 1908-09, the Indian Agent estimated that of the 409 Indians who called Kitigan Zibi home, less than half had a fixed home on the reserve. Those who roved worked as hunters and trappers or took work in the lumber industry, with some families returning to the reserve only after long intervals.<sup>115</sup> For the most part, Pikwakanagan and Kitigan Zibi seem only to have replaced Lake of Two Mountains a summer gathering place. Out on the land, the rovers set up seasonal villages that were satellites to the two reserves. About 673 Algonquins associated with Pikwakanagan spend most of the year in Renfrew County during the 1880s.<sup>116</sup> Those who camped at the Hull village appear to have been associated with Kitigan Zibi.<sup>117</sup> Between 1850 and 1870, the Algonquin village in Hull shifted from being a satellite of Lake of Two Mountains to a satellite of Kitigan Zibi.

The exodus of Algonquins from the Hull village, around 1880, may be linked to the development of a local economy nearer the reserve, or perhaps, the disappearance of an economy in Ottawa. Lumber operations moved up the Gatineau bringing wage labour closer to the reserve. In the 1890s, the first fish and game clubs opened in the Maniwaki region, creating seasonal work for guides. Tourism also created a nearby market for crafts, which had previously been sold at the

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<sup>112</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of India Affairs* (1882) p 10

<sup>113</sup> Peter Hessel, *The Algonkin Nation* p 85

<sup>114</sup> RG10 v1913 Reel C-1110 file 2592 Census Maniwaki 1873

<sup>115</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of India Affairs* (1886) p 27; RG10 v 3048 file 237,660 Report on the Maniwaki Schools November 15, 1909.

<sup>116</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of India Affairs* (1883) p xix

<sup>117</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *A Mohawk Look at Canada* p 77-78; *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1881) p ix; (1882) p vi

Byward market in Bytown.<sup>118</sup> The 1870s was also the decade where a large group of Kichesippirini lost their hunting territories along the southern portion of the Gatineau River to settlement.<sup>119</sup> In 1873, about 80 men women and children relocated to Kitigan Zibi.<sup>120</sup> Historian Lucien Brault may have observed this migration, leading him to remark that the village was gone by 1875.<sup>121</sup> According the records of the Department of Indian Affairs, however, 66 Algonquins still lived in and around Hull in 1881 and 1882.<sup>122</sup> In 1883, their numbers waned. The Department knew of three Algonquins living in Hull, 5 in Hull City, 1 in Gatineau and 8 in Wright.<sup>123</sup> The numbers are only estimates, however, because, as the Indian agent pointed out, many families lived away from the reserve for long intervals making them difficult to track.<sup>124</sup> If wage-labour had attracted Algonquins to Ottawa-Hull, by the 1890s, a depressed wood industry gave them little reason to stay. In 1891, only 2,500 men in Ottawa worked in lumber, and the number of jobs fell that winter. That year lumberman and match-maker E.B. Eddy did not cut any logs. He'd only operated three months the previous year. The MacLaren Mill had employed 250 men in previous years, but employed only 50 workers in 1891.<sup>125</sup> Whether because of new jobs creation at home, or depression and lay-offs in the towns, Ottawa-Hull was no longer central to the Algonquin economy.

Much like the Algonquin village, the genesis of the Mohawk village in Hull seems to have been rooted in land hunger. About a dozen Mohawk families relocated to Hull from Lake of Two Mountains in the 1860s.<sup>126</sup> In 1880, the local Indian Agent remarked:

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<sup>118</sup> M. Jean Black, *Algonquin Ethnobotany* p 13

<sup>119</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg 78

<sup>120</sup> RG10 v 1913 file 2596 Census of Maniwaki, 1873

<sup>121</sup> Lucien Brault, *Ottawa the Old and the New* (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Info. Institute, 1949) p 39

<sup>122</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, (1881) p ix; also (1882) vi

<sup>123</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1883) p 185

<sup>124</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1886) p 416; (1887) p 303, similar numbers are found in subsequent years

<sup>125</sup> James McCrostier, *Being Poor in the winter of 1891* Bytown Pamphlet series no 57 (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1997) p 4-5

<sup>126</sup> RG10 v 1913 file 2567 Census of Oka, 1873

Many at Oka express a desire to settle down but subsist by roving, hunting shantying, making baskets and beadwork and snowshoes to sell in Toronto, Montreal and other cities. Men and women work together to support families. A small portion do well in crops from year to year but there is a land shortage and those who desire to settle are without lands.<sup>127</sup>

One of the Mohawk villagers in Hull, Cecile La Force (Louis' wife) approached the Department in 1895, saying she wanted to return to Two Mountains and owned 20 acres of farmland there, but had no proof or title. <sup>128</sup> One department official, Charles A Cooke, appeared to be sympathetic as he appealed to Superintendent Hayter Reed on her behalf. He wrote: "By securing her share...would thereby be able to relinquish the nomadic sort of life and would be on the other hand able to settle and engage in a more substantial livelihood."<sup>129</sup> Generally though, Department of Indian Affairs officials were reluctant to deal with off-reserve Indians, and even more hands-off when it came to acknowledging any Indian title on land claimed by the Sulpicians. <sup>130</sup>In the end, nothing came of Cecile LaForce's appeal for help. Instead, the Mohawk villagers continued to live on the land they staked out in Hull.

Unlike the Algonquins, most of the Mohawk residents appear to have lived in the village year-round, making them less a satellite of any particular group and more autonomous. At least three families had lived there permanently from 1860 to 1900. <sup>131</sup> In the few incidents where the community sought help, they appealed directly to the Department rather than through their chiefs at Lake of Two Mountains. For example, Cecile Laforce had appealed directly to the Department on her land question. Likewise, when smallpox hit 20 people in the community of in 1872, they appealed directly to the Department for a doctor. Despite the Department's reluctance to provide services to Indians living off-reserve, they paid Dr. Mulloch of Ottawa to tend to the ill. <sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> *Annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1880) p 33

<sup>128</sup> RG10 v 2802 f 160, 768 Indian Department Ottawa April 10<sup>th</sup> 1895

<sup>129</sup> RG10 v 2802 Reel C-112, 81 Indian Department Ottawa, Charles Cook to Hayter Reed April 10 1895

<sup>130</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason *Canada's First Nations* p 320

<sup>131</sup> RG10 v 3029 file 231,688 "To the secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, March 8<sup>th</sup> 1901.

<sup>132</sup> RG10 v 1860 file 138, Ottawa, April 23 1872 to the Honourable Secretary of State for the Province (Indian Branch)

Autonomy meant the Hull villagers acted independently, but in the sketchy details that are available, independence does not appear to have isolated them. In 1889, a group of high steelworkers from Kahnawake, hired by the Dominion Steel Company arrived in Hull to work on the union suspension bridge and visited the village.<sup>133</sup> One of the steelworkers, Frank Canadian (Big John's youngest son), met Elizabeth Thompson in the remnants of the Algonquin village, married her and settled in Hull.<sup>134</sup> Another Kahnawake Mohawk, Louis Jackson appears to have taken up residence in the community before the 1890s, making him the only Mohawk resident from a community other than Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>135</sup> Jackson is also an interesting character because he's somewhat of a prominent figure in Mohawk history. Jackson, was one of a dozen skilled canoe men from Kahnawake who traveled the Nile to relieve Khartoum in 1884-85. Upon his return, Jackson wrote a book about the adventure: *Our Caughnawagas in Egypt*.<sup>136</sup> Shortly afterwards, he was chosen as a clan chief at Kahnawake, and although he kept the position, he relocated to Hull.<sup>137</sup> Jackson may well be responsible for the appearance of the Mohawk language newspaper, *Onkweonwe: Aterientarajera naah ne Kasatstensera* (*Real People: Knowledge for Strength*) published in Ottawa in 1900. Whether or not Jackson was the man behind the venture, which failed after one issue, the appearance of the paper is noteworthy for another reason. It listed the Hull community among the other Mohawk reserves.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Lucien Brault, *Links between two cities: Historic bridges between Ottawa and Hull* (Ottawa/Hull: Ville de Hull, City of Ottawa, 1989) pp 16-17; The link to Kahnawake high steel workers is in *Onkweonwe: Aterientarajera naah ne Kasatstensera*

<sup>134</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *A Mohawk Look at Canada* pp 77-78

<sup>135</sup> RG10 v 2692 file 139822 Minutes of Council, 1893 mentions he has been living absent from the reserve. In RG10 v 3029 file 231,688, September 12 1902 RG10 v 3029 file 231,688, September 12 1902 Louis Jackson, Indian encampment Hull September 12<sup>th</sup> 1902, From Louis Jackson to Sir A Louis Jackson, lobbies the Indian Department from the encampment in Hull, and claims to have been resident there for some time. That the two Jacksons are one and the same is evidenced in *Onkweonwe: Aterientarajera naah ne Kasatstensera* 1900, that mentions Louis Jackson of Kahnawake is living in the area.

<sup>136</sup> Louis Jackson, *Our Caughnawagas in Egypt* (Montreal, 1885); See also Penny Petrone, *First Peoples, First Voices* (Toronto, 1983) pp 136-38

<sup>137</sup> RG10 v 2692 file 139822 Minutes of Council, 1893.

<sup>138</sup> *Onkweonwe: Aterientarajera naah ne Kasatstensera* (*Real People: Knowledge for Strength*) v.1, 1900

The Mohawk community disappeared in 1903, after a two-year court battle. In 1901, Mrs. Nancy Louisa Scott died, and divided her property between her daughter Janet Louisa, her granddaughter Lois Scott, and her son John Scott.<sup>139</sup> One of the heirs, referred to in the records only as Mrs. Scott of Hull, ordered the police to evict the Mohawk villagers. The police chief appears to have been somewhat flummoxed when the Mohawks told them the land was an Indian reserve.<sup>140</sup> Jackson and two other families, the Laforces and the Eustaches hired a lawyer, J.M. Dougall and took the matter to court, arguing that they had lived on the land for forty years and had made improvements.<sup>141</sup> They had documents from the Indian Department, dating back to 1872, to support their claims.<sup>142</sup> Unfortunately, the court testimonies, which might have provided more insight into the community, appear to have been lost in a fire. However, subsequent correspondence with Indian Affairs shows the families had to settle for status as squatters. Although the Mohawks may have believed they'd built a reserve, the truth was Indian Affairs had never given the Hull community reserve status. On April 15, 1903, the court ordered Mrs. Scott to pay the three families \$120.00 each in compensation, and evicted the villagers. The villagers removed their chattels<sup>143</sup> and disappeared without leaving a trace. Their names do not reappear on any of the Mohawk or Algonquin band lists, leaving the matter of where they went uncertain. With them, the last Indian 'ethnic neighbourhood' disappeared from the Ottawa-Gatineau region.

After some deliberation, it is not too surprising that Ottawa-Hull's first Indian village did not survive alongside the Irish catholic, French Catholic and English protestant blocs mapped out and nicely delineated in Taylor's *Ottawa: an Illustrated History* (1986). Urban Indian communities, urban reserves or Indian ethnic neighbourhoods, by any name, were not viable in the 1800s for a few

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<sup>139</sup> Diane Aldred, *The Aylmer Road* p 78, p 86

<sup>140</sup> RG10 v 3029 file 231,688 "to the secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, March 8<sup>th</sup> 1901.

<sup>141</sup> RG10 v 3029 file 231,688, September 12 1902 Louis Jackson, Indian encampment Hull September 12<sup>th</sup> 1902, to Sir

<sup>142</sup> RG10 v 3029 file 231, 688, Ottawa September 15, 1902 J. D. McLean to Mr. Louis Jackson

<sup>143</sup> RG10 v 3029 file 231,688, September 12 1902 Mr. J.M. Dougall, Hull Quebec March 2 1903

reasons. First, Indians did not qualify for the type of land grants offered to immigrants between 1868 and 1908.<sup>144</sup> The inability to obtain land, translated into an inability to vote in the era of the property franchise. Legally Indians could obtain these rights in pre-confederation Canada after the passage of the 1857 'Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian in this Province.' The act let Indian men who met certain intellectual and character requirements voluntarily cede the special rights or protections afforded to Indians in exchange for 50 acres of reserve land and a vote. Only one Indian is ever known to have volunteered for enfranchisement during the two decades the act existed: Elias Hill, of the Grand River Reserve, March, 1859.<sup>145</sup> Post-confederation Canada re-jigged its laws governing Indians to force enfranchisement after 1871. It is always possible that a few individuals may have slipped through the system and managed to hold property while remaining legally Indian, but individuals caught doing so would have faced a penalty of six months imprisonment.<sup>146</sup>

Still, the biggest reason why urban Indian villages failed in the 1800s was they were simply not welcome. Wherever an urban Indian community appears in the records, it is eventually pushed out by townfolk. In 1877, a Haida woman relocated from Victoria to an Indian village on Front Street in New Westminster, B.C., and shortly thereafter died of small pox. Mayor J.R. McInnis wrote to the Indian Department demanding they expel the villagers. Indian Superintendent James Leuitian replied that Indians living in the town were not the department's responsibility. He added: "as long as the Indians are within city limits they are under the control of City authorities and entitled to the same protection as other citizens." McInnis responded by exiling the family who had housed the deceased woman, and ordering authorities to burn the whole village to the ground. Apparently Leuitian did not consider this 'the same protection and rights' afforded other citizens. He

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<sup>144</sup> Joan M. Holmes, "Hidden Communities 140

<sup>145</sup> *RCAP* v 1 pp 146-147

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid* p 271

described the burning of the houses as “a most wanton act, as there was only one case and one house infected and the case of a very recent date.”<sup>147</sup>

Similarly, in the 1920s an Indian village was expelled from the town of New Glasgow, after the settlers complained it was a “menace”.<sup>148</sup> On the prairies, the Indian Department enlisted the help of the NWMP to enforce a pass system. The pass system forced Indians to get written permission from an Indian agent before leaving the reserve or to face arrest. In part the pass system aimed at keeping Indians away from settled areas – although, judging by the number of settlers complaining about poached cattle, the system appears to have been widely ineffective.<sup>149</sup>

The Indian Department realized early on that Indians and townfolk didn't mix. They frequently refused requests by Indians for reserves near towns.<sup>150</sup> As Hayter Reed noted in 1897:

This Department is not desirous of assisting to create Indian reserves in townships which will be opened up for settlement as its experience is that Indian settlements render the localities in which they are situated less attractive for settlement purposes than other localities in which there is no Indian population.<sup>151</sup>

The Community of Nations formed out of the fur trade, largely to stem the battle over wealth in the fur wars. While each nation retained autonomy, the Nipissing, Mohawks and Algonquins shared a sense of community that tied them together economically, socially and politically. Their community was a complex network of trade agreements, social gatherings, intermarriage and political alliances.

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<sup>147</sup> RG10 v 3641 file7557 Correspondence between the City of New Westminster and the Indian Department regarding liability for smallpox among the Indians in city limits. Letters dating January 29, 1877 to February 24 1877

<sup>148</sup> RG10 v 3222, file 541, 432 May 1 1920 to Secretary of Indian Affairs, and Ottawa June 9 1920 to Rev'd Sir:

<sup>149</sup> RG18 v 45 file 953-90, Extract from Superintendent Steels monthly report, Fort McLeod 1890; RG18 v 121 f 296 Commission of Indian Affairs to Comptroller, April 9 1896; RG18 v 45 file 953-90, Commissioners Office, August 30, 1890

<sup>150</sup> See for example, RG10 v 2130 file 25655, Petition from Algonquins at Oka for land on Rivière Rouge, Ottawa County, and the reply January 3 1881, To Sir. Among the reasons the Depart refuses to provide land along Rivière Rouge is that it is near a settled community. Also RG10 v. 2401 file 83203 Letters July 25, 1868 February 2 1888, October 9 1893, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1895, and Toronto August 19 1897. In this series Algonquins request land near towns and are refused.

<sup>151</sup> RG10 v 2401 file 83203 Toronto August 19 1897

As family groups moved throughout the valley, they carried those community ties with them. La Reserve de Hull was a satellite community that mimicked the relationship at Lake of Two Mountains. The community relationships continued even as the community's reason for being, the fur trade, faded. The impact of forestry on the fur trade forced hunters to travel farther distances, making the trek to Lake of Two Mountains impractical. Land hunger at Lake of Two Mountains made it a less serviceable gathering place. In this light, La reserve de Hull was not only an outgrowth of the community, but also an adaptation.

The appearance of La reserve de Hull also demonstrates the growing urbanization of the community. Indians came to prefer cash over barter, became accustomed to manufactured and imported products, new technology and wage labour. The Mohawks of Kahnawake and Akwesasne, who began to work en masse as high steel workers for the Dominion Bridge Company in the 1880s are often credited with building the steel skeleton of every noteworthy New York City building.<sup>152</sup> Their Algonquin peers provided the wood for the walls and the floors.

In the 1900s, Indians of the Ottawa Valley continued to migrate to towns for work, but not as part of a community migration pattern. That had been a custom of the Community of Nations, which was fading at the turn of the century. Instead, Indians trickled into town. Of course, Ottawa was a special town. It was home to the federalist Dominion government after Confederation. This meant that some Indians also trickled in to do business with the crown. These movements were the roots of two modern urban Indian communities.

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<sup>152</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *Kahnawake: A Mohawk Look at Canada* p 50; Maria Garcia, "Dance Honors Courage of the Steel workers" *Guide to Indian Country: Windspeaker Aboriginal Tourism Supplement*, June 2002; Connie Ann Kirk, *Sky walker* (New York: Lee & Low Books, 2004.)

**Chapter 3:**  
**Their 'pertinacity is perfectly amazing':**  
**The Making of Ottawa's Indian Crown Community.**

While the drama of the 'Reserve de Hull' unfolded, a second Indian community was in the making. The Indians living in the 'Reserve de Hull' came to do business with the town; a second group visited Ottawa to do business with the crown. After 1867, Ottawa was home to the Dominion government. Confederation had made the Dominion the ultimate authority over Indian administration and laws. Indians were not citizens of Canada, but wards of the crown. The laws governing their lives were written and passed by Parliament, and administered by federal bureaucrats.

Under the BNA Act Indians and Indian lands had become a federal responsibility. In 1869, the Federal government began consolidating its laws governing Indians with the 'Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians...' otherwise known as the Indian Act. The Act underwent more than 30 amendments before 1951, but the principles of assimilation that stood behind the Act remained consistent. The Indian Act managed Indians' lives from their identity at birth through to their wills at death. Some nations had pre-existing treaties with Britain. The federal government, however, considered these treaties either void, or subordinate to its own legislation. Britain didn't argue.<sup>1</sup>

To administer the Indian Act the Indian Department in Ottawa sent bureaucrats, called Indian Agents, to reserves. They had overriding powers. For example, Indian Agents acted as Justices of the Peace on reserves and held veto powers over all decisions made by Indian governments. Agents reported to regional officers who, in turn, reported to bureaucrats in Ottawa. At the summit of the bureaucracy sat the minister appointed Superintendent General of Indian

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<sup>1</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 261

Affairs. Although Indian Affairs became a separate Department in 1880, it remained couched under ministries, like the Department of the Interior, and afterward Mines and Resources.<sup>2</sup> This meant that, in practice, the Minister was often preoccupied with more pressing business from another Department. The daily administration of Indian Affairs, key decisions, and changes in policy fell to the highest bureaucrat in the Department, the Deputy Superintendent who worked out of Parliament Hill, and later the Booth Building on Wellington.<sup>3</sup>

Indians and Indian leaders were frequently displeased with the laws and the bureaucracy that governed them. Unable to effect change with agents at the local level, they turned to lobbying Ottawa, through letters, by showing up uninvited at the Department's headquarters and by forming new political organizations. Traditionally Indian politics had been concerned with Indian nation to Indian nation business. The new political communities suited a new purpose: lobbying the federal government, so that even when the communities were not in Ottawa, they were about Ottawa and can be called 'crown communities'. Crown communities began to express themselves by forming political organizations. Often the leader was the man who could best organize the community, and who traveled to and from Ottawa lobbying the federal government on the community's behalf. In 1914, crown communities made their first efforts at forming a nation-wide organization that could lobby the federal government on behalf of all Indians across Canada.

Indians were not, however, a cohesive group. Indian nations had entered Confederation under different circumstances and had different priorities. For example, on the Prairies, Indian nations signed treaties with Canada, securing goods and rights in exchange for lands. Forcing

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Canada to uphold the bargains was a priority among prairie nations.<sup>4</sup> Indian nations in British Columbia had no such treaties. Securing compensation for stolen lands was a priority among Indian nations in B.C..<sup>5</sup> In theory, all Indian nations fell under the laws of the Indian Act, but in reality, nations were treated differently. For example, the Indian Department and the North-West Mounted Police enforced a pass system on the prairies, whereby Indians needed the written consent of their agent to leave their reserve. <sup>6</sup> There is no evidence that the pass system was applied in the east.<sup>7</sup> Nations had traditional alliances to build on, but they also had traditional enmities to overcome. Some nations were strangers to each other. They spoke different languages and often had no means of communicating across long distances. To organize, they needed to agree on how they should structure themselves, what goals to pursue, and to what philosophical end. They needed money for travel, lawyers and salaries. While they struggled to overcome these barriers, officials at the Indian Department, police and occasionally missionaries undermined their efforts. A large part of the making of the political community involved coping with these problems. It also took time for Indian political communities to discover they shared common interests.

The Department of Indian Affairs and the R.C.M. P. have kept excellent records of Indian activists, and, better yet, the National Archives holds collections of letters written by activists themselves. Both professional and amateur historians alike have profiled organizations and leaders like Andy Paull and the Allied Tribes of B.C.<sup>8</sup> or Frederick Oliver Loft and the League of Indians.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism" in *B.C. Studies* no 55 (Autumn, 1982) pp 12-13; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 216-217

<sup>5</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 216

<sup>6</sup> A Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) pp 270-274

<sup>7</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 253-264

<sup>8</sup> Andy Paull is probably the most popular historical figure. Tennant's essay places Paull in the larger context of B.C. Indian Politics. See Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism" in *B.C. Studies* no 55 (Autumn, 1982) pp 3 - 47; E. Palmer Patterson follows Paull's own political career in "Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian resurgence" PhD. Thesis Philosophy University of Washington. As an amateur historian Dunlop, who knew Paull and his family, offers a more personal if somewhat flowery biography.

The histories often chronicle the rise and fall of individual leaders or organizations, which makes it appear as though Indian politics is a series of broken and sporadic movements. A careful review of the literature and records tells a different story. Even as leaders fell, the political communities supporting them continued. Over time, the communities, often organized regionally, intersected and linked to one another. Up until the 1940s, political communities provided both financial support and legitimacy to leaders.

After 1940, when the federal government grew more willing to consult Indian leadership, the shape and nature of Indian political communities changed. Leaders gained legitimacy by capturing the ear of government and securing a seat at the government table, rather than popular support. As leaders met at government tables, they began to form a small, elite and professionalized community of their own. Leaders restructured regional organizations, and often restricting membership. It was this small elite community that would become the modern crown community, and who established a base in Ottawa through the National Indian Brotherhood in 1968.

One of the first political communities designed to do business with the government formed in 1870, when the Haudenosaunee of the Grand River Reserve invited the Ojibwa nation to a council meeting. The Haudenosaunee called the meeting to discuss two pieces of federal legislation: the Indian Lands Act of 1868, which gave the Crown authority over Indian lands, and the 1869 Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, otherwise known as the first Indian Act. The Ojibwa accepted the invitation and sent delegates to Grand River. The Ojibwa and Haudenosaunee delegates reviewed the legislation, compared it to the 1763 Proclamation Act and

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He had the unique benefit of interviewing the Paull family, and access to Paull's personal papers. See Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him and understood his times* (Vancouver: Order of the O.M.I. of St. Paul's Province, 1989)

<sup>9</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest: F.O. Loft and the League of Indians" in *Native Studies Review* v 4 no 1-2 pp 95-118

existing treaties. They proposed amendments, and the deletion of certain sections of the Act, and forwarded their decisions to the Indian Department. When the meeting ended, the delegates resolved to meet again, in three years, to review their progress. At the subsequent meeting, they named their council the 'Grand General Council of Ontario and Quebec Indians,' (a.k.a. the General Council or the General Council of Ontario) and decided to meet every two years.<sup>10</sup>

While the founding of the General Council is usually dated from the 1870 meeting, its history extends back to an old alliance forged under the Great Peace of 1701. Like the Algonquins and the Nipissing, the Ojibwa had suffered from Haudenosaunee raids in the era of the fur wars. The Ojibwa had joined the Great Peace of 1701 and the Council of Seven Fires, which still met periodically to renew the Peace and discuss nation-to-nation business.<sup>11</sup> The 1701 peace had been so successful that the Mississauga band of Ojibwa helped create the Grand River Reserve, by selling a portion of their land to Britain. The sale opened lands for Joseph Brant's group of loyalists who'd left their territory in New York after the American Revolution.<sup>12</sup> The 1870 meeting opened with all the traditional formalities of the Haudenosaunee hosts, including a condolence ceremony and the reading of wampum belts.<sup>13</sup> What was new, however, was the purpose of the meeting. Its business was not the usual Indian nation to Indian nation business, but the review of Canadian government policy. By the end of the first meeting, the General Council had reshaped itself to meet that purpose.

First, the Council elected an executive consisting of a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. The first candidates for president were all schooled men with cross-cultural experience. Grand River delegates nominated Doctor Oronhyatena. Oronhyatena, then 31 years

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<sup>10</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance in the Post Confederation Period: The Grand General Indian Council of Ontario 1870-1936" History Thesis, Queen's University Kingston Ontario, August 2000 p 40

<sup>11</sup> Victor Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon" p 218; 231-232

<sup>12</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 163-164

<sup>13</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" 32-34

old, had studied at Wesleyan Academy, in Wilbourn Massachusetts, and Kenyon College in Ohio, before attending the University of Toronto. In 1860, Oronhyatena had accepted a personal invitation from the Prince of Wales to study at Oxford, where he graduated as a physician. He practiced in Brantford as well as Grand River.<sup>14</sup> Oronhyatena was also married to Irene Hill, a great granddaughter of Joseph Brant.<sup>15</sup> Other nominees included William Wawanosh, a respected interpreter, and Dr. Edmund Jones, the son of the Methodist missionary and author Peter Jones (who had helped the Mohawks at Kanehsatake convert to Methodism). Jones is reputed to be the only Indian to ever act as an Indian agent in his own community.<sup>16</sup> The man finally elected President, the dark-horse candidate in a split vote, was the Ojibwa Reverend H.P. Chase, who'd been an active Methodist missionary for 30 years.<sup>17</sup> The president's role was much like that of a chief at a traditional council. He chose the topic of discussion, limited the time delegates could speak and kept meetings orderly.<sup>18</sup>

The formal rules adapted in the General Council's 1872 constitution show a series of other adaptations. First, all meetings were held in the English language, even though many chiefs needed translators, and the practice made meetings long and cumbersome.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, written minutes and resolutions were recorded in English, and forwarded to the Indian Department.<sup>20</sup> In 1890, the meetings opened with a fanfare of marching brass bands and a fireworks display, which attracted local farmers.<sup>21</sup> In his thesis examining the council, Norman D. Shields notes the Grand

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<sup>14</sup> RG 10 v 2175 file 36174 List of employees in Ontario.

<sup>15</sup> George Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Iroquois Indians: How the Iroquois Nation saved Canada for the British Empire* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1967) pp 1 23-124

<sup>16</sup> Norman D. Shields "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 42-43

<sup>17</sup> Ibid p 42-43

<sup>18</sup> RG10 v 2652 file 131802 Minutes of the eleventh Grand General Indian Council held upon the New Credit Indian Reserve near Hagersville Ontario, October 7<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> 1890

<sup>19</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 44

<sup>20</sup> Ibid p 44, 129

<sup>21</sup> RG10 v 2652 file 131802 Minutes of the eleventh Grand General Indian Council held upon the New Credit Indian Reserve near Hagersville Ontario, October 7<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> 1890

Council chiefs were the same men who'd attended traditional councils, but that adapting to do business with government meant that wampum became written word and condolence ceremonies became an opening prayer.<sup>22</sup>

As inferred by its name, the Grand General Council of Ontario and Quebec Indians intended to expand to represent all nations in the two provinces. According to its Constitution, any nation in Ontario and Quebec was welcome to join, and chiefs could appoint one voting delegate for every hundred people they represented. Resolutions were passed by a vote of delegates, with the majority ruling.<sup>23</sup> (Women were not appointed as delegates, but many attended the meetings and they petitioned delegates on topics of interest.<sup>24</sup> Also, Haudenosaunee women chose their chiefs, and very likely had a say in choosing delegates.) Shields adds that delegates to the Grand General Council took direction from the grassroots, consulting elected officials and sometimes the whole community. People other than delegates were allowed to attend the meetings, although the system of representation did not allow them to vote directly.<sup>25</sup> In the end, the General Council failed to expand its membership and became a predominantly Ojibwa institution, with most of its supporters in the Great Lakes region.

One reason they failed to expand was poor public relations. The General Council found it difficult to advertise itself. They tried to generate interest in the General Council by publishing their constitution and minutes, and mailing them to chiefs in Ontario and Quebec but they ran into problems financing the scheme. The Indian Department did allow chiefs and delegates traveling to meetings to pay their expenses out of band funds,\* but the Department refused their request to

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<sup>22</sup> Norman D. Shields "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 4

<sup>23</sup> Ibid p 70, p 111

<sup>24</sup> Ibid p 64

<sup>25</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 8

\* Band funds were monies that belonged to the band, but which the Department held in trust, therefore controlled.

spend band funds on publishing minutes.<sup>26</sup> The General Council tried to offset the cost through various tax schemes. For example, they solicited 1\$ per delegate at each meeting, but apparently the money fell short. In 1886, they raised the fees,<sup>27</sup> and they tried soliciting donations from members of parliament.<sup>28</sup> Finally, they tried to sell their minutes to non-members through the mail, asking chiefs to pay ten cents a head. The Nipissing who'd settled near North Bay, the Mohawks of Kahnawake and Akwesasne, received the letters, and showed the letters to their Indian Agents. Agents discouraged bands from paying the fee because the money was being solicited without the permission of the Department.<sup>29</sup> Later, President Henry Jackson (1919-1921) asked the Department for permission to travel and recruit more bands. The Department had no objection to the project, but told Jackson to pay the travel expenses out of his own pocket.<sup>30</sup>

A second public relations problem was that the General Council had little to advertise, because, in the end, they failed to accomplish much. They won a small victory in 1872, after they forwarded their first resolutions on the Indian Act to Superintendent-General David Laird. They wrote that if Laird adopted their resolutions the Act would appear "as having been recommended by the Indians themselves."<sup>31</sup> Apparently, Laird liked the idea, and he defended his 1876 amendments to the Act, telling the House of Commons that he'd consulted with Indians and the Act met their approval.<sup>32</sup> In truth, he'd only adopted two resolutions from the General Council, and he watered those down: a two-tier system for enfranchisement, and allowing Indian governments to offer an opinion on men who wished to enfranchise. Those opinions were not binding, as the

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<sup>26</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia) p 94-95; Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance pp 79-83

<sup>27</sup> RG10 v 2544 file 11678- Circular Letter November 24? 1890

<sup>28</sup> RG10 v 2544 file 11678- To John Phackerary? Esq. Indian Agent Alderville n.d.

<sup>29</sup> RG10 v 2544 file 11678- St. Regis Dec.? 1890; RG 10 v 2544 file 11678 December 24, 1890 to George Long esq.

<sup>30</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 123

<sup>31</sup> RG 10 v 1934 file 3541 To the Hon. Minister of the Interior June 16<sup>th</sup> 1872

<sup>32</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 59; Olive Patricia Dickason *Canada's First Nations* p 258

General Council had proposed.<sup>33</sup> Although the General Council reviewed various amendments to the Act up until the 1930s, the Department never again adopted any of its resolutions. Aside from reviewing legislation, the Grand Council lobbied the government on other matters. For example, in 1890, they requested an Indian seat in parliament,<sup>34</sup> and in 1916, they lobbied for Indian colleges. In return, they received only letters from Department officials, explaining why their ideas would not be implemented.<sup>35</sup>

Rather than expanding their membership, the General Council became an Ojibwa-only institution after Grand River formally withdrew its membership in 1884.<sup>36</sup> The circumstances leading to the Haudenosaunee's withdrawal manifested themselves as arguments over specific sections of the Act, but in truth, deep-rooted philosophical differences lay beneath the arguments.\*\* The Ojibwa were willing to accept some of the changes proposed in the Indian Act. At the General Council's first meeting in 1870, Ojibwa delegate John Sunday advised the Council to keep good parts of the legislation, reminding them the Imperial government had always treated Indians with

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<sup>33</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" pp 59-60

<sup>34</sup> RG10 v 2652 file 131802 Minutes of the eleventh Grand General Indian Council held upon the New Credit Indian Reserve near Hagersville Ontario, October 7<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> 1890

<sup>35</sup> RG10 V 3195 file 493106 Extract from P.W. Jacobs Secretary Grand Indian Council Sarnia reserve. June 16, 1916

<sup>36</sup> Norman D. Shields "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 61, p 70

\*\* To the author's knowledge, no one has studied the evolution of Indian political thought. In distinguishing between the Indian leaders Andrew Paul and Rev. Peter Kelly, E. Palmer Anderson tried separate Indian political thought into three categories: assimilation-oriented or those who believe assimilation is ideal or inevitable; anti-assimilationist, those who try to make space for Indian culture and rights by working within the Canadian system; and finally revivalists, those who promote a self-conscious return to tradition, often through isolation. See, "Andrew Paul and Canadian Indian resurgence" (M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1962) pp vii-viii. His definitions are problematic because they assume assimilation is the driving force behind all political choices. Unemployment and concern over alcohol abuse are two issues where political decisions have not typically been based on attitudes towards assimilation. Secondly, the word assimilation rarely appears in Indian writings before the 1960s, making it uncertain if early leaders understood the concept. Finally, there is no consensus, even in modern times about what constitutes assimilation, or distinguishes assimilation from adaptation and cultural evolution. Other authors, like Brian Titley, use the term 'radical' to describe leaders who behaved defiantly towards the Indian Department and government policy. By Titley's standards the Haudenosaunee would appear to be radical, while in reality they were striving to maintain the status quo, making them intellectually conservative. This creates a language problem when discussing issues like allowing Indian women to vote. The idea may have been radical to officials in the Indian Department, but a conservative notion to the Haudenosaunee. The author notes the problems in Titley and Anderson's definitions are due to a lack of language to express Indian's political ideals and goals. It is beyond the scope of the present essay to resolve the issue, however the author tries to avoid using words like liberal or radical, that have uncertain meanings when applied in Indian country, unless the descriptors were used by people of the day.

courtesy and respect. Haudenosaunee delegates maintained Canada had no authority to pass laws that interfered in their nation's internal affairs.<sup>37</sup>

On the matter of enfranchisement, the General Council split, with the Haudenosaunee on one side, and the Ojibwa on the other. This section of the Act let Indian men, who met certain qualifications in education, wealth and moral character, give up their status as Indians. In return they gained some rights afforded Canadian citizens, including the right to drink liquor, own business licenses, and send their children to public schools. Especially controversial was the proviso allowing enfranchised men to take a portion of reserve land with them. Parliament, not the nation decided on the size and nature of the allotment. The Ojibwa suggested amending the qualifications, and transferring the power to approve applications and the allotment of land to Indian governments. They argued men who wished to enfranchise should not be held back.<sup>38</sup> Grand River delegates opposed any alienation of reserve land - they'd already seen Joseph Brant sell 381, 480 acres to settlers in the late 1700s. They also resented Canada's attempt to make decisions concerning their lands. Under the Haldimand Grant (1784) and the Simcoe Deed (1793), which confirmed their title to the reserve, the Haudenosaunee had "the full and entire possession, use and benefit" of the land, "to be held and enjoyed by then in the most free and ample manner, and according to the several customs and usages of them..."<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, the Ojibwa and Haudenosaunee split the council on the band government system. The Act allowed cabinet to impose a European style elective system, when the Superintendent General recommended that a band had 'advanced' enough. Band governments could make by-laws on local matters like policing, and health, but only with the approval of Indian Affairs, which effectively gave the Indian Agent a veto power. Cabinet could also depose chiefs and

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<sup>37</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 32-34

<sup>38</sup> Ibid pp 44-45, pp 60-61

<sup>39</sup> The Simcoe Deed, as quoted in Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 333

councillors.<sup>40</sup> The government had proposed the system with reserves like Grand River in mind. Grand River had a long history of contact with ‘whites’ and their economy compared well to their non-Indian counterparts in the nearby town of Brantford.<sup>41</sup> In the 1870s, Grand River had 8 primary schools. Of the 1, 583 children living on reserve, 608 attended. Grand River had several successful farmers who ran agricultural society and, every October they hosted a fall show, featuring plowing matches against their Brantford neighbours.<sup>42</sup> Opposite the council house stood extensive stores selling seed and other farm supplies owned and operated by Mr. James Styler, who was also Grand River’s postmaster. Superintendent J.T. Gikson noted that in some cases the roads on Grand River were better kept than the roads in adjoining townships.<sup>43</sup> While Canada may have believed Grand River’s economic success was somehow related to a desire to adopt a European-style elective system, Grand River delegates resented Canada’s attempt to replace their government system.<sup>44</sup> Dr. Jones of New Credit told the Haudenosaunee that he believed the clause was meant to be optional, and would never be forced upon a nation. His band would be the first band to opt in.<sup>45</sup>

Because the General Council worked on the principle of representation by population, and the Ojibwa outnumbered the Grand River delegates, the Ojibwas could control the council. At times, the Ojibwa tastefully avoided outvoting the Haudenosaunee by allowing them to abstain. Still in 1878, Haudenosaunee delegates walked out over disagreements on enfranchisement and band governments.<sup>46</sup> They could not have been impressed when, in 1879, the new president, Chief Henry, publicly thanked Princess Louise in London Ontario, stating that: “Many of us have become

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid pp 232-233

<sup>41</sup> Ibid p 232

<sup>42</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1876) p 15; and (1877) pp 9-10

<sup>43</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1877) pp 9-10

<sup>44</sup> Norman D. Shields “Anishinabek Political Alliance” p 44

<sup>45</sup> Ibid pp 77-78

<sup>46</sup> Ibid p 47, pp 59-60

enfranchised and we are all happy and contented under Her Majesty's maternal sway." <sup>47</sup> When Grand River withdrew in 1884, only Ojibwa delegates remained. The Haudenosaunee did, however, send 'observers' to subsequent meetings.<sup>48</sup>

In his book, *A Narrow Vision*, author Brian Titley critiques the General Council, arguing they held their relationship with government too dear to lobby effectively. He notes the department sometimes sent high-ranking officials, as observers, to General Council meetings, and this quasi-official recognition pleased the delegates.<sup>49</sup> Titley writes the General Council: "spoke out occasionally against government policy, but it did so reticently and never to an extent that would have jeopardized its good relations with the Department."<sup>50</sup> It is true the General Council sometimes passed counter-intuitive resolutions. For example, they endorsed section 114 of Indian Act, which forbade "pagan and other indecent dances." <sup>51</sup> In 1928, the General Council expressed "humble and heartfelt gratitude" to the Dominion of Canada for providing education. According to Titley, Deputy Superintendent D.C. Scott so loved that resolution that he personally communicated his delight.<sup>52</sup>

Endorsements that pleased the Department were interrupted with others that did not. After the first meeting, the Grand Council asked the government to strike out a clause that automatically enfranchised Indian women who married non-native men, so that they could be free to marry whom they pleased. <sup>53</sup> In the 1920s, Ojibwa encountered new provincial game laws, which disrupted the hunting and fishing rights guaranteed under the Robinson Treaties (1850). Under President Henry Jackson, the General Council hired a lawyer, J. Carlyle Moore of Warton, Ontario, to investigate

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<sup>47</sup> "The Viceregal Visit" *Daily Free Press* September 17, 1879

<sup>48</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 61, p 70

<sup>49</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 94-95

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid* p 97

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid* p 95

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid* p 96

<sup>53</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 61, p 70

the matter. In 1926, Moore wrote to the Department to gather documentation. Deputy Superintendent J.D. McLean responded by vetoing the chiefs' decision to pay the lawyer's fees out of their band funds. In his reply to Moore, McLean stated that the chiefs could find all the information they wanted in the pamphlet *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, which sold for 15 dollars. Left without financing, the General Council dropped the matter.<sup>54</sup>

Titley tends to view these bouts of activism as anomalies, but Norman D. Shields proposes a different opinion in his thesis on the General Council. He believes the Council was not so compliant, and the resolutions that Titley regards as subservient, were often what the Ojibwa considered proper protocol, etiquette, and politeness.<sup>55</sup> In considering both arguments, it's also important to consider the context of the times. John Sunday's optimism at the first meeting came from his opinion that the crown had addressed his nation's concerns respectfully in the past. Titley has the advantage of historic hindsight; the delegates did not. Records from the General Council indicate they did not understand, at least at first, that power to negotiate had changed.

Over time, the General Council would gain experience with the Indian Act, the Canadian political system and government bureaucrats. Many of the Grand Council chiefs became involved with subsequent attempts to form a national political group, including: the League of Indians in 1918, and, in the 1940s, the National Indian Government (NIG) and the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB). In 1949, the General Council restructured into the Union of Ontario Indians and began making submissions to a Joint Committee of Parliament that had been set up to revise the Indian Act. In the 1960s, one of the Union's long-time leaders, Omer Peters, helped established the NIB.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 96; Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 75-77

<sup>55</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 122

<sup>56</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p124, p 127

If the organization's ideology during its early years seems inconsistent, as Titley suggests, this may have been due to a lack of experience. Only a few Indian writings about the Act exist from this era. They show that Indians discovered the Act at different times and understood the Act differently. Far away from the General Council, on the St. Peter's Reserve, near Selkirk in Manitoba, Chief Henry Prince seems to have interpreted the Act as a list of suggestions, noting it had "been given to us for our guidance."<sup>57</sup> A band of Netley Cree, who had also settled at St. Peter's, discovered the Indian Act in 1888 when the agent informed them the Act prevented them from electing a separate chief for their people. They wrote the department: "We do not want to have the self-government such as the Indian Act, we want to have nothing to do with it, we do not want to have it at all as we want to follow the bargain of the no. 1 Treaty."<sup>58</sup> In 1901, Inspector J.A. McRae visited the Algonquins and Haudenosaunee at Lake of Two Mountains and noted: "the Indians look upon the Indian Act as a novel piece of legislation dating a couple of years back and of a nature that will very slowly lead to taxes being imposed upon them. I fully explained this was not the case."<sup>59</sup> Just what the Act meant, how it would be applied and what relationship it had to treaties was interpreted differently. Norman D. Shields' observation about the Grand General Council can, perhaps, be applied more broadly. He writes: "It may be true that not all the delegates understood the full ramifications of the Indian Act, but having been advised by their band council and sometimes by the community as a whole, they did certainly understand their own interests."<sup>60</sup>

While the Grand General Council operated and gained experience with the Act in Ontario, chiefs, concerned citizens and political activists in all parts of Canada were encountering the Act at

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<sup>57</sup> RG 10 v 3658 file 9375-2 To the Minister of the Interior from the Chief and Council of St. Peter's, September 11, 1880; Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance pp 79-83

<sup>58</sup> RG 10 v 3729 f 26078 Letter to the Hon. Sir John A. McDonald, Department of Indian Affairs (copy) January 23, 1886

<sup>59</sup> RG 10 v 30 48 file 237, 660 Ottawa Iroquois and Algonquin Indians of Oka, Report by J.A. McRae, September 27, 1901

<sup>60</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 8

home. They complained to the department about breaches of treaties, the trespass on or alienation of reserve lands, and the controlling disposition of their Indian Agents. As early as the 1870s, delegates from reserves in every province of Canada began arriving at the doors of Indian Department to personally communicate their complaints.<sup>61</sup>

Although each reserve's grievances and circumstances could be very different, delegations followed a common pattern. Delegations sprang from complaints that remained unresolved by the local agent, and often ended with the discovery that the Department itself was the source of the trouble. For example, in 1882, Alonzo Wright (Philemon's grandson) petitioned Sir John A. Macdonald, for the sale of the Kitigan Zibi reserve. He argued that having a large tract of 'unused' land near a town impeded settlement.<sup>62</sup> Local Indian Agent, Chas B. Rouleau, admitted few Algonquins were farming the land, and felt it would be worthwhile to sell a portion and put the proceeds into the band funds. Although he claimed he'd convinced the chiefs, in private meetings, to sell the land, the chiefs insisted on holding a public meeting before deciding.<sup>63</sup> Up until 1879, lands could only be surrendered by a majority vote of males 18 and older.<sup>64</sup> The majority of the Algonquins voted against the sale and the Algonquins considered the matter settled. Because the Department encountered so much resistance to the sale and leasing of reserve lands, they amended the Indian Act in 1881 and 1894, giving the Superintendent General the power to lease and sell lands without consent of the band. Rouleau continued to pressure the chiefs and individual

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<sup>61</sup> There are dozens of such records in the RG10 files. A few examples are contained in: RG10 v. 4053, Reel C-10180 file 379203-2 Hard cover memorandum in answer to representations made by an Indian Delegations from the West; RG10 v. 2750 file 147,944 Mississaugas, Six nations Agency, Correspondence, Reports, Memoranda and Petitions Regarding claims of the band to be presented to the Dominion Government at Ottawa by a Delegation; RG10 v. 1884 file 1259 J.T. Gilkison Transmitting Six nations Council Minutes and information concerning an unauthorized deputation to Ottawa about management of Indian lands RG10 v. 2073 file 10,797 St. Regis Reserve – Request from the Chiefs for money to pay expenses of a Deputation to Ottawa; RG10 v. 2105 file 19,301 Muncey reserve- Agent Thomas Gordon Reports a Deputation is Coming to Ottawa concerning their claims to land in Southwold Township; RG10 v. 1957, Reel C-11121 file 4623 New Credit Reserve – Requisition for Money to pay expenses for a deputation to Ottawa

<sup>62</sup> RG 10 v 2170 file 35600 Alonzo Wright to Sir John A. McDonald February 1882

<sup>63</sup> RG 10 v 2170 file 35600 From Chas. B. Rouleau February 2, 1882; Department of Indian Affairs February 16, 1882; and Maniwaki, September 10, 1882.

<sup>64</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 295

band members to change their minds. John Bull, a band member, who was particularly vocal in opposing the sale, visited Ottawa personally to make his views known and hoping to get some guarantee they'd force the agent to drop the idea. Bull may have gotten an audience with a low-level bureaucrat during his visit, but apparently, he got little reassurance. He was referred back to his agent.<sup>65</sup> In the end, large tracts of land at Kitigan Zibi were leased, or sold on the agent's authority.<sup>66</sup>

A second example arose on the St. Peter's reserve. Peguis, a Saulteaux chief, signed the first numbered treaty in 1871. In that treaty, government negotiators made several verbal promises which were omitted from the written text of the treaty, including the provision of a plough, a harrow and a male and female of 'each kind of animal raised by farmers' to every settler on the reserve.<sup>67</sup> The goods never arrived in the quantities promised. In 1881, the band of 1200 men women and children had only 10 mowers and 10 horse rakes to share, and nowhere near the amount of cattle promised.<sup>68</sup> By then, Peguis' son and successor, Chief Henry Prince (Miskoke:new, Red Eagle) was under considerable pressure from his people to wrest the goods from the government. For many years, Prince blamed his Indian agent. He believed the Indian agent was not relaying his messages to Ottawa, and not following Ottawa's instructions. He notified the Department that his agent was "robbing the government of his salary without having a right to be paid for his services"<sup>69</sup> and "the duties and instructions issued out to our agents are not carried out identical to the tenor of

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<sup>65</sup> RG 10 v 2170 file 35600 From Chas. B. Rouleau February 2, 1882; Department of Indian Affairs February 16, 1882; and Maniwaki, September 10, 1882.

<sup>66</sup> Stephen McGregor offers an excellent record of specific claims at Kitigan Zibi in *Since Time Immemorial: Our Story* (Kitigan Zibi Education Council, 2004) pp 175-216

<sup>67</sup> Copies of the documents "Treaty no.1" "Memorandum of things outside of the treaty which were promised at the treaty at the Lower Fort, signed on the third day of August, A.D. 1871" and "Copy of a report of a Committee of the Honourable Privy Council" are reprinted in Chief Albert Edward Thompson *Chief Peguis and his Descendants* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Limited, 1973) pp 60-65

<sup>68</sup> RG10 v 3741 file 28984 (copy) Statement of E.W. McColl giving additional information regarding Education, Religion, Polygamy Farming Implements and etc. of Indian in the Manitoba Superintendency, St. Peter's Reserve, April 28, 1881.

<sup>69</sup> RG10 v 3617 file 4646 Letter from the Chief and Council of St. Peter's Reserve to the Right Hon. Superintendent General, April 4, 1880.

letters of instructions.”<sup>70</sup> At first, the Department accommodated Prince. In 1876, an Order-in-Council incorporated the spoken promises (a.k.a the ‘outside promises’) into the Treaty,<sup>71</sup> and the Department dismissed Indian agent Dr. Young in 1883.<sup>72</sup> As Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney explained, they gave in to Prince, mainly because they feared his displeasure would lead to problems in other treaty negotiations. Dewdney wrote:

I feel that some action should be taken to satisfy these Indians, the first Treaty was made with them. They are visited from all quarters of the North-West by other Indians who return with stories told to them by Chief Prince to the effect that treaty engagements have not been kept.... it makes it very difficult to deal with these who are now about settling on reserve. <sup>73</sup>

Despite the Order-in-Council, adequate supplies never arrived. As Prince became more adamant, the Department invoked a new section in the 1884 Indian Act, which gave the governor-in-council the power to depose chiefs for intemperance, dishonesty or immorality.<sup>74</sup> By 1884, the Inspector of Indian Agencies, E.W. McColl was calling the goods promised in the treaty and confirmed by the Order-in-Council “extravagant demands.”<sup>75</sup> A series of letters, petitions, investigations and deputations to Ottawa followed. The goods were never delivered in the quantities promised, however the process led the band to discover that the source of their problems lay not with the local agent, but the highest bureaucrats and elected officials.<sup>76</sup>

Department officials did take time to meet with some delegations, but refused others on what seems to be an ad hoc basis. The Department’s formal policy, however, was to discourage delegations. They spelled out their reasons in circulars to local Indian agents. First, the visitors

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<sup>70</sup> RG 10 v 3784 file 50837 Chief and council of St. Peter’s reserve to His Excellency the Gov. Gen. 1888?

<sup>71</sup> RG 10 v.3617 file 4646 Edgar Dewdney to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, April 24, 1880. See also David J. Hall, “A Serene Atmosphere: Treaty One Revisited” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* v 4 no 2 1984 pp 321-358

<sup>72</sup> RG10 v 3617 file 4646 Edgar Dewdney to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, April 24, 1880

<sup>73</sup> RG10 v 3617 file 4646 Edgar Dewdney to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, April 24, 1880

<sup>74</sup> RG 10 v 3604 file 2172 A.M. Muckle to McColl Esquire Elections results April (?) 1888, RG 10 v 3658 file 9410

<sup>75</sup> RG10 v 3665 To the right Hon. Superintendent of Indian Affairs from E.W. McColl, March 29, 1884

<sup>76</sup>RG10 v. 3665 file 100072 Joseph Parisieu to Mr. Muckle May 10, 1884; see also Chief Albert Edward Thompson *Chief Peguis and his Descendants* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Limited, 1973)

often demanded an audience with high-ranking officials, such as the Superintendent General, the Prime Minister and even the Governor General. Secondly, Indian Affairs often disliked the tone of complaints or the personality of the delegates. In a circular letter to agents, they noted that delegations: “as a general rule are composed of Indians who devote their time mostly to agitation.”<sup>77</sup> Next, the Department considered the trips a waste of money because the Department rarely reversed the decisions of its agents. Finally, when delegates secured interviews with department officials, it caused problems for agents in the field. Department officials noted: “the securing by them [unauthorized delegates] of interviews with the Government leads them to discount the authority of the agent and to assume a position in the band for which they are unfitted and which they often abuse.”<sup>78</sup>

Delegates continued to visit the Department, despite the official discouragement. In 1894, the Department formalized its policy in a letter to agents stating that delegates could not use band monies to fund their trips without prior approval of their agent and an appointment.<sup>79</sup> Delegations continued to arrive, however, either paying out of their own pocket, through independently raised funds,<sup>80</sup> or by charging their train tickets and hotel bills to the department, and sticking them with the bills.<sup>81</sup> In 1897, the Department issued a second memo, reminding agents of the policy and asking agents to make it clear to Indians that: “the Department may even decline to consider their representations without reference to their agent.”<sup>82</sup> In 1898, the Department noted its policies regarding delegations: “have not, in some instances, been rigidly observed... You are to again promulgate the rule among the Indians and tell them the Superintendent General is determined

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<sup>77</sup> RG10 v 2752 file 148,444 Circular Letter, Ottawa, October 1, 1898

<sup>78</sup> RG10 v 2752 file 148,444 Circular Letter, Ottawa, October 1, 1898

<sup>79</sup> RG10 v 2752 file 148,444 Circular Letter, Ottawa, April 21, 1894

<sup>80</sup> See George Manuel on how Andrew Paull fund-raised in *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills, Ontario: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1974)

<sup>81</sup> RG 10 v 7141 file 31/3-7 Ottawa June 8, 1948 To Regional Supervisors and Officers of the Indian field Service

<sup>82</sup> RG10 v 2752 file 148,444 Circular Letter, Ottawa, May, 1897

that there shall be strict compliance with therewith.”<sup>83</sup> By 1933, the Department was issuing poster-sized letters of the policy to agents, presumably for the agents to post on their doors or in band offices.<sup>84</sup> These actions failed to stem the tide of delegations and surprise visits.

Delegations left a legacy. Indians learned their grievances could not be solved with local agents, because their agents were usually following policies made in Ottawa. A second legacy was a growing discontent. Some nations decided to “go farther than Ottawa with our petitions,” as Chief William Prince (1884-88) of St. Peter’s put it.<sup>85</sup> The Squamish and Nisga’s of British Columbia tried bringing their land claims to the attention to Edward VII in London in 1906, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1913, but were referred back to Ottawa.<sup>86</sup> Chief Levi General of Grand River, who held the title Deskaheh, declared the Haudenosaunee were allies of Britain and not subjects of Canada. He tried to bring relevant treaties before the League of Nations in 1923. He cultivated support from Estonia, Panama, Ireland, Persia, Norway, the Netherlands and Albania. Britain intervened, ironically aping the Haudenosaunee’s argument that outside powers had no business interfering in the Empire’s internal affairs. The League dropped the matter.<sup>87</sup> Discontent arose in Indian nations, but over time and sporadically. Still, it wasn’t long before the idea of uniting Indian nations into a national movement took hold. Two early movements involved the Haudenosaunee.

After the Haudenosaunee of Grand River withdrew from the General Council, they pursued matters on their own. Traditionalists in the community, led by Levi General, resented Canada’s attempts to limit their autonomy, and petitioned Canada, then Britain, for their independence. They

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<sup>83</sup> RG10 v 2752 file 148,444 Circular Letter, Ottawa, October 1, 1898

<sup>84</sup> RG10 v 7141 file 37/3-7 Poster 1933.

<sup>85</sup> RG 10 v RG 10 v 3665 file 10072 Letter to the Right Hon. Superintendent of Indian Affairs from E.W. McColl. March 29, 1884

<sup>86</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations* p 297

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid* pp 332-33

were rebuffed.<sup>88</sup> The people of Grand River were not of one mind, however. Some of the younger and Christianized folk became interested in the elective system. This group became known as 'dehorners'; so-called, because they wanted to depose the traditional chiefs, and head dresses with deer antlers or buffalo horns were traditional instruments of power. In 1890, Canada amended the Indian Act, making it possible for the band government system to be imposed without the consent of Indian people, and even against their will. This created a real danger for traditionalists at Grand River. The Dehorners countered their elders by gathering 300 signatures, representing about a quarter of the adult male population. The traditionalists retained power until 1923.<sup>89</sup> The scenario at Grand River was mirrored on other Haudenosaunee reserves, including Lake of Two Mountains, Kahnawake and Akwesasne near Montreal.

The Mohawks living in the Montreal cluster of reserves had Christianized, but they still governed themselves under the clan system of the Confederacy. In the 1880s, the government imposed the band council system at Akwesasne, and a thousand Mohawks from Lake of Two Mountains, Kahnawake, and Akwesasne petitioned Canada, demanding the government recognize their life chiefs. In response, Governor General T. Mayne visited the Akwesasne and told the Mohawks the government could not let them regress.<sup>90</sup> Mohawk women were especially upset. Under the clan system, they'd appointed chiefs. Under the band system, they had no vote at all. In 1891, clan mothers of Akwesasne wrote to the Department:

We are simply women, but it is in the confidence of our noble and gracious mother the Queen of England, who being a woman, and recalling to mind that your mother was also a woman. . . . Since the change of our chiefs into councilors, our sorrows manifolded, we have lost many advantages, it has caused family disputes brother against brother, it has separated them and it has caused ill feeling which is yet burning.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid p 331-332

<sup>89</sup> Ibid p 332

<sup>90</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy came to St. Regis* (1971) p 3

<sup>91</sup> As quoted in Ibid p 4

Traditionalists at Kahnawake sent a similar letter in 1890.<sup>92</sup> Department officials considered the matter settled and refused to respond. In 1898, clan mothers at Akwesasne reinstated the traditional government. They wrote a polite letter to the Department explaining their reasons and describing their system of government. The Department refused to deal with the traditional chiefs and tried to reinstall the band government three times that year. Traditionalists physically blocked the dehorner from entering the schoolhouse where the elections were to be held. In 1899, Inspector McRae invited the life chiefs to a meeting in his office. It was a ruse. When they arrived, RCMP officers were waiting to arrest them. One man, Jake Ice, was shot and killed while trying to prevent the arrests.<sup>93</sup> Inspector McRae held the band elections in Cornwall, while most of the reserve was away at the chiefs' trial. The traditional government did not cease to exist, but now existed in opposition to the band government and despite the will of a large portion of community members.<sup>94</sup> Department officials had inadvertently created a critical mass of discontent among the Haudenosaunee. Indian Agent C. Cooke believed the Department's interference in the Mohawk's system of government provoked them into joining the Thunderwater movement. He noted that 'life chiefs for the Indians' was their rallying cry.<sup>95</sup>

Chief Thunderwater (Oghema Niagra) appeared on the political scene when he called a meeting on the American side of the Akwesasne reserve in 1914. Thunderwater introduced himself as a full-blooded Sauk and furniture polisher, who lived in Ohio. More importantly, he was president of a political organization known as the Council of Tribes.<sup>96</sup> When he appeared at Akwesasne, Thunderwater claimed the Council of Tribes already had 26,000 members, although history has

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid p1

<sup>93</sup> Ibid p 4-5, see also *Huntington Gleaner* May 4, 1899

<sup>94</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy came to St. Regis* p 8

<sup>95</sup> RG10 v3184 file 458,168-A pt 1 Memorandum C. Cooke, October 31, 1917

<sup>96</sup> "Indians Held a Monster Convention" *The Utica Observer* Saturday November 21, 1914

only his word on the numbers.<sup>97</sup> The goal of the Council was to unite Indian nations across the U.S. and Canada into a single lobby group. The *Constitution and Bylaws of the Council of Tribes* set out its structure and objectives. Members on each reserve would establish circles to research social needs and investigate grievances. This information would be forwarded to the Council of Tribes headquarters in Ohio. The Council of Tribes would then lobby the government on their behalf. If complaints were not resolved, the Council would pursue the matters in court.<sup>98</sup> Circles were supposed to be democratic, and decisions made through unanimous consensus.<sup>99</sup> Funds were collected through memberships fees of 1 dollar per head,<sup>100</sup> private contributions, the sale of minutes, pamphlets, and buttons.<sup>101</sup> Titley argues that Thunderwater ran the council on autocratic lines, by appointing all officers and personally controlling the finances.<sup>102</sup>

Thunderwater did not create the political community; he only captured it. By harnessing the community's discontent and offering to organize their people Thunderwater temporarily, became their leader. Agent E. Taillon claimed Thunderwater recruited half of Akwesasne by the end of the first meeting.<sup>103</sup> Within a year, the Council of Tribes spread through the Montreal cluster, and had recruits on the Grand River and Tyendinaga reserves in Ontario. Soon the five reserves had an Inner circle of Grand councilors, a Second circle of Councilors and Fire keepers, and a number of committees of responsible for education, funerals, medical attention, and entertainment.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> "Indians Held a Monster Convention" *The Utica Observer* Saturday November 21 1914

<sup>98</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 97, see also Indian Agent E. Taillon's description of the organization in RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Chief Thunder Water St Regis Quebec November 12 1914

<sup>99</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 97

<sup>100</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Chief Thunder Water St Regis Quebec November 12 1914 Indian agents office November 12 1914

<sup>101</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 To Duncan C. Scott, from CC Parker Inspector of Indian agencies. Ottawa October 14, 1915

<sup>102</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 97

<sup>103</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 98

<sup>104</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* pp 97-98

Thunderwater received a favorable commentary from the *Utica Observer*. The newspaper reported the Council of Tribes was based on sound business principles, promoted education, sobriety and other activities, which improved the lives of Indians.<sup>105</sup> Officials in the Indian Department were less impressed.

In 1914, Thunderwater wrote a polite introductory letter to Deputy Superintendent Duncan Campbell Scott explaining the dynamics and purpose of the Council of Tribes, and added he hoped the Department would help him prosecute people who defrauded Indians.<sup>106</sup> Over the course of the year, Thunderwater sent 8 petitions to Scott, lobbying the Department on local matters important to his constituents, like hunting rights, roadways being built through reserves without consultation, and the Mohawk land dispute at Lake of Two Mountains.<sup>107</sup> Scott kept Thunderwater's letters on file, but refused to reply. He ordered local agents to ignore Thunderwater.<sup>108</sup> This policy applied to Thunderwater's followers as well. The Department kept files on his followers; so that in future business they would be recognized as Thunderwater's people.<sup>109</sup> On the reserves, agents bluntly told his supporters that they'd receive no help from the Department so long as they belonged to the Council of Tribes.<sup>110</sup> When Chief Beauvais of Kahnawake joined the movement, local Indian agent J.M. Brousseau warned him "of the evils of Thunderwater."<sup>111</sup> The chief ignored him. Brousseau notified the Department that: "the chiefs have carried on propoganda in favour of the said

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<sup>105</sup> "Indians Held a Monster Convention" *The Utica Observer* Saturday November 21, 1914

<sup>106</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Chief Thunderwater to The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs June 8, 1915

<sup>107</sup> RG 10 v3184 file 458,168-A pt 1 Summary of Thunderwater's Letters to the Department. n.d.

<sup>108</sup> Brian Tittley, *A Narrow Vision* p 98; RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Dear Sir from D.C. Scott April 22, 1915

<sup>109</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 15

<sup>110</sup> RG 10 v. 3184 file 458,168 pt 1 Council of the Tribes to D.C. Scott July 29, 1915; and Thunderwater to Dear Sir, September 9, 1915

<sup>111</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p14

Thunderwater<sup>112</sup> and hinted that he'd be keeping this fact in mind during the next band elections.<sup>113</sup>

This strategy of ignoring Thunderwater failed when the chief led a delegation of Indians to Ottawa in October 1917. Scott refused to meet them, and defended his refusal to reporters by accusing Thunderwater of fraud.<sup>114</sup> Incensed by this accusation, Thunderwater personally visited the newspaper's office, bringing some of his followers as character witnesses.<sup>115</sup> Next, Thunderwater tried to force Scott to recognize the Council of Tribes by incorporating under a special act of Parliament. The act was introduced as a private members bill, and even passed first reading. Scott, however, convinced Superintendent General Arthur Meighen, and Prime Minister Robert Borden that Thunderwater was a fraud. Meighen and Borden pressured E. Guss Porter, who was responsible for private member bills, to have it withdrawn.<sup>116</sup> Thunderwater's other tactic was to turn to the courts.<sup>117</sup> In 1915, he hired Chas Decker, an American lawyer of German descent, (who would later be employed by Levi General) to pursue a Mohawk claim on lands in New York.<sup>118</sup> Thunderwater is probably responsible for introducing the Haudenosaunee to the American Congressman Evarts. New York had appointed Evarts to investigate the status of Indians in the state. By 1922, Evarts was also working on the Mohawk claim, employed by Levi General and the Mohawks of Kahnawake.<sup>119</sup> By then, the Department had managed to discredit Thunderwater.

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid

<sup>113</sup> Ibid p 14

<sup>114</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 99; "Indian Delegates refused audience by govt. Official" *The Ottawa Citizen* Friday October 26, 1917

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 99

<sup>117</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 20

<sup>118</sup> RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Report Re: Rendering assistance to the Department of Indian Affairs Brantford Ont. Stewart and Mr. Duncan Scott, Toronto Ontario December 4, 1922; RG 18 Present Conditions existing on Six Nations, November 27, 1923

<sup>119</sup> RG18 v 3295 fileHQ-1034-C-1 Report Re: Mr. Evarts Congressman Albany New York. By S.M. Robertson, Det. Const Ottawa Ontario July 19 1922 and RG 18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-C-1 Ottawa Ontario June 22, 1922

Scott continued to ignore Thunderwater's petitions, but the man's popularity and his ability to circumvent the Department began to trouble Scott. Scott's response was to investigate Thunderwater, hoping to discredit him. In 1916, he asked an inspector to "to get some hold upon Thunderwater. I do not think it necessary to say anything further by way of information, as I know you will appreciate the nature of the information I wish to obtain."<sup>120</sup> When Thunderwater called a large meeting at Tyendinaga, Scott ordered Inspector C.C. Parker to investigate the meeting, but without actually attending.<sup>121</sup> Parker accomplished this difficult task by hiding in a closet and eavesdropping while the local agent at Tyendinaga interviewed Thunderwater. Parker eventually exited the closet and spoke with Thunderwater. He reported that Thunderwater seemed harmless.<sup>122</sup>

Nevertheless, Department officials began a smear campaign. Agents took advantage of wartime fears and loyalties, spreading rumors that Thunderwater and his lawyer had hung a German flag outside the council house,<sup>123</sup> and that Germans were funding Thunderwater.<sup>124</sup> Scott wrote to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and discovered they had no records of Thunderwater's Indian status. Afterwards he'd accuse Thunderwater of being an imposter.<sup>125</sup> Scott ordered a copy of Canada's immigration policy, personally read it, and underlined sections he hoped might prevent Thunderwater from entering the country. Immigration officials replied there was nothing they could do.<sup>126</sup> In 1919, Scott obtained affidavits accusing Thunderwater of physically and sexually abusing a young boy, Mitchell Benedict, whom he'd adopted off Mary Ann

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<sup>120</sup> As quoted in Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 20

<sup>121</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Ottawa October 14, 1915

<sup>122</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 16

<sup>123</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 Chatham Ontario, To Scott from R.H. Abraham October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1915

<sup>124</sup> RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 F.M. Clarke to Lt Col Sherwood, CMG, Commissioner of dominion police.

<sup>125</sup> "Two governments blast Thunderwater" *The Louisville Times* March 15, 1927"; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, p 98-100

<sup>126</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 98

George, a widow living at Akwesasne.<sup>127</sup> In this respect, Titley writes that Thunderwater contributed to his own demise.<sup>128</sup> Mohawk journalist and historian Rarihokwats believes the Department drummed up the charges, and notes the complainants later withdrew their statements.<sup>129</sup> Whether or not the allegations were true, the smear campaign took its toll. In 1917, Thunderwater issued a circular to his members defending himself against some of the accusations and clarifying certain statements he'd made.<sup>130</sup> At a council meeting held at Kahnawake in 1920, he was openly accused of fraud. That year he left Canada, and was never able to regain his former influence,<sup>131</sup> although he did stay in contact with traditionalists at Grand River.

Traditionalists at Grand River suffered two blows in the 1920s. First, the band government system was imposed in 1923. Secondly, their charismatic leader, Levi General passed into the spirit world in 1925. In 1928, one group of traditionalists, now calling themselves 'the Mohawk workers' declared independence a second time. It made headlines, but was not taken seriously in the Department or elsewhere.<sup>132</sup> A group of the Mohawk workers visited Thunderwater at his home in Cleveland asking for advice.<sup>133</sup> By then, Thunderwater's star had faded.

A year earlier, a reporter writing an expose for the *Louisville Times* in Kentucky had wired Scott for information on Thunderwater. Scott replied that Thunderwater was an imposter who'd stolen thousands of dollars from Indians and had abused a young boy. The *Louisville Times* quoted Scott, and ran a damaging article claiming Thunderwater was a black man named Palmer who defrauded Indians. They'd apparently concluded he was black, because he lived in Cleveland's black belt and had a dark complexion. They also ran a picture of the Chief without his headdress,

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid p 99

<sup>128</sup> Ibid

<sup>129</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy Came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 20

<sup>130</sup> RG 10 v 3184 file 458,168 pt 1 To the Council of the Tribes and all of the people of the reservation, January 18<sup>th</sup> 1917

<sup>131</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 100

<sup>132</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 334

<sup>133</sup> "Indian Tribes on Warpath for their Freedom" *Moosejaw Times* September 16- 1928

revealing the full-blooded Sauk suffered from a condition rarely seen in full-blooded Indians: baldness. Thunderwater sued the paper, but the jury could not agree and rendered no decision.<sup>134</sup> After the Mohawks workers visited, Thunderwater tried to make a comeback. In 1928, he contacted Mi'kmaq in New Brunswick.<sup>135</sup> Scott told the agent Thunderwater was a confirmed fraud. This time he had the Louisville exposé to prove it.<sup>136</sup>

Whether Thunderwater was genetically Indian or a pretender continues to be a matter of debate. It is also irrelevant. Thunderwater did spend a good deal of time lobbying, and, evidently, spent a fair bit of the money he collected publishing literature, paying for his travel and lawyers' fees. If he accomplished little, the fault lay with Scott, not Thunderwater's ancestry. Titley believes Thunderwater's identity, and even the allegations of fraud, mattered little to Scott. He argues Scott's true objections to the Council of Tribes are found in a memo to Meighen. Scott complained that Thunderwater encouraged Indians to recover "their lost privileges and rights rather than to take their place in civilized communities; to conduct their affairs in the aboriginal way, absolutely independent of and in defiance of the government."<sup>137</sup>

Whether Thunderwater was a full-blooded Sauk or a black man named Palmer, his legacy was far more important than his biology. First, Thunderwater had demonstrated a new way around the Department. Evidently, his attempt to force the government to recognize his organization by way of a private members bill had not been lost on the Grand Council's president Henry Jackson.

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<sup>134</sup> Rarihokwats, *How Democracy came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 20-21; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, p 100-101

<sup>135</sup> RG 10 v 3184 file 458,168 pt 1 Report of a Council meeting October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1928; RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 To Mr. Daniel Paul from E.B. Merlot? Assistant Indian Commissioner. n.d.

<sup>136</sup> "Two governments blast Thunderwater" *The Louisville Times* March 15, 1927

Rarihokwats, *How Democracy came to St. Regis and the Thunderwater Movement* p 20-21; Brian Titley *A Narrow Vision*, p 100-101; RG 10 v 3184 f 458,168 pt 1 To Mr. Daniel Paul from E.B. Merlot? Assistant Indian Commissioner. n.d.

<sup>137</sup> As quoted in Brian Titley *A Narrow Vision*, p 99

Jackson would attempt the same strategy when he became involved in the NAIB in the 1940s.<sup>138</sup>

Next, Susan K. Postal credits Thunderwater's movement with bringing Handsome Lake's Longhouse religion from Grand River to the Montreal reserves and forming cohesion among traditionalists. She writes that pan-Indian spiritual elements in Thunderwater's Council of Tribes, for example dances and prayers, regenerated interest in traditional religions.<sup>139</sup> Thunderwater, himself, claimed the Council of the Tribes was a resurrection of the Iroquois Confederacy.<sup>140</sup> Handsome Lake's longhouse religion appeared on the Montreal reserves in the 1920s, revitalizing the kinship connection among traditionalists in Ontario and Quebec.<sup>141</sup> Along with traditionalists, Thunderwater had recruited some band chiefs and councillors, proving the two sides could find common ground, even if that common ground was a land claim. He'd also introduced the idea of a nation-wide organization. In one speech, he told his followers:

If the Indians had organized before the Indian Act was passed there would be no difficulty in putting a stop to the measure before it had reached its growth. Now it will take persistent legal effort to have the Act repealed and it may be necessary to make a political issue of the matter in Canada.<sup>142</sup>

Although Thunderwater fell, he left behind a political community that now spanned the five Haudenosaunee reserves. The Haudenosaunee were not completely united, but their political community was more cohesive than it had been before his arrival. A new leader, who also dreamed of building a national organization, soon captured this revitalized community.

Frederick Oliver Loft (a.k.a. Onodeyoh, or as he was called out west, Natowew-Kimaw, One who speaks for another.<sup>143</sup>), a Mohawk, was born on the Grand River Reserve in 1862. For a

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<sup>138</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Henry Jackson to Joe Delisle December 18, 1944

<sup>139</sup> Susan K. Postal, "Hoax Nativism at Caughnawaga: A control Case for the Theory of Revitalization" *Ethnology* v 4 no 3 (July 1965) p 269; and Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 97

<sup>140</sup> "Indian Delegates refused audience by govt. Official" *The Ottawa Citizen* Friday October 26, 1917

<sup>141</sup> Susan K. Postal "Hoax Nativism at Caughnawaga" p 269

<sup>142</sup> RG10 v3184 file 458,168-A pt 1 Inspector of Indian Agencies, Carleton? To Mr. Scott. Ottawa October 30, 1917

<sup>143</sup> Stan Cuthand, "The Native Peoples of the Prairie Provinces 1920-1930" in Jr. Miller [ed.] *Sweet Promises* p 382

year, Loft attended the Mohawk Institute, an Indian residential school. Loft quit the school, later explaining the quality of education was poor, he'd been underfed and remembered being constantly hungry.<sup>144</sup> He worked as a lumberjack to pay his way through a white high school and business college. In 1898, he married Affa Northcote Geary of Chicago, a cousin of Sir Stafford Northcote, later the first Lord Iddesleigh.<sup>145</sup> Sometime around 1905, Loft took a job as an accountant at the insane asylum in Toronto and moved into a home on Madison Avenue.<sup>146</sup> He also applied for enfranchisement. The Department turned down his application, but it would later come back to haunt him.<sup>147</sup> Although Loft lived in Toronto, he kept touch with his mother and two brothers, Harry and William, who ran farms at Grand River.<sup>148</sup> He helped recruit men from Grand River for WWI,<sup>149</sup> and lied on his own application, making himself ten years younger, so he could serve as well. Even as a falsely young fifty-five year old, Loft was denied active duty because of his age. He did, however, spend seven months in France, commissioned as a lieutenant in the Forestry Corps.<sup>150</sup>

How the League of Indians was formed is uncertain. One account credits Loft with the idea. The story goes that while Loft was overseas he met Indians from across Canada – about 3,000 treaty Indians enlisted during WWI<sup>151</sup> - and he was struck by their common struggles. He approached the Privy Council in Britain and asked their advice on how to improve the lot of Indians in Canada. They suggested organizing Indians across Canada into a lobby group to press for

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<sup>144</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Dear Mr. Graham. July 26, 1928.

<sup>145</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 102

<sup>146</sup> *Toronto Sunday World* June 6, 1920; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 102; RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 New Credit Ontario, November 19<sup>th</sup> 1919.

<sup>147</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 October 20<sup>th</sup> 1920

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Toronto Sunday World* June 6, 1920

<sup>150</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 102

<sup>151</sup> Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1985) p 20 gives the number as 3,500, while Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* estimates a higher number 4,000 p 301

changes in policy. It was also rumored that Loft had met privately with King George V.<sup>152</sup>

Considering the high position of Loft's in-laws, (Northcote had led Britain's Conservative Party, and been a finance minister in 1876.<sup>153</sup>) it's possible that Loft did seek advice from someone of high standing in Britain. When he returned he called a meeting of chiefs and organized the League.<sup>154</sup>

A second account credits the League to group of Haudenosaunee and Ojibwa chiefs who held a general council meeting in December 1918. This does not appear to have been a meeting of the General Council of Ontario and Quebec Indians, as Titley suggests.<sup>155</sup> Instead, they called the meeting to discuss a series of amendments to the Indian Act made under Superintendent General Frank Oliver (1905-1911). The amendments allowed the Superintendent, with the permission of the Exchequer Court, to abolish reserves near towns with a population of 8,000 or more inhabitants. Municipalities and companies could also expropriate reserve lands for roads, railways and other public works with the permission of the Governor-in Council. The consent of the band was not needed.<sup>156</sup> The timing of the meeting is telling. Some of the Ojibwa chiefs attending the meeting were also members of the Grand General Council. Perhaps they were frustrated by its lack of success. By 1918, the Department's assault on Thunderwater's reputation was causing some of his followers to question his leadership. Perhaps the Haudenosaunee chiefs wanted to replace Thunderwater with a man known to the community, whose reputation they could be sure of, and they saw, in Loft, a man with a like-minded vision. Either way, by the end of the meeting the

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<sup>152</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* (Golden Dog Press, 1982) p 129

<sup>153</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, p 102; "Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, 8th Baronet" *Encyclopædia Britannica* from Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service

<sup>154</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 129

<sup>155</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, p 102 seems to have confused the similar titles, but Norman Shields essay suggests the Grand Council only became aware of Loft later, p 119; and in fact the two groups competed for membership, see RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Chapleau Ontario February 23, 1922

<sup>156</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 297

League of Indians was formed, and at subsequent meeting held in Saulte Ste. Marie in 1919, Loft was elected president.<sup>157</sup>

The League's structure was a hybrid of the General Council, which was still operating in 1918, and the Council of Tribes, which was floundering. Like the General Council, the League was a lobby group for both chiefs and grassroots activists, with an elected executive, and monies raised through membership fees.<sup>158</sup> Its method of organizing and lobbying was more akin to Thunderwater's movement. In organizing, Loft adopted Thunderwater's method of holding large congresses on reserves to which anyone interested could attend,<sup>159</sup> and then leaving behind an infrastructure that would be operated by local people, although Loft organized on a regional basis rather than by each reserve as Thunderwater had. Like Thunderwater, Loft tried to circumvent the Indian Department by dealing directly with Parliament<sup>160</sup> or members of the provincial government on issues like hunting rights.<sup>161</sup> Loft's own role as president was much more like Thunderwater's role, or Levi General's, than the president's role in the General Council. Loft was the League's chief organizer, spokesman, and personality.

In organizing, Loft benefited from the existing political communities. The General Council continued to operate but some chiefs were frustrated by its lack of progress. At a meeting in 1884, Chief Shingwauk of Garden River slammed the council, blaming the educated Indians of the east and the south for condoning Canada's laws. He stated that Indians in the north and the west would not accept such laws, for they were awake while it appeared their neighbours were sleeping. He did apologize later, but he was not alone in his discontent. The General Council's failures meant

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<sup>157</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 102; Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 98

<sup>158</sup> Loft tried fund raising by circular letter to bands asking for a \$5 entry fee for membership, and subsequent payments of five cents per head. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, p 103

<sup>159</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 102

<sup>160</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 110

<sup>161</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Dear Mr. Graham, July 26 1928

that only 10 bands sent delegations to General Council meetings between 1904 and 1910.<sup>162</sup> Loft told chiefs he wanted to lobby for a Standing Committee on Indian Affairs composed of members of parliament. The League could then deal directly with Parliament and work around the Indian Department.<sup>163</sup> The idea appealed to General Council members who'd accomplished little by dealing with Department officials.<sup>164</sup> They flocked to Loft's League.

Chief Sault of New Credit, a longtime member of the General Council, personally invited Loft to address his whole community.<sup>165</sup> In 1919, the chief of Sucker Creek told the Department he'd rather spend his band funds on the League meeting than the General Council meeting.<sup>166</sup> The Department informed several chiefs that band funds could only be spent on the General Council.<sup>167</sup> Some chiefs defied the Department; others did not bother to ask permission.<sup>168</sup> After the meeting, delegates from Sarnia discovered the Department would not pay their expenses. Thirty-two community members attended a public meeting and voted twenty-one to eleven to have the expense paid out of band funds; the delegates also openly accused the department of fraud in front of their agent.<sup>169</sup> Peter Kulchyski, who has studied Loft's League, believes the scenario played similarly on other reserves.<sup>170</sup> By 1920, the League had an estimated 9,000 members.<sup>171</sup> The exodus of chiefs from the General Council concerned its president, Henry Jackson. In a letter to the Department, Jackson asked them to officially recognize the General Council as the legitimate voice of Indians, and inform chiefs the League of Indians was not acknowledged.<sup>172</sup> Loft also

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<sup>162</sup> Norman D. Shields, "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p 73-74, pp 83-95

<sup>163</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 110

<sup>164</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Chapleau Ontario February 23, 1922,

<sup>165</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Hagersville, May 20 1920

<sup>166</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Sucker Creek Reserve July 30, 1919.

<sup>167</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 see August 2, 1919 and To P. Cockburn from Assistant Deputy Secretary. February 28, 1919

<sup>168</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Ottawa September 2 1919.

<sup>169</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 103

<sup>170</sup> Ibid p 103

<sup>171</sup> *Toronto Star Weekly* August 28, 1920

<sup>172</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Chapleau Ontario February 23, 1922

gained support from Thunderwater's followers. Akwesasne, Tyendinaga and Grand River sent delegates to the 1919 meeting.<sup>173</sup>

As a Mohawk, Loft understood the division among the Haudenosaunee. Returning veterans had added to the division between traditionalists and dehorners. During WWI, the 56<sup>th</sup> clause of the Indian Act was amended to allot reserve land to returning soldiers, without the approval of Indian governments. The land had a quasi-private status and could be mortgaged without the consent of the band. Up until then, reserve land had never been subject to seizure because of debt.<sup>174</sup> General's group of traditionalists opposed the law, for the same reasons they'd earlier opposed the allotment of land to enfranchised men. In 1922, Levi General allowed his followers to take over farms that had been given to returning veterans. Indian Agent Major Smith called in the police, but General's men armed themselves with pitchforks and knives and ran the police off.<sup>175</sup> Traditionalists viewed the police as a foreign occupying force.<sup>176</sup> Dehorners found new allies in some returning soldiers, like Eliot Moses, a Delaware from Grand River. He began advocating an elected government specifically because the traditional council was dispossessing veterans.<sup>177</sup> Over the next year, the Indian Department would call in the R.C.M.P. to execute several outstanding warrants, some dating back four years, and to search various homes for liquor. The Department's motives are suspect as the majority of those arrested and subjected to searches were General's men.<sup>178</sup> The following year the Department imposed an elected council at Grand River.

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<sup>173</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 To Sir, February 24, 1919

<sup>174</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 105

<sup>175</sup> RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Report, November 10, 1922; RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Supt. A. W. Duffus Commanding Western Ont District; RG18 Present Conditions existing on Six Nations, November 27, 1923

<sup>176</sup> RG 18 Series F-2 v 3299 file HQ-1034-01 Re: Present Conditions Existing on Six Nations Indian Reserve Nov 27, 1923

<sup>177</sup> RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Report Re: Rendering Assistance to Department of Indian Affairs Brantford, Ont. Toronto December 4, 1922

<sup>178</sup> RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Toronto December 11. 1922

Loft entered politics in the middle of this mêlée. He benefited somewhat from Thunderwater's legacy. As Thunderwater discovered the Haudenosaunee had divided over how to govern themselves, but even those willing to participate in the band government system were not satisfied with the status quo. When Superintendent General Stewart and Scott attended a council at Grand River in 1922, hoping to calm the situation, Loft attended and appealed to all factions to find a middle ground. He reminded people at the meeting that they had united on the land claim, and he refused to take sides on the veterans' land issue.<sup>179</sup> In later years, Loft would find his middle ground on the veterans issue. He did not oppose veterans rights, but the lack of control Indian governments had over their land, and the "the domineering, dictating, vetoing method of the Indian Department."<sup>180</sup>

While the Soldier's Settlement Act had added to tensions at Grand River, Loft did benefit from his status as a veteran and a spiritedness among some returning soldiers. Overseas Indian soldiers could drink alcohol and vote. When peace returned, they lost these privileges, being again subject to the provisions of the Indian Act.<sup>181</sup> As soldiers, many learned to read and write for the first time, and received adequate medical attention.<sup>182</sup> Back home, the 1918 influenza epidemic hit Indian communities hard and many veterans already suffering from weak constitutions succumbed, due in part to a lack of access to doctors or nurses.<sup>183</sup> Finally, Indians were not afforded the same benefits as other Canadian veterans under the War Veterans Allowance Act, even the Last Post Fund, (established in 1909 and publicly funded in 1922), which ensured no veteran would have a pauper's funeral did not always apply to Indians.<sup>184</sup> As Titley points out, returning soldiers found

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<sup>179</sup> RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-0-1 Report Re: Rendering Assistance to Department of Indian Affairs Brantford Ont. Toronto December 4, 1922

<sup>180</sup> "Indians Want Equal Chance with their white brothers" *Toronto Star Weekly* August 28, 1920

<sup>181</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 301; Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* p 31

<sup>182</sup> Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* p 39

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid* p 33, p 38

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid* p 33, p 38

their lives and lack of rights back home intolerable.<sup>185</sup> One reporter attending the 1919 meeting of the League observed: "The war has something to do with it, for the fact that hundreds of red men have fought overseas has given them the idea that they have principles to stand for at home as well."<sup>186</sup>

Having built on the momentum of existing movements in Ontario, Loft made expansion a priority. He told supporters he wanted to hold back on lobbying until the League had built up strength in numbers. In a letter written to a western supporter in 1919, Loft stated: "Just at the present I am not bothering much with Ottawa people as I think it best to be a bit shy until we get strong."<sup>187</sup> Loft's challenge was to expand beyond the Ojibwa and Haudenosaunee and into new territory. As he moved west, he had few connections. His idea was to send introductory letters to chiefs, but he ran into a snag. He needed names and addresses, and the Department was not keen on providing them. Loft asked Indian Agent at Duck Lake, C.P. Schmidt, for the names and addresses of chiefs in his jurisdiction. Schmidt refused to reply.<sup>188</sup> Scott had already advised Schmidt and other agents not to respond to Loft.<sup>189</sup> Nevertheless, Loft had some success when he wrote to agents and asked for the names of interpreters.<sup>190</sup>

Loft kept careful records of the letters he sent, who replied and who didn't.<sup>191</sup> Not all responses were positive. Chief Shot-Both-Sides of the Blood reserve refused to join saying "the chief had made his treaty with the queen and will remain faithful to it."<sup>192</sup> When Loft did receive a

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<sup>185</sup> Brian Tittley, *A Narrow Vision* p 103

<sup>186</sup> *London Free Press* September 4, 1919

<sup>187</sup> As quoted in Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 105

<sup>188</sup> Brian Tittley, *A Narrow Vision* p 106

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid* p 104

<sup>190</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Copy 75 Madison Toronto Ontario, F.O. Loft to Dear Brother

<sup>191</sup> The various letters are contained in RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1

<sup>192</sup> As quoted in Hugh A. Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader: A Biography of James Gladstone Indian Senator* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1986) p 108

favorable response, he asked for the names and addresses of other chiefs,<sup>193</sup> urging the respondents to: “go amongst other Indians preach the cause of the League of Indians of Canada”<sup>194</sup> Through his letters, Loft made inroads into communities like Kitigan Zibi, who had never been part of the General Council or the Council of Tribes. They invited Loft to their community to speak.<sup>195</sup> Loft’s greatest success, however, was in the West.

Agents soon reported that Loft’s letters were causing “a considerable unrest” on the Prairies. Those were the words of NWMP Sergeant Enright on the Peigan reserve near Brocket in 1919.<sup>196</sup> In 1921, an agent in Griswold Saskatchewan reported:

Quite a number of the older Indians are busy having meetings over letters they have received from some man in Toronto who calls himself Chief Loftus or Loftee. I understand from the Indians that he is trying to organize all the Indians in Canada, so that he can take their grievances to the Department in Ottawa. ... He certainly has got them worked up about it. I think this should be looked into.<sup>197</sup>

The agent had not seen the letter in question with his own eyes, but it was likely the same circular letter that already fallen into the Departments hands:

We as Indians, from one end of the Dominion to the other, are sadly strangers to each other; we have not learned what it is to co-operate and work for each other as we should; the pity of it is greater because our needs drawbacks, handicaps, and troubles are all similar. It is for us to do something to get out of these sad conditions. The day is past when one band or a few bands can successfully – if at all – free themselves from the domination and officialdom and from being ever the prey and victims of unscrupulous means of depriving us of our lands and homes and even deny us of the right we are entitled to as free men under the British flag.<sup>198</sup>

Loft followed up by holding large public congresses in Manitoba (1920), Saskatchewan (1921) and Alberta (1922). An estimated 1500 delegates attended the 1922 meeting.<sup>199</sup> Much like in Ontario, Loft did not create a political community on the prairies; he only harnessed and organized a

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<sup>193</sup> The various letters are contained in RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1

<sup>194</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 Copy 75 Madison Toronto Ontario F.O. Loft to Dear Brother

<sup>195</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 August 24, 1922

<sup>196</sup> Peter Kulchyski, “A Considerable Unrest” p 104

<sup>197</sup> As quoted in *Ibid* p 104

<sup>198</sup> Loft as quoted in Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 103

<sup>199</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1- Ottawa November 29 1921, From W.M. Graham to Scott; Peter Kulchyski “A Considerable Unrest” p 100

bourgeoning political community that was growing out of a long legacy of discontent and oppression.

Discontent on the prairies grew out of the numbered treaty era. Canada obtained lands in the North West in 1870 without the knowledge or consent of the Indian population. When Cree Chief Paskwaw (also spelled Pasqua) first heard of the transfer, he remarked that if the sale had really happened the money should have come to the Indians.<sup>200</sup> When telegraph surveyors arrived at Qu'Appelle in 1872, the Cree living in the region blocked surveyors and demanded a treaty.<sup>201</sup> Canada agreed to sign treaties for two reasons. First, Canada feared that trespassing on Indian lands without permission would lead to Indian wars like those fought in the US. According to one account, the US spent more on fighting Indians in six months than Canada had in her entire treasury. Canada could simply not afford to take the land by force.<sup>202</sup> Secondly, the 1763 Proclamation Act had set a precedent. Technically the Act had not applied in the North-West, but Canada promised Britain to compensate Indians for their land. Some Canadian politicians believed these Indian had a usufructuary right that needed to be extinguished. Others believed Indians had no land rights, but felt treaties were a moral obligation. Canadian negotiators arrived ill-prepared. Worse, they were only authorized to offer a pittance for the land: small reserves, small annuity payments and a promise to enforce prohibitions on alcohol.<sup>203</sup>

For the most part, Indian communities were better prepared. The disappearance of the buffalo caused concerns. In the 1840s, buffalo herds had blocked the paths of travelers, but by 1880, herds were reduced to a few hundred due to over-hunting to satisfy the demand for buffalo robes, but also the added pressure of displaced peoples, like the Sioux and the westward moving

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<sup>200</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 272

<sup>201</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) p 213

<sup>202</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 249

<sup>203</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 212

Métis who needed a food source.<sup>204</sup> In 1888, one American observer counted only six buffalo.<sup>205</sup> Some Métis and Indians attempted to self-regulate hunting, but had difficulty regulating the white population.<sup>206</sup> The waning herds forced Indians to look for new means of subsistence, and they contemplated farming. When the treaty makers arrived, Indians were quick to demand that farming implements, animals and schools were included. The Saulteaux had written up a list of acceptable terms as early as 1869.<sup>207</sup>

Canada's treaty-makers had no authority to add the provisions, but in almost every treaty the terms were more generous than their authority allowed. Commissioner Wemyss Simpson, who negotiated Treaty One, did not write the added provisions into the text of the treaty. He did record the terms in a memo entitled 'outside promises' which he failed to forward to Ottawa.<sup>208</sup> Between 1871 and 1877, seven treaties were signed, covering almost 30,000 Indians in parts of Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta Saskatchewan and the Yukon. Originally, a number of the 10,000 Métis residing on the Prairies were included in treaties Three, Four, and Six. They had land set aside for them at Rainy River. After the Red River troubles, the government changed its mind and amended the Indian Act in 1880 to exclude Half-breeds from the provisions of the Indian Act and Treaties.<sup>209</sup>

Not every chief was pleased with the terms of the treaties however. Three chiefs, Big Bear, Piapot and Little Pine wanted more generous terms. They wondered how subsequent generations could survive if their population increased, while the land base remained the same. The three

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<sup>204</sup> J.R. Miller, "The North West Rebellion of 1885" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) pp 244-45

<sup>205</sup> Ibid pp 244-45

<sup>206</sup> J.R. Miller, "The North West Rebellion of 1885" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) pp 244-45; John Leonard Taylor, "Canada's North-West Indian Policy in the 1870s: Traditional Premises and Necessary Innovations" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) p 207

<sup>207</sup> John Leonard Taylor, "Canada's North-West Indian Policy in the 1870s" p 209

<sup>208</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) p 212

<sup>209</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 254

leaders represented 50 per cent of the Indian population in the Treaty 4 and Treaty 6 area.<sup>210</sup> When Big Bear and Little Pine attended the signing of Treaty Six, they discovered the Treaties would make Indians subject to Canada's laws. As they knew little about Canadian law, but recognized they'd have little influence over how it was shaped, signing a treaty must have appeared like signing a blank cheque. Big Bear described this metaphorically, saying he had no wish to have a rope around his neck and be controlled like an animal. Little Pine was less metaphoric, comparing the deal to enslavement.<sup>211</sup>

Indian Commissioner, Edgar Dewdney, tried to starve and strong-arm the holdouts into signing. In 1879, buffalo were unseen on the Prairies. Big Bear's people crossed into the U.S. to hunt, but returned starving. Historians believe the periodic blindness effecting Little Pine around this time was caused by malnutrition. Dewdney ordered his subordinates to issue rations only to treaty Indians. Next, Dewdney reinstated an old practice of the HBC, recognizing any male who led 100 or more men as a chief.<sup>212</sup> The Cree called these men 'okimokan' or 'toy chiefs.'<sup>213</sup> Some of Big Bear's people left, following Lucky Man and Thunderchild, they entered treaties. The hardliners stayed with Big Bear, but they began to lose faith that Big Bear could negotiate better terms. By 1884, Big Bear admitted he was losing control of hungry and angry young men to war chiefs Little Poplar and Wandering Spirit.<sup>214</sup>

After the creation of the North-West Mounted Police in 1873, Dewdney called for an increasing number of officers.<sup>215</sup> Originally, the NWMP tried to cultivate good relations with chiefs,

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<sup>210</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 215

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 216

<sup>213</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" M.A. Thesis Regina Sask. September 8, 1997 University of Regina p16

<sup>214</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 216, p 225

<sup>215</sup> Ibid p 225

and had some success, especially with the Blackfoot leader Crowfoot.<sup>216</sup> Dewdney, however, hoped police could strong-arm the holdouts. He ordered police to arrest Piapot for trespassing on the Pasqua reserve, when the chief attended a thirst dance (Sundance.) Provisions had been made in the Indian Act to arrest persons who trespassed on Indian lands, although in spirit, the section was intended to prevent encroachment by settlers. The fifty-six NWMP officers sent to arrest Piapot found themselves surrounded by armed Indian warriors. Instead, they asked Piapot to leave the reserve and as an incentive, they promised him a reserve located in the Qu'Appelle region. Piapot agreed and left the reserve as promised, but he had not promised how long he'd stay away. He quickly returned and continued with the Thirst dance. The incident was a victory for Piapot and the holdouts. They'd been trying to establish concentrated reserves, believing numbers would give them strength to resist Canada.<sup>217</sup> The NWMP's promise to Piapot for reserve land near Qu'Appelle concentrated 2000 Indians.<sup>218</sup>

Meanwhile Big Bear, Little Pine and Piapot tried to organize other chiefs into an alliance designed to negotiate better terms. Like the General Council in Ontario, the meetings were no longer about Indian nation to Indian nation business, but focused on their relationship with Canada. The three chiefs held thirst dances (Sun Dances) on several reserves. The dances were a spiritual ritual, but also a pre-requisite to political meetings (much like the Haudenosaunee's condolence ceremonies). Several chiefs who had signed treaties were upset by the slow arrival and small quantities of animals and farming equipment. Moreover, what little equipment did arrive was in poor condition, and outdated. In 1884, Chief Beardy, Mistawasis and Atahkakoop, all in the Carleton District, and some minor chiefs attended a council at Duck Lake. In all twelve bands were

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<sup>216</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 257

<sup>217</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 221-22

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid* p 221-22

represented.<sup>219</sup> The Council drew up 18 specific treaty grievances, including inadequate agricultural goods and animals, annuities, healthcare, schools, and oppressive government measures. They gave the government a one-year deadline to resolve the problems.<sup>220</sup> Little Pine had also been wooing the Blackfoot leader Crowfoot to join their council. The Cree and Blackfoot once enemies, had negotiated a peace following the Battle of Belly River in 1870.<sup>221</sup> Afterwards Crowfoot's adopted the Cree Chief Poundmaker.<sup>222</sup> After several overtures, Little Pine convinced Crowfoot to attend a council in 1885.<sup>223</sup> The Council never took place because of fall out from a call-to-arms by the Métis.

The Métis had asked their one-time leader Louis Riel to return to Canada –he'd been living in exile in the United States - to help them negotiate with Canada. The Métis feared losing their land, as they had in Ontario and Manitoba. At first settlers and missionaries supported the move. Settlers were upset by the lack of consultation in the land transfer, and the snail's pace of land registry agents. Missionaries were soon put off by Riel's spiritual visions. Riel was now convinced that he was entangled in a holy plan and the Métis were god's chosen people. Settlers withdrew their support after Riel issued a call-to-arms. When Riel wrote to Indian Chiefs appealing for help in the battle at Duck Lake, he got little support. Several chiefs turned down his requests; others, like Piapot, publicly reaffirmed their loyalty to the Queen.<sup>224</sup> The few Indians who did become involved

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<sup>219</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 225; J.R. Miller "The North West Rebellion of 1885" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) p 246

<sup>220</sup> A. Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" in J.R. Miller [ed] *Sweet Promises* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) p 263

<sup>221</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 214

<sup>222</sup> A Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" p 262

<sup>223</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 216; J.R. Miller, "The North West Rebellion of 1885" p 246

<sup>224</sup> A. Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" p 263

in the Duck Lake Battle, would later claim they'd been coerced,<sup>225</sup> like the Sioux Chief, Whitecap, who claimed the Métis had forced him onto their provisional council.<sup>226</sup>

Two other squirmishes did involve Indians, but their leaders had their own interests at heart and were not allied with the Métis. Wandering Spirit led a group of Big Bear's young men into a battle at Frog Lake, largely because of animosity between the Cree and local officials.<sup>227</sup> In other areas, settlers fled towns and small groups of Indians helped themselves to the food and clothing they left behind. A cook, who'd remained in the government house at Battleford, noted Indians didn't take much in the raids as they were in a hurry, but that whites had "finished what the Indians had begun. They made a clean sweep."<sup>228</sup> One group of Indian raiders had second thoughts about their actions and fled to Poundmaker's reserve. They reasoned that of all the chiefs, Poundmaker was on the best terms with government and could best explain their actions. After their arrival, Poundmaker was forced to turn over control of his band to the warrior society. A group of NWMP tried to invade the reserve leading to the Battle of Cutknife Hill. The NWMP were forced to retreat. Poundmaker convinced his warriors to let them withdraw without pursuit.<sup>229</sup> Historian J.R. Miller describes Indian participation in the 1885 uprising as minimal and "scattered and isolated acts of violence by angry young men who could no longer be restrained by cooler heads."<sup>230</sup> Most Prairie Nations wanted to continue on the treaty path, as apposed to the warpath. Nevertheless, the fallout for Indians from the 1885 troubles was a long era of oppression that delayed political advocacy.

For the 50 years following the Troubles, Indian bands would suffer from a loss of leadership. Chief Red Pheasant and Chief Little Pine both died in 1885. Their deaths meant

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid p 270-271

<sup>226</sup> Ibid p 270-271

<sup>227</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 230

<sup>228</sup> As quoted in A. Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" p 265

<sup>229</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 232-34

<sup>230</sup> J.R. Miller, "The North West Rebellion of 1885" p 257

Poundmaker was the only living chief in the Battleford area.<sup>231</sup> Although Poundmaker had not participated in the Battle at Cutknife Hill, he was tried, found guilty and imprisoned. Poundmaker died shortly after being released. Chief Sweetgrass died in 1877, making Big Bear the principal chief of the northern plains Cree.<sup>232</sup> Like Poundmaker, Big Bear had not participated in the Troubles. Still Big Bear was imprisoned for treason. He, too, died shortly after being released. His band was broken and scattered on Dewdney's recommendation.<sup>233</sup> Dewdney intimidated Piapot by stationing armed troops on his reserve.<sup>234</sup> Over the next decade, band council systems were imposed on the prairies, except in Saskatchewan where the Department discouraged bands from replacing their leaders. Many reserves operated without chiefs for the next 50 years. For example, there was no chief on Peepeekis from 1908 until 1938.<sup>235</sup> Likewise, the council of elders did not replace Poundmaker until the 1920s.<sup>236</sup> Only in 1939, did the Department reverse this policy and begin encouraging bands to adopt the elected system.<sup>237</sup>

A second result of the 1885 troubles was the implementation of a pass system, which required Indians to seek written permission from their agent before leaving their reserve. Dewdney had been pushing for such an amendment to the Indian Act since 1884. Following the Troubles, the McDonald government agreed to implement a pass system immediately for disloyal Indians. Dewdney applied the pass system to 28 bands, including reserves like Thunderchild and Sweetgrass, who'd been very loyal.<sup>238</sup> The following year the pass system was extended to all prairie reserves.<sup>239</sup> Indians would now need passes, even to sell their farm goods, or to take a sick

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<sup>231</sup> A Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" p 265

<sup>232</sup> Ibid p 266

<sup>233</sup> Ibid pp 270-274

<sup>234</sup> John L Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree" p 231

<sup>235</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 18

<sup>236</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 113

<sup>237</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 18

<sup>238</sup> A Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising" pp 270-274

<sup>239</sup> Ibid pp 270-274

child to the town doctor.<sup>240</sup> The pass system became a form of social control as Indian Agents refused to issue passes to outspoken individuals.<sup>241</sup>

A third consequence was the banning of dances. The Sun Dance was banned in 1895, and two more amendments banned other traditional dances, and traditional costumes in the 1930s. Agents used the pass system to restrict travel between reserves, and relied on the NWMP to enforce the bans on dancing.<sup>242</sup> In part, the dances were banned because they encouraged traditional spirituality, and caused Indians to absent themselves from school and work.<sup>243</sup> Government officials also wanted to discourage any sizable gathering of Indians, because such gatherings unnerved settlers. In 1891, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that a half dozen families living in Dakota huddled in their homes after hearing rumours of an Indian uprising.<sup>244</sup> Shortly afterward, an Indian scare hit settlers in Boissevain. Apparently, the villagers had mistaken some local rabbit hunters for “redskins on the warpath” and hid in the Town Hall.<sup>245</sup> In 1889, the NWMP were called in to disarm and turn away American Sioux heading into Canada to take part in a ceremony known as New Tidings.<sup>246</sup> New Tidings was a dance linked to a quasi-Christian prophecy that when the Messiah returned he’d resurrect all dead Indians and all white men would be exterminated.<sup>247</sup>

Bans on the dances were only partially successful as dances continued underground, under different names, or in defiance of the law. Courts also found it difficult to interpret the law, as the law was so vague they could not see how Indians could know what particular rituals were

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<sup>240</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, “A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter” p 56

<sup>241</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 125

<sup>242</sup> RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 To Hon David Laird Indian Commissioner, Ottawa Feb 28<sup>th</sup> 1902

<sup>243</sup> RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 St. Paul's Mission to Major Howe commander of Police Force McLeod

<sup>244</sup> “The Indian Scare” *Winnipeg Free Press* Jan 17, 1891

<sup>245</sup> RG18 series A-1 v 46 file 15-91 n.d.

<sup>246</sup> RG18 series A-1 v 46 file 15-91 Regina December 7, 1890

<sup>247</sup> RG18 series A-1 v 46 file 15-91 n.d.

illegal. In 1902, the Blood hosted a dance attended by Blackfoot, Sarcee and Piegan.<sup>248</sup> The Peigans also held dances that year, inviting the Blackfoot and the Stonys.<sup>249</sup> NWMP sometimes feared breaking up the dances would cause an uprising.<sup>250</sup> Other officers could not understand the ban on spiritual dances; some sympathetically likened the dances to church observances.<sup>251</sup>

Under these circumstances, discontent festered often without leadership to organize it and controls were in place to punish outspokenness. The band systems, bans on leaders, pass system and bans on dances upset prairie Indians, and delayed activism. In addition, they faced the same provisions of the Indians Act, which frustrated their eastern neighbours, for example, the alienation of reserve land. Under the Oliver Act, the Department sold nearly half of the Blackfoot Reserve was in 1910-1911.<sup>252</sup> During the 1920s, the Indian agent on the Poundmaker tried to sell a large tract of land by invoking a section of the War Measures Act – even though the war had ended - which allowed the government to expropriate ‘unused’ reserve land for war production. John Tootosis Senior, a farmer and a nephew of Poundmaker, got wind of the agent’s scheme and visited a lawyer. His son John Tootosis Junior, who’d learned a smattering of English in residential school, acted as a translator. The lawyer advised the two men that under the provisions of the Indian Act, ‘unused’ land became ‘used’ land with the simple addition of a fence. The two men prevented the sale by recruiting men in the community to build the required fence.<sup>253</sup>

By the 1920s, when Loft arrived Indians on the Prairies had already begun to organize, locally and regionally. Members of the Pasqua, Piopot and Muscowpetung bands united into the

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<sup>248</sup> RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 The officer Commanding NWMP MacLeod, July 28· 1902

<sup>249</sup> RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 Const. Geoghegan in Charge of Peigan detachment Extract from the weekly report, July 12, 1902

<sup>250</sup> RG18 Series A-1 vol 205 file 136-01, To Hon David Laird Indian Commissioner, Ottawa Feb 28· 1902

<sup>251</sup> RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 Const. Geoghegan in Charge of Peigan detachment Extract from the weekly report, July 12, 1902. RG18 Series A-1 v 205 file 136-01 The Commissioner NWMP Feb 12, 1901

<sup>252</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason *Canada's First Nations* p 297

<sup>253</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* pp 110-112

Allied Bands, to lobby against the alienation of reserve lands under the Soldier Settlement Act.<sup>254</sup> Two of their key members, Harry Ball and Abel Watech of the Piapot reserve were war veterans like Loft.<sup>255</sup> When Loft called a meeting at Elphanstone in 1920, both John Tootosis Sr. and his son attended. John Senior would become the League's executive member for the Battleford region; John Jr. would eventually become its president.<sup>256</sup> The Allied Bands amalgamated with the western League in the 1930s.<sup>257</sup> Loft had extended himself and harnessed a political community already in the making.

Like his predecessors, Loft's League of Indians failed to get results. Officials in the Indian Department refused to answer Loft's letters, and Loft failed to find a way around the Department. By lobbying individual members of Parliament, Loft did secure an appearance before a Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs in 1920, and he appealed for the creation of a Standing Committee on Indian Affairs to deal with grievances. Unfortunately, for Loft, the matter was referred back to Scott, who advised his superiors that Loft was a fraud and "what he ought to get is a good snub."<sup>258</sup> Loft also met, but failed to secure any more than empty promises from F. H. Auld, Saskatchewan's Deputy Minister of Agriculture.<sup>259</sup> Loft's League did, however, leave two legacies.

First Loft successfully cultivated sympathy with the Canadian media. The *Regina Leader* seemed to agree with Loft that conservation laws should not deprive "the race which owned the land before the whiteman came" of food.<sup>260</sup> The *Toronto Star Weekly* ran an article entitled "Indians want Equal chance with their white brothers," quoting Loft's assessment of the Department: "The

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<sup>254</sup>Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 66

<sup>255</sup> Ibid p 146

<sup>256</sup> Ibid pp 83-94, pp 131-33

<sup>257</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 100; Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* pp 175-78

<sup>258</sup> As quoted in Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 109

<sup>259</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 July 26, 1928 Dear Mr. Graham

<sup>260</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 107

position and treatment of the Indian today is as if he were an imbecile.”<sup>261</sup> The *London Free Press* described the League as “enthusiastic in their new movement to see what the Indian can do towards formulating higher plans of social moral political and industrial economies.”<sup>262</sup> They added that, “the delegates are composed of men who speak splendid English and are fully qualified to understand the needs of their people.”<sup>263</sup> In fact, Loft was somewhat of a media sweetheart. Titley believe Loft’s media campaigns generated public sympathy for Indian grievances, particularly because of his status as a veteran.<sup>264</sup>

Next, Loft’s Western League of Indians proved to be long lasting, although it would restructure several times. In 1922, the Western League set up its own infrastructure electing a President, Vice-President, and Secretary Treasurer. Regions had local chapters with their own elected executives. The League met annually in Saskatchewan for several years under the presidency of Rev. Edward Ahenakew. Unfortunately, Ahenakew proved to be a weak leader, as he was often torn between his elders and the opinions of his peers in synods of the Anglican Church.<sup>265</sup> Interest in the League trailed off for a time, until Chief Joe Taylor of Green Lake revitalized interest in the League.<sup>266</sup> According to one account, a local Indian Agent was visiting the reserve in 1929 and noticed a picture of Loft on in the band council building. The agent scoffed, ‘that’s the way Indians are, they get something started then forget it and generally give up. What happened in 1921 will come to nothing.’<sup>267</sup> The criticism had a reverse effect on Taylor, who began recruiting members to revitalize the League.<sup>268</sup> Taylor found an ally in John Tootoosis Jr.. John Jr. was chosen as a delegate for the Poundmaker reserve in 1931. During the 1930s, John Jr.

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<sup>261</sup> “Indians Want Equal Chance with their white brothers” *Toronto Star Weekly* August 28, 1920

<sup>262</sup> As quoted in Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 107

<sup>263</sup> As quoted in Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 107

<sup>264</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 107

<sup>265</sup> Stan Cuthand, “The Native Peoples of the Prairie Provinces in the 1920s and 1930s” p 383

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> As retold in Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 148

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid* p 148

traveled by foot rail and horseback, organizing local chapters of the Western League in Lesser Slave Lake, the Pas, and the Treaty no 5 area. While the Department never tried to shut down the organization, officials did threaten to arrest John Jr. for traveling without a pass in 1934.<sup>269</sup> Ahenakew retired in 1933, due to poor health and pressure from his Anglican contemporaries who did not approve of the League.<sup>270</sup>

That year, the Western League split into two provincial branches. John Tootoosis Jr. won the presidency of the Saskatchewan Branch. The branch apparently had a number of Métis members, including the popular leader Malcolm Norris. One of John's first decision as president was to restructure the League to oust the Métis. Tootoosis argued Métis issues were too different for the organization could not effectively represent both groups, especially since Métis did not fall under federal legislation. Norris called Tootoosis' decision selfish, shortsighted, and typical Indian 'narrow nationalism.'<sup>271</sup> The Saskatchewan League would restructure again, in 1942, renaming itself the Union of Saskatchewan Indians or the USI.

The second provincial branch to grow out of the split, the Alberta League, fell under the leadership of Joe Sampson in 1933. Unlike the FSI, the Alberta League continued to seek membership from Métis and non-status Indians as well as grassroots Indians.<sup>272</sup> In 1939, the Alberta League restructured itself into the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA).<sup>273</sup> Both provincial groups passed a number of resolutions, but accomplished little before the 1940s, because Indian Department officials ignored them, leaving Indians on the prairies organized but frustrated.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid p 160

<sup>270</sup> Ibid p 154

<sup>271</sup> Ibid p 154

<sup>272</sup> See in RG10 v 8477 file 1/24-2-1 part 7 Indian Association of Alberta Minutes of the General meeting, June 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 1964. See in RG10 v 8477 file 1/24-2-1 part 7 Indian Association of Alberta Minutes of the General meeting, June 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 1964; the minutes record a decision to issue non-treaty members a different coloured membership card.

<sup>273</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 100; Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* pp 175-78

<sup>274</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 55

Meanwhile the Ontario League failed under three blows. First, Loft's wife took ill, and he absented himself from politics from 1924 to 1931 to care for her while she stayed with family in Chicago. The Ontario League held only one meeting in his absence, in 1925.<sup>275</sup> When Loft returned in 1931, interest in the League had waned. Loft began soliciting funds to hire a lawyer to argue for the treaty right to hunt before the Privy Council, but the long period of inactivity had subdued interest in the League. A second blow was, no doubt, the Depression, which meant Indian communities had little cash to spare. Loft could not raise the \$4,000 he needed for the case. The deathblow came from the Department. Scott had tried various methods to shut down the league in the past. For example, Scott accused Loft of fraud, and tried to intimidate Loft's followers by posting RCMP and NWMP at meetings.<sup>276</sup> In 1920, Scott dug up Loft's 1905 application for enfranchisement and tried to process it despite Loft's objections. Scott seemed to hope that enfranchising Loft would alienate his followers. Before Scott could push through the paperwork, the newly elected liberals altered the Indian Act, making an Indian's consent a prerequisite to enfranchisement.<sup>277</sup> Finally, Scott sought ways to arrest Loft, telling his agents to listen closely to Loft's speeches for hints of seditious libel.<sup>278</sup> During Loft's absence from the political scene, Scott had secured an amendment to the Indian Act, making it illegal to solicit funds to pursue Indian claims. The penalty was a fine or two months in prison. That amendment finally did the trick. Scott collected copies of Loft's 1931 circular and threatened to prosecute him. Loft, now 70 years of age and in poor health, avoided prosecution by retiring from the political scene.<sup>279</sup> The Ontario branch of the League held its last meeting in 1936.<sup>280</sup> The 1927 amendment also temporarily shut down the Grand General Council. The Ontario organizations were not only casualties of the amendment;

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<sup>275</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 111.

<sup>276</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 108; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 104, p 106

<sup>277</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 104; Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 107

<sup>278</sup> RG10 v 3211 file 527,787 part 1 New Credit Ontario, November 19<sup>th</sup> 1919.

<sup>279</sup> Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision* p 108; Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest" p 111- p 112

<sup>280</sup> Don Whiteside, *Historical Development of Aboriginal Political Associations in Canada: Documentation* p 1

the amendment had, in fact, been aimed at shutting down another organization based in British Columbia.

Indian political communities in B.C. formed out of shared concerns over land title and compensation. B.C. had only a small immigrant population until the 1850s. The East Coast Salish felt the impact of settlement first.<sup>281</sup> Then, in the 1880s, immigrants discovered the gold Indian bands had been quietly mining for centuries and conflicts arose over resources.<sup>282</sup> In 1910, a wave of immigration brought settlers into the interior and the coast.<sup>283</sup> Bands in B.C. did not surrender their land, nor did they receive compensation for lost territory, although Governor James Douglas did stake out small Indian reserves for residential use and fisheries. Future governors refused to acknowledge Indian title, and worked their position into their terms for entering confederation in 1871. Under Confederation, the federal government gained legal authority over Indians and the small reserves acknowledge by the Douglas government. Only two nations, the Beaver and the Slave, managed to sign treaties with Canada, because their traditional territories happened to be on federally held crown land.<sup>284</sup>

The Nisg'a organized the first sizeable lobby group on land rights. In 1874, the traditional chiefs of Douglas Portage of the Lower Fraser and the tribes on the seashore of the 'mainland to Bute Island' sent joint petitions, then delegations to Victoria and Ottawa.<sup>285</sup> In 1884, the Nisg'a prevented a survey of their lands.<sup>286</sup> In 1909, sixteen chiefs formed the Nisg'a Land Committee and combined their lobbying efforts on the land title issue. The Land Committee held meetings

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<sup>281</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 12-13

<sup>282</sup> Alan Morely, *Roar of the Breakers: A biography of Peter Kelly* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967) p 10

<sup>283</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 12-13

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid* p 14

<sup>285</sup> George Manuel, *The Fourth World* p 74-84

<sup>286</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 26

near villages, and hundreds of citizens attended. They elected a chief to chair each meeting, and the chairmanship rotated among the villages.<sup>287</sup>

While other nations in B.C. shared the Nisg'a' s concerns over the land question, multi-national organizations did not appear until the 1900s. At first villages lobbied the government independently. In 1887, Indians living in Port Simpson traveled to Victoria to protest roads being cut through their forests.<sup>288</sup> In 1906, the Salish Indians of Couichan, Vancouver Island send a delegation to King George VII to discuss the land question. Twenty Skeena River bands petitioned the province,<sup>289</sup> before sending a delegation to England in 1909.<sup>290</sup> They objected to land seizures aimed establishing a town at Prince Rupert and a terminal extending the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>291</sup> In 1910, the Songhees reserve in Victoria was abolished under the Oliver Act.<sup>292</sup> The Haida took a different tact. For many years, they refused to petition the Queen, saying they would petition no one for land they already owned.<sup>293</sup>

Three factors delayed nations in B.C. from combining their efforts on the land issue. First, the political unit among nations in B.C. was the village. Only the Nisg'a seem to remember having a traditional council that tied their villages together. The idea of uniting villages under a broader political organization was a new one for West Coast Indians.<sup>294</sup> Secondly, nations in B.C. had a unique communications problem. From the Quebec through the Prairies, many nations shared a language group, but in B.C. nations spoke upwards of 30 mutually unintelligible languages. Finally, West Coast nations were hindered in uniting by a class system. Class systems not only created a

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid

<sup>288</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 74-76

<sup>289</sup> Ibid

<sup>290</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 74-84

<sup>291</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 74-76

<sup>292</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 297

<sup>293</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 74-76

<sup>294</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 4; Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 9-13

hierarchy of families in villages, but a hierarchy of nations. The Haida and other coastal Indians considered themselves intellectually superior to nations living in the interior. Nations in B.C. had to overcome a certain amount of intolerance before forming a political union.<sup>295</sup> Sympathetic white men instigated the first multi-national organizations in B.C. Reverend T. O'Meara; a former lawyer turned Anglican Minister, worked for the Nisg'a Land Committee. In the 1910s, he organized a group called 'Friends of the Indians.' J.A. Teit, a white trapper, turned anthropologist, headed a southern Interior group calling itself the Interior Tribes of BC.<sup>296</sup>

The first Indian-led multinational organization appeared in 1916. It grew out of the federal and provincial government's failures to address the land issue to Indians' satisfaction. The federal government had responded to the disjointed lobbying efforts, by holding two investigations into Indian lands in B.C.: the Joint Commission for the Settlement of Indian Reserves in the Province of British Columbia (1876-1910); and a Royal Commission, known as the McKenna-McBride Commission (1913-1916).<sup>297</sup> Both commissions had a narrow mandate. Neither could rule on Indian title, nor could they create or expand reserve lands. The commissions could only redistribute existing reserve lands more fairly.<sup>298</sup> The McKenna-McBride Commission proposed trading more valuable reserve lands, for larger tracts of less expensive land. Some nations refused to testify before the commissions because of the narrow mandate, and the McKenna-McBride recommendations pleased no one.<sup>299</sup> The Nisg'a Land Committee invited other nations to meet at Spence Bridge in 1915, hoping to prevent the government from implementing the McKenna-McBride recommendations, and to find a way to force the government to address the land title issue. Delegates found they shared a common interest at the 1915 meeting, and the following year

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<sup>295</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" pp 12-14

<sup>296</sup> Ibid p 26

<sup>297</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 74-84; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 297

<sup>298</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 298

<sup>299</sup> Ibid

they formed an umbrella political organization called the Allied Tribes of B.C.. The Allied Tribes mandate was to block the recommendations and to lobby governments for land title. Both O'Meara and, until his death a few years later, Teit, joint the Allied Tribes executive committee.<sup>300</sup> However, the leadership of the Allied Tribes fell to a Squamish advocate, Andy Paull, and a Haida reverend named Peter Kelly.

Andy Paull, (Te Qoitechetahl, or the serpent slayer<sup>301</sup>) born in 1892, grew up on the Squamish reserve, just as the model Christian community devised by Oblate Missionary Paul Emile Durieu was fading.<sup>302</sup> Paull's parents, both converted to Catholicism, and sent Paull to St. Paul's Residential school in North Vancouver. Paull was one of the first children from Squamish to attend a residential school.<sup>303</sup> After graduating, Paull drifted from job to job, teaching roller-skating, working for a logging company, then, operating his own small business in partnership with his wife. (His parents had arranged a marriage to a local girl, Josephine Joe, in 1913.)<sup>304</sup> Paull would later claim his elders chose him to be 'the eyes and ears of his people.' This may be why Paull suddenly stopped drifting and took up work in a Vancouver law office. Paull never articulated, because Indians who obtained higher education were automatically enfranchised under the Indian Act, and Paull had no wish to lose his status as an Indian. Paull did, however, learn the Canadian legal system thoroughly.<sup>305</sup> In 1911, he quit the law office, and returned to Squamish, working as the band's secretary. Paull also accepted work as a translator with the McKenna-McBride Commission between 1913-1916. As Paull traveled across B.C. with the Commission, he learned about other

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid p 26

<sup>301</sup> E Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian resurgence" p xiv

<sup>302</sup> Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* p 9-10; Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 18

<sup>303</sup> RG 10 Series C-11-3 v 11079 file Shannon Squamish Part b. Feb 6, 1930; Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* p 16

<sup>304</sup> Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* p 39

<sup>305</sup> Ibid p 23-39; RG 10 Series C-11-3 v 11079 file Shannon Squamish Part b. Feb 6, 1930

communities' grievances and met a variety of land activists, including Reverend Peter Kelly. They would meet again at the 1915 and 1916 gatherings.<sup>306</sup>

Peter Kelly was born in 1885 at Skidgate, to Methodist parents of high standing in the Haida clan system. Skidgate was a modern village with a dogfish oil plant (a lubricant used in lumbering before petroleum was common) a sawmill and a salmon cannery, but Kelly's parents still followed the salmon run and traveled seasonally. This mobile lifestyle meant Kelly attended school sporadically, between the ages six and twelve, but he did learn to speak English.<sup>307</sup> When Kelly turned 15, he became one of the first children from the Queen Charlotte Islands to attend the Coqualeetza Institute, a Methodist boarding school near Chilliwack. Coincidentally the school's director, Joseph Hall, had instituted an experimental full day program that year. Hall was not convinced the children were learning very well under that half-day academic, half-day work system, then typical of residential schools. Kelly was admitted to the full day academic program and, at the age of 18, he became one of the first Indian students to pass the high school entrance exams. Kelly never attended high school, but returned home to teach at the local school instead.<sup>308</sup> Kelly dreamed of studying law or medicine, but lacked the money for tuition.<sup>309</sup> Instead, he became a lay minister and eventually, the first Indian to obtain a degree in theology at the Columbian College in New Westminster.<sup>310</sup> Kelly's work as a minister brought him into a variety of communities where he connected with activists and learned about local issues.<sup>311</sup> He also met a group of Anglican activists who sympathized with the Indian land claims, such as Teit, and O'Meara. Kelly's clan

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<sup>306</sup> Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him*, p 104-106

<sup>307</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* pp 1-44

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid* p 60

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid* p 86

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid* p 91

standing, education, and status as a reverend led the Haida nobles to appoint him as a delegate at the 1915 and 1916 meetings.<sup>312</sup>

The Allied Tribes had a tight executive, a shifting membership, and a loose body. On the executive, Kelly worked as the Chairman, Paull held the title of Secretary and O'Meara acted the organization's agent. The titles seemed to have little practical meaning, however, as the three men's duties overlapped. The trio lobbied the government through letters, and delegations, engaged in press campaigns, conducted legal research and recruited new members. The only real distinction between Kelly and Paull's roles was that Kelly, the Haida, organized coastal Indians, while his Squamish partner, Paull, worked the interior, an arrangement that temporarily satisfied the old class system.<sup>313</sup>

The membership of the Allied Tribes changed over time. At its peak, its membership encompassed 26 nations along the interior, the coast, and Vancouver Island.<sup>314</sup> In 1922, tensions between member nations led the Nishg'a and some other interior groups to withdraw, although they continued to verbally support the Allied Tribes' mandate.<sup>315</sup> Membership at the grassroots level lacked structure. Paull and Kelly had limited time and funding to travel, so they called meetings on an ad hoc basis. This meant some communities spent years waiting for news, although Paull and Kelly did try to update members through English-language newsletters.<sup>316</sup> When meetings were called, communities appointed delegates, usually English-speaking men, to attend and report back home.<sup>317</sup> Community meetings provided an opportunity for the Allied Tribes to raise funds for travel, legal and administrative expenses. Fund-raising, too, was done on an ad hoc basis. Paull sometimes traveled to Ottawa on a one-way ticket, then wired back to a

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid p 76-79

<sup>313</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 84; Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* p 129-136

<sup>314</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian resurgence" pp 119-120

<sup>315</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 28

<sup>316</sup> RG 18 Series F-2 v 3312 file HQ-1034-e-2 – copy Allied Indian Tribes of BC Circular letter to the tribes

<sup>317</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian resurgence" p 127

community for the fare home.<sup>318</sup> In 1923, Indians in B.C. won the right to fish commercially, and became motivated to buy motorized boats. This improved communications as Kelly and Paull could now hitch rides into communities.<sup>319</sup> The connection to fishermen also led Kelly and Paull to become involved in organizing Indian fishermen unions.<sup>320</sup>

The Allied Tribes proved to be an effective lobby group, and even succeeded in bringing the land title issue before a Joint Committee of Parliament, although the hearing came to naught. Paull, Kelly and O'Meara were working on a scheme to bring the land title issue before the Privy Council in Britain, when Superintendent General Charles Stewart offered an alternative.<sup>321</sup> Stewart promised to hold off on implementing the McKenna-McBride recommendations and allow the Allied Tribes to make their case before a Joint Committee of Parliament.<sup>322</sup> The Joint Committee, held in 1926, turned out to be a kangaroo court. B.C. refused to appear at the hearings. Committee members shouted objections when O'Meara tried to read documents into the record. When Kelly politely asked if documents were not normally read into the record at such proceedings, H.H. Stevens, the former mayor of Victoria, replied that O'Meara was not reading the documents correctly. The truth was that O'Meara's activism was well known, but not particularly well liked, by many committee members.<sup>323</sup> The Committee listened more politely during Paull and Kelly's presentations, although Paull claimed they rushed his testimony. The duo argued more than 251,000 square miles of land had been taken illegally. They wanted fair compensation and 2.5 million dollars in back payments for annuities. They'd had the lands in question surveyed by real

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<sup>318</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 85

<sup>319</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 29

<sup>320</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 84 E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian resurgence" p 123-124

<sup>321</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 76-79; E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian resurgence" p 114

<sup>322</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 87-93

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*

estate agents to determine the value.<sup>324</sup> In 1927, the Committee rendered their decision: the Allied Tribes had failed to prove Indian title existed, the lands in B.C. belonged to the province by right of conquest, and no compensation was necessary. They mailed a copy of their decision to 52 leaders in B.C.. The same letter informed leaders it would now be illegal to collect money to pursue the claim under the 1927 amendment.<sup>325</sup>

The Allied Tribes did not survive the blow.<sup>326</sup> Kelly blamed O'Meara for the defeat in the Joint Committee and O'Meara vanished from the political scene.<sup>327</sup> The Allied Tribes was now defunct. Paull found his political career was in double jeopardy. Paull's pushy nature, combined with a new bitterness irritated some Squamish chiefs, and in 1934, they fired Paull from his job as band secretary.<sup>328</sup> The local Indian Agent, F. J. C. Ball, a long-time political enemy of Paull's, spread rumours that Paull had helped himself to band funds.<sup>329</sup> In Paull's defense, Indian Agent C.C. Perry vouched to the Department that Paull never mishandled band monies, but his support had little practical effect on Paull's career.<sup>330</sup> Director Harold McGill, Scott's successor in the Indian Department, replied to Perry: "I have entertained a very poor opinion of this gentleman and his activities since shortly after taking my office, and recent events have not tended to modify my opinion... His pertinacity is perfectly amazing."<sup>331</sup> Paull owed his re-appearance on the political stage in the 1940s, to the continuity of discontent in a broader political community, and to his old friend Peter Kelly.

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<sup>324</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian resurgence" p 134-135

<sup>325</sup> Ibid 140-162

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 116-11

<sup>328</sup> Squamish Part b Indian Agent FJC Ball to Dear Sir, April 27, 1934

<sup>329</sup> Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* p 175-178; RG 10 Series C-11-3 v 11079 file Shannon Squamish Part b. Andrew Paull to Mr. CC Perry, April 19<sup>th</sup> 1934.

<sup>330</sup>

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

After the fall of the Allied Tribes, Kelly transferred to a mission in Bella Coola, where he met a young activist, Alfred Adams. Adams had recently returned from visiting relatives in Alaska. During the visit, they'd informed him about a local fisherman's lobby group called the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Adams returned to B.C., and sought out Kelly, asking for his help in establishing a similar brotherhood in B.C..<sup>332</sup> Kelly and Adams spent the first years gathering members, and by 1932 they'd recruited Arthur Calder, a one-time leader of the Nishg'a Land Committee and his adopted son Frank, Chief William Scow (Kwawgewlth), and Guy Williams (Haisla), who was considered a rising political star. These men were more than the sum of their numbers, each were leaders in local politics and labour movements.<sup>333</sup> The Native Brotherhood of B.C. quickly expanded its agenda beyond fishing rights. Between 1936 and 1946, Kelly made 190 trips to Ottawa asking for reforms on fishing rights, taxation, social benefits, the vote, and education. However, they accomplished little during the Depression or war years.<sup>334</sup> In 1940, Kelly offered Paul a position as the Brotherhood's business agent. Paul recruited Dan Assu (Kwakiutl) and his large Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association.<sup>335</sup> Paul, however, soon irritated other members of the executive by taking actions without consulting them, such as fund-raising and opening a business office in Vancouver. The executive asked for his resignation in 1943.<sup>336</sup> Paul's ambitions were better suited to leadership than collaboration, and he already had his eye on a burgeoning national organization.

The end of the Depression led to a reawakening of rights activism among Indians. This time the impetus came from a Huron living in Lorette (Wendaki), Quebec. Jules Sioui was born in

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<sup>332</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 29

<sup>333</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 30

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid* p 146

<sup>335</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paul and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p 202

<sup>336</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 96

1905 to a Métis mother and a Huron father.<sup>337</sup> The local Indian agent had banned Sioui's family, along with a group of traditionalists, from settling on reserve and Sioui grew up in the town adjacent to the reservation.<sup>338</sup> Sioui had only a high school education, but he was trilingual, and well-read.<sup>339</sup> He had a fiery nature and liked mouthing-off to his local Indian Agent, who responded by charging him with defamatory libel.<sup>340</sup> \*\*\* Sioui's first foray into politics was in 1938, when he ran as a band councillor, although he did not win the election.

Sioui turned his attention to forming a larger political organization during the war years. He was apparently motivated by a belief that Canada wanted to conscript Indians, despite the exemption from military service guaranteed under the 1763 Proclamation Act. His fears seemed to be confirmed when he read in a Quebec newspaper that a judge had fined a Mohawk man for refusing to register. The judge also ordered the man, Smallfence, to enlist.<sup>341</sup> Sioui fired off angry letters to the federal government and the judge, writing: "You have simply repeated the audacious and hypocritical act of the Government.... You have killed all the moral and patriotic sentiment of our people, and today you hope to convince us that we are obliged to submit to the exigencies of the Government of Canada."<sup>342</sup> Sioui secured the blessing of his band council,<sup>343</sup> to travel through Quebec and organize reserves into a lobby group. Along with military service, Sioui opposed income tax, and restrictions on hunting rights. During the 1940s, Quebec was passing laws that forced Indians to rent trap lines on unceded territory. The province had also created provincial

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<sup>337</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial: "Our Story"* p 285

<sup>338</sup> Thanks to Professor George E. Sioui for the clarification.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

<sup>340</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4, Ottawa September 5, 1943

\*\*\* Unfortunately, the details of the charge are still tied up under the access to information act. Details may become available through the Sioui Family archives in Wendaki.

<sup>341</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4

<sup>342</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4

<sup>343</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Attn: Dr. Harold McGill, September 30, 1943

parks on prime hunting grounds.<sup>344</sup> Sioui revived the argument that Indians had not surrendered their status as independent nations and were, therefore not subject to Canadian or provincial laws.<sup>345</sup> He soon became known to his local Indian agent as “one of the most troublesome and irresponsible Indian agitators with whom I have had the misfortune to come into contact during my connection with Indian Affairs.<sup>346</sup>

By 1942, Sioui expanded his campaign beyond Quebec. Calling himself the chief executive of the Comité de Protection des Droits Indiens, he issued a bilingual invitation to chiefs across Canada to meet <sup>347</sup> and draw up a list of demands. Sioui, apparently inspired by Riel's provisional government,<sup>348</sup> he wanted to form an Indian government that would declare itself independent of Canada. It is unknown how Sioui found the names and addresses of chiefs across Canada, but officials suspected he had a source inside the Department. <sup>349</sup>

What was perhaps most significant about Sioui's planned meeting was that it would not take place on a reserve as had all the previous political meetings organized by various groups. Sioui's invitation asked chiefs to meet in Ottawa at the Windsor Hotel on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1943. <sup>350</sup> Sioui planned to confront politicians in Ottawa face-to-face. He invited the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the Governor General, the Prime Minister of Canada and his cabinet to the meeting. Sioui's invitation to Superintendent General T.A. Crerar bluntly informed him: “the Indian chiefs are determined to be peaceful and gentle, but they have decided your department and the government will have to change the situation from A to Z, believe it or not.”<sup>351</sup> He ordered Prime

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<sup>344</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 285

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid* p 276-277

<sup>346</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4, Ottawa September 5, 1943 and Memorandum, Deputy Minister from Harold McGill, Director, Ottawa September 20 1943

<sup>347</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Comité de Protection des Droits Indiens

<sup>348</sup> See RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 La guerre la paix L'encahisseur a fait mourir le patriote Louis Riel?

<sup>349</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Attn. Dr. Harold McGill

<sup>350</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Comité de Protection des Droits Indiens

<sup>351</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Hon T.A. Crerar from Jules Sioui, May 15, 1944

Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, to attend the meeting, “as well as that of all members of Cabinet, without any excuses what ever.”<sup>352</sup> As an afterthought, he added that the government should probably send a stenographer.<sup>353</sup>

The tone of Sioui’s literature offended and alarmed officials in the Indian Department. Sioui referred to Europeans as “invaders,” “exploiters” and “despoilers.”<sup>354</sup> He wrote that Canadian history books were “filled with falsehoods and insults aimed at us” and that Indian lands and rights had been “violated and betrayed by inauspicious methods.”<sup>355</sup> Canada was referred to as a “puppet government” and Director McGill of the Indian Department as “the guilty party.”<sup>356</sup> The pamphlet so upset Indian Agent Maurice E. Brisbien, that he wrote to headquarters: “This man can be termed a revolutionist, to the true meaning of the word, and as the Department has the full power to do I would instantly enfranchise this Indian to save future trouble.”<sup>357</sup> Dozens of pamphlets addressed to Indians arrived in Agent J.P.P. Olander’s office. He initially refused to distribute the pamphlets until his superiors warned him it was a criminal offense to interfere with mail. He finally surrendered the pamphlets, but protested to the Department: “When the Director of Indian affairs is referred to as ‘ the guilty party’ and the government as a ‘puppet government’ with impunity, it does not raise the stock of those under discretion very high, and I for one resent it.”<sup>358</sup>

Sioui’s first meeting in 1943 did not attract the 300 delegates he’d hoped for,<sup>359</sup> only 53 delegates attended.<sup>360</sup> Sioui blamed the low turnout on the Department, saying they’d given the

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<sup>352</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Village Huron, To Prime Minister King, October 11, 1943

<sup>353</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Memorandum Deputy Minister, October 27, 1943

<sup>354</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4

<sup>355</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4

<sup>356</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4

<sup>357</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 September 30, 1943; and Attn: Dr. Harold McGill April 14, 1944

<sup>358</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 JPP Olander to Indian Affairs Branch March 1, 1944

<sup>359</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527,787-4 Village Huron to Mr. N.A. McLarty Secretary of State from Jules Sioui, September 30, 1943; “Indian Deputation will attempt to interview Mr. King” *Ottawa Evening Citizen* October 19, 1943

<sup>360</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527,787-4 Jules Sioui, May 8 1944

meeting bad publicity, and Sioui was probably right.<sup>361</sup> Sioui had a fair complexion, and the Department had tried to use his appearance to their advantage by informing chiefs and media that: “he [Sioui] is physiologically a white man with no perceptible Indian Characteristic.”<sup>362</sup> Initially the media treated Sioui’s meeting as a somewhat of a joke. A reporter from the *Ottawa Citizen*, insisted on calling the meeting a powwow and added: “They hope to have their picture taken in front of Parliament with some of the Cabinet. They have brought their best feathers just in case.”<sup>363</sup> Meanwhile Indian agents tried to discourage Indians from attending the meeting, but with mixed results. The band councils at Grand River and Tyendinaga agreed to stay home, although some of their band members attended.<sup>364</sup> Chief George Cree of Oka initially promised his agent he’d forego the meeting, but he later changed his mind.<sup>365</sup> The Agent at Fort Frances informed Chief Rob Roy he should “disregard any such circulars. I advised him that the welfare of all Indians was being taken care of by capable and honest personnel.” Unconvinced, Roy called a special meeting of council and appointed his son, Tom, as the band’s delegate.<sup>366</sup> The Department also refused to pay for travel or hotel expenses, which may have discouraged some chiefs. However, George Shannacappo and Councilor David Burns of the Keeseekoowenin Reserve informed their agent they’d attend with or without band funds.<sup>367</sup> Some 20 delegates from Parry Sound, Abitibi, and Kahnawake billed their train tickets and hotel rooms to Indian Affairs, and returned home leaving the Department to pick up the tab.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid

<sup>362</sup> Quoted in RG10 v. 3212 file 527,787-4 Re: Circular Letter to Indian Chiefs, September 23, 1943; see also *Montreal Gazette*, October 9, 1943; “Indian Deputation will attempt to interview Mr. King” *Ottawa Evening Citizen* October 19, 1943

<sup>363</sup> “Indian Leaders Gather to talk over situation” *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 1943

<sup>364</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Six Nation Minutes of Council, October 7, 1943; RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4.October 8<sup>th</sup> 1943

<sup>365</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Answers to Questionnaires Ottawa Ontario October 21, 1943

<sup>366</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Kenora Ontario, October 4, 1943

<sup>367</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 October 14, 1943

<sup>368</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Delegates on their recent visit to Ottawa, October 27, 1943

Despite the small number of delegates, Sioui's meeting was really enormously successful. While the delegates were small in number, they were more than the sum of their parts. Many of the delegates represented community groups or regional organizations. Sioui's own reserve, and several of the reserves he'd visited sent delegates, including Kitigan Zibi and Barrier Lake (Men of the Woods),<sup>369</sup> and the Mi'kmaq communities of Restigouche, Burnt Church, and Shubenacadie.<sup>370</sup> John Tootosis, President of the USI, attended.<sup>371</sup> The IAA sent delegates from the Elphanstone reserve.<sup>372</sup> Joseph Delisle, a former law student at Ottawa University,<sup>373</sup> who had also been a chief of Kahnawake and mayor of Oka during the 1920s, headed a group of delegates from Kahnawake. Delisle's political career had coincided with fall of Thunderwater and the rise of the Evert and Loft movements.<sup>374</sup> While the chief and council of Grand River stayed home, the Mohawk Workers attended the meeting, claiming to represent the reserve.<sup>375</sup> Former members of the Grand General Council were present, including the one-time President Henry Jackson.<sup>376</sup> Peter Kelly disliked the abrasive tone of Sioui's letters, so the Brotherhood of B.C. sent no delegates. Andy Paull attended, however, claiming to represent B.C..<sup>377</sup> Sioui's meeting captured much of the political momentum that had been building in the years following the 1869 Indian Act, and brought into the capital.

In the end, eleven delegates did meet some high-ranking officials and had their picture taken with on the front steps of parliament steps of Parliament. On October 21, delegates secured a meeting with Ontario Premier Drew, who promised to look into matters as far as he was

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<sup>369</sup> "Indians take case to Drew" *Regina Leader* October 21, 1943

<sup>370</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Answers to Questionnaires Ottawa Ontario October 21, 1943

<sup>371</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* 166-168

<sup>372</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4

<sup>373</sup> "Indian Deputation will attempt to interview Mr. King" *Ottawa Evening Citizen* October 19, 1943; Dunlop p 216

<sup>374</sup> RG 18 Series F-1 v 3152 file 475 Polices patrol to Caughnawaga 1914; RG18 v 3295 file HQ-1034-C-1 June 15, 1922 Frank Phillips St. Regis Extract of report by Det. Const. Robertson.

<sup>375</sup> RG 10 v 3212 file R-C-1134 Six Nation Minutes of Council, July 6<sup>th</sup> 1944

<sup>376</sup> Norman D. Shields, p 124 and 127

<sup>377</sup> RG 10 v 3212 file R-C-1134 W.D. Scow Vice President of Native Brotherhood of BC to M.S. Todd Indian Agent Alert Bay.

constitutionally bound.<sup>378</sup> It was a wry promise, as Drew knew he was not constitutionally bound to do anything. However, that initial acknowledgement may have pressured federal officials to meet the delegates. Two days earlier, an article announcing Andy Paull's arrival had also appeared in *Ottawa evening Citizen*. Paull had an established reputation as leader with media. This may have added to the pressure on public officials to meet the group. Especially when the delegates threatened to bypass Crerar and attempt to meet with the Prime Minister.<sup>379</sup> Later that day, the acting Superintendent General, James A. MacKinnon met a small number of delegates on behalf of Crerar. At the meeting, delegates had passed a resolution demanding they be exempted from conscription and income tax, which Sioui brought to MacKinnon's attention.<sup>380</sup> MacKinnon replied that the justice department had already ruled they were subject to Canadian Law, but he would consider their concerns.<sup>381</sup> On November 3, they secured a second meeting with MacKinnon, the Deputy Minister, the chief executive assistant.<sup>382</sup> The Prime Minister's private secretary, J.W. Pickersgill, was also present. Pickersgill accepted their petition, which stated Indians were exempt from military service and taxation, and promised their grievances would be considered.<sup>383</sup> Delegates also met with M.J. Coldwell, the national leader of the CCF.<sup>384</sup>

The picture of the eleven delegates, standing beside officials on the front steps of Parliament appeared in newspapers and reached the band council at Grand River. The incident was particularly significant at Grand River proving to be a victory for the traditionalists over the

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<sup>378</sup> "Indians refused audience by King" *Montreal Gazette* October 21, 1943.

<sup>379</sup> "Indian Deputation will Attempt to Interview Mr. King" *Ottawa Evening Citizen* October 19, 1943

<sup>380</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527,787-4 Clipping "Canadian Indians Standing on Rights Labour"; RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Ottawa October 21, 1943 letter n.d.

<sup>381</sup> "Indians take case to Drew" *Regina Leader* October 21, 1943

<sup>382</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527,787-4 –Ottawa November 3, 1943

<sup>383</sup> "Indians' requests to be considered" *Regina Leader* Post June 7 1944 The *Canadian Observer* October 22, 1943;

"Indian Delegation meets Secretary of Prime minister" *Evening Citizen* October 22, 1943

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*

'dehorners' who had been elected into the government-imposed band council. Stay-at-home Chief

Leonard Staats was forced to listen to the Mohawk Workers gloat and complained:

In view of the Department's request [not to attend the meeting] this council is somewhat surprised that according to Press reports these Indian delegates were received by the Supt. General and officials of the Indian Department, and, according to the Press, they were promised consideration of the grievances they presented. ... Never do the representations of the elected council ... bring any result other than an Official reply, which gives no consideration to Indian feelings sentiment, but merely states a ruling has been made and must be abided by.<sup>385</sup>

The local Indian Agent was equally unimpressed, writing: "It is irksome to the council members to have it rubbed in that unofficial groups can proceed to Ottawa at will and secure a hearing of their grievances and a promise of consideration."<sup>386</sup> Some chiefs who hadn't attended the meeting now had second thoughts. One chief wrote to headquarters, demanding that the Department pay his fare to the next meeting, because if he didn't attend, non-elected people claiming to represent the reserve would.<sup>387</sup> Similarly, Chief W.D. Scow, Vice President of the Native Brotherhood told the Department Paull no longer represented B.C..<sup>388</sup> He insisted the government meet with a delegate from the Brotherhood.<sup>389</sup>

After the meeting five men emerged as key organizers: Sioui, Paull, Delisle, Tootoosis and Jackson. They visited reserves to stir up support among existing political communities for a second meeting, scheduled to take place in Ottawa on June 8, 1944. Delisle brought Sioui and Paull into the Mohawk communities.<sup>390</sup> The trio then parted ways and Sioui toured his stronghold in Quebec.<sup>391</sup> Delisle toured some Mi'kmaq communities in the Maritimes.<sup>392</sup> Paull recruited members in British Columbia, and led the east coast Salish, Nootka and some interior groups out

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<sup>385</sup> RG 10 v 3212 R-C-1134 Six Nations Minutes of Council July 14<sup>th</sup> 1944

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 October 9, 1945 Letter from Chief Lazare

<sup>388</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527,787-4 Agent Ball to Harold W. McGill June 17<sup>th</sup> 1944; RG10 file 527787-4 Scow to M.S. Todd Indian Agent June 23, 1944

<sup>389</sup> RG10 v 3212 file R-C-1134 W.D. Scow to M.S. Todd Indian Agent Alert Bay

<sup>390</sup> *L'Événement* September 8, 1943

<sup>391</sup> Stephen McGregor, *From Time Immemorial* p 280

<sup>392</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Rexton NB August 9 1945

of the B.C. Brotherhood, into the new organization.<sup>393</sup> Paull had the support of Frank Calder, then a branch secretary of the Brotherhood and a large group led by Dan Assu. Given a choice, Assu preferred Paull to Kelly, largely because Paull promised to fight a ban on the Potlatch ceremony. It was widely known that Reverend Kelly supported the ban.<sup>394</sup> Tootoosis tried to expand membership on the Prairies, but he could not wrest the names or addresses of chiefs out of the Department.<sup>395</sup> Henry Jackson concentrated on recruiting and fundraising in Ontario. He complained to Paull that chiefs were interested in joining, but reluctant to commit money until they saw results: "they expect us to run this vast undertaking free gratis and they want to see results before they contribute."<sup>396</sup> Jackson had more luck fund-raising with non-Native sympathizers.<sup>397</sup> Jackson also drew on his experience from his days as President of the Grand Council to lobby government. He revived the old ploy, first used by Thunderwater, to have sympathizers introduce a private members bill that would force the government to recognize their new organization.<sup>398</sup> In a letter to Paull he explained:

The reason for doubting is the old major parties hate the CCF to the extent that any sound idea put forth by the CCF has been voted down in the past. Of course, it may be different in this case. I have a great admiration for the CCF members they really are our friends and they will support any measure for the betterment of our nation.<sup>399</sup>

He had success with a few liberals and conservatives, including Senator McGuire who was working on a draft amendment to the Indian Act.<sup>400</sup>

A complicated chain of events, fears and coincidence and conniving, that would make a good novel led to the formation of the North American Indian Brotherhood in 1944. First, the

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<sup>393</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p 214

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid* pp 202- 211, 214

<sup>395</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 John B. Tootoosis, July 25 1945; RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Ottawa Director August 21, 1945

<sup>396</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Henry Jackson to Joe Delisle December 18 1944

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid*

Department, and other government officials, watched the leaders build momentum, and as the next meeting drew near, they began to genuinely fear a confrontation. Rumours circulated that between 200 and 300 delegates planned to attend. The Department engaged the R.C.M.P. to keep an eye on Sioui.<sup>401</sup> The Governor General's staff stepped up security<sup>402</sup> and asked the Department to prevent what they feared might become an embarrassing confrontation outside Government House.<sup>403</sup> Department officials were forced to reply that their wards would not listen to them, and they had no control over what the Indians might do.<sup>404</sup> The Department engaged the RCMP to prevent a march on Parliament.<sup>405</sup> Sioui had an uncanny ability to know the minds of officials. In June 1944, he dropped into the RCMP headquarters in Ottawa and assured them there would be no trouble.<sup>406</sup> Still, the Department feared a confrontation and scrambled to avoid one. The Department had three choices, to compromise, to conquer, or to co-opt the movement. They tried all three, in that order.

The Department's initial compromise was to promise that six Indians could meet Superintendent General Crerar. The Department circulated this proposal to all Indian agencies, hoping the deal would satisfy the Indians while discouraging all but the chosen six from attending.<sup>407</sup> Chief Scow and Dan Assu were short-listed for the meeting, although officials worried about Assu's tendency to "to go off the deep end."<sup>408</sup> Sioui did not make the list, nor was his name considered.<sup>409</sup> He was the one Indian officials wanted to avoid at all costs. Paull initiated a second compromise. Long before the first gathering in 1943, Paull had planned to take over the movement.

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<sup>401</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Memorandum, Ottawa June 8, 1944

<sup>402</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 My Dear Mr. MacInnis from Assistant Secretary to Governor General, May 26 1944

<sup>403</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 My Dear Mr. MacInnis from the office of the Governor General, May 19, 1944

<sup>404</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 MacInnis to My Dear F.L.C Pereire Asst. Sec. Governor General, May? 1944

<sup>405</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Re: Convention of Indian Chiefs, May 21 1944

<sup>406</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Re: Convention of Chiefs RCMP to Director Indian Affairs, June 5, 1944

<sup>407</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 My Dear Mr. Pereire, Assistant Secretary to the Governor General from TR McInnis Secretary, May 26 1944

<sup>408</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 From ? to Secretary Indian Affairs Branch, May 27 1944

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

In October 1943, Paull had visited the home of Indian Agent M.S. Todd, the man who'd defended Paull's character to the Department during the 1930s. Paull informed Todd that Sioui had a reputation as a "radical" and Paull feared Sioui "would do more harm than good." Paull added that he would attend the meeting, and try to guide the delegates in a more practical direction.<sup>410</sup> In June 1944, just four days before the second meeting, Todd sent a letter to Headquarters advising them to separate Sioui from the group, and work with the reasonable faction.<sup>411</sup> Shortly afterwards the Department struck a secret deal with Paull: if Paull ousted Sioui, Crerar would address the delegates.<sup>412</sup>

Thus when 200 hundred delegates gathered in the Y.M.C.A in Ottawa, that June, Paull emerged as the leader of the new organization. They held elections, and Paull won the position of President, Joseph Delisle was elected Vice President, Henry Jackson took the position of secretary.<sup>413</sup> Paull banned Sioui from running in the election.<sup>414</sup> The new organization, called the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB), promised to work amicably with government, or in Paull's words: "We are not a militant organization, but our efforts will be to cooperate with the Government for the welfare and progress of the native Indians."<sup>415</sup> Sioui called a separate meeting and formed the National Indian Government (NIG, later the North American Indian Government). The NIG's mandate was to establish a self-governing Indian body. Sioui began lobbying for the government to turn over control of the \$15,000 worth of band funds it held in trust.<sup>416</sup> Tootoosis, who liked both Paull and Sioui, attended both meetings. When he returned home he put the matter

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<sup>410</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Alert Bay BC. October 16<sup>th</sup> 1943.

<sup>411</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 MS Todd Indian Agent to The Secretary, June 3, 1944

<sup>412</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 From Andy Paull to Mr. R.A. Hoey, Director, July 30 1945

<sup>413</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Henry Jackson to Joe Delisle, December 18- 1944

<sup>414</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 From Andy Paull to Mr. R.A. Hoey, Director, July 30 1945

<sup>415</sup> "Indians will discuss \$15,000 At Ottawa Pow-wow in September" *Montreal Gazette* July 14, 1945

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid*

of the two organizations before the USI. They elected to join the NAIB.<sup>417</sup> Some other delegates held memberships in both organizations.<sup>418</sup>

Following the meeting Department officials attempted the second strategy, conquering the NAIB. At first, Director McGill ignored the fledgling organization, saying they couldn't prove they represented anyone. For evidence, McGill had letters from Chief Scow and the Brotherhood of B.C. stating that Paull's NAIB did not represent them.<sup>419</sup> In March 1945, Paull's old nemesis, Agent Ball, stole a packet of Paull's correspondence to Jackson, and forwarded the letters to McGill. The letters discussed fund-raising, which was still illegal under the 1927 amendment. McGill was gathering evidence to prosecute Paull, when Paull's career was saved by a turn of luck.<sup>420</sup> McGill was transferred to another department, and replaced with R.A. Hoey, another of Paull's departmental allies. When Paull heard the news he personally congratulated Hoey in a letter: "I am glad to note that you are now the Director – only yesterday Father Fleury and Rev. P.R. [Kelly] came to the hospital to see me and we all hoped you would be made the Director –Thank God for that."<sup>421</sup>

Under Hoey, the Department turned to co-opting the NAIB. Hoey officially recognized the NAIB as the only national organization representing Indians. He set aside space for their annual meetings, and arranged for the Superintendent General and other high officials in the Department to deliver brief speeches at their meetings.<sup>422</sup> Hoey's only condition was that Sioui would not be present. Paull reassured Hoey that he had taken Minister Crerar's advice and expelled Sioui from

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<sup>417</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 181

<sup>418</sup> "Petition form Indians to get consideration" Montreal Gazette September 13, 1945

<sup>419</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Dear Mr. Paul from Chief exec asst, Ottawa July 22, 1944

<sup>420</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Acting Director to Agent FJC Ball, Ottawa March 5, 1945

<sup>421</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Andrew Paull to Hoey July 13, 1945

<sup>422</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Memorandum the Deputy Minister. Ottawa July 6, 1945; RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Meeting of the NAIB Committee in the YMCA building Metcalfe Street, Ottawa Tuesday Morning December 11 1945

the NAIB.<sup>423</sup> Sioui did retain a membership in the NAIB, and attended a third meeting in National Museum in Ottawa, in September 1945, but Paull would not let him speak.<sup>424</sup> Paull publicly distanced himself from Sioui, by reminding reporters not to confuse the NAIB with Sioui's group.<sup>425</sup> In later years, Paull refused to acknowledge Sioui's role in the founding of the NAIB. Paull took full credit.<sup>426</sup>

The Department's favoritism extended to other members of the NAIB. In 1944, Henry Jackson and his son cut and sold wood to raise the money they needed to travel to a 1945 meeting of the NAIB. The local Indian agent, G.E. Hurl, was infuriated that they'd cut the wood without seeking a permit. He wrote to his superiors in Ottawa: "This Indian Jackson, is in my mind as much an agitator as Sioui.... Why did he not ask for permission in the regular way and receive a permit to cut the wood. No he knew that he would not get it."<sup>427</sup> In reply, officials in Ottawa told Hurl to handle Jackson "with gloves, my own view being that to treat the Indians who attended harshly here would certainly force them into an organization which is not particularly in favour at the moment."<sup>428</sup> When a special Joint Committee was called in 1947, to discuss changes to the Indian Act, Paull and the NAIB were invited, but Sioui's NIG was not.<sup>429</sup>

The government had been planning, since the 1930s to revise the Indian Act, but the review had been delayed by wars and Depression. In the post-war era, the government fell under pressure from media, church groups and veterans associations, the CCF as well as the NAIB and

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<sup>423</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Memorandum the Deputy Minister. Ottawa July 6, 1945; see also Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 180

<sup>424</sup> "Petition from Indians to get consideration" *Montreal Gazette* Sept. 13, 1945

<sup>425</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 "If good enough to Fight entitles to Vote, Say Indians" *Ottawa Journal* September 13, 1945.

<sup>426</sup> E Palmer Patterson "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p 225; Paull told his biographer that there were only 9 men responsible for the Ottawa meeting, while the author notes 11 men appear in the photograph. Paul never named Sioui as a founding member.

<sup>427</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Indian Agent G.E. Hurl to Indian Affairs June 5, 1944

<sup>428</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Ottawa D.J. Allan Superintendent Reserves and Trusts, June 19, 1944

<sup>429</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 280

other Indian lobby groups, to include them in the process. The department invited a select group of Indian leaders to offer opinions on the act, and review their proposed amendments.<sup>430</sup> The leaders they invited were well-known to the Department and to each other: William Scow and Reverend P.R. Kelly of the Native Brotherhood of BC; Andrew Paull of the NAIB; James Gladstone, of the IAA; and John Tootoosis Jr. of the USI. Henry Jackson and Chief Henry Abetung, called the first meeting of the Grand General Council since the 1930s, and in 1949, the organization restructured itself into the Union of Ontario Indians. They also began making submissions to the Joint Committee.<sup>431</sup> Omer Peters, a chief and a war veteran who would, later, help found the NIB became involved in the Union in 1949. The Haudenosaunee of Grand River were wary of the Ojibwa-dominated Union,<sup>432</sup> and the elected band council lobbied to send their own representatives.<sup>433</sup> Delisle worked with Indians in the Maritimes, helping to organize them and bring them under the umbrella of the NAIB.<sup>434</sup> The meetings led to a series of amendments to the Indian Act in 1951. The amendment with the most impact on the political community itself was the repeal of the 1927 ban on fund-raising, and the easing of other restrictions on public gatherings, such as sacred dances and political meetings. The Joint Committee meetings had a lasting legacy, in that they established a precedent of consulting Indian leaders on Indian policy. Subsequent consultations brought leaders together and to Ottawa more regularly allowing them to form a small elite and professional community of leaders.

After the first joint committee hearings Indian leadership grew more stable and predictable. To some extent, this was a byproduct of the Joint Committee meetings and a new openness from the Canadian government. Before Joint Committee meetings of the 1940s, Indian political leaders

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<sup>430</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 304

<sup>431</sup> Norman D. Shields "Anishinabek Political Alliance" p124; p 127

<sup>432</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 101

<sup>433</sup> RG10 v 8570 file 1/1-2-2-3 Representatives at 1951 Conference and Representation

<sup>434</sup> "Maritime Indians Conclude meeting" *Post Record* November 8, 1945

and organizations like the Thunderwater and Loft's movements, gained legitimacy, rose and fell with popular support. After the first Joint Committee meetings, political organizations gained legitimacy by securing a seat at the government bargaining table. Indian leaders competed for invitations to meetings with government. During the 1940 meetings, Chief Scow argued that Paull did not represent the coastal Indians of B.C.. Scow demanded, and was granted an invitation to the Joint Committee hearings, for himself, Kelly and Guy Williams.<sup>435</sup> Dan Assu then intervened, arguing that the government was still not hearing all the voices of B.C. Indians. He called a meeting of 24 chiefs, mostly from Shuswap, and demanded the government invite him to the table as their representative.<sup>436</sup> After 1948, the IAA and USI withdrew from the NAIB, opting to send their own delegates to meetings.<sup>437</sup> During the 1950s, the government sponsored a series of meetings for Manitoba leaders and Indian leaders from other provinces soon asked to join in.<sup>438</sup> At subsequent meetings, the government tended to invite the same groups, and often the same leaders, which added stability and predictability to leadership. As Joint Committee hearings continued through the 1950s, the government noted that it was issuing invitations to ensure all regions were represented, but also that they preferred to work with groups who had experience negotiating with government. The groups with experience were naturally those who had sat in on the 1940 meetings, including: the IAA, the Union of Ontario Indians, the USI, the NAIB and the BC Brotherhood.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Scow to MS Todd Indian Agent June 23, 1944; RG 10 v 3212 file R-C-1134 W.D. Scow Vice President of Native Brotherhood of BC to M.S. Todd Indian Agent Alert bay.

<sup>436</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 31

<sup>437</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andrew Paull and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p 307

<sup>438</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 60

<sup>439</sup> RG10 v 8570 file 1/1-2-2-3 Memorandum October 2, 1953.

13. Indian leaders attend Conference in Ottawa. *Indian News* v 1 no 1 Januarv

Stability was now linked to government recognition, and not necessarily to popular support. For example, failure to secure a seat at the Joint Committee Hearings proved disastrous to Sioui's NAIG. The NAIG still had an active membership in Quebec, Ontario, and some northern U.S. States, during the 1940s. While its exact membership is unknown, the NAIG had local chapters on the Nipissing reserve in North Bay, Kitigan Zibi,<sup>440</sup> Grand River, Kahnawake,<sup>441</sup> two reserves in the Wapole Island Agency<sup>442</sup> and the Pontiac Reserve in Michigan.<sup>443</sup> Sioui worked as the NAIG's secretary treasurer and continued to be the personality of the organization,<sup>444</sup> even making a presentation to the United Nations at their headquarters in New York in 1949. When Sioui failed to secure an invitation to the Joint Committee Hearings, he protested by drawing up his own Indian Act, and found himself arrested for seditious libel. He served 11 months in jail.<sup>445</sup> After his release, Sioui continued to be politically active, even engaging in a 72-day hunger strike in 1950, but his influence and popularity waned.<sup>446</sup> The government's refusal to acknowledge Sioui rendered the NAIG irrelevant.

<sup>440</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 280

<sup>441</sup> RG10 vol. 3212 file 527,787-4 Department of Mines and Resources Memorandum to McGill, Jan, 10, 1944

<sup>442</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 280

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid* p 281

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid* p 285-287

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid*

Other groups survived, despite a sometimes thin popular support, precisely because the government officially recognized them. For example, after 1951, five organizations competed to represent B.C. at government tables: the two established groups, the Native Brotherhood of B.C., and the NAIB, competed with Frank Calder's Nisg'a Tribal Council (1955), Jack Peter's West Coast Allied Tribes (1958), and Wilson Bob's South Vancouver Island Tribal Federation (1964). Together the five organizations represented 7,000 people at best.<sup>447</sup> Representation, however, was no longer measured by membership. That is, the five organizations claimed to represent the interests of about 7,000 people, whether or not the people they represented were actually members, or even aware they were being represented.<sup>448</sup> Likewise, by the 1960s, the IAA noted that it lacked popular support. Local chapters failed to hold regular meetings or recruit new members. They also failed to pay membership fees. In 1964, President Joe Samson hosted three meetings on reserves in Northern Alberta, but not a single person showed up.<sup>449</sup> Despite its membership troubles, the government continued to recognize the IAA as a voice for aboriginals in Alberta, until the organization finally failed in the 1990s.

Some organizations found that directly representing grassroots peoples was problematic and sought to resolve the membership problem by restricting membership to chiefs and councils. The key problem was that elected chiefs felt they were competing for the government's ear with the regional organizations.<sup>450</sup> The USI resolved this problem in 1968, when President Walter Dieter restricted membership to elected chiefs and councilors.<sup>451</sup> In Ontario, the Union of Ontario Indians and five other political agencies agreed to operate under an umbrella organization, the chiefs of

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<sup>447</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 42

<sup>448</sup> Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organizations in British Columbia" p 42

<sup>449</sup> RG10 v 8477 file 1/24-2-1 part 7 Indian Association of Alberta Minutes of the General meeting, June 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 1964

<sup>450</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial: "Our Story"* p 280

<sup>451</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, M.A. Thesis "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" Regina Sask. September 8, 1997 University of Regina, p 85

Ontario in 1975. The arrangement allowed elected chiefs and councilors to become the political branch. Between 1960 and 1980, other provinces organized chiefs associations or restructured into chiefs organizations, with only the IAA keeping a grassroots membership policy.<sup>452</sup>

As regional organizations stabilized, organizations could now offer a predictable pattern of leadership selection. After 1951, Indians with the ambition to become leaders had only to join a recognized organization and rise through its ranks. The massive grass-roots campaigns of early leaders like Thunderwater and Loft were no longer necessary. Second generation leaders like James Gladstone, Walter Dieter, and George Manuel followed similar career paths.

James Gladstone appeared on the political scene late in life. Born in 1887, Gladstone was born a non-status Indian. Nevertheless, he attended the Calgary Industrial School. During his school years, he befriended a group of Blood students, and learned to speak their language.<sup>453</sup> After graduating, he worked as a farmhand in the town of McLeod, then took odd jobs on the Blood reserve, first as a mail carrier, then as a clerk in the local Indian agency. In 1920, after a long personal campaign, Gladstone gained legal status as an Indian. Gaining status as an Indian forced Gladstone to quit his government job, because as a ward of the state he could not legally sign permits and vouchers.<sup>454</sup> He and his wife, Jane Healy,<sup>455</sup> settled on a ranch on the Blood reserve.<sup>456</sup> During the 1940s, Gladstone gained prominence in the community by organizing drives to support the war effort. Gladstone entered politics after meeting a group of Cree from Hobbema at an Anglican synod, who told Gladstone about the IAA. Gladstone convinced the Blood to join. The

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<sup>452</sup> Ibid p 100

<sup>453</sup> Hugh A. Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader*: pp 7-28

<sup>454</sup> Ibid pp 28-65

<sup>455</sup> Ibid p 37

<sup>456</sup> Ibid pp 65

IAA elected Gladstone to represent the organization at the 1950-51 Joint Committee meetings.

Gladstone was elected president of the IAA from 1950 to 1954, and, again, from 1956 to 1958.<sup>457</sup>

Ambition and family connections drew Walter Dieter into the leadership of the USI. Born in 1916, on the Peepeekis Reserve, Dieter grew up in the File Hills Colony, an experimental Christian community. He attended File Hills and Birtle residential schools, before enlisting for service in WWII. His service was cut short when he contracted TB. During his convalescence, he completed high school by correspondence and earned a certificate in business administration. Afterwards Dieter's poor physical health meant he could not work as a farmer. He and his wife, Inez Wuttunee of the Red Pheasant reserve, moved to Saskatoon, where Dieter worked as a truck driver.<sup>458</sup> During long road trips, Dieter listened to news on the radio, and developed an interest in politics.<sup>459</sup> A number of Dieter's in-laws worked for the USI, and Dieter's brother-in-law, Sam Wuttunee, encourage him to run for the presidency, in 1956. <sup>460</sup> Dieter lost the election, but subsequently established a reputation as an advocate by founding an Indian friendship centre in Saskatoon, then working as a director for the Regina Friendship Centre.<sup>461</sup> In 1966, Dieter took a second run at the presidency of the USI, and won. He led the organization for five years.

Andrew Paull personally groomed his successor, George Manuel, to take over the NAIB. Manuel a member of Neskainliith was born on the Shushwap Nation in 1921, and raised by his grandparents. <sup>462</sup> He left to attend residential school when he was nine years old, but his education was interrupted by illness. First, he developed a painful inner ear infection, which the priests cured by operating, themselves, with a kitchen knife. <sup>463</sup> When Manuel was twelve, he

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<sup>457</sup> Ibid pp 107-123

<sup>458</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Dieter" p 57

<sup>459</sup> Ibid p 57

<sup>460</sup> Ibid p 58, p 66

<sup>461</sup> Ibid p 58

<sup>462</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood*, p 24

<sup>463</sup> Ibid p 32

developed osteomyelitis (a form of TB affecting the hip). Manuel was hospitalized for three years. He learned to read and write during his convalescence.<sup>464</sup> He returned home, struggling to recover from physical abuse suffered in residential school.<sup>465</sup> During this time, Manuel was given the job of firing up the potbelly stove in the community hall when Andy Paull visited for political meetings. Manuel's grandparents were among Paull's political supporters, but little of the political world captured Manuel's attention at that time.<sup>466</sup> It was only later, after Manuel settled down, married and became a successful farmer, that he entered the political scene. In the late 1950s, one of Manuel's sons became ill. The town doctor visited Paull's home to inform him that Indian Affairs was refusing to pay the medical bills of employed Indians. While Manuel could afford to pay the bill, the doctor begged him not to, fearing that too many of Manuel's kin could not afford to pay their own bills and would suffer in silence unless someone fought the policy.<sup>467</sup> Manuel remembered Paull, and wrote to him for advice.<sup>468</sup> Over the next few years, Manuel would join Paull in the fight for healthcare, and the two men became close friends. Paull slowly groomed Manuel to take over the leadership of the NAIB, even arranging for Manuel to work a law office, just as Paull once had.<sup>469</sup> Manuel was elected to replace Paull as the NAIB president in 1959, shortly after Paull's death. By then, the NAIB had lost its scope as a national organization and was restricted to representing Indians in B.C.'s interior.<sup>470</sup>

A final sign that Indian politics was becoming a profession was the demand for professional salaries. Andrew Paull had sometimes collected a modest salary for his work with the Allied Tribes of BC or for offering legal advice to individuals, although the idea of salaried advocacy

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<sup>464</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World*, p 63, p 99

<sup>465</sup> *Ibid* p 67, p 85

<sup>466</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* p 104

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid* p 105; A letter outlining the policy is in RG10 v 8478 file 1/24-2-2 pt 2 Executive meeting with Dr. W.S. B. Rolly? Superintendent BC Region, January 6, 1959

<sup>468</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World*, p 107

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid* p117

<sup>470</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 57

remained taboo throughout his career.<sup>471</sup> After the establishment of the NAIB, Paull initiated the idea that government could pay Indian leaders for their political work. In 1945, he wrote to Hoey, asking the Department to pay himself and Jackson a monthly stipend.<sup>472</sup> The Department turned down his request, advising:

...if the senior officers of were in the Government employ, they might feel that their freedom of action was limited. Again, the membership at large might soon consider such officers government employees rather than their own representatives and it would not be long before the usefulness of the Organization would disappear.<sup>473</sup>

The idea arose again during the 1960s, after the federal government established a National Indian Advisory Council. Indians working on the council demanded they be paid salaries equivalent to their non-native peers. The government refused the request.<sup>474</sup>

In 1968, Walter Deiter became the first regional leader to secure federal funding for an Indian political organization, the FSI. He replaced volunteer workers with a paid professional staff, and divided them onto committees specializing in communications, research, and treaty rights. The IAA and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (established in the 1960s, with a \$30.00 loan from Deiter) followed suit.<sup>475</sup> When Dieter and 27 other leaders founded the National Indian Brotherhood in 1968, he secured government grants amounting to \$60,000 and established small offices in Ottawa, and Winnipeg.<sup>476</sup> After the 1969 White Paper failed, the federal government recognized it would need to consult the new organization and boosted the NIB's funding, offering them an extra \$3.6 million dollars to bolster the organization's administrative and research staff.<sup>477</sup> Over the next few years, Deiter and Tootoosis grew suspicious about some of the NIB's spending practices and demanded an investigation. While no wrongdoing was proved, television and print media ran

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<sup>471</sup> E. Palmer Patterson, "Andy Paull and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p316

<sup>472</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Ottawa October 5, 1945

<sup>473</sup> RG 10 v 6826 file 496-3-2 Dear Mr. Paul, October 9, 1945

<sup>474</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 95

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid* p 85

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid* p104

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid* p 117

pictures of prominent Indian leaders dressed in designer suits and driving pricey sports cars. Professional Indian politicians seemed far removed from the chronic poverty and problems affecting their constituents. Indian leaders no longer compared their salaries to folks back home, but to their peers in Ottawa.<sup>478</sup>

For some leaders, the comparison went beyond salaries, they considered themselves professional politicians and a few made the transition into mainstream Canadian politics. Frank Calder ran for, and won a provincial seat for the CCF in the Atlin riding in 1949. He continued as a member of the NDP after 1969.<sup>479</sup> In 1960, Guy Williams ran for the Conservative party.<sup>480</sup> When Diefenbaker decided to appoint an Indian to Senate, he considered appointing Peter Kelly,<sup>481</sup> before appointing James Gladstone to the position in 1958. Gladstone claimed to have always been a supporter of Canada's Conservative party.<sup>482</sup>

Government tables also provided an opportunity for second-generation leaders to meet, get to know each other, and form the connections that established the modern Indian Crown community and contemporary national political organizations. Following the 1950 Joint Committee Meetings, the federal government sponsored a series of meetings in Manitoba, which would eventually lead to the establishment of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in the 1960s. At first only Manitoba leaders attended, but soon leaders from other regions asked to be included. Among them was Frank Calder who suggested they use the opportunity to set up a new national organization to replace the NAIB.<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Ibid p 129-130

<sup>479</sup> Norman D. Shields, *Anishinabek Political Alliance* p 145

<sup>480</sup> "Pro-Cons nominate Indian" *The Province* Wed March 9 1960

<sup>481</sup> Ian Morely, *Roar of the Breakers* p 156

<sup>482</sup> Hugh Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader* pp 107-123

<sup>483</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 60

In the 1960s, the federal government set up regional Indian Advisory Boards, to discuss Indian policy. Regional boards appointed members to a National Indian Advisory Council (NAIC), responsible for reviewing the Indian Act. Indians on the board were not paid



14. National Indian Advisory Board *Indian News* 1963 p 1

salaries, but the government did organize meetings and pick up the tab for travel and hotels. This allowed Indian leaders to meet regularly and for extended periods. Quebec leader, Max Gros-Louis sat on both a regional board and the NAIC.<sup>484</sup> Walter Deiter sat on the Regina Indian Advisory Board, and later the NAIC.<sup>485</sup> George Manuel's work in B.C. drew the attention of Frank Scow, who recommended that Manuel be appointed to B.C.'s regional board.<sup>486</sup> Shortly after, Phillip Paul of Vancouver Island was appointed to the regional board. Paul's family had supported Andy Paull from his early years, and Phillip, had joined the NAIB, then under Manuel's leadership.<sup>487</sup> By 1965, Manuel was elected to sit on the NAIC.<sup>488</sup> At a 1966 meeting of the NAIC, Manuel and Deiter met a twenty-year-old Ottawa university student, Harold Cardinal, who was seeking funding to establish a youth council. Three years later Cardinal was elected president of the IAA. He remembered Manuel and invited him to Alberta to set up a Community development program.<sup>489</sup> Manuel was not particularly impressed with the government's use of the NAIC, but he noted: "The greatest single

<sup>484</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 95

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid* pp 1-5

<sup>486</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 72

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid* 73-73

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid* 72

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid* pp 86-87 and p 92

value that the meetings of the National Indian Advisory Council offered was that Indian leadership from all across Canada got to know each other and where our common interests lay.<sup>490</sup>

Leaders followed up on Calder's recommendation that they use the 1950 meetings to form a national organization, the National Indian Council, in 1961. George Manuel and Walter Deiter served on its board of governors from 1965-1968,<sup>491</sup> and John Tootoosis became the NIC's Vice President in 1964.<sup>492</sup> William Wuttunee, a non-status Cree lawyer, who was related to both Deiter and Tootoosis through marriage, was elected president.<sup>493</sup> Leaders sought government funding to support the organization, but they faced competition from another organization, the Indian and Eskimo Association of Canada (IEAC). The IEAC had been formed by non-Indian sympathizers in Regina in 1951, and by the 1960s it had grown into a national organization. Part of the IEAC's mandate was to foster Indian political organizations.<sup>494</sup> A number of the NIC's founders and supporters, including Walter Deiter, Harold Cardinal and Max Gros-Louis, sat on the IEAC's board of governors and they forced the organization to remove themselves from the competition for funding.<sup>495</sup> The NIC's mandate was to represent Métis, Status and non-status Indians. Its founders had hoped that if they built a national organization, grassroots support would follow. The NIC never formed the support base they hoped, and some regional organizations did not support it, seeing it as competition. The NIC's only hard political legacy would be the establishment of an Indian Land Claims Commission; otherwise, it dedicated its time to supporting cultural initiatives.<sup>496</sup>

Like the NIC, its successor, the NIB, was a product of the crown community. In 1965, Tootoosis criticized the NIC for having too broad a mandate, he coaxed Indian leaders to pull out

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<sup>490</sup> George Manuel *Fourth World* p 165

<sup>491</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" pp 91-92

<sup>492</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* pp 215-217

<sup>493</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 133; Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 61

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid* p 93, p 98

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid* p 98

<sup>496</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 61; Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 210

and establish an organization that would represent status Indians only. The move to drop non-status Indians and Métis was motivated, in part, by the federal government's refusal to fund initiatives for non-status Indians. Tootosis gained the support of Harold Cardinal, Walter Deiter, and MIB president Dave Courchene.<sup>497</sup> They announced the decision at a NIC meeting in 1966, and the NIC split. Non-status Indians and Métis formed the Native Council of Canada.<sup>498</sup> Leaders of Indian regional organizations, many of whom were sitting on the NAIC, took advantage of their time in Ottawa hotel rooms to discuss the establishment of the new status Indian organization. Among the twenty-eight regional leaders held a founding meeting in Ottawa, in 1968 were: Harold Cardinal, Guy Williams, Phillip Paul, Walter Dieter, Omer Peters, John Tootosis and Andrew Delisle and Max Gros-Louis. Deiter, the first president, was mandated to work out the structure and find a source of funding for the venture.<sup>499</sup> When Deiter opened an office for the NIB on Bank Street, the crown community had, for the first time, a permanent home in Ottawa. The NIB was structured as an umbrella group for regional organizations; one leader from each province became an NIB affiliate.<sup>500</sup> This meant that Ottawa's crown community still had an itinerant quality, and that its scope reached beyond the town's borders.

Political organizations are not political communities, but they can be expressions of a political community. Before the 1940s the political communities formed, and leaders were the men who took the initiative to organize political structures to suit the community. Early leaders like Thunderwater, Deskaheh, Loft, Tootosis, Paull, Kelly, and Sioui, to name a few, were well known to their grassroots supporters and depended on the support for legitimacy and funding. Leaders

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<sup>497</sup> Ibid p 217

<sup>498</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" p 94; Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* pp 215-217

<sup>499</sup> Peter McFarlane, *Brother hood to Nationhood* p 85

<sup>500</sup> Patricia-Anne Deiter, "A Biography of Chief Walter P. Deiter" pp 1-5

like Loft and Sioui were able to expand their organizations by capturing political communities with a like-minded goal, lobbying the federal government to change the way it governed Indians.

When leaders began to make headway with the federal government and receive invitations to consultation meetings with the federal government, the shape and nature of political communities changed. First, legitimacy no longer came through grassroots support, but from securing a seat at a government table. Regular meetings gave regional leaders a more regular presence in Ottawa. Leadership professionalized, meaning that there was now a structured way of becoming part of the political community, restrictions on who could select the leadership, and the idea that political leaders should be paid a salary on par with their non-Native peers in Ottawa. Ottawa's crown community changed into a small community of leaders who had the ear of the federal government. New organizations like the NIC and the NIB expressed the change in political community. The new organizations were founded through meetings of the leaders, rather than popular support.

With the founding of the NIB, in 1968, the crown community opened an office in Ottawa. Even after regional leaders established a base in Ottawa, they were still sojourners in Ottawa, coming for meetings then returning to their regions. What changed was that after 1968, Indian leaders came to know other Indians in the town. The establishment of a base in the city, and links to a town community gave leaders of the NIB a permanent presence in the city.

## Chapter 4: Leaving home, Glimpsing Urban Indian migration in Canada, 1900 to 1970

La Reserve De Hull came to Ottawa as a satellite community that grew out of a migratory pattern. The Crown Community came to Ottawa, first through a series of irregular visits by small groups of leaders, then more regularly in the post-war period by invitees of the federal government, then finally with a permanent presence in the NIB. During the 1900s other Indians moved into, or passed through cities across Canada, with the number of urban-living Indians increasing in the post-war period. Unlike the community of the 1800s, Indians who migrated to Ottawa in the 1900s did not necessarily belong to a nearby community. Unlike political leaders, they did not come to Ottawa to lobby government. Instead they appear to be part of a larger trend, meaning that migration to Ottawa is, really only a local angle on a national story.

There are few histories on Indian urban migration. Harvey McCue argues depressed conditions on reserves fuelled migration in his essay "The Modern Age, 1945-1980."<sup>1</sup> Karl Carisse's thesis, "Becoming Canadian: Federal-Provincial Indian Policy and the Integration of Natives 1945-1969: The case of Ontario," looks at a related topic, the evolution of federal Indian policy.<sup>2</sup> Alongside these few histories sit a shelf or two of social studies and collections of statistical data, dating from the 1950s.<sup>3</sup> Most of the earlier works, those written before 1970, tried to test out or

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<sup>1</sup> Harvey McCue, "The Modern Age, 1945-1980" pp 386-391

<sup>2</sup> Karl Carisse, "Becoming Canadian: Federal-Provincial Indian Policy and the Integration of Natives 1945-1969: The case of Ontario." M.A. Thesis History, University of Ottawa, (2000)

<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest studies appears to be W.G. Boek, "The People of Indian Ancestry in Greater Winnipeg" in Jean Lagassé [ed.] *A study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959). For studies regarding assimilation and integration theories see: See J.K. and Arthur K. Davis, "Edging into the Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan" in *A Northern Dilemma: Reference papers* (Washington: Washington State College, 1965); Henry Zenter, *The Indian Identity Crisis: Inquires into the problems and prospects of societal development among Native peoples* (Calgary: Strayer Publications, 1973); "Minority Values and economic Achievement: The case of the North American Indian" In Mark Nagler [ed.] *Perspectives on the North American Indians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974). Statistical analyses include: Evelyn J. Peters "Demographics of Aboriginal People in Urban Areas," in *Aboriginal Self-government in Urban Areas: Proceedings of a Workshop, May 25 and 26 1994* (Kingston: Institute of Inter-governmental Relations, 1995) and J. Stansbury's *Success and Failure* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975)

develop theories about cultural integration and assimilation. A few offer some helpful insight. For example, E.J. Dosman's *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (1972)<sup>4</sup> looks at how Canada's termination policy played out in Saskatoon. Unfortunately, the best studies and statistics appear after 1970, meaning that best information starts where the thesis stops.

Social scientists who studied urban living Indians after 1950, sometimes sum up the reasons Indians left the reserve into a phrase: 'seeking a better life in the city.'<sup>5</sup> This chapter asks what was wrong with life on reserve and what made Indians believe life in the city would be better? There is no single answer that is true everywhere and for all time, because reserves were not uniform. Circumstances on reserves changed over time. Leaving home could also be a very personal thing. Still, a glimpse at reserves across Canada does show some common trends that fed migration at different periods: earning a living, education, housing shortages, social conditions and changing government policies.

Between 1900 and 1945, the Indian Department had no policy regarding Indians migrating from reserves, nor did it have much of a policy regarding Indians living off reserve. In these early years, the government adopted a hands-off policy towards urban Indians.<sup>6</sup> For example in 1894, John Twieshaw a former chief living in Oka, a town that had grown when immigrants settled on land at Lake of Two Mountains (see Chapter 1 and 2), wrote to the department. He requested a copy of the Indian Act, and asked how the laws applied to him.<sup>7</sup> Haytor Reed replied: "...the various laws respecting Indians apply mainly to Indians living upon reserves. Indians living otherwise are much the same as white people, and they cannot have the same privileges as the

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<sup>4</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972)

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of literature see: Michael Gurstein, *Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytic Literature Review* (Vancouver: Development Planning Association, Department of Indian Affairs, 1977) and Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, *Registered Indian Mobility and migration: an Analysis of 1996 Census Data* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2004)

<sup>6</sup> Karl Carisse, "Becoming Canadian" pp 15-19

<sup>7</sup> RG10 v 2757 149,498 Letter from Chief John Twieshaw to Dear Gentlemen Oka, May 19. 1894

law gives to those living upon reserves.”<sup>8</sup> In 1920, J.D. McLean told the mayor of New Glasgow that Indians occupying shanties in the town were no concern of the Department: “as the said buildings are not situated on an Indian reserve, the Department does not propose to take action with regards thereto.”<sup>9</sup> In the 1930s, an Algonquin living in the town of Maniwaki was arrested and transferred to a jail in Hull. He appealed to the Department for help through a reverend. An official in the department replied: “the mere fact of being an Indian does not get the Department involved.”<sup>10</sup>

This does not mean that Indians living in cities entirely escaped the Indian Act. Indians could choose, or be forced to, give up their legal status as Indians and gain all the rights afforded citizens of Canada under the enfranchisement clause of the Indian Act. To enfranchise, Indian men need to prove they met certain moral, educational and monetary requirements. Indian women enfranchised by marrying non-Indians, or when their husbands or fathers enfranchised. (See Chapter 3) Once enfranchised, Indians could not legally own a home on a reserve. Those who didn't enfranchise remained wards of the crown, even when they moved into cities, meaning they remained subject to some rules of the Indian Act. For example, status Indians could not legally sign contracts before 1951, vote in federal elections before 1960, or drink liquor before 1969. Not all Indians followed the rules, but those who broke them risked penalties like fines or jail.<sup>11</sup> Until 1920, only 250 Indians enfranchised. When the government amended the Act, making it possible for Indians living off-reserve to enfranchise without a property requirement, more than 500 Indians enfranchised in a two-year period.<sup>12</sup> So the rules of the Indian Act followed many sojourners and

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<sup>8</sup> RG10 v 2757 149,498 Dear Chief from Haytor Reed Ottawa, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1894

<sup>9</sup> RG10 v 322 file 541, 432 Rev'd Sir from J.D. McLean Ottawa June 1920.

<sup>10</sup> RG10 v 3114 file 321, 110 pt 1 Letters dating November 21, 1934 and February 1, 1935

<sup>11</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 232-233; See also Stephen McGregor re: RCMP raids homes on homes at Kitigan Zibi through the 1960s. pp 314-315; Andy Paull, was a social drinker long before the laws allowed Indians to drink, but apparently was never fined. See George Manuel, *The Fourth World* pp 97-98

<sup>12</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 232-233

settlers into cities, but the Department did not try to manage Indian migration during this period. Policy decisions did create some of the circumstances on reserves that influenced migration, but this seems to have been accidental.

From 1900 to 1945, Indians living on reserves changed the way they earned a living, and this often meant leaving the reserve to work. The *Annual Report* of 1902 noted that with the exception of Manitoba, Indians in all provinces saw an increase in monies earned from wages. In 1901, Indians across Canada earned \$1, 181, 760, in wages, a rise of \$150,000 over the previous year.<sup>13</sup> This was more than just an inflationary increase in income. Annual reports for the

Department of Indian Affairs

divided Indian labour into

five categories: hunting,

fishing, other income

(usually meaning craftwork),

farming, and wages. In

1905, most Indians earned

**I. Percentage of income earned in various industries  
by Indians on reserve**

Numbers are rounded to the nearest tenth.

Year	Hunting	Fishing	Other	Farming	Wages
1905	23	16.8	15.1	29.1	15.6
1915	12	10.8	11.67	39.2	26.2
1925	23.7	8.6	8.8	32	26.6
1935	26	16.7	8.27	29.9	19
1945	15	12.6	6.3	23.2	42.7

Based on figures from *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1905) p135; (1915) p 23; (1924) p 81(1935) p 39; (1945) p 170

their income in the traditional economy, made up of hunting, fishing and craftwork. Income from traditional work accounted for 54.9 per cent of the income earned from these five categories that year. Farming, meaning on-reserve farming, accounted for 29.1 per cent of the income earned. Wages accounted for only 15.6 percent of the income earned. By 1945, a reversal was evident. Only 33.9 percent of the income earned was earned by working in n traditional economies, farming brought in 23.2 per cent, and wages accounted for 42.7 percent.<sup>14</sup> The trend to earn a living by wage-work grew over the years, with a blip during the Depression when many Indians returned to

<sup>13</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p xxii

<sup>14</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1905) p 135; (1915) p 23; (1924) p 81(1935) p 39; (1945) p 170

hunting and trapping.<sup>15</sup> The wage figures for 1945 reflect the rising trend but are also inflated by the number of Indian women finding work in the war industries.<sup>16</sup>

Earning a living through wages usually meant working off-reserve. Only rarely could Indians find wage labour on reserve, sometimes as a teacher or a nurse working for the Indian Department. For one thing, band monies, were held in trust for Indians by the Department.<sup>17</sup> This prevented bands from using their monies to start businesses. Occasionally the Department freed up band monies for make-work projects, like the widening of roads to relieve unemployment. The projects created temporary jobs but fell short of developing a stable economy.<sup>18</sup> When it came to using resources on reserve lands agents were more likely to license the land to outside businesses, than to encourage the growth of Indian business. For example, reserve lands were sometimes licensed to lumber companies; Indians needed

## II. Lumber Camp Romance

I sit and dream of my first romance  
Back in 1924.  
When we washed clothes in a lumber camp  
For a hundred men and more.  
Our wash-shack stood atop a hill  
On the Kindiogami River.

How steep that hill I remember still  
And I used to haul the water  
Then I fell in love thank God above  
With the barn-boss whose name was Walter.  
As one would guess he came to bless  
Took over my hauling of the water.

One of Walter's jobs was to feed the hogs  
From the cookery scraps each day  
Sunday afternoon men would sit  
Around the sleeping camps smoking.  
They go a trill when up the hill  
Walter would come a-courting.

They loved him so followed wherever he'd go  
Expecting the jumper-goodies.  
Watching the herd of screaming hogs  
Of fifty head or more  
As they followed him with happy shrills  
Right up to our wash-shack door.

When spring came near we shed a tear  
As we boarded the horse-drawn sleigh  
For a journey back to Blind River  
More than eighty miles away.

Though the log filled river  
Meant our bread and butter  
We did mourn each whispering pine  
As they lay in silence on the River  
At the site of old camp nine.

Diana Taft ,  
Blind River Ontario  
Reprinted from *Indian News* v. 18 no 4, 1977

<sup>15</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 361

<sup>16</sup> To the authors best knowledge there exists no study of Indian labour during the war production boom. Some files can be found in RG10 v 6773 Regina N. Christianson General Superintendent of Indian Agencies, November 3, 1943; A number of Indians also migrated to work in the US during the war boom see the documents in RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2

<sup>17</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 258-260

<sup>18</sup> Stephen McGregor *Since Time Immemorial* p 253-255

permission from their agent to cut wood.<sup>19</sup> Next, Indians living on a reserve could rarely secure loans from banks as they had no capital. Under the Indian Act, reserve lands could not be seized for debt. Such policies retarded the growth of business.<sup>20</sup> It's true that a few reserves managed to open businesses. For example, Kahnawake had a quarry operating in the 1880s, and a restaurant in the 1920s.<sup>21</sup> Grand River had stores selling farm goods.<sup>22</sup> Such ventures were rare however, and occurred in spite of the Indian Act.

The majority of Indians working for wages did so away from home.

According to the *Annual Report of 1902*:

The choice of work made by the Indians when hiring out their services

Year	Adult Population	Income From trapping	% Of income*
1905	Age 16-65 43,799	\$43,685	23
1915	Age 16-65 47,174	\$654,501	12
1924	Age 16-65 52,159	\$2,211,016	23.7
1935	Age 17-65 58,180	\$1,352,281	26
1945	Age 17-65 65,238	\$2,400,000	15

Year	Adult Population	Income From fishing	% Of income
1905	Age 16-65 43,799	\$31,440	16.8
1915	Age 16-65 47,174	\$586,781	10.8
1924	Aged 16-65 52,159	\$803,915	8.6
1935	Age 17-65 58,180	\$867,397	16.7
1945	Age 17-65 65,238	\$2,000,000	12.6

Year	Adult Population	Other Income Including crafts	% Of income
1905	Age 16-65 43,799	\$28,254	15.1
1915	Age 16-65 47,174	\$632,118	11.67
1924	Age 16-65 52,159	\$817,718	8.8
1935	Age 17-65 58,180	\$428,793	8.27
1945	Age 17-65 65,238	\$1,000,000	6.3

### III. Details of income earned in various industries by Indians on reserve

Source: *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs*  
Source: (1905) p135; (1915) p 23; (1924) p 81(1935) p 39;  
(1945) p 170

\*Figures rounded to the nearest tenth

<sup>19</sup> Licences to cut timber on the reserve were usually reported in the *Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs*, for example see (1902) p 49; for permits see for example RG10 v 3212 file 527, 787-4 Indian Agent G.E. Hurl to Indian Affairs June 5, 1944; also for rules governing reserve lands see Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 222-223, p 408

<sup>20</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* pp 258-260

<sup>21</sup> Johnny Beauvais, *A Mohawk Look at Canada* pp 10 -12

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1877) pp 9-10

is governed largely by their environments. As a rule they take most readily to some branch of lumbering industry, whether in winter camps or steam-driving in the spring or in the saw mills or rafting or loading vessels and in the eastern provinces amply employment of this kind is readily available.<sup>23</sup>

So for example, the Nipissing Band at North Bay worked

for J. R. Booth, a small portion of the Watha Band

(Gibson), near Georgian Bay worked in lumber, and the

Algonquins of Kitigan Zibi, near Maniwaki Quebec were

“eagerly sought after by the lumbermen as they are expert

woods men and drivers.”<sup>24</sup> Indians living near urban

centers sometimes found work in factories and other

industries. For example, in 1900, the Mohawk men of

Kahnawake worked for the Iron Bridge Company at

Lachine, or the Hydraulic Company.<sup>25</sup> In 1902,

Indians at Grand River found work in

factories in Brantford, while some of the

Chippewa at Rama (Mujikaning) earned

their living in the chemical works at

Longford.<sup>26</sup> The small Maganettawan

band, composed of 14 adults, got work

“anytime they want it” with the Holland and

Grave company at nearby Byng Inlet, in



15. Mohawk Construction Workers, early 1900s.  
(Above) David S. Blanchard *Kahnawake: A Historical Sketch* p 24

16. Stony Indians load wood at Morley Station, 1901 (Below) *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p 48



<sup>23</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p xxii

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* (1902) p 33, 35, 47

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid* (1900) p 52

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* (1902) p xxii

northern Ontario.<sup>27</sup> Some of these workers only visited towns to work during the day. For example, workers at Kahnawake could take the morning train to work in Montreal, then return home in the evenings.<sup>28</sup> Others, like the lumberjacks of Kitigan Zibi were absent seasonally.<sup>29</sup>

Leaving the reserve to work for wages was increasingly necessary because reserve economies were often based on trapping, craft work, and fishing and these traditional economies were declining during the period 1900 to 1945. This was increasingly necessary because trapping no longer produced enough wealth. First, lumbering and settler encroachment continued to impact trapping in some areas. Secondly, prices fluctuated with demand meaning income was unpredictable. The Department's annual report for 1902, noted that Indians along the eastern portion of the St. Lawrence River in Quebec were "practically dependent upon the proceeds of hunting and trapping."<sup>30</sup> Despite their dependence on hunting and trapping, their profits were down. In 1900, Indians in Quebec earned \$101, 738.50, in 1901 that figure fell to \$50, 945.00.<sup>31</sup> When fur prices fell in the 1930s the Department received reports of Indian trappers starving.<sup>32</sup>

Craftwork was closely related to trapping because it depended on skin and other natural products. Mostly craftwork provided a supplemental income, but was part of the economy on reserves across Canada. Women wove baskets, sewed moccasins and beadwork; men fashioned pipes, axe-handles, barrel hoops, paddles, lacrosse sticks, and snowshoes.<sup>33</sup> Crafts, like trapping, suffered when natural products fell into short supply. A long-standing shortage of timber on the

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid p 36

<sup>28</sup> RG10 v 7558 file 2005-2 Petition from Indians of Caughnawaga asking Superintendent Robert Rogers to get permission for them to use the CPR to get to work. n.d.

<sup>29</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p 33, 35, 47

<sup>30</sup> Ibid p xxi

<sup>31</sup> Ibid p xxi

<sup>32</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 361

<sup>33</sup> See for example the *Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs* (1887) p 18; (1902) p 34, 37, 38, 48, 49 (1908) p 49 (1911) p 42, 47

Akwesasne reserve meant that in 1877, men had to leave the reserve to find timber to make baskets.<sup>34</sup>

The income earned from craftwork varied with location, plus the industry was vulnerable to booms and busts. In 1911, the agent at Kitigan Zibi reported that moccasins: “ are very remunerative work and many of the women make considerable at this option.” Kitigan Zibi was located on a tourism belt.<sup>35</sup> The Amalecites of Viger and Cacouna in New Brunswick made baskets, snowshoes and fancy wares, to supplement income from hunting and fishing, but were “for the most part judged very poor.”<sup>36</sup> The Hurons of Wendaki earned a good living by selling snowshoes and moccasins until 1902, according to the agent. That year, the crafts did not bring in much money and only 458 residents remained on reserve, 516 had moved in to towns “amongst the strangers the work necessary to maintain their families.”<sup>37</sup> The agent felt they’d have to abandon the village and relocate if work was not found.<sup>38</sup> In the 1870s, the men at Kahnawake voyaged to the U.S. to sell their wives’ beadwork.<sup>39</sup> After they took work as structural steel workers, their wives traveled with them and sold their fancy work themselves, or gave it to their husbands to sell on the roadside.<sup>40</sup>

One very important development affecting Indians’ ability to earn a living from trapping, crafts and fishing during the period was the advent of new game laws, especially after 1920. Section 92(13) “Property and civil rights” and section 92 (16) “Matters of a local nature” granted the

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<sup>34</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, (1877) p 25

<sup>35</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, (1911) p 42

<sup>36</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, (1902) p 48

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid* p 49

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid* p 49

<sup>39</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1877) p 18

<sup>40</sup> J. Mitchell, “Mohawks in High Steel” in Edmund Wilson *Apologies to the Iroquois* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959) pp 13-18

provinces jurisdiction over wildlife.<sup>41</sup> Laws varied from province to province but generally, they restricted the area, the season, and sometimes the method Indians could use to trap and fish. In 1913, Parliament took the position that treaty rights regarding trapping and fishing applied only on reserves.<sup>42</sup> This was especially relevant in the Northwest Territories where Parliament applied game laws until Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905. After 1905, provincial game laws applied to Indians living off-reserve and all non-status Indians. In 1930, the Natural Resource Transfer Agreement made provisions for status Indians to exercise their treaty rights on unoccupied crown land.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, in Quebec and Ontario, the Proclamation Act and treaties took a back seat to provincial legislation. In 1943, Quebec introduced the registered trap line system, insisting that Indians, like Canadians, must apply for and rent trap lines. Hunters did not choose the new trap lines; the province assigned them. Registered trap lines were also smaller than traditional trap lines, 96.5 square miles<sup>44</sup> compared to an average Algonquin territory of 231 square miles.<sup>45</sup> In the 1940s, Quebec also opened wildlife refuges, which interfered with hunting. For example, the Mont-Laurier-Senneterre Fishing and Hunting Refuge (later renamed Park La Verendrye) restricted hunting in the territories used by the Algonquins of Kitigan Zibi, Lac Barrière, Lac Simon, and Grand Lac.<sup>46</sup> Indians in Ontario faced similar restrictions. A group of Kichesippirini, and Nipissing, formerly of Lake of Two Mountains, settled in Nightingale under the leadership of Pierre Charbot (Sharbot). They refused a reserve in Lawrence partly because it was located near Algonquin Park,

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<sup>41</sup> K. Krag, *Survey of Native rights as they relate to fish and wildlife protection in British Columbia* (BC Fish and Wildlife Branch Department of recreation and conservation, August 1975) p 15

<sup>42</sup> Victor Lytwyn in *Powley v. 3*

<sup>43</sup> Ken McNeil, *Indian Hunting and Fishing Rights in the Prairie Provinces of Canada* (University of Saskatchewan, 1983) pp 11 -20

<sup>44</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 277

<sup>45</sup> Phil Jenkins, *An Acre in time* pp 88-89

<sup>46</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 277

and they anticipated problems with game preservation laws.<sup>47</sup> In the 1940s, the Indian Department noted Indians were not securing a fair share of trap lines in several provinces, and stepped in to rent the trap lines on their behalf.<sup>48</sup>

As traditional economies became less viable, the only alternative on-reserve economy the Indian Department supported during this period was agriculture. Indians turned to farming as a logical alternative to hunting, not only on the prairies (see Chapter 3) but also in the east.

Farming was a traditional way of life

for the Haudenosaunee. Other groups like the Nipissing and Ojibwa had practiced 'girdled farming',<sup>49</sup> while the Algonquins had harvested wild foods and tended small gardens (See Chapter 1).

Despite this mixed bag of experience, Indians tried farming on almost every reserve in Canada.

The Kichesippirini of the Gatineau River laid down their farms before they even secured a reserve.

<sup>50</sup> Chief Michael Zages of Lac Barrière (Men of the Woods) asked for hoes, axes, grinding stones and seed for potatoes peas and turnips as early as 1876.<sup>51</sup>

The Indian Department supported farming, but not necessarily for economic reasons. Olive Patricia Dickason notes that as early as the 1830s, government adopted the idea that farming

Year	Population (Aged 16+)	Farming Income	As % of Income
1905	Age 16-65 43,799	\$54,480	29.1
1915	Age 16-65 47,174	\$2,123,125	39.2
1924	Age 16-65 52,159	\$2,998,677	32%
1935	Age 17-65 58,180	\$1,550,315	29.9
1945	Age 17-65 65,238	\$3,700,000	23.2

**IV. Income earned from farming**  
 Figures from *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1905) p135; (1915) p 23; (1935) p 39; (1945) p170

<sup>47</sup> RG10 v 2401 file 83203 Hon. Bowell February 2, 1888 and Ottawa October 9 1893

<sup>48</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1940) p 219

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Arthur Ray, in Ontario Court, (Provincial Division) Her Majesty the Queen against Steve Powley and Roddy C. Powley. "Excerpts from Trial" (Saute Ste. Marie: April 30<sup>th</sup> and May 1 and 4," 1998) No. 999 93 3220 v. 2 p 176

<sup>50</sup> Jacques Frenette, "Kitagn Zibi Anishinabeg" p 71; Pauline Joly de Lotbinière, "Of Wampums and Little People" pp 103

<sup>51</sup> RG10 v 1994 file 6832 Letter dated 1876 from Chief Michel Zages

could civilize Indians. She writes: "Although there were those who wondered at the equation of farming with civilization, for all practical purposes it remained a guiding principle in American Indian administration during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century."<sup>52</sup> Ph.D. Student Robin E. E Brownie adds that neither high officials in the Department, nor Agents in the communities believed in building up economies to sustain the population, or for that matter a growing population. The reserves were, in their minds 'training grounds' from which Indians would emerge as Canadian citizens.<sup>53</sup> So much so, in fact, that even after dozens of men at Kahnawake took work, and earned good salaries, as high steel workers with the Dominion Steel Company in the 1880s, their local Indian agents still lamented, 30 years later, that they could not get these Mohawks to farm.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, in 1908, the agent at Kitigan Zibi noted that most of the men worked in lumber camps and would not farm: "...as they are pretty good drivers they get good pay. These young Indians will not farm much if they can get money by working out"<sup>55</sup> At Pikwakanagan, where the population equaled only 82 souls in 1905, the agent noted: "most of them are young men who would rather work out while wages are good."<sup>56</sup> While Indians who turned to farming saw it as chance to earn a living, many officials in the Department looked at farming as a social experiment.

This may explain, in part, why the Department supported farming on one hand, while instituting counter-intuitive policies on the other. Sarah Carter, author of *Lost Harvests*, argues the Department never supplied adequate equipment, livestock, or farm instructors.<sup>57</sup> Indian farmers had no capital to finance equipment on their own, due to the status of reserve lands.<sup>58</sup> Up to 1915, the Department allowed farmers to borrow money for farming equipment, using band monies held

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<sup>52</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 199

<sup>53</sup> Robin E. Brownie, "A Fatherly Eye: Two Indian Agents on Georgian Bay" Phd. Thesis Department of History, University of Toronto (1996) p 110

<sup>54</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1911) p 47

<sup>55</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1907-08) p 12

<sup>56</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1905) p 8

<sup>57</sup> Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests* (McGill: Queen's University Press, 1990) p 254

<sup>58</sup> Eleanor Brass, "Discovery in Agriculture" *Indian News* v 9 no 1 April 1966, p 5

in trust by the Department as collateral.<sup>59</sup> According to Carter, they stopped this practice in 1915.

<sup>60</sup> The Department did sometimes make loans to farmers for equipment on an ad hoc basis, but they did not develop a consistent policy to help Indians secure loans from banks until 1969.<sup>61</sup>

A second problem, was the Department discouraged Indian competition with non-Indian farmers, and limited the amount of surplus produce Indian farmers could sell. This made farming less profitable.<sup>62</sup> Agents also occasionally punished 'trouble-makers' by refusing to let them sell their surpluses.<sup>63</sup> Other aspects of Indian agriculture were also rigidly managed. For example, in the 1920s, John Tootosis Jr., of the Poundmaker reserve, hired a non-Indian neighbour to help seed his farm. Tootosis intended to pay the man back by selling a two-year-old calf. He ran into a snag when he discovered the Department did not allow Indians to sell calves unless they were three years old, and then, only in autumn. Technically, the Indian Department owned the livestock and therefore they, not Indian farmers, had final say over how it was used. Tootosis did get special permission to sell the calf from his local agent, but the agent intimated that Indian Commissioner W.H. Graham would not be pleased.<sup>64</sup>

Other factors that determined the success or failure of farming included the soil quality and weather conditions. The Indian Agents at Pikwakanagan kept encouraging the Algonquins to farm despite an admission in 1889 that the soil was "not good for farming as it is both stony and sandy."<sup>65</sup> Indian farmers also fell victim to the weather conditions and pest problems that occasionally plagued their non-Indian counterparts. Indian farmers in Manitoba and the Northwest

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<sup>59</sup> Sarah Carter *Lost Harvests* (McGill–Queen's University Press, 1990) p 254

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid* p 254

<sup>61</sup> Cathy Hunter, "Proud to be a farmer" *Indian News* v 18 no 7 January 1 1978

<sup>62</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* pp 110-112

<sup>63</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootosis* p 125

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid* p 123

<sup>65</sup> *Annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1889) p 13

territories suffered floods in 1901.<sup>66</sup> In 1930, Indians in the three prairie provinces sowed 38, 156 acres of wheat, 24,759 acres of oats 5, 442 acres of barley and 2, 918 acres of rye. Although it looked like a good crop in the spring, a large portion was ruined before the harvest by blowing soil. Rusts, sawfly and cutworm also took their toll that year. <sup>67</sup>

The alienation of reserve lands also caused grief for Indian farmers. Some of the best land was given, leased, or sold to non-Indian farmers. Between 1897 and 1911, Indians were coerced into selling, or defrauded of 212,000 acres of land. <sup>68</sup> At Kitigan Zibi, for example, several surrenders are suspect. Sir John A. Macdonald appointed Irish businessman, Charles Logue, as the Kitigan Zibi agent in 1879, on the advice of their mutual friend, lumberman Alonzo Wright. During his six-year stay Logue, supported by Wright, tried twice to coerce the Algonquins into surrendering half the reserve, but failed under protests led by Algonquin resident John Bull and his family. After Logue retired in 1885, he named his successor James Martin. His friend James managed to secure surrenders amounting to 156 acres, over half of which, 85 acres, went to Charles Logue.<sup>69</sup> Missionaries and the Indian Department convinced the Peepeekis reserve to give up a portion of good farmland, in exchange for tracts with poorer soil.<sup>70</sup> Superintendent of Indian Affairs Frank Oliver, the man behind the Oliver Act (see Chapter3), seized a small portion of surrendered reserve land for himself. His son-in-law bought land off the Michael's band, then resold it to Oliver for \$1, upon his retirement in 1914.<sup>71</sup>

The Blackfoot surrendered almost half their reserve in 1910, under the Oliver Act.<sup>72</sup> In her thesis on the Blackfoot farming experiment, Valarie K. Jobson argues the Blackfoot agreed to the

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<sup>66</sup> *Annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p xix

<sup>67</sup> *Annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1930) p 8

<sup>68</sup> "Reserve Lands removed by 'fraud and coercion'" *Indian News* v 19 no 11 March 1979

<sup>69</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 214

<sup>70</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* p 82

<sup>71</sup> "Reserve Lands removed by 'fraud and coercion'" *Indian News* v 19 no 11 March 1979

<sup>72</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 297

surrender because the Department agreed they could invest the money in better housing and farm equipment. Drought, Depression and tight administrative controls on the equipment and cattle meant that farming suffered through the 1930s. The rising costs of machinery and growing population meant that money was running out in the 1940s, leaving the majority of Blackfoot with the choice of accepting welfare, or migrating to cities for work.<sup>73</sup>

In the 1940s, an amendment to the War Measures Act allowed the agent to sell or lease 'unused' reserve land to non-Indian farmers, without permission of the band.<sup>74</sup> Large tracts of reserve land amounting to 62,128 acres, were sold or leased to non-Indians as part of the 'greater-production' drive to increase food production during the war. In some cases Indians were using the land, only they had not fenced it.<sup>75</sup> The Department purchased equipment for greater-production farms out of Indian trust monies, and to add insult to injury, Indian farmers were last on the list to use the equipment.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the policies and other conditions that made agriculture difficult, some Indian farmers did manage to raise funds by working for wages first, then purchasing the necessary equipment.<sup>77</sup> At Kitigan Zibi, where many of the men worked in lumbering, farming became women's work. Women planted, cultivated and harvested potatoes and vegetables; fed, watered and slaughtered livestock; churned butter and cream. Children helped in this work.<sup>78</sup> According to their local agent, these farmers did not care adequately for their farming equipment. He added they did not have sufficient buildings to store equipment properly.<sup>79</sup> Considering natural disasters, the

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<sup>73</sup> Valarie K. Jobson, "The Blackfoot Farming Experiment 1880-1945" M.A. Thesis. History University of Alberta 1990 pp 1-7

<sup>74</sup> Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) p 254; Olive Patricia Dickason *Canada's First Nations* p 300

<sup>75</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* pp 110-112

<sup>76</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 300

<sup>77</sup> See for example Hugh Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader* p 65; George Manuel, *Fourth World* pp 104-105

<sup>78</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since time Immemorial* p 218

<sup>79</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1915) p 23

learning curves that some farmers faced, the frequent lack of adequate equipment, and the interference from the Indian Department, it is not surprising that leasing farmland to non-Indians often proved to be an easier source of income, and that some Indians, given the choice, opted to work for wages.<sup>80</sup>

Labour shortages during the war-production boom boosted the trend to leave home to earn a living. In 1942, two young Algonquin women, Marie Louise, 18, and Juliette Carle, 19, of the Kitigan Zibi reserve asked their local agent to help them find work in war production. R.A. Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare and Training, doubted they'd be suitable to work in any area of the war service, and suggested they try finding work as domestics instead.<sup>81</sup> He dismissed similar requests stating that girls needed a minimum of a high school education to work in factories.<sup>82</sup> Hoey was soon proven wrong. Small Arms Limited of Toronto wrote the Indian Department, saying that they had already hired a number of Indian girls and were, "anxious to employ others." With the Department's approval, they sent female employment advisors on recruitment missions to reserves throughout Ontario.<sup>83</sup> Factories took out ads in the *Regina Leader Post* targeting Indian women on reserves in Saskatchewan, saying they'd welcome girls as young as 16.<sup>84</sup> Officials in the Indian Department kept an eye on their wards in the city, N. Christianson General Superintendent of Indian Agencies noted: "I was over at the selective service a few days ago, asking him that in the event of Indian girls going to work there to see they received a little closer supervision while there than the white girls."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Eleanor Brass, "Discovery in Agriculture" *Indian News* v 9 no 1 April 1966 p 5

<sup>81</sup> RG10 v 6773 Reel C-8516 file 452-49. From R.A. Hoey Superintendent of Welfare and Training to Mr. J Gendron, Maniwaki Quebec. Ottawa April 28, 1941

<sup>82</sup> RG10 v 6773 Reel C-8516 file 452-49 Ottawa February 18, 1942

<sup>83</sup> RG10 v 6773 Reel C-8516 file 452-49 Ottawa January 23, 1943. To Dr. HW McGill Department of Mines and Resources from W.K. Rutherford, Employment service division.

<sup>84</sup> *Regina Leader Post* October 27 1943 – ad

<sup>85</sup> RG10 v 6773 Regina N. Christianson General Superintendent of Indian Agencies, November 3, 1943

Indian women earned good, but not spectacular salaries in factories. In one factory, Indian women earned salaries of 35 cents an hour for the first month, with an increase to 40 cents an hour, plus bonuses of up to 30 and forty percent of their living expenses while in the city.<sup>86</sup> They could earn time and a half if they worked Sundays, holidays, or evening shifts. One official noted the salaries equaled the amount an average Indian girl might earn in a café, but with the bonus of having most of their room and board covered.<sup>87</sup>

Women were not alone in seeking wage labour during the war-boom. A number of men, women and children found they could earn more south of the medicine line. In 1943, the *Merritt Herald* reported businesses south of the border were actively recruiting Indians growers

and berry-pickers, paying for their transportation and upwards of 50 to 60 cents an hour in wages.<sup>88</sup>

The *Vancouver Sun* noted Washington offered Indians year-round labour, whereas most of the work available in B.C. was seasonal.<sup>89</sup> The Cowichan Agency reported that men and women

#### V. A Profile: Ozawadj Uwesi

Algonquin, Ozawadj Uwesi ("going over the mountain") a.k.a Roger Smith, was born in 1913 on his father's trap line in what later became Parc LaVerendrye. He was one of nine children.

Arthur attended school only to fill in when his dad needed his older brother to work the trap line. That way his brother avoided trouble with the truant officer. Arthur says the teacher never noticed the difference.

When he was 15, Arthur worked as a 'chore boy' on a farm owned and operated by the Canadian International Paper Company. He soon joined his two older brothers working for CIP in the bush. The CIP continued to hire Indians even during the Depression because of their experience.

In 1937, the three brothers were injured while blasting a logjam. One brother was killed, another lost his hearing, and Arthur was temporarily blinded. Arthur's sight returned after specialists treated him in Ottawa.

Through to the end of the Depression and World War II Arthur worked as guide, and in Niagara Falls, New York, digging ditches and repairing cracks in concrete buildings. He also worked for a lumber company in Massachusetts.

In 1952, he married Bertha, an Algonquin from Maniwaki, and they settled on the Kitigan Zibi reserve. They had three children. One son Daniel married an Algonquin woman from Maniwaki, Charles married a Mohawk woman from Kahnawake, and daughter Annie married a French Canadian and moved to Gatineau Point.

In his senior years, Arthur made a living of craft work and trapping.

From Peter Hessel, *The Algonquin Nation* pp 97-99

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> "BC Indians are being imported by Washington" *Merritt Herald* April 1943

<sup>89</sup> *Vancouver Sun* May 8, 1943

worked in U.S. factories while their children and parents, traveling with them, earned money by picking berries.<sup>90</sup> One man returned claiming he'd been paid 1\$/hr for sewing up coal bags after they were filled.<sup>91</sup> According to the *Vancouver Sun*, those wages were about double what they could earn in Canada, with the added bonus of being paid in American dollars.<sup>92</sup>

Many Indian Agents sympathized with Canadian employers and tried to coax Indians into staying home. The Agent from the Fort France warned the department: "I do not consider that it will work out to their advantage," adding that Indians could legally purchase liquor in the U.S..<sup>93</sup> His real motives may have been sympathy to the owner of a local sawmill, as he added: "Mr. Mathieu has always dealt fairly with Indians in the past and for them to leave him now that labour is so scarce does not seem to be just the right thing to do."<sup>94</sup> Similarly in April, 1943, H.E. Taylor, the agent at Kamloops wrote: "Every effort is made to discourage Indians from obtaining work at a distance from their own reserves but in the absence of any regulations there is no way to actually prevent them going."<sup>95</sup> In 1945, Indian Agent O.N. Daunt of New Westminster wrote:

Labour conditions are opening up everywhere. A number of Indians have already crossed the International line and obtained employment in Washington. It seems a pity that nothing can be done to stop this migration of needed labour. Our farms and other industries do not know where to turn for help, and yet Indians are allowed to cross the border at will and offer their services to Americans.<sup>96</sup>

Agent J.C. Ball of the Vancouver Indian Agency offered a different view:

This migration is being criticized by people who have suddenly discovered that the Indians have an economic value instead of being a liability as they supposed. Japs, Chinese, Doukhobors and all kinds of people were given preference in peace times, now the Indian is wanted only because the other is not available.<sup>97</sup>

Some employers, like the Ashcroft Rancher Association tried to stop cross-boarder workers, lobbying governments to sent Indians in the U.S. home and to turn back migrating Indians at the

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<sup>90</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt Okanagan Indian Agency for the month of May 1943.

<sup>91</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt Okanagan Indian Agency for the month of May 1943.

<sup>92</sup> *Vancouver Sun* June 6 1943.

<sup>93</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt Report on Fort Frances Indian Agency for the month of April, 1943.

<sup>94</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt Report on Fort Frances Indian Agency for the month of April, 1943.

<sup>95</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt H.E. Taylor Indian Agent, Report of Kamloops, Agency April 1943

<sup>96</sup> RG10 v 3233 file 600 172-2 pt Report on New Westminster Indian Agent O. N. Daunt, April 1945

<sup>97</sup> RG10 Report on Vancouver Indian Agency for the Month of May, 1943. Indian Agent J.C. Ball.

border.<sup>98</sup> Earlier, in 1924, a clause in Jay's Treaty that allowed Indians to migrate to the U.S. for work had been tested in court. The right was upheld, leaving the government helpless to stem the southward flow of Indian labour.<sup>99</sup>

While seeking wage labour seems to have been the biggest reason to leave reserve, education provided a second reason for a small number of Indians to leave home, temporarily, and sometimes permanently. At the junior level, up to grade 6, children were educated in day schools, located on reserve, or residential schools, often located some distance from the reserve. Day schools operated on reserve, and were financed by of band monies until 1930. After 1930, the federal government picked up the tab.<sup>100</sup> Missionaries operated the Indian schools, with financial support and standards set by the federal government. Day schools served only a small portion of Indian children from 1900 to 1950. Indian parents led highly mobile lifestyles, through hunting, trapping, fishing, and seasonal

labour, meaning most Indian children could only attend school sporadically. Residential schools offered a solution for parents who wanted their children to pursue an education, by allowing the children to attend school

Year	Population	Total Enrolment*	Average Attendance	% Ave. Attendance
1905	Age 6-15 14,276	10,131	6,341	62.59
1915	Age 6-15 16,302	12,468	8711	69.87
1925	Age 6-15 20,419	14,222	9,879	69.46
1935	Age 7-15 23,573	18,033	13,849	76.79
1945	Age 7-15 28,429	16,438	13,165	80.09

**VI. School Enrolment**  
 Figures from *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1905) p xxxii (1915) p xxx; (1925) p 30; (1936) p 40; (1945)  
 \*Figures include Indian day schools and residential schools; no figures are available for mixed or provincial schools.

regularly while parents migrated for labour.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *Vancouver Sun* May 8, 1943

<sup>99</sup> David S. Blanchard, *Kahnawake* p 20; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 364

<sup>100</sup> The financing is in *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1930) p 14; for an overview of residential schooling see Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert and Don McCaskill (eds) *Indian Education in Canada v. 1 The Legacy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia) pp 5-10 and J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996)

Increasing numbers of children attended school between 1900 and 1945. In 1895, Indian children could be ordered to attend residential schools by the Indian agent,<sup>102</sup> after 1920, schooling was compulsory for all physically fit Indian children aged seven to fifteen, by federal statute. That year residential schools filled to capacity.<sup>103</sup> In 1902, 9,669 children, out of 14, 214 children aged 6-15 years old,<sup>104</sup> attended 221 day schools, and 62 residential schools. In 1930, 11, 579 children attended 272 day schools and 78 residential schools regularly. That year regular attendance in Indian schools reached 73.55 percent, an increase of 50 percent from the 1920s. The Indian Department reported: "On many reserves the Indian schools now secure as good attendance and results as rural white schools."<sup>105</sup> In the 1930s, 8,000 children, or one-third of those who were school-aged, attended residential schools.<sup>106</sup> Children who completed their education in day or residential schools obtained a grade 6 education.<sup>107</sup> As Indian schools only provided a primary education during the period, Indians had to leave home to attend high school, college or university.

The Department kept no firm statistics on how many students pursued a higher education, but it is evident that only a small number did. Few students passed grade 6, partly because the quality of education in the schools was so poor. First, the schools were poorly funded. Teacher's wages in Indian schools were lower than in 'white schools,' which made it difficult to attract qualified teachers, particularly in remote areas.<sup>108</sup> In 1914 and 1945, the Department had to close several schools due to a lack of teachers.<sup>109</sup> Poor funding also meant students were poorly

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<sup>101</sup> See for example E. Palmer Patterson "Andy Paull and the Canadian Indian Resurgence" p 343; also RG10 v 2771 file 154, 845 pt 1 Clipping from *Brantford Expositor*.

<sup>102</sup> Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert and Don McCaskill (eds.) *Indian Education in Canada* pp 5-10; Assembly of First Nations, *Breaking the Silence* (Canada: Assembly of First Nations, 1994) pp 15-17

<sup>103</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1925) p 13

<sup>104</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1902) p 89

<sup>105</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1930) p 13

<sup>106</sup> Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert and Don McCaskill (eds.) *Indian Education in Canada* pp 5-10

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid* pp 5-10

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid* pp 5-10

<sup>109</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1914) p xxx (1945) p 168

housed and malnourished, which impacted their health. In 1922, a report by Dr. P.H. Bryce of the Indian Department noted about one-third of the children who attended residential school had died of TB or were ill.<sup>110</sup> The curriculum at the schools was more focused on assimilation than academics. Some children returned home illiterate despite several years of instruction.<sup>111</sup> Boarding schools were designed to remove children from their parents long enough to indoctrinate them with European culture, language, social mores and religions. This indoctrination included instructing the children that Indian lifestyles and culture, including language, were backward, and European ways superior. Only a half-day of education was devoted to academics, the other half-day devoted to farm or technical instruction for boys, and home-making skills for girls.<sup>112</sup> Cultural indoctrination took a toll on students. On the Poundmaker reserve, people referred to the first generation of residential-school students as “the crazy schoolers.”<sup>113</sup> George Manuel would later write that when he returned from school: “even the people we loved came to look ugly... when we came back from school we would not lift a finger, even in our own homes when we were asked.”<sup>114</sup>

Other factors influencing the students’ education included physical and sexual abuse. Not all students were abused in the schools, but abuse was evidently widespread.<sup>115</sup> Up to 1951, the Indian Act allowed the Department to enfranchise Indians who had earned university and college

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<sup>110</sup> See Brian Tittle, *A Narrow Vision* pp 75-88 and J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) pp 133-134

<sup>111</sup> Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert and Don McCaskill (eds) *Indian Education in Canada, vol. 1: The Legacy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1989) pp 5-10

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid* pp 15-17

<sup>113</sup> Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman *John Tootoosis* p 82

<sup>114</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World*, p 67

<sup>115</sup> Vic Satzewich and Linda Mahood, “Indian Agents and the Residential School System in Canada” in *Historical Studies in Education* v. 7 no 1 Spring 1995 pp 45-70; see also RG 10 v. 3920 file 116, 818 Agent Clink to Indian Commissioner Regina, June 5, 1895; RG10 v 3920 file 116,818 Deputy Superintendent General to Assist. Indian Commissioner, NWT, June 5, 1895; RG 10 v 3558 file 64 pt 4 Laird to Superintendent General, March 11, 1899.

degrees, which also discouraged some students from pursuing a higher education.<sup>116</sup> Finally, the costs of high school, college and university were simply not affordable for some families.<sup>117</sup>

So, the number of students leaving home to attend high school college or university was small, but a few did. They might relocate for education, with the move becoming permanent if their chosen profession could not be pursued on reserve. For example, Edward C. Davis, a Mohawk, born in 1890 at Victoria Mills, attended the Mohawk Institute, then Caledonia High School where he matriculated in 1904. He taught school at the Grand River Reserve until he raised enough tuition to attend Queen's University where he studied medicine. In 1908, he left Canada to enter Carlisle Indian College, and later Ohio University where he graduated with an M. D. in 1913. Dr. Davis interned in Illinois and afterwards ran a private hospital in Milwaukee.<sup>118</sup> Dr. Thomas Jamieson born 1897, completed a B.A. in Toronto, and earned an M.D. in Binghamton. He set up his practice in Detroit. <sup>119</sup> Many students like Davis and Jamieson, worked their way through school. The Department, however, helped others obtain an education by helping them to pay for high school and other training. This was only done however on an ad hoc basis.<sup>120</sup>

Indian 'girls' wishing to pursue a career in nursing sometimes received funding from the Department. An ad hoc funding program appears to have started 1918, when the Ontario Women's Temperance Society, concerned about a shortage of nurses, wrote to D.C. Scott asking if the Department would pay to train Indian 'girls' as nurses. Scott agreed to offer financial assistance. He added that he'd already helped finance a young woman from the Ottawa area who was training in a U.S. hospital.<sup>121</sup> The idea expanded into an unofficial program with Temperance society arranging the training, and splitting the costs of tuition with the Department. The Temperance

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<sup>116</sup> For example Herbert Francis Dunlop, *Andy Paull as I knew him* pp 104-106

<sup>117</sup> *The Indian News* v 19 no 6 October, 1978

<sup>118</sup> George Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Iroquois Indians* p 117

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid* p 120

<sup>120</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1930) p 14

<sup>121</sup> RG10 v 3199 File 504178. Dear Madam from D.C. Scott. Feb 1 1918,

Society arranged for one student, Hilda Miskokumon, to take a public health course at Western University. They also secured free room and board. The Department paid \$100.00 towards her tuition and expenses, while the Temperance Society contributed \$25.00.<sup>122</sup> By the 1940s the Department paid for a number of young women to study nursing, which typically required 3 years training at a hospital, at a cost of \$15 to \$20 a month.<sup>123</sup>

Early on, the program was limited, partially because few Indian women obtained the high school diploma required for nursing, but also because, initially, few hospitals were willing to train Indians. In the 1920s, the Department found that only the Toronto Hospital and one in New York would train Indian girls.<sup>124</sup> In 1929 the Ontario Temperance Society noted that hospitals were now willing to take Protestant Indian women.<sup>125</sup> In 1930, the Ottawa Civic Hospital and the Ottawa General Hospital agreed to train Indian women.<sup>126</sup> Elsewhere, some hospitals still refused. For example the Hospital du Sacre-Coeur in Montreal refused to train two sisters as nurse-maids in 1931, noting: “notre personnel d’auxiliares chez les gardes-malades est au complete, et nous favorisons naturellement les jeune filles de Montreal.”<sup>127</sup>

While nursing outfitted Indian women to work anywhere in Canada, prejudice often limited their chances at finding work. More often than not, the Department hired them to work on reserves.<sup>128</sup> Still, the Department felt the training was worthwhile, whether the women secured employment or not. As one official explained: “even if they can’t find work in the profession, later they will marry and live on our Indian reserves and certainly become a wonderful incentive to better sanitary

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<sup>122</sup> RG10 v 3199 File 504178. May 6, 1929

<sup>123</sup> RG10 v 3199 File 504178 E.L. Stone M.B. Superintendent of Medical Services, January 2, 1940

<sup>124</sup> RG10 v 3199 file 504178 Ontario Women’s Temperance Society, Feb 21, 1926; Ottawa February 24, 1926

<sup>125</sup> RG 10 v 3199 file 504178 May 6, 1929

<sup>126</sup> RG 10 v 3199 file 504178 Ottawa WCTU May 12, 1930

<sup>127</sup> RG 10 v 3199 file 504178 The Hospital du Sacre-Coeur, Montreal Dec 7, 1931; December 5, 1934; Dear Sir From A. F Mackenzie Secretary.

<sup>128</sup> RG 10 v 3199 file 504178 December 15- 1928

conditions for our Indians as a whole.”<sup>129</sup> This meant many women who left the reserve to be trained as nurses returned home afterward.<sup>130</sup>

Along with labour and education, escaping the conditions on reserve or the control of the Indian Agent offered a third reason to leave home. A small number of returning veterans resettled off reserve in the post war period for these reasons. Indians were not legally bound to enlist in World War I. In fact, up to 1915, the government discouraged Indians from enlisting, fearing that they might be refused the privileges of ‘civilized warfare.’<sup>131</sup> Still, between 3, 500 and 4,000 status Indians, 35 percent of those of eligible age for service, enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force.<sup>132</sup> When war broke out in 1939, Indians enlisted in higher proportions than other Canadians. Sixty per cent of eligible Indian men enlisted compared to one-third of eligible Canadian men.<sup>133</sup> Veteran Affairs Canada estimated the number of Indians enlisting at 3,000 or more.<sup>134</sup> Dickason offers a higher estimate of 6,000 aboriginal people or more.<sup>135</sup> The discrepancy is because Métis and enfranchised Indians were not counted in the records. Early on, the RCAF and the Navy had policies restricting service to people of ‘pure European descent’ or ‘of a white race.’ Nevertheless, they allowed a few Indians and Métis to enlist, and the policies were rescinded in 1943.<sup>136</sup> Most Indians served in the infantry, lacking the education or skills to serve in the RCAF. A fair number of Indians were probably motivated to enlist for the sake of earning a salary, although loyalty to the

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<sup>129</sup> RG 10 v 3199 file 504178 F.C. Ryan Inspector of Indian Schools for NB, to Mr. Hoey, n.d.

<sup>130</sup> RG10 v 3199 file 504178 To Mrs Ashcroft. December 15<sup>th</sup> 1928; and RG10 v 3199 file 504178 E.L. Stone M.B. Superintendent of Medical Services January 2, 1940

<sup>131</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 301

<sup>132</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 301; Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* p 31

<sup>133</sup> Veterans Affairs , *Native Soldiers Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa , Ministry of Supply and Services, 1993) p 5

<sup>134</sup> Ibid

<sup>135</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, p 304

<sup>136</sup> As quoted in Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers*, p 64

Queen and escaping the controlling environment of life on reserve are more commonly offered as reasons.<sup>137</sup>

After the war, the government provided loans to 224 Indians who wanted to move off their reserves. The largest number of veterans requesting the loans, 184, lived on reserves in Ontario.<sup>138</sup> According to Fred Gaffen, author of *Forgotten Soldiers* (1985), the separation allowance provided to the wives of rank-and-file soldiers, \$20 a month, provided the wealth many needed to leave the reserve.<sup>139</sup> Some veterans also found the conditions they lived under on-reserve intolerable after serving overseas, where they'd been allowed to vote, drink, received adequate medical attention and, in some cases, learned to read and write. Returning to the reserve meant being subject once again to all the provisions of the Indian Act.<sup>140</sup>

**VII. Loans by province,  
Veterans relocating off-reserve.**

Province	Number of loans
Ontario	184
Saskatchewan	18
B.C.	11
PEI	5
Quebec	4
Alberta	2

Figures from Fred Gaffen,  
*Forgotten Soldiers* p 35

The Joint Committee hearings of 1945 to 1951 signaled a shift in the federal government's Indian policy. Originally the government had aimed at assimilation, which meant remaking Indians into Europeans. During this period policy shifted to integration, which meant eliminating the legal status that separated Indians from other Canadians, while allowing Indians to retain some elements of their culture. Karl Carrisse argues the shift was economically motivated. In the 1930s, the Indian Department realized it could not meet Indian's educational, health and welfare needs. The youth population was growing and so too was the cost of operating residential schools.

<sup>137</sup> Veterans Affairs, *Native Soldiers Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1993) p 8; and Hugh Dempsey, "Persistence of a Warrior Ethic among the Plains Indians" in *Alberta History* v 36 no 1 (1988).

<sup>138</sup> Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* p 35

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid* p 31

<sup>140</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 301; Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* p 31

<sup>141</sup>Rates of TB among Indians remained high, especially on northern reserves. <sup>142</sup> In 1931-1932, the Department's annual report noted that in Saskatchewan the rate of TB was 28.3 per 100,000 among the white population, while 586.3 Indians per 100,000 contracted TB, meaning one quarter of the deaths due to TB in the province occurred among one tenth of the population.<sup>143</sup>

Nevertheless, the Depression forced the Department to cut back on health services in 1931, and the Department admitted no Indians to sanatoriums in 1932. <sup>144</sup> In 1945, the infant mortality rate for Indians stood at 180 per 1000, compared to 54 per 1000 for the average Canadian. <sup>145</sup> Each year during the Depression, the Department issued between \$800,000 and \$900,000 in relief to Indians.<sup>146</sup> As the provinces began to extend education health and welfare services to Canadians, the Department found itself trying to duplicate the services for Indians. Duplication proved expensive, and the federal government found it could not match the quality of provincial services, especially in the north.<sup>147</sup> Studied review of the problem was cut off and delayed by the war.<sup>148</sup>

The 1951 amendments to the Indian Act were a first step eliminating the legal distinction between Indians and Canadians. First, Section 87 of the revised Act (now section 88) extended provincial laws of general application to Indians on-reserve, except when they conflicted with the Indians Act or a treaty right. This allowed the provinces to extend social programs like old age assistance, child-welfare and, importantly education to Indians in the 1950s. The programs were usually set up on a cost-sharing basis between the federal government and the provinces. <sup>149</sup> This allowed the government to slowly withdraw its services to Indians, for example residential

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<sup>141</sup>Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 310

<sup>142</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (1930-31)* p 9

<sup>143</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (1931-32)* p 8

<sup>144</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (1930-31)* p 9 (1931-32) p 9

<sup>145</sup> Karl Carisse, "Becoming Canadian" p 16

<sup>146</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (1937)* p 194

<sup>147</sup> Karl Carisse, "Becoming Canadian" p 19

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid* p 12

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid* p 52

schooling, without eliminating the special status of Indian rights. Indians had made it clear during the Joint Committee hearings that changes were acceptable only if their special status was not eroded. Next, the 1951 Indian Act put Indians living off-reserve under provincial jurisdiction. Early on, the federal government had tried to maintain a hand's-off approach to Indians living off-reserve, but jurisdictional conflicts meant this had not always been possible. At times jurisdictional conflicts had tragic results. For example, Oliver Martin, the first Indian magistrate for York County, lost his sister when a Toronto hospital refused to treat her. Provincial hospitals could not treat sick Indians, even in an emergency, without authorization from Ottawa.<sup>150</sup> In 1945 the Indian Department issued a memo stating Indians living off-reserve for 18 months or more were no longer a federal responsibility, as Ottawa no infrastructure to deal with them.<sup>151</sup> The 1951 Indian Act put the jurisdictional responsibility for Indians living off-reserve into law.<sup>152</sup> Finally the 1951 Indian Act turned over municipal-like powers to band councils. Band councils could apply to control their own monies (although not capital expenditures) and pass by-laws.<sup>153</sup>

According to Carisse, the provinces had refused to extend services to Indians in the pre-war period, as they saw no reason to extend services to people who did not pay taxes. In the post-war period, the federal government extended income tax to Indians who earned an income off-reserve. Only money earned on reserve remained exempt.<sup>154</sup> Indians who claimed tax exemption as a treaty right were rebuffed.<sup>155</sup> The federal government now argued they included Indians when measuring provincial transfer payments.<sup>156</sup> Also, the post-war period saw a boom in new resources, like uranium and hydroelectric power. Carisse believes the provinces interpreted section

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid p 19

<sup>151</sup> Ibid p 21

<sup>152</sup> Ibid p 60

<sup>153</sup> Ibid

<sup>154</sup> RG10 v 3114 file 320360 1936-45 Taxable Income.

<sup>155</sup> "Heap Big Income Tax" *Vancouver Sun* June 6, 1943; RG10 v 6821 file 493-1-6 pt 1 Dr. H.W. McGill from A Mathieu Limited, Lumber Manufacturer and Merchants Rainy Lake Ontario

<sup>156</sup> Karl Carisse, "Becoming Canadian" p 21

88 as a first step in eliminating the special status of Indian lands. If the legal status of reserve land was ever changed, resource rights would fall to the provinces.<sup>157</sup> He points out that Ontario, the province leading the fight for decentralization, also led the push for integration, developing the first cost-sharing programs with the federal government.<sup>158</sup> Ontario also had 1,558, 393 acres of reserve land within its borders.<sup>159</sup>

The problem with the 1951 amendments is that they did nothing to develop economies on reserves. On paper, band councils had the power to pass by-laws and control their own monies but the actual transfer of these powers was slow, taking more than 20 years for most reserves. In 1960, only 5 bands managed their own monies.<sup>160</sup> Wapole Island, located near the St. Clair River in Ontario, became the first band to take full advantage of the revised Act. After 1959, the band managed its own monies and after 1961, it administered its own welfare. In 1965, the Department agreed to transfer control over the band's daily administration from the Sarnia Agency Office.<sup>161</sup> Bands who had not applied to control their own funds were still subject to the old rules. Thus, when the Algonquins of Pikwakanagan raised money through handicrafts and a display of dances and songs in 1963, the Department forced them to turn the money over to headquarters.<sup>162</sup>

The 1951 Act had not changed the status of reserve lands, meaning that farmers and entrepreneurs could still not secure bank loans.<sup>163</sup> Indian Affairs did not design a policy to help Indians secure loans until 1969.<sup>164</sup> Typically, reserves still lacked the money to exploit resources, which meant they worked for non-Indian companies that could. In 1955, when Golden Eye was found in Lake Athabaska, the fishing rights were tendered to a Winnipeg firm. The local Indian

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid p 52

<sup>158</sup> Ibid pp 70-71

<sup>159</sup> Ibid p 21

<sup>160</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians the Urban Dilemma*, p 27

<sup>161</sup> "One year experiment a success" Vol 9 no 2 July 1966 *The Indian News* p 2

<sup>162</sup> Harvey McCue, "The Modern Age" pp 383-384

<sup>163</sup> Ibid p 379

<sup>164</sup> Cathy Hunter, "Proud to be a farmer" *Indian News* v 8 no 7 January, 1978

Agency convinced the firm to hire members of the Fort Chippewa band, whose reserve bordered on the lake, paying them ten cents a pound.<sup>165</sup> As for agriculture, the 1966 Hawthorne report concluded that only a small number of Indians supported themselves by farming and that they earned less, on average, than their non-Native peers.<sup>166</sup> The Department did hire some Indians to work on reserve. Not all students could be transferred to provincial schools, and so the demand for teachers who were willing to work in remote communities continued. In 1955, 63 status Indians worked as teachers, the number rose to 123 in 1965.<sup>167</sup> Similarly, regardless of whether the provincial or the federal government paid the tab, nurses were needed in remote communities. In 1963, the department boasted that 14 percent of its medical services staff was Indian.<sup>168</sup> These jobs provided work for only a few people on a reserve, however.

The Section 87 amendment should have offered traditional economies some protection from provincial game laws, because, in theory section 87 gave treaty rights and the Indian Act precedence over provincial laws. However, David Calverley argues that the federal government interpreted treaty rights so narrowly, that the clause had little impact.<sup>169</sup> As the provinces encouraged tourism, Indian trappers and fishermen were often regulated out of the way.<sup>170</sup> Similarly, communities, like Grassy Narrows and White Dog in Ontario, had earned income from harvesting wild rice found but were forced to split the harvest with Non-Indian businesses after Ontario introduced a system of land-use permits.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> "Hard work, planning bring profit" *The Indian News* January 1955 p 1

<sup>166</sup> Harry B. Hawthorne *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* v.1 p 70

<sup>167</sup> "Teachers of Indian Status Almost double numbers in ten years." *Indian News* v 7 no 2 March, 1964 p 1

<sup>168</sup> *The Indian News* v 6 no 2 1963

<sup>169</sup> David Calverley, "Who Controls the Hunt? Game Act, the Canadian Government and the Ojibwa, 1800-1940. PhD. History, Ottawa University, 1999 p 431

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid* p 431

<sup>171</sup> "Indians Bullied over Wild Rice" *Toronto Star* November 9, 1977; Anastasia M. Shkilink, *A Poison Stronger than Love* pp 116-117

Because the 1951 amendments did little to encourage reserve economies, Indians continued to leave home to earn a living. At the same time, a boom in the Indian population increased the number of Indians who needed work. In 1934 the population rested just above 100,000; by 1957 it rose to over 151, 000. By 1964, the population reached the 200,000 mark, meaning the population doubled in a span of 30 years.<sup>172</sup> The pressure of growing unemployment brought the Indian Department into the business of relocating Indians for labour. In the 1950s, regional offices sent 600 Indians from Alberta and Saskatchewan to work in beet fields; 250 Indians from Norway house, Nelson River and Le Pas in Manitoba to clear bush for a mining developer, and 400 Indians to work on the mid-Canada Radar line.<sup>173</sup> Similarly, in 1965, the Department brought 500 Indians from Northern Ontario and Quebec south to harvest fruit and vegetables, including a group of Cree from the James Bay region, who were reportedly enthusiastic about the project as they'd never seen tomatoes grow before.<sup>174</sup> However, like the make-work projects of the 1930s, the work was often low-paid, seasonal, and in no way developed reserve economies.

As the Department became increasingly involved with relocating Indians for employment, it got into the business of managing migration. In 1957, new agencies were developed with the goal of removing Indians from reserve and encouraging them to permanently resettle in towns and cities. In part, the program was designed to replace the seasonal work provided in past programs with permanent and stable jobs.<sup>175</sup> The Department was also influenced by the development of a similar policy in the U.S.

In the post-war era, the American Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began pursuing a policy that is sometimes called 'termination and relocation.' As in Canada, the U.S. government wanted to cut

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<sup>172</sup> See "Numbers Increase" *Indian News*, v 2 no 4 September 1957 p 9; also E.J. Dosman, *Indians the Urban Dilemma* p 21

<sup>173</sup> "Employment Horizon Broadens for Indians" *Indian News* v. 2 no. 4 September 1957 p 1, 2

<sup>174</sup> "Indians come south to save fruit crop" *Indian News* v 8 no 3 October 1965 p 1

<sup>175</sup> "Employment Horizon Broadens for Indians" *Indian News* v 2 no 4 September 1957 p 1, 2

down on spending and eliminate the legal status separating Indians from U.S. citizens.

'Termination' referred to the withdrawal of services from reserves. Relocation meant relocating Indians into cities, usually with the offer of a small subsidy and a few weeks of job training.<sup>176</sup>

Canadian bureaucrats read articles and reports on the U.S. program and seemed interested in mimicking the program.<sup>177</sup> In 1960, a Canadian official wrote to the BIA:

It is obvious from the material you sent that you have made considerable strides in the development of the Relocation Services program in the United States. The material is now being studied by officials of this branch and I am confident it will be very helpful in our attempts to further develop our Placement program in Canada.<sup>178</sup>

While the termination and relocation program has been well studied in the U.S., it has rarely been studied in Canada. Only Dosman's study of Indians living in Saskatoon offers a detailed account of Canada's program.

In Canada the program began when the Department, in co-operation with other federal and provincial agencies opened a number of Indian employment bureaus across Canada. Between 1957 and 1960, bureaus opened in Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Edmonton, North Bay, Quebec, Amherst, Saskatoon, and Fort Smith. Initially the program was aimed at "carefully selected young Indian people," usually meaning unmarried, high school graduates who wished to move from reserves into cities. Employment officers personally selected candidates, helped them find living accommodations and counseled them through the adjustment to city-living. Indians in the program received living subsidies until the employment officer found work for them. Unlike the past programs, the work was meant to be full-time and the move to the city permanent.<sup>179</sup> Between

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<sup>176</sup> Donald L. Fixico, "The federal Indian Policy of Termination and Relocation, 1945-1960." In [Philip Weeks, ed.] *The American Indian Experience: A profile* (Illinois: Forum Press, Inc, 1988) pp 260-277; "Native American Indian Migration and Relocation: Success or Failure" *Pacific Sociological Review* 21 (January: 1978) pp 117-127; Graham D. Taylor "The Divided Heart: The Indian New Deal" in *The American Indian Experience* (Illinois, Forum Press, 1988)

<sup>177</sup> RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1, HM Jones to Glen Emmons Esq. Ottawa March 31, 1960

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>179</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians the Urban Dilemma* p 101; RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1 Ottawa December 8 1960, The Secretary Treasury Board.

1958 and 1960 regional employment officers relocated 700 young Indian men and women into cities across Canada.<sup>180</sup>

According to Dosman, the program became more aggressive and less selective after 1960. High school education was no longer required, and the program expanded its mandate to the relocation of families.<sup>181</sup> Between August and December 1960, employment officers relocated 7,000 Indians off-reserve, for rural or seasonal work.<sup>182</sup> The Department offered vocational training to Indians who had not completed high school. The courses lasted from one to six weeks, and offered men training in agriculture, welding and carpentry. Women could take training in cooking, sewing, laundering, and family health.<sup>183</sup> In 1964, the Department promoted a program that trained and placed 54 Indian girls as domestics in Calgary as a 'first step' to the broader experience of living and working in the city.<sup>184</sup>

In his study of the termination program in Saskatoon, Dosman suggested program funding and policy was applied inconsistently. He noted few families ever received the full funding and support promised in the Department's brochures.<sup>185</sup> He added that employment officers often played favourites, offering extra care and support to families and individuals who personally appealed to them. The price for the special help was the paternalism of the employment officer. In one case, an employment officer personally selected furniture for the family and intervened in family arguments, while his wife (who was not an employment officer) offered cooking tips, advice on budgeting and grocery shopping.<sup>186</sup> A preliminary glance at other records shows other inconsistencies. For example, the brochures promised if a migrant was unhappy in the city, the department would

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<sup>180</sup> RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1 Ottawa December 8 1960, The Secretary Treasury Board.

<sup>181</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians the Urban Dilemma* pp 101-102

<sup>182</sup> RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1 December 9, 1960. Indian employment program.

<sup>183</sup> "Employment Horizon Broadens for Indians" *Indian News* v 2 no 4 September 1957. p 1, 2

<sup>184</sup> "Domestic work proves useful first step" *Indian News* v 7 no 2 March 1964 p 7

<sup>185</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*, p 104

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid* pp 138-147

provide the return fare home. However, in 1960, an internal memo noted that Indians who remained unemployed and on welfare for three months or more should be given fare home: "Indians performing adequately but choosing to return to the reserve will not have their return paid unless the climate or travel conditions make it essential."<sup>187</sup>

Indians also continued to leave home for education. The Section 87 amendment to the Indian Act allowed Indians living on reserve to attend provincial schools, and allowed the federal government to slowly shut down residential schools. The number of Indian children attending school continued to increase. In 1945, 16,000 Indian children attended school,<sup>188</sup> by 1962, the number had risen to 46,596.<sup>189</sup> An increasing number of Indian students also attended high school, colleges, and university. In 1949, 661 students were enrolled in grades nine and above.<sup>190</sup> In 1962, the figure rose to 3,391.<sup>191</sup> That year 80 students enrolled in Grade 13 and university.<sup>192</sup> The Indian Department encouraged higher education by offering a small number of scholarships, ranging from \$500 to \$1,000 per student.<sup>193</sup> Between 1957 and 1964, the Department awarded 141 scholarships to students attending university, training as nurses or pursuing education in technical and cultural fields.<sup>194</sup> While an increasing number of Indian students living on reserve pursued a higher education, their numbers lagged behind their Canadian peers. In 1978, only 6 percent of Indian students living on reserve ever finished high school.<sup>195</sup>

The majority of students from reserves still enrolled in residential schools or day schools, but increasingly students attended provincial schools. In 1952, an Ontario school board agreed for the

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<sup>187</sup> RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1 Indian Commissioner for B.C. and Regional Super Chief Economic Development Division.

<sup>188</sup> "Indians indicate growing interest in opportunities for education" *The Indian News* v 1 no 2 January 1955 p 3

<sup>189</sup> "Education – key to the future" *Indian News* v 5 n 4 April 1962 p 1

<sup>190</sup> "Indians indicate growing interest in opportunities for education" *The Indian News* v 1 no 2 January 1955 p 3

<sup>191</sup> "Education – key to the future" *Indian News* v 5 n 4 April 1962 p 1

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>193</sup> "Indians to share valuable scholarships" *Indian News* v 2 no 3 March 1957 p 1

<sup>194</sup> "Types of Scholarships and amounts awarded by year" *Indian News* v 7 no 2 March 1964 p 6

<sup>195</sup> "Indian living conditions unacceptable" *The Indian News* v 19 n 0 4 August 15 1978 p 5

first time to admit Indian students.<sup>196</sup> In 1966, a town in New Brunswick initially voted against admitting Indian students. After an embarrassing bout of media attention, the town claimed the meeting had been poorly attended and called a second vote, which over-turned the decision.<sup>197</sup> In 1949, 1,302 students attended provincial schools across Canada.<sup>198</sup> In 1962, that figure rose to 14,241 students, or slightly more than 30 percent. Residential schooling would be phased out, with the last school closing in 1988.<sup>199</sup> In the 1950s through to the 1970s, the Department began to select and relocate students from remote areas to attend high school in cities. Officials chose students based on their ability interest and attitude, and arranged for them to attend school in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Toronto and Regina.<sup>200</sup>

Housing shortages provided a new reason to leave home in the post-war period. Social scientists who surveyed urban Indians after 1970s found that urban-dwellers frequently cited housing shortages as the reason they left reserve, or as a reason they could not return home.<sup>201</sup> According to Carisse, housing shortages were apparent in the 1930s, but reports by the Indian Department state that housing was improving in the 1945, except in northern Quebec, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon where Indians still lived in tents or

VIII. Enrollment figures	
Year	Enrollment Residential schools
1945	16,000
1958	30,207
1962	46,596
Year	Enrollment provincial schools
1949	1,302
1954	3,381
1958	7,330
1962	14,241
Year	Students Grade 9+
1949	661
1954	1,569
1962	3,391

Source: *Indian News*

<sup>196</sup> "Indians indicate growing interest in opportunities for education" *The Indian News* v 1 no 2 January 1955 p 3

<sup>197</sup> "Indian Views" *Indian News* v 8 n 4 January 1966 p 5

<sup>198</sup> "Indians indicate growing interest in opportunities for education" *The Indian News* v 1 no 2 January 1955 p 3

<sup>199</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 313

<sup>200</sup> K. Isaac "A new life for Mary Jane" *Indian News* v 18 no 7 January 19 1978 p 2

<sup>201</sup> J. Stansbury, *Success and Failure* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975); also see the review of literature in Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate *Registered Indian Mobility and migration: an Analysis of 1996 Census Data* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2004) pp10-12

log cabins. Regional reports from 1945 also note the availability of wage labour meant that Indians returning to the reserve had money to improve their homes.<sup>202</sup> The chronic housing shortages that influenced migration seem to have begun in the late 1950s and are probably related to the population increase that saw the number of Indians rise from 100,000 in 1934 to 200,000 in 1964.<sup>203</sup> In 1967, Indian Affairs estimated 6,000 new homes were needed to resolve the housing shortage. By 1978-79, they estimated 87 percent of the homes on reserve were substandard;<sup>204</sup> and to resolve the housing crisis 22,500 new homes were needed while 30,000 needed repairs.<sup>205</sup> In assessing the accuracy in these numbers, it should be pointed out that difference in the shortfall between 1967 and 1977 may be partly due to better counting. In other words, the 1967 count may be inaccurate and the shortage of homes for that year was probably higher.

During this time, the Department offered little help to resolve the housing

#### IX. A Profile: Harvey Williams

Harvey Williams, born in 1912, the son of a farmer, and lumberjack, was raised on the Moose Deer Point reserve in Ontario.

His mother died in 1913. Williams finished grade 8 at school, the highest grade available on reserve. He never attended high school because it would have cost \$500. In 1925, his father died.

As a young man, he worked as a guide at a tourist lodge in the summer, hunted in the fall and worked at logging in the winter. The lumber camps shut down in the 1940s.

In 1942, he married and started a family. They left the reserve because there was no longer enough work to support a family. In all, he fathered 8 children.

His family lived on and off reserve in various parts of southern Ontario. Williams worked as a boat repairer and carpenter. They were living in Parry Sound when his wife left in 1958, leaving Williams to raise their six youngest, then aged five to fifteen. He avoided welfare, because he feared the government would take his children.

In 1968, aged 56, he left to work in Toronto, but when he arrived, he could not find work. He still had three children in his care. He accepted welfare until he could collect his old age pension.

He did find some work repairing boats in his 60s, but he found he was too old for this type of work and quit.

In 1978, he tried to return to the reserve, but a housing shortage prevented it. He moved in with a daughter in Toronto. "I'm tired of living in the city...they say you have to live on the reserve a few years before you can get a house, but in order to live there I need a house to live in."

*The Indian News* v 19 no 6 October 1978

<sup>202</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1945) pp 177-182

<sup>203</sup> See "Numbers Increase" *Indian News*, v 2 no 4 September 1957 p 9; also E.J. Dosman, *Indians the Urban Dilemma* p 21

<sup>204</sup> "Indian Living Conditions Unacceptable" *The Indian News* v 19 n. 4 August 15 1978 p 5

<sup>205</sup> Gilbert Oskaboose, "Indians to get fraction of housing needs" *Indian News* v 19 no 12 April 1979

crisis. Up to the 1950s, the Department provided small grants to offset the cost of housing. Indians living on reserve faced the old problem that they could not secure mortgages because of the unique status of reserve land. In 1967, the Department offered to transfer the responsibility for housing to band councils. Under this system, the band council would design a housing plan, and receive small grants to pay for a portion of each home. Indian Affairs would help homeowners secure mortgages by guaranteeing the loan. This was no solution to the shortfall, as the Department estimated only 15 bands had the wealth and capacity to take over

#### X. Shattered Dreams

For years I saw hope  
 Despite battered houses  
 Naked log cabins stand proudly  
 Along a grassy slope.  
 But people now are vague,  
 The eyes of hope have saddened,  
 Full of shattered dreams  
 So much bitter air, floating,  
 Shades thought, making it opaque  
 They put us in painted houses,  
 A patterned colored scheme  
 All in rows. But my people  
 Do not fit in squares, we need  
 To find a place along the winding river,  
 Like a free-floating stream.

A.J. Kakegamick

housing in this manner. The Oneida of Thames Bay, Ontario were the first band to accept.<sup>206</sup> Wendaki, which by now had a comparably good craft economy, used the grants to initiate a revolving loan scheme.<sup>207</sup> In 1967, Indian Affairs agreed to finance an additional 2,400 new homes and renovate 3,000 others, which amounted to about one-tenth of the shortfall.<sup>208</sup>

Over-crowded living conditions became common. For example, in 1979 on the Slavey band in northwestern Alberta, Anna Didzena shared a small log cabin with 2 daughters and 7 grandchildren. The walls were papered with cardboard to block drafts. The children slept on the floor of the cabin, close to a wood heater.<sup>209</sup> Alek Ahkim Nachie's home had four inches of ice on the floor and 'looks like a freezer that needs defrosting'. It was built on marshy land and flooded

<sup>206</sup> "Housing Program Moves Ahead" *The Indian News* v 9 no 4 February 1967

<sup>207</sup> Martine Dumont "Development in the name of Pride" *The Indian News* v 18 no 6 Jan 5 1978 p 7

<sup>208</sup> Gilbert Oskaboos "Indians to get fraction of housing needs" *Indian News* v. 19 no 12 April 1979

<sup>209</sup> "Chief regrets leading tribe into 20<sup>th</sup> Century" *Indian News* v 19 no 12 April 1979 p 1

with dank water every spring. Despite pumping, the water stayed to the freeze-up.<sup>210</sup> When the Chief at Fox Lake ran out of money to repair the homes, the Regional Director promised a one-time grant to finish some repairs. He added that the chief needed to develop a better housing plan.<sup>211</sup>

In later studies, some urban Indians reported social conditions as a reason for leaving home. A variety of poor social welfare conditions appeared on reserves. For one, poor housing and overcrowding were frequently cited as the cause of TB. In 1963, the Department stated that in 15 years it could eliminate TB from reserves.<sup>212</sup> In a 1973 report, Saskatchewan's Anti-Tuberculosis League argued the TB gap was getting worse. They discovered 171 new and active cases in Northern Saskatchewan, some occurring among people who had been vaccinated within the last 3 years. Two-thirds of the patients in the Saskatoon Sanatorium were registered Indians and the remaining third were of Indian extraction.<sup>213</sup> The report blamed poor housing conditions. "Under the conditions of poor living accommodation, with exposure over a period of time to heavy tuberculosis infection it is no wonder that so many have succumbed to the infection in spite of their having been vaccinated."<sup>214</sup> In 1978, the Regional Director of Indian Medical Services announced it would now take 30 years to improve TB levels in northern Alberta and the North West Territories, because of inadequate housing and overcrowding. TB levels among Indians in those regions were 1000 times the national average.<sup>215</sup>

There appears to have been a rise in alcoholism and drug abuse during the second half of the century. It's difficult to tell from Indian Affairs records when or where alcohol use became abuse, because Indian agents were quick to report all incidences of intemperance indiscriminately. *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs* often offered vague statements, as Indian Agents

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid p1

<sup>211</sup> "Chief regrets leading tribe into 20<sup>th</sup> Century" *Indian News* v 19 no 12 April 1979 p1

<sup>212</sup> *Indian News* v 6 no 2 June 1963

<sup>213</sup> "Poor living conditions cause higher TB rates" *Indian News* v 16 no 1 April-June 1974 p 9

<sup>214</sup> Ibid

<sup>215</sup> "TB levels for next 30 years –MD" *Indian News* v 19 n 10 p 1

reported that Indians on a reserve were frequently intemperate, or that no incidences of intemperance had occurred since the last report. Agents did not distinguish between chronic alcoholism or social drinking in their reports, since both were crimes and caused the Department concern.<sup>216</sup> A few reserves admitted to having alcohol abuse problems in the 1970s. Alcohol abuse led to the death of two babies at the Slavy band in 1979. Chief Henry Chonkolay, the band's 72-year-old hereditary chief, complained that alcoholism had become widespread after his people settled onto a reserve in the 1950s. He regretted bringing his people into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>217</sup> Similarly, Anastasia M. Shkilink's book, *A Poison Stronger than Love*, blamed the rise of alcoholism in 1970 at Grassy Narrows on the destruction of the Ojibwa's traditional way of life, arguing the 'new life' on reserve offered little aside from poverty, boredom and despair.<sup>218</sup> It may also be significant that a court case in 1970 forced the government to delete the clause in the Indian Act that prevented Indians from drinking.<sup>219</sup> On some reserves alcoholism became wide spread, on others alcohol abuse was incidental. Some Indians leaving home in the 1970s offered a combination of poor housing, lack of health services and alcoholism as the reasons they left.<sup>220</sup>

The question of how many Indians left home is unclear, and rarely measurable with any degree of accuracy. The statistics are currently a hot topic of debate. Census numbers show a rise in the urban-

City	1951	1961
Calgary	62	335
Ottawa	70	180
Toronto	85	1,196
Edmonton	116	995
Winnipeg	210	1,082
Vancouver	239	530
Montreal	296	507

Source: Canadian Census

living Indian population in the 1960s. Census numbers, however, have been dismissed as inaccurate for a number of reasons. First, census takers changed their questions regarding

<sup>216</sup> See the *Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs (1900-1945)*

<sup>217</sup> "Chief regrets leading tribe into 20<sup>th</sup> Century" *Indian News* v 19 no 12 April 1979 p1

<sup>218</sup> Anastasia M. Shkilink, *A Poison Stronger than Love*

<sup>219</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 305

<sup>220</sup> See for example J. Stansbury's *Success and Failure* and Mark Nagler's *Indians in the City*

ethnicity over the years. Secondly, it is thought that a large, but unknown number, of enfranchised Indians were not counted in the census. In 1986, section C-31 of the Indian Act was amended to extend status to Indians who had been enfranchised and their children, providing they had at least a one-quarter-blood quantum. In ten years, 120,000 Indians, ninety-four percent of whom lived off-reserve, were created by the change in law.<sup>221</sup> The majority of C-31 Indians were not counted in the census before.<sup>222</sup> Along with enfranchised Indians a number of card-carrying Indians may have refused to identify themselves as Indians on the census because they were not comfortable doing so. It is thought that in recent years, Indians have become more comfortable identifying as Indians.<sup>223</sup> Looking at the census numbers in 1966, Hawthorne estimated that about 27 percent lived off-reserve.<sup>224</sup> Indian Affairs had another way of counting Indians. For each reserve, they listed the number of registered band members living absent from the reserve. Based on the Indian Department's counts in Saskatchewan, Dosman believed that Hawthorn had underestimated the off-reserve population.<sup>225</sup> Either way, a significant number of Indians living off-reserve were neither present nor accounted for.

A second debate questions how the available numbers have been interpreted. When Hawthorne consulted the census, he concluded that there had been a mass exodus of Indians from reserves in the 1960s. That conclusion was soon called into question by social scientists. An early study by A.J. Siggner looked at Indian migration patterns between 1966 and 1971. He found that only slightly more Indians left home during the period, 28 percent, than those who were moving back onto the reserve, 27 percent.<sup>226</sup> This created a very confusing picture. It meant that the

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<sup>221</sup> Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, *Registered Indian Mobility and migration: an Analysis of 1996 Census Data* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2004) p 4

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid* p 4

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid* p 4

<sup>224</sup> H.B. Hawthorne, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* p 45

<sup>225</sup> E.J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* p 8

<sup>226</sup> Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, *Registered Indian Mobility and migration* p 4

Indian population, both on-and off reserve, had experienced a net increase due to migration during the same period. Subsequent studies resolved this problem by figuring in the birth rate. For now, the conclusion is that the birth rate increased, both on and off-reserve, while a number of Indians moved back and forth between reserves and cities.<sup>227</sup>

Labour, education, housing shortages, social conditions and government programs provide some of the major reasons Indians left reserve, permanently or temporarily during the 1900s. Because studies surveying urban-dwellers only appear in later years, much of this information has been gathered from observers, usually Indian agents, who recorded reasons for Indians leaving the reserve. In later years, social scientists found additional reasons when they interviewed sojourners and settlers in cities, such as boredom or to escape abuse. It's not that these motives can't be true for earlier years, it's just that there's a lack of records.

What urban dwellers found in the city, how they met each other, seems to have differed from one city to another. In the 1950s, a pattern of clubs and social centers across Canada, began to appear, showing signs that Indians were seeking out each other's company in the city.

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid

XII Early Indian Clubs and Friendship Centres					
Year	City	Description	Year	City	Description
1957	Calgary	National Commission on the Indian in Canada. Non-native association concerned with socialization of urban Indians. 60 members	1962	LePas	Friendship Centre. Women's craft club and school for children
1958	Calgary	Calumet Club Social Club. Formed by urban youth, status and non-status	1962?	Kenora	Hostel. Providing overnight lodging, serves 500/ winter
1958	Toronto	Youth Club. Organized by placement officers	1962?	Sudbury	The Nickle Belt Indian Club
1959	Prince Rupert	Friendship Centre	1962	Winnipeg	Friendship Centre. Served 600 Indians in the first year.
1960	Prince Albert.	Métis and Indian Service Council Help Indians migrating for work or school adjust to the city.	1963	Saskatoon	Native League Indian and Métis students social club
1961	Regina-	Indian and Métis Friendship Centre	1963.	Edmonton.	Native Friendship Centre 300 attended the opening
1961	Battleford	Battleford Indian and Métis Friendship Centre	1963	Toronto	Canadian Indian Centre
1961?	London	Weekly Club. Social club for students and workers, 30-40 members	1963	Vancouver	Friendship Centre
1962	Prince Albert.	Friendship Centre. Youth Club	1964.	Brandon	Friendship Centre
1962	Toronto	Dancers club. Performs traditional dances.	1968	Fredericton	'Goodwill' association a mixed group to promote good relations btw Indians and non-Indians

## Chapter 5: 'So, where are you from?' Ottawa's Indian 'town' communities 1903-1972.

'La Reserve de Hull,' a small Indian village, stands out in history like a signpost, a visible mark on the urban landscape. It was more than a cluster of shanties and farms, more than a pit stop for hunters. Its residents shared relationships that tied them to a larger 'community of nations.' Those relationships made a community; La Reserve de Hull was a visible expression of that community. By 1903, the Algonquins no longer visited La Reserve and, that year, the Mohawks packed their chattels and left. Indians still migrated and settled in Ottawa and Gatineau, only now, the pattern of migration changed. After 1903, Indians came to the cities, singly or one family at a time. They came from reserves and towns across Canada, and visited briefly, or settled randomly in the cities.<sup>1</sup> While no new Indian neighbourhood appeared, Indians did begin to connect inside the city space.

The Indians who trickled into to Ottawa during the 1900s sometimes knew a friend or relative in the city, sometimes they knew no one at all. Their numbers were small. Census figures put the Indian population of Ottawa at less than 100 up to the 1950s, and 180 in 1961.<sup>2</sup> The census is not an accurate measurement, and probably underestimates the Indian population (see Chapter 4). Still, even if Ottawa's Indian population was double or triple the census' count, Indians would have been only a small fraction of Ottawa's total population.<sup>3</sup> The town's population grew from 60,000 in 1900 to 110,000 at the end of WWII, through migration, natural increase, and

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<sup>1</sup> For examples of Indian migrants before 1960 see: *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1913) p 43; *The Caughnawaga Gazette* April 13, 1965; "Scholarship winner on summer staff of Indian Affairs Branch" *Indian News* v 1 no 1 1954; "Canadian Indian Aids Malaya" *Indian News* v 1 no 1 pp 1-2; Mde. Hugette Larose, Personal Interview, April 2003. Mrs. Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview, January, 2004

<sup>2</sup> Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City* p 8

<sup>3</sup> Frank Maidman, *Native People in Urban Centres problems needs and services* (Ontario: A report of the task force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981) p 29

annexations. <sup>4</sup> Considering the numbers, it's hard to imagine that Indians could even find each other in the city. Despite the odds, urban Indians did meet and form a relationship they called a community.

Move forward in time to May 28<sup>th</sup> 1977, when drums sounded at a campsite in Nepean Township, ten miles south of downtown Ottawa. The morning sky was overcast, threatening a downpour. A small group of Indian civil servants joked about rain dances as they made their way to the campsite. By noon the clouds parted, and the sun peered down on an inter-tribal gathering that brought people from the far reaches of Indian country together, "to renew old acquaintances, to join together in a celebration of Indian ways, and to dance to the heartbeat of the universe."<sup>5</sup> Indians, who normally worked in downtown Ottawa, left their offices to "feast on the sounds and smells of pow-wow; the tang of wood-smoke, and the delicate aroma of burning sweetgrass, the buckskin finery, the beadwork and the ever-present throbbing of the drums."<sup>6</sup> They met with other Indians at the site, Ojibwa, Sioux, Algonquin, Mi'kmaq – some from as far away as Michigan and Illinois. The people gathered in a prayer led by Cree Elder Ernest Tootoosis, then they watched hoop-dancers compete for prize money, and listened to a young man from Black River Falls speak in the language of birds and animals. Finally, they danced together in inter-tribal dances, purely for fun. The inter-tribal powwow had returned to Ottawa after almost a hundred-year absence. It would become an annual event.<sup>7</sup> Behind the scenes Indians living in Ottawa-Gatineau had spent months planning, donating and collecting money, spreading the word and inviting elders, singers and

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<sup>4</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa an Illustrated History* p 122

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert Oskaboose "Indian Drums Break ... 100 Years of Silence" *Indian News* v 18 no 3, June 1977 pp 8-9

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

dancers. As one organizer, Ed Lavalle, later put it: “Here, in Ottawa, we have a very enthusiastic community.”<sup>8</sup>

The powwow, like La Reserve de Hull was an expression of community. At some point, a small but diverse population of Indians, living in Ottawa-Gatineau, grouped themselves together, and defined themselves as a community. This chapter asks when did that happen, and how?

The first urban Indian communities in the new century were really ‘personal communities’, or kinship ties between urban-dwellers who knew each other from home, and friends and family on reserve.<sup>9</sup> Newcomers continued to carry personal communities into the town; this did not change. The 1960s was a turning point, however, because Indians also began to connect in the city space. They met others in the city, who had been strangers and outside their personal communities.

Ottawa’s nature as a capital city, and home to the Indian Department mattered, because Indians frequently met each other for the first time in the Department on 400 Laurier Ave. That is where students, often brought to Ottawa by the Department, and under its supervision, met Indian workers who’d come to Ottawa seeking work in the civil service. These Indian townsfolk also met Ottawa’s itinerate political community in the offices of Indian Affairs, just as the NIB was establishing a base in Ottawa. The groups shared more than proximity, however: they were mostly young, socially conscious about conditions back home, and shared an identity as Indians. Between 1965 and 1972, Indians formed a small but complex community in Ottawa. They were multiple overlapping groups, composed of both sojourners and settlers who identified as a community and who began to make space for themselves on the urban landscape. They expressed their identity as a community by sharing social activities, clubs, associations and by establishing the Odawa Friendship Centre, and (re) establishing traditions like the powwow.

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<sup>8</sup> As quoted in Mike Doxater “Intertribal Pow-wow” *Indian News* v 19 no 3 July 1978 p 3

<sup>9</sup> For theory on personal communities see Paul Craven and Barry Wellman, *The Network City* p 25 Thomas Weaver and Douglas White, “Anthropological approaches to urban and complex society” pp 108-110, p 118

Ottawa was changing at the turn of the century. Between 1800 and 1840, lumber had replaced fur as the centre of the Ottawa Valley economy. The fur trade continued, but on a smaller scale. In the early 1800s, the harvesting of squared timber destined for Britain had employed hundreds of men. After 1850 the industry added rough sawn timber, mainly to satisfy a building boom in the U.S.<sup>10</sup> In the 1800s, Ottawa (Bytown) was home to saw mills, the town offered lodging to lumbermen, and wholesaled goods that were shipped to logging camps along the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers.<sup>11</sup> Towards the end of the century, the demand for timber was falling, and the sawn lumber industry was failing. When fire swept through Ottawa-Hull in 1900, only two of the lumber barons, J.R. Booth and E.B. Eddy, re-built. Pulp and paper replaced squared timber and sawn lumber as an export, but according to Hirsh and Taylor, the industry proved to be limited.<sup>12</sup>

As the lumber industry faded, Ottawa began transforming into a government town. It was home to a Provincial government after 1865, and the federal government after Confederation. According to Taylor, the city's transformation faltered through wars and Depression, but between 1900 and 1940, it took the shape of a government town, where the civil service fed a consumer economy.<sup>13</sup> In 1900, the headquarters of the civil service employed 1,219 workers. By 1921, 8,434 civil servants worked at headquarters. The civil service continued to expand even during the 1930s, when an additional 2000 civil servants were hired.<sup>14</sup> J.L. Granatstein would add that civil service itself was changing. He writes that before 1900, men of little ability often made their way into the civil service through family connections. By the 1930s, a growing number of civil servants were university graduates who came from middle class families and often, from other towns.<sup>15</sup>

Ottawa's consumer economy was characterized by a rise in retailers, domestics and mother's

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<sup>10</sup> Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* p 3 pp 9-10;

<sup>11</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa an Illustrated History*, p 25

<sup>12</sup> Forbes Hirsh, *The Upper Ottawa Valley Timber Trade* p 9-10; John Taylor *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 119

<sup>13</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 171

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid* p 120

<sup>15</sup> J.L. Granatstein, *Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (University of Toronto Press, 1998) p 20

helpers, as well as services, like tourism and hotels, offered to those who came to do business with government. <sup>16</sup> As urban historian John Taylor notes: “Ottawa became a one-horse town, though it was a mighty big and sophisticated horse.”<sup>17</sup>

As Ottawa changed, so too did the Indian connection to the town. In the 1800s, Ottawa had been a traditional gathering place, plus an important economic centre where hunters could trade furs for cash, or find work in the lumber industry. While hunting and lumbering remained important to the Indian economy in the 1900s, the industries were no longer centered in Ottawa. Cutting operations and logging camps had moved away from Ottawa to the upper Gatineau, North Bay, and Timiscaming regions. Indians who’d earned a living in lumbering or fur began to withdraw from Ottawa at the turn of the century (see Chapter 2). In the 1900s, Indians continued to leave reserves to seek work, but only a handful of Indians in Canada had college or university diplomas, which were increasingly required for work in the civil service. <sup>18</sup> In 1945, less than half of the Indian children in Canada even attended grade school regularly. <sup>19</sup> “Quite a few” young women from Kitigan Zibi found work as domestics, according to the reserve’s Indian agent.<sup>20</sup> A few men from Kahnawake and Grand River found work in the Bytown Inn on the corner of O’Connor and Metcalfe Street in the 1930s.<sup>21</sup>

A handful of Indians did find work in the headquarters operations of the civil service. One of the earliest civil servants was Joseph Delisle, the son of a chief at Kahnawake, hired as a clerk in the Indian Department in 1879. <sup>22</sup> Martin Jacobs, a Mohawk from Kanehsatake, Quebec worked

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<sup>16</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 171-172; J.L. Granatstein, *Ottawa Men* p 20

<sup>17</sup> John Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* p 171

<sup>18</sup> J.L. Granatstein, *Ottawa Men* p 20

<sup>19</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1945) p 168

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1913) p 43

<sup>21</sup> RG10 v 6822 file 493-1-7 pt 1 Ottawa May 14, 1931

<sup>22</sup> RG10 v 1997 file 7066, Letters December 6<sup>th</sup> 1911; and A L’honourable David Laird, Minister de L’interieur Ottawa n.d.

for the Customs and Excise Department in 1917.<sup>23</sup> Victor Nolet, and Oliver Nolet, both Abenakis from Odanak Quebec joined the civil service in the interwar period.<sup>24</sup> Victor worked for the Department of Health, and later, the Department of Agriculture.<sup>25</sup> Around the same time, Irene Hoff, also of Odanak, came to Ottawa to study at a business college. During WWII, she worked with the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) as a stenographer then, joined the Indian Department as a clerk in 1946.<sup>26</sup> Gilbert Monture, a Mohawk from Grand River joined the Department of Mines and Resources in 1923 as the editor of Department of Mines and Resources Publications. He was quickly promoted to the position of chief of the Mines Branch of Mineral Economics.<sup>27</sup> In the 1920s, P.J. Bernard, an Algonquin from Pikwakanagan, Ontario worked as a clerk in the Indian Department.<sup>28</sup>

The Indians coming to Ottawa in the 1900s were different from the group who'd settled La Reserve de Hull. In chapter 2, it was argued that La Reserve de Hull was really a satellite of a larger 'community of nations.' The Indians who settled at La Reserve were part of the social, political and economic system of Lake of Two Mountains, and they followed a community migration pattern that brought them to Ottawa as families or in groups. By the late 1800s, the 'community of nations' was fading. Indians coming to Ottawa in the early in the 1900s were different, because they did not arrive as part of a community migration pattern.

The new generation came to Ottawa, not as part of any collective movement, but as individuals. The domestics and other service industry workers have not left many records. The Indian civil servants, however, were generally young. All of the of the men and women mentioned

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<sup>23</sup> RG10 v 6817 file 487-1-1 pt 1 – Lists of Indians working off reserve, July 6<sup>th</sup> 1933

<sup>24</sup> RG10 v 6817 file 487-1-1 pt 1 – Lists of Indians working off reserve, July 6<sup>th</sup> 1933

<sup>25</sup> Mde. Huguette Larose. Personal Interview. September 2002.

<sup>26</sup> "Miss Hoff proves valuable clerk." *Indian News* January 1955; "Army Commission Gained by First Indian Woman" *Indian News* v 5 no 2 December 1961; *Might's City Directory* (Ottawa: The Might Directory Company of Toronto Limited, 1945)

<sup>27</sup> *Tekawennake* May 12, 1971

<sup>28</sup> *Might's City Directory* (1935) and (1945); Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview. February 02, 2005

above were under thirty. They were not married at the time of their arrival, and appear to have come into the city alone.

Their decision to come to the city was often motivated by finding a means to earn a living. Some planned ahead, others trickled in without firm plans but hoping to find work. Joseph Delisle applied for a job at Headquarters, after graduating from a six-year course in English. He wrote a letter to David Laird asking for work, and only came to Ottawa after being assured a job. His father and sisters still lived back home.<sup>29</sup> Victor Nolet



17. Miss Irene Hoff  
*Indian News* v 1 no 2, 1955 p 5

moved to Ottawa after serving in WWI. He was a self-taught musician who could sing both tenor and baritone. His first job in Ottawa was working as a Choir Master at the Notre Dame Cathedral, on Sussex Street. According to his daughter Hugette, he took work as a civil servant to support himself, but his first love was always music. She believes he was hired into the agricultural department because he had a traditional knowledge of horticulture. Victor's parents stayed at Odanak, while many of his other relatives left home to seek work in Montreal and the U.S..<sup>30</sup> Irene Hoff came to Ottawa as a student, not necessarily intending to stay.<sup>31</sup> It was coincidental that she was in town when WWII broke out. She joined the RCAF and served four years in Ottawa headquarters. When Britain appealed for nurses' aides, she traveled overseas serving in the St. John's Ambulance Association. After the war, she returned to Ottawa, but had no clear idea what

<sup>29</sup> RG10 v 1997 file 7066, A L'honourable David Laird, Minister de L'interieur Ottawa n.d.

<sup>30</sup> Mde. Hugette Larose. Personal Interview. September 2002.

<sup>31</sup> "Miss Hoff proves valuable clerk" *Indian News* January 1955

she would do next. That's when she found work with the Indian Department.<sup>32</sup> Gilbert Monture was the best educated of the group, having studied mining and metallurgy at Queen's university, graduating with a Bachelor's in Science. According to Monture, he'd planned to drop out of school, but he changed his mind after a white man told him that education only confused Indians. He'd later explain: "sometimes a kick is as good as a pat on the back."<sup>33</sup> He'd also served as a gunner in the 72<sup>nd</sup> Queen's Battery of Canadian Engineers from 1917 to 1918. He worked as a teacher on his reserve, and a journalist in Brantford before joining Mines and Resources. His parents stayed on the reserve, along with 3 of his 8 siblings.<sup>34</sup> Peter James Bernard, of Pikwakanagan Ontario, attended high school in Eganville, and then studied at business college. He found work as a clerk in the Indian Department in the 1920s. He met Ida Willow Bigelow, an Irish woman working as a waitress in a downtown restaurant where he frequently ate lunch. They married in the 1920s. Bernard's parents and some of his siblings still lived at Pikwakanagan.<sup>35</sup>

If there was an 'urban Indian community' in Ottawa before the 1950s, it might be described as kinship ties between urban dwellers and their family and friends back on their reserve. One way in which city-dwellers sustained kinship ties was by returning home to visit friends and family on their reserve. Martin Jacobs, who'd found work in the civil service in 1917, still visited his family at Kanehsatake frequently in the 1930s.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Irene Hoff still traveled home every weekend to visit her mom Carrie Hoff, and her aunt, Alice Wawanolet. She kept up the practice well into the 1960s.<sup>37</sup> Although Gilbert Monture married and raised his children in the city, remaining in Ottawa for more than 40 years, he still visited his parents and three brothers at Grand River in the 1960s.

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<sup>32</sup> "Miss Hoff proves valuable clerk" *Indian News* January 1955; "Army Commission Gained by First Indian Woman" *Indian News* v 5 no 2 December 1961

<sup>33</sup> *Tekawennake* May 12, 1971

<sup>34</sup> "Canadian Indian Aids Malaya" *Indian News* v 4 no 1 August 1954

<sup>35</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview. February 02, 2005

<sup>36</sup> RG10 v 6817 file 487-1-1 pt 1 – Lists of Indians working off reserve, July 6<sup>th</sup> 1933

<sup>37</sup> "Odanak: Tissu d'histoire et de beauté qui captive le visiteur" *Indian News* October, 1965

In fact, Monture's career achievements made him somewhat famous back home.<sup>38</sup> He was loaned to the combined Production and Resources Board in Washington, D.C. in 1944, and later awarded the Vanier Medal of the Institute of Public Administration for his work. He traveled overseas to Malaysia as the Canadian representative for the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Grand River's community newspaper *Tekawennake* frequently reported on Monture's achievements. The Mohawks of Grand River made Monture an honorary chief.<sup>39</sup>

Visits home also connected Ottawa-born Indians to their reserve. Victor Nolet met his wife, Ernestine Laroche, a French Canadian pianist at the Notre Dame Cathedral, and they married in 1921. He brought his two children Marcel (b 1924) Hugette (b 1927) back to Odanak every summer. The children spent the summer living with their grandparents. As Hugette recalls:

In the summer time mother was able to work to earn money, and with her piano or organ and Dad also you see. Since we were in the way, well that's not the way they said it but and we loved to go to Odanak. And we went up every summer, only my brother didn't like it because he missed mommy, he was mommy's little boy. He used to stand on the veranda and cry all summer long. But I enjoyed it and that's why, as he grew older he enjoyed going.<sup>40</sup>

Hugette and her brother continued to visit Odanak through adulthood, bringing their own children (between them, they had nine).<sup>41</sup>

Similarly, P.J. Bernard married Ida Willow Bigalow, an Irish Canadian, in the 1920s. They had three daughters Doris (b 1922), Sylvia (b 1933) and Beverlee (b 1935). The Bernard daughters returned to Pikwakanagan every summer, staying at their grandparent's home. At first, their mother, Ida, traveled with them, and helped their grandmother make preserves. P.J. came up for a week or two when he could get time off work. Doris recalls: "I grew up there and it was my second

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<sup>38</sup> "Canadian Indian Aids Malaya" *Indian News* No.1 August 1954; "Dr. Gilbert Monture" *Tekawennake* v 3 no 19 Feb 8 1978

<sup>39</sup> Veterans Affairs, *Native Soldiers Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1993) p 29

<sup>40</sup> Mde.Larose, Personal Interview September 2002.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

home. As soon as school finished, I'd go up on the train. I never knew what it was to spend a summer in the city. I'd come back the day before school started."<sup>42</sup> After P.J. left the family, around 1937, Ida and Doris took work to support the family, which meant they could not spend as much time on the reserve. They still visited, but for shorter periods. Doris usually brought her two younger sisters to the reserve with her. Her youngest sister

Beverlee recalls:

It was a holiday for us, could go up there and pick berries, help my grandmother churn butter and feed the cows. My mother worked hard up there, she'd help grandmother make preserves – that's why we picked berries.... After he [her father] left we didn't get to go up as much, and it wasn't the same. My grandparents were a little more involved when he was there. But we'd watch Grandpa in the workshop make all kinds of different things for the Americans when they'd come, souvenirs for the Americans when they'd come over to fish...little canoes and paddles and stuff like that. <sup>43</sup>

Some members of the Nolet family returned to their reserve. Victor Nolet and his wife moved to Odanak after they retired. Their son, Marcel and his wife Roland also settled at Odanak after retiring. They had a daughter Suzanne, who stayed in the city for a time, before deciding to join her parents at Odanak. Hugette remained in Ottawa, but kept a house on the reserve that she still visits frequently. The Bernard daughters stayed in the city, but kept summer homes on the reserve in the 1970s. Doris fixed up her grandparents home, while Sylvia and Beverlee set up trailers nearby. All three of the daughters brought their children (between them, they had 9) to the reserve for periods in the summer. <sup>44</sup>



18. The Bernard Sisters, 1975.  
(left to right)  
Beverlee, Doris and Sylvia,  
Photo by Hubert Pugliese

<sup>42</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview. February 4, 2005

<sup>43</sup> Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview, January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview February 4, 2005; Personal Interview, Beverlee Bernard. January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

Kinship ties also brought friends and family to Ottawa. Hugette can remember her parents housing friends and family from Odanak who came to the city seeking work, or who passed through, by train, on their way to seek work in the U.S. :

Others learned about his success in Ottawa, on the reserve, and they asked if they could come and spend some time at our house, so that they could find a job. Most of the O'Bomsawin, or that is what I was told, and I've seen pictures. Most of them came home. Mom and Dad would give them lodging while they were trying to find jobs, and some of them found good jobs and stayed here until it was time to retire. George [O'Bomsawin] and all the others came and stayed at our place, quite a few stayed sometimes here, others were just passing by. They stopped because they had very close relationships between themselves. - my mother always loved them because they were so nice - then they'd go to the States. <sup>45</sup>

Similarly, on visits home Doris became close to an 'aunt,' Mary, who was really only a few years older than Doris herself. When Mary decided to study at a business college in Ottawa, Doris, and her husband Paul, offered her a place to live. While Mary stayed there, others from the reserve would come to visit. As Doris recalls: "we had a very small apartment but everyone seemed to manage to find a corner to sleep." <sup>46</sup> When Doris went to work for the government in 1941, she met a cousin, Irene Aird, who was hired in the same division on the same day. Another of Doris' aunts, Marion Bernard, moved to Ottawa in the 1940s, because she could not find work on the reserve. She took work as a domestic, then joined RCAF during WWII. Marion babysat Doris' children from time to time. She married and raised eight children in the city, three of whom moved to the reserve as adults. One child stayed in Ottawa, while three others moved to other towns. <sup>47</sup> (As a side note, it's worth mentioning that Hugette, the Bernard daughters, and their descendants were not counted as Indians in census before the 1980s, because they lost their status through marriage.)

Social scientists who studied urban Indians in the 1970s frequently noted city-dwellers extended help to friends and family who came to the city from home, but they did not necessarily

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<sup>45</sup> Mde.Larose, Interview September 2002.

<sup>46</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview February 4, 2005

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

call these relationships a community. In his study set in Toronto, Mark Nagler, found kinship ties to be harmful, saying they put financial strains on families.<sup>48</sup> Nor did they constitute a community, as he concluded, Indians had “no community to speak of.”<sup>49</sup> Evelyn J. Peters saw kinship ties in western cities as an adaptation strategy of ‘mutual aid’. The families she interviewed did not mind helping their kin. Peters did not, however, call kinship ties a community.<sup>50</sup> Jean Guilleman studied Canadian Mi’kmaq who were migrating to the U.S. for work in the 1970s. She argued kinship ties did more than extend ‘mutual aid,’ they also transmitted culture. For this reason Guilleman argued kinship ties were really an extension of the reserve community into the city.<sup>51</sup> It’s difficult to extend these definitions back in time and across space to Ottawa, because little is known about how individuals felt about themselves, or defined their relationships. Kinship ties also played out differently within families, making ties to home a very individual thing. Thus, kinship ties are, perhaps, best described as what some social scientists term personal communities.<sup>52</sup>

According to the urban-born Indians who spent their lives in the city, there was no ‘town’ community at the time, meaning they did not meet or socialize with families who came from other reserves. Hugette, says she never met Indians in town, with the exception of family and friends who visited her father from Odanak. For example, her father and Irene Hoff, knew each other from home.<sup>53</sup> Hugette was educated at the Rideau Street Convent, then attended Bruyère College where she studied Philosophy, she also took typing and shorthand at College La Fortune. When she was 19, she took work at the French embassy as a typist, and worked there seven years.

During that time, she met and married Ron Larose, a French Canadian. She left her job when Jean,

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<sup>48</sup> Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City* p 52

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid* p 65

<sup>50</sup> Evelyn J. Peters, “Native Households in Winnipeg: strategies of co-residence” (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984) pp 30-35

<sup>51</sup> Jeanne Guilleman, *Urban Renegades: Cultural strategy of Americas Indians*, p 66

<sup>52</sup> Paul Craven and Barry Wellman, *The Network City* p 25 Thomas Weaver and Douglas White, “Anthropological approaches to urban and complex society” pp 108-110, p 118

<sup>53</sup> Mde.Larose, Personal Interview September 2002.

her first of six children, was born in 1954. She cannot recall meeting Indians in school or at work.<sup>54</sup> Doris never met Indian children in school. In 1937, she took a job in the civil service, and over the years, worked for a variety of Departments including Veterans Affairs, the RCMP, Central Pay, and taxation. The only Indian she recalls meeting at work was a cousin, from Pikwakanagan.<sup>55</sup> Beverlee cannot recall meeting other Indian children in school. She attended St. Dominique's, then Immaculata and the High School of Commerce. She left in grade 11 to take work in the Bank of Nova Scotia, and married Hubert Pugliese, an Italian-Canadian in 1957. She does not recall meeting Indians at work.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps Indians from different reserves did not meet in the city because of a lack of opportunity. They were few in numbers, had arrived in the city individually, and settled sporadically. Taylor points out that Ottawa had ethnic pockets, for example the French concentrated in Lowertown, the English and Scotch lived in the middle wards, and the bulk of the 305 Italians living in Ottawa settled in the Dalhousie Ward.<sup>57</sup> Indians who came to Ottawa appear to have dispersed in the city. Delisle, a Mohawk, did not settle in La Reserve de Hull, although it was still active in 1879, when he moved to Ottawa. Instead, he moved into a home on Somerset Street in the Ottawa's central area. Victor Nolet changed homes more than once, but stayed in the French-dominated area of Lowertown.<sup>58</sup> Irene Hoff, settled on Wendover Avenue.<sup>59</sup> Gilbert Monture lived at 123 Fentiman, in Old Ottawa South. <sup>60</sup>After Peter Bernard married, he lived on Sussex, in Lowertown, relocating to Ironside, Quebec (South Hull) in the 1930s on the recommendation of a doctor who ordered him to move to 'the country' for his health. After leaving his family, he moved to

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<sup>54</sup> Mde.Larose, Personal Interview September 2002.

<sup>55</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview February 4, 2005

<sup>56</sup> Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid pp 124-126

<sup>58</sup> *Might's City Directory* (1935) and (1945)

<sup>59</sup> Ibid

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

the Billings area in Ottawa.<sup>61</sup> Ida Bernard and the three daughters relocated to Ottawa Centre, living on Somerset, Elm, Rochestor and Bell Streets.<sup>62</sup>

Another reason they may not have connected was that Ottawa was not always a very Indian-friendly town. Doris Bernard, for example never admitted to being Indian while she was in school. She attended the Holy Rosary Convent, then St. Dominique's. She recalls: "when they'd teach in school they'd teach about the things Indians did to white people, and it used to upset me. So I just decided to keep it to myself."<sup>63</sup> Beverlee Bernard also attended St. Dominique's, and then Immaculata High School. Beverlee recalls being bullied by classmates and called a Halfbreed after one of them discovered she was Indian. She also recalls that when she was caught wearing lipstick to school, one of the nuns told her: "vous avez l'air d'une sauvage." When Beverlee replied: 'parce-ce que je suis une sauvage,' the sister slapped her face. After hearing the story, Ida Bernard had 'an incident' with the nun, that ended with Ida tearing off the nun's habit and Beverlee transferring to the High School of Commerce.<sup>64</sup> While Hugette said she never encountered problems in school, she recalls that her father was told that if he wanted to work a civil servant he should change his name from the Indian-sounding Wawanolet, to the French-sounding Nolet.<sup>65</sup>

It's also uncertain if the early urban-dwellers would have even felt a kinship with people from different nations. Neither, Hugette, Doris or Beverlee expressed a regret that they did not meet other families in the city, nor did they try to seek others out. Their connection to folks from their own reserves seemed to be satisfying. Similarly, they do not remember political leaders coming to town, nor were their families involved in political movements during the period (although

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<sup>61</sup> *Might's City Directory* (1935) and (1945); Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview. February 02, 2005

<sup>62</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview February 4, 2005; Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview, January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>63</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview, February 4, 2005

<sup>64</sup> Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview, January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>65</sup> Mde.Larose, Personal Interview, September 2002.

one of Hugette's sons, Jean, would later work for the AFN, an outgrowth of the NIB).<sup>66</sup> As Beverlee explains: "no one told us what our rights were."<sup>67</sup> Doris says simply, "we didn't talk about that, then."<sup>68</sup>

A town community did begin to grow in the 1950s, finally taking shape between 1965 and 1972. The Indians migrating to town were still very few, the census count in 1961 put the number at 180. What changed was that, students, civil servants and politicians began to group together in the city. They had much in common, and were able to meet through their connection to the Indian Affairs Department, which by now had moved into the centennial building at 400 Laurier Street.

From 1950 through the 1960s, an increasing number of Indians came to Ottawa seeking education. In part, the number reflected a rise in the number of Indian youth seeking education. Some Indians have argued that more Indians were willing to attend university and college after 1951, because a change to the Indian Act allowed Indians to obtain a diploma without risking enfranchisement.<sup>69</sup> (Enfranchisement awarded Indians all the rights of Canadian citizens, but removed their legal identity as Indians.) In 1957, the government also began extending financial help to Indian students through scholarships. Earlier the Department had occasionally extended help to promising students, but only on an ad hoc basis.<sup>70</sup> In 1957, the Department standardized its scholarship program offering a regular number of scholarships, ranging from \$500 to \$1,000 per student.<sup>71</sup> Scholarships were awarded through an application process, and the Department tried to distribute monies evenly among the regions. Between 1957 and 1964, the Department awarded

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<sup>66</sup> Mde.Larose, Personal Interview, September 2002. Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview, February 4, 2005; Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview, January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>67</sup> Beverlee Bernard, Personal Interview, January 25<sup>th</sup> 2005.

<sup>68</sup> Doris Bilodeau, Personal Interview, February 4, 2005

<sup>69</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16, 2005

<sup>70</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* (1930) p 14

<sup>71</sup> "Indians to share valuable scholarships" *Indian News* v 2 no 3 March 1957 p 1

141 scholarships to students attending university, training as nurses or pursuing education in technical and cultural fields.<sup>72</sup>

A second reason the number of students coming to Ottawa increased was the Department initiated new educational programs that were located in Ottawa. One such program was a relocation for high school program initiated by the Department in the 1950s. Changes to the 1951 Indian Act allowed the federal government to download some service programs, like education, onto the provinces (see Chapter 4). In the 1950s, the Department began a program of removing students from reserves into cities for high school, and Ottawa was one of four destinations. Regional officers handpicked students for the program based on an assessment of their ability, interest, and attitude. The department arranged travel and financing and housing for the students. Younger students were billeted with local Indian families, who had been screened and counseled in advance. The program brought up to 44 students a year into Ottawa.<sup>73</sup> During the program's early years, regional officials did not consult parents, a problem the Department corrected during the 1970s.<sup>74</sup>

Another group of students leaving their reserve and coming to Ottawa for education through a departmental program were 'up-graders.' The upgrading program, known as Program 5, came to Ottawa in 1961, and was run jointly by Manpower and Indian Affairs. By the 1960s, trades like secretarial work, bookkeeping and plumbing required a grade 10 minimum. Program 5 was designed to serve adults who had not completed high school and, who, as a result, found it difficult to find employment. It was open to Indians 18 years or older, who'd been out of school for a year and unemployed. The program let them upgrade their education over a period of ten months. It also offered vocational training, like hairdressing and mechanics. The level of

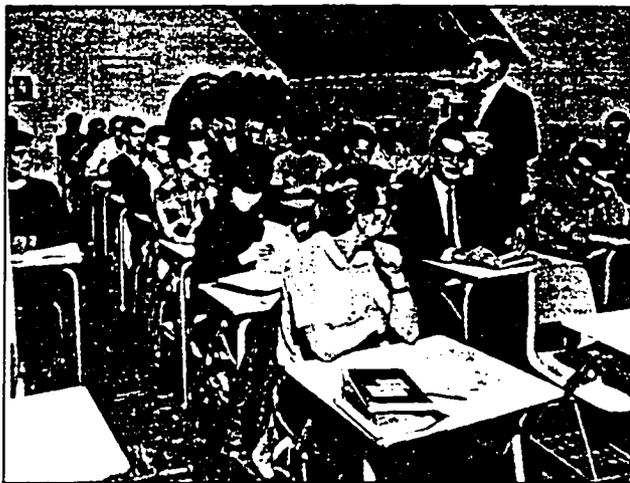
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<sup>72</sup> "Types of Scholarships and amounts awarded by year" *Indian News* v 7 no 2 March 1964, p 6

<sup>73</sup> K. Isaac "A New Life for Mary Jane" *Indian News* v 18 no 7 January 19 1978 p 2

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

education they wished to reach during that period was negotiated with the Department before joining. The Department provided a modest living expense to the students.<sup>75</sup> Between 1961 and 1965, 75 adults studied at the Adult Training Centre or the Vocational Centre in Ottawa. In 1966, 40 adults enrolled in the program and came to Ottawa.<sup>76</sup> The exact number of Indians attending university or college in Ottawa is not known, but Leo Yerxa, who came to Ottawa to study at Algonquin college in 1967 estimates that more than a hundred high school students, up-graders, university students lived in Ottawa at the time.



19. Upgrading course  
*Indian News* v 9 no 4 p 8

Much like Indians arriving before 1960, the students were not part of a broad community movement, but arrived in the city individually, from a variety of reserves. Grace Monatch, an Algonquin who grew up in Maniwaki Quebec entered the University of Ottawa to study nursing in 1956.<sup>77</sup> Also from Quebec were Johnny Jolly, Cree of Mistassini, a student architect at the Ottawa Technical School in 1968.<sup>78</sup> In 1959, Sidney Snow, 23, of the Kahnawake reserve in Quebec, studied medicine at Ottawa University Indian.<sup>79</sup> A few years earlier Alfred Cooper, 25, of Manitoulin Island, Ontario had completed his M.D. at Ottawa University. He'd interned at the Lady Wellington Indian Hospital at Grand River, as well as the Ottawa General Hospital.<sup>80</sup> In 1957, Eva Halfe, from

<sup>75</sup> "Indian Adults return to School" *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p1

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> "Grace Monatch trains at Ottawa University for Nursing" *Indian News* v 2 no 3 p 7

<sup>78</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 p 6-7

<sup>79</sup> "A Student of Medicine" *Indian News* v 5 no 3 January 1962 p 1

<sup>80</sup> *Indian News* v 2 no 4 Sept 1957.

Saddle Lake Alberta, studied dentistry before taking a position as a dental assistant with the RCAF in PEI.<sup>81</sup> In 1962, David Lucien Sparvier, of the Cowess band in B.C, entered the Arts and Science program at Ottawa University.<sup>82</sup> Alex William Nahwegahbow, of the White Fish River Band won a university scholarship from the Department while attending Ottawa University in 1964.<sup>83</sup> Harold Cardinal, a Cree from Sucker Creek, Alberta was studying sociology at St. Patrick's college in Ottawa in 1966.<sup>84</sup>

Like the early civil servants, the students arrived in Ottawa under very different circumstances. Grace Monatch came from a family of seven children. Her mother, Nona, had worked as a teacher and was determined that her children receive a good education. The family moved from their village near Lac Barrière in Parc LaVerendrye, 90 miles south to the town of Maniwaki so the children could attend school. Grace attended St. John Bosco School Junior High, along with other Algonquin children from the nearby Kitigan Zibi reserve,<sup>85</sup> and matriculated at Chapleau's where she boarded. She planned to be a teacher, like her mother but opted for nursing instead. When she entered Ottawa University in 1956, one of her sisters already lived in Ottawa and worked as a secretary in the civil service. The rest of her family had dispersed. One brother lived in Toronto and worked as an engineer, another worked as a brick mason in the U.S., another sister lived in Montreal. Only the two youngest still lived in Maniwaki with her parents.<sup>86</sup>

Joel Taylor, of the Constance Lake Band contracted TB at the age of 11, and spent 9 years in the Hamilton sanatorium. He'd been raised in a trapping community, and never attended school, but he did learn to speak and read English in the hospital. The long struggle with TB had left his legs paralyzed, but he learned to walk with braces. The condition meant he'd never be able

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<sup>81</sup> "Saddle Lake girl in RCAF" *Indian News* v 2 no 3 p 7 March 1957

<sup>82</sup> *Indian News* v 17 no 2 March 1964

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3, June 1970

<sup>85</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since time Immemorial* p 313

<sup>86</sup> "Grace Manatch of Maniwaki trains at Ottawa university nursing school" *Indian News* v 1 no 4 July 1955 p 7

to hunt or trap, so after his release from the hospital in 1956, he came to Ottawa to learn a trade. He spent his first four months at the Ottawa neighbourhood services shelter, then joined a workshop to qualify as a shoemaker's assistant.<sup>87</sup>

Sidney Snow came from a family of three siblings on the Kahnawake reserve. His father worked at the Kahnawake Indian Agency. Sidney attended the reserve school at Kahnawake until grade 8, then went on to Loyola

College in Montreal for 8 years, where he completed his high school and obtained a B.A.. It was during his final years of study that he decided to pursue psychiatry. In 1959, he enrolled at Ottawa University. He was a keen golf player, having learned to play at the Kahnawake Golf Course, and had



Sidney Snow trains as a doctor at Ottawa University, 1962 (Snow is centre) *Indian News* v 5 no 3 January 1962

a handicap of 6. He was also fond of hockey and played on the faculty team for the university. One sister, Ann Marie worked as a teacher. The other, Bernadine, worked as a secretary with the Northern Electric Company, in Lachine.<sup>88</sup>

Leo Yerxa, the youngest of four brothers and five sisters, received his early education at the Assinaboine residential school in Winnipeg.<sup>89</sup> His sister attended the school, but he was only allowed to speak to her for an hour on weekends. His memories of the school revolved mostly around the heavy presence of religion, which included daily masses, with a double mass and benediction on Sundays, plus formal prayers eight times a day. He would later reflect: "I don't know

<sup>87</sup> *Indian News* v 4 no 3 March 1957

<sup>88</sup> "A student of medicine" *Indian News* v 5 no 3 January 1962 p 1

<sup>89</sup> "Promising future for Graphic Artist." *Indian News* v 11 no 5 December 1968 p 5

if these people were right or wrong ... but the danger of the religious aspect of it was these people felt that they were right in making us over into something else.”<sup>90</sup> Afterwards he attended a mixed school in Fort Frances. It was apparently an unwelcoming experience, as he later commented: “After learning to love our fellow man in the residential school, we got to wondering why that fellow man didn’t love us back.”<sup>91</sup> Returning home, he worked at trapping and also found work as a guide, but:

...it looked like it was sort of drying up – and it wasn’t going to be around long, which is right . It’s not as active a thing as it was back then, 30 years ago. All my life I could draw and paint and stuff like that, so the only other thing I could do besides what I was doing was that.<sup>92</sup>

An Indian Department guidance counselor suggested that he could enroll in a graphic design course at Algonquin College. Leo was 19, and when he relocated to Ottawa in 1967, he came alone and didn’t know a soul in town.<sup>93</sup>

In 1966, Mr. and Mrs. George Paul of the Eskasoni Reserve, in New Brunswick enrolled in Program 5 and came to Ottawa. Mr. Paul, 20, had worked as a general labourer but lost his job. He wanted to upgrade from grade six to grade ten to improve his chances of finding a job. Mrs. Paul wanted to open a hairdressing shop. She’d only finished the fifth grade, and discovered she needed at least a grade ten to become a hairdresser. She added she would like to go further if she could.<sup>94</sup>

Students came to the city much like the early group of civil servants. They came from a variety of reserves, usually alone, but sometimes knowing a friend or relative in town. What was different about the students was that after arriving in the city, their circumstances allowed them to meet, often because they had contact through Indian Affairs. For example, the Department ran a

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<sup>90</sup> “An Interview with Leo Yerxa” *Indian News* v 13 no 8 November 1970 p 4

<sup>91</sup> “An Interview with Leo Yerxa” *Indian News* v 13 no 8 November 1970 p 4

<sup>92</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005

<sup>93</sup> “Promising future for Graphic Artist” *Indian News* v 11 no 5 December 1968 p 5

<sup>94</sup> “Indian Adults return to School” *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p1

small counseling program to help high school students ease the transition from rural to urban living. The students checked in on a monthly basis with two counselors who operated out of headquarters.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, the Department usually arranged for a student's housing. Leo Yerxa had arrived in Ottawa in 1967, not knowing a soul. However, two other Indian students were already boarding at the house where the Department placed him.<sup>96</sup> Upgraders, college and university students who received money from the Department also had to check in with the department's counselors. The Department only released their living allowances in monthly allotments, and required students to show their grades before releasing the money. "It wasn't a fun thing to do. They were treating us like we were immature or kids or something whereas everyone else would get their money all at once and then look after it...I think it was an unnecessary thing to do," Leo recalls. Students, would gather in a waiting room and chat as they waited.<sup>97</sup> Finally, a number of students in Ottawa also took summer jobs at the Department.<sup>98</sup> Leo Yerxa recalls: "It wasn't that hard [to meet] because most of us, at some point, would have to go down to the Indian Affairs building, and you'd meet other students there."<sup>99</sup>

Most of the university and college students appear to have mixed well with their non-Indian peers. For example, Leo Yerxa recalls that he was close to several people in the Graphic Arts program and found them friendly. After Yerxa graduated, he often met with his peers from the Graphic Design Program over lunch. They compared notes as they searched for work in various publishing houses around town, and discussed which companies might be hiring.<sup>100</sup> Sidney Snow

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<sup>95</sup> K. Isaac "A New Life for Mary Jane" *Indian News* v 18 no 7 January 19 1978 p 2

<sup>96</sup> Personal Interview, Leo Yerxa, January 18, 2005.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005. David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16 2005.

<sup>99</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

said he'd always been on the best of terms with other students. He was fond of Hockey and played on the faculty team at the U of O.<sup>101</sup> Joel Taylor joined a photography group at the YMCA.<sup>102</sup>

Still the city could also be a lonely place for students. Mary Jane Edwards a 15-year-old-Cree, who'd been relocated to Ottawa for high school, said she felt "strange and awkward" coming to the Ottawa . Life in the city seemed strange to her, especially the way city-folk "kept to themselves."<sup>103</sup> Both Roger Stevens, 20, and Ryan Joseph Paul, 17, who enrolled in Program 5, complained of homesickness. The feeling seemed to have more to do with the urban environment than feeling isolated. They knew other people in the class as many of the people enrolled that year came from Eskasoni. Ryan Paul even had a brother in the program. <sup>104</sup>

It may have been this sense of loneliness, or just a desire to get to know other Indians better that led students to organize social activities for themselves. They began organizing dances and social evenings in 1966. According to the *Indian News* the first social drew in 24 college and vocational school students, and 40 others who were: "unanimous in saying 'let's have more!'"<sup>105</sup> By the time Leo Yerxa arrived in town in 1967, the students held regular Friday night outings. As he recalls the Friday club was very informal:

When I was a student there was sort of a club that was sort of a forerunner to the Friendship Centre. It was just for contact with other Indian students. We used to get together, and being students we used to go for drinks every now and again, so we used to get together in that way.... It was very informal we used to get together in a church basement or something like that, and hang around and talk and maybe go for a beer after that. We didn't go to hockey games or anything, just hung around and talked. It was nice. It wasn't very organized when I was a student, they may have gotten organized after. <sup>106</sup>

Leo points out that not all the Indian students participated, for example, his two roommates almost never went. For him it was pleasant to hang out and chat with other Indians, and he remembers

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<sup>101</sup> "A student of medicine" *Indian News* v 5 no 3 January 1962 p 1

<sup>102</sup> *Indian News* v 4 no 3 March 1957

<sup>103</sup> K. Isaac "A New Life for Mary Jane" v 18 no 7 January 19 1978 p 2

<sup>104</sup> "Indian Adults return to School" *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p1

<sup>105</sup>"Here and there" v 8 no 4 January 1966 p 8

<sup>106</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

first meeting Johnny Jolly in the club. Later the two of them would work together at Indian Affairs, Johnny as a summer student, Leo as a staffer.<sup>107</sup>

A second Indian student club, organized around the same time, had a more a political edge. The club was a brainchild of Harold Cardinal, who was studying study sociology at St. Patrick's college.<sup>108</sup> Cardinal had developed a sense of politics as a young man. He'd spent ten years in a Roman Catholic Residential School, and "emerged skeptical of the white man's religion and regimentation."<sup>109</sup> To the dismay of the local residential school Father, he transferred to a high school in Edmonton and, at 16, became involved with IAA. Shortly after arriving in Ottawa, he joined the Canadian Youth Council, and in 1965, he was elected president. He served simultaneously as Associate Secretary of Indian Affairs for the Canadian Union of Students.<sup>110</sup>

In 1966, Cardinal decided to found an Indian Youth Council. He approached the Minister of Indian Affairs, Arthur Laing, and asked him for \$40,000 to begin organizing students. Laing appreciated Cardinal's spunk, and offered him a few thousand dollars to buy a car, so he could drive around and organize students. Cardinal found Laing's offer patronizing. Next Cardinal approached the National Indian Advisory Board and asked for their support. The board helped Cardinal make a second plea to the Department, but he never got the money.<sup>111</sup> Cardinal managed to organize the Council, although it was probably a more modest venture than he'd envisioned. The Canadian Indian Youth Council operated out of an office at 45 Rideau Street in 1966, and published a small newsletter, the Canadian Indian Youth Council Bulletin. Cardinal served as its president.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

<sup>108</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3, June 1970

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3, June 1970

<sup>111</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* pp 86-87.

<sup>112</sup> Russell Moses "The Role of Indian Newspapers" *Indian News* v 9 no 1 April 1966 p 5; "Harold Cardinal Joins Department of Indian and Northern Affairs" *Indian News* v 18 no 1.

The Council was supposed to be a forum for activism, but also to help students sort out how they fit into their communities, now that they were educated, and how to make their education work for people back home. The Council was headed in Ottawa, but it was a national body, composed of a small number of Indian students from across Canada. In the summer of 1966, the Council organized a Canadian Indian Workshop to “sort out their thinking about their Indianness” and to feel: “less lonely in their pursuit of scholarship.” In their own words:

It is their concern with the question: ‘Who am I?’ which brings them to the workshop. To the Indian Canadian at university this is not simply the normal navel-watching concern of the adolescent. The question underlies many others: “What’s with Indians?”, “Where have we been?”, “where are we going?”, “What does it mean to be Indian?”, “What is worth doing right now?”, “Why?”.<sup>113</sup>

The group attending the workshop was small, 20 university, and high school students between the ages 18 and 26, but all provinces were represented. Whether or not the feeling of these students were representative of a larger group or not, is hard to say, but this small group seemed to share some of the tendencies towards social activism and stress of alienation expressed by some of their peers who were finding jobs in the civil service.<sup>114</sup>

Indians continued to come to Ottawa to find work. What changed was the Indian Department was becoming increasingly interested in hiring Indians in its headquarters in the 1960s, for two reasons: public relations and integration. Between 1965 and 1969 more than 30 Indians were hired into the Department, although not all of them stayed. This hiring bonanza was, in part, related to a growing pressure on the civil service as a whole to diversify. The social conscious sixties drew attention to equal rights for women and ethnic minorities. In the civil service, this led to concern over fair representation and the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Branch of the Department of Labour.<sup>115</sup> Having a non-Indian bureaucracy managing Indian affairs

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<sup>113</sup> *Report of the First Canadian Indian Workshop* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1966) n.p.; also “Youth Council Works for Advancement of Indians” *Indian News* v 9 no 2 July 1966 p 5

<sup>114</sup> “Harold Cardinal Joins Department of Indian and Northern Affairs” *Indian News* v 18 no 1

<sup>115</sup> “An Indian In Ottawa” *Indian News* v 12 no 9 December 1969 p 7

was increasingly embarrassing. Hiring Indians into the civil service was also consistent with the Indian Department's post-war integration policy. Indians employed in the Department could develop the skills and work experience they needed to secure jobs. This point was argued by agency superintendent R.F. Battle who noted too many Indian youth, particularly women, obtained business degrees, but returned "to their reserves to exist in idleness" because they lacked on-the-job experience. In 1960, he advocated hiring Indians into the civil service to give them work experience.<sup>116</sup>

Having two reasons to hire Indians meant there were two types of jobs open to Indians. The first were high-level political jobs that put well-known Indians in visible positions in the Department. For example in 1965, Leonard S. Marchand, Vice-President of the North American Indian Brotherhood was hired as the first-ever Indian to work as a special advisor to a Superintendent General.<sup>117</sup> Otherwise, the jobs available were low-level clerical and secretarial jobs designed to provide work experience. As Leo Yerxa put it: "Either those political sort of jobs or low jobs and nothing sort of in-between."<sup>118</sup>

Initially, the Department tried to turn all Indian hiring into favorable publicity. Almost every Indian hired between 1965 and 1969 – from political appointments to pool secretaries and summer students – was publicized in the *Indians News* the Department's communiqué to Indian country and beyond. The *Indian News* had a circulation of 29,000 copies up to 1967, when the Department boosted the run to 60,000 copies.<sup>119</sup> However, the Department later fell under criticism from the NIB that most of its hiring was tokenism and few Indians had positions in areas such as policy development. In response, the Department established the Indian and Eskimo Recruitment

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<sup>116</sup> RG10 v 8424 file 1/21-3 pt 1 November 10<sup>th</sup> 1960 R.F. Battle to Director of Personnel Chief Economic Division

<sup>117</sup> "First Indian named Minister's Assistant." *Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965

<sup>118</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

<sup>119</sup> *Indian News* v 10 no 3 November 1967 p 7

Development program (IERD) in 1969. The IERD was designed to recruit more status Indians and Inuit, and place them in management positions. While the program did attract more Indians into the Department, program reviews show that for years, it rarely lifted the glass ceiling.<sup>120</sup> The lack of progress led Indians in the Department to establish the Native Employees Action Team (NEAT) in 1979. NEAT's aim was to correct what employees felt were discriminatory practices in the Department. They argued, for example, that senior management rarely promoted qualified aboriginal employees to senior positions, yet parachuted non-aboriginal people straight from college into senior positions.<sup>121</sup>

Like students, the civil servants hired in the 1960s, came from mostly from reserves in Ontario and Quebec, but a few came from the Maritimes and Saskatchewan and B.C.. From the Maritimes the Department hired education counselor Delores Brooks, and secretary Janet Morris, both Mi'kmaq



21. Indian civil servants (Left to right) Jeanette Vollant, Leo Yerxa, Doreen King, Delores Brooks *Indian News* v 11 no 3 p 6

from the Eskasoni reserve in Nova Scotia. A number came from reserves in Quebec, including Jeanette Vollant, a Montagnais from Shefferville, hired as a typist for the Education Directorate. Three other Montagnais, Anne Marie Vollant a secretary, and Gilbert Simeon, a clerk and Josephine Bacon, a typist, originated from Bermis. Sylvia Watso, an Abenaki from Odanak worked

<sup>120</sup> "Program Provides Employment Opportunities for Native People" *Indian News* v 11 no 8 1975; "Indians in Government Form Association ..." *Indian News* v 19 no 1 March 1979 p 8; *Increased Indian Métis and Non-status Indian and Inuit Participation in the Public Service of Canada*. (Ottawa: 1977) "Indian Eskimo Recruitment and Development program" v 12 no 1 April 1969 p 1

<sup>121</sup> "Indians in government form association, make statement to Human Rights Commission" *Indian News* v.19 no 1, March 1979

as a typist in the pool. Four Algonquins from the Kitigan Zibi reserve were hired: Romeo Commanda, a clerk with the oil and gas section of Industrial division, Julia Anne Tenasco, a typist, Pearl Tenasco and Alice Tolley, both pool secretaries. Jackie St. Denis was the only Algonquin from Hunter's Point. Johnny Jolly, a Cree from Mistassini, Quebec worked temporarily in the Department's He was a student studying architecture at Ottawa Technical school. A second large group came from Ontario: Doreen King, a clerk in Education, and Debbie Caldwell, a typist trainee, were Mohawks from Akwesasne; Shirley Maracle, a stenographer, was Mohawk from Tyendinaga, Ken Henry, was a Chippewa from Kettle Point; Nonna Tonnisco, a typist, came from Pikwakanagan. Shirley Daniels, a typist and Leo Yerxa a graphic artist, were both Ojibwa from reserves near Fort Frances, in northern Ontario. Russell C. Moses, a Delaware from the Grand River reserve in Ontario was hired as a roving editor for the *Indian News*.<sup>122</sup> Moses was a CBC radio personality, a host for *Indian Magazine*, a weekly program geared to northern Indians.<sup>123</sup> Julia King, of Akwesasne, Ontario worked was a summer student who worked as a typist. Two women came from Saskatchewan: Laura Wasacase of the Kakhewistahaw Reserve, an IMB computer operator;<sup>124</sup> and Jean Cuthand Goodwill, a Cree from the Little Pine Reserve. Jean was John Tootosis' daughter, but she had been adopted and raised by friends of the family after her mother's death.<sup>125</sup> She was hired as the co-editor of *The Indian News*.<sup>126</sup> Leonard S. Marchand, a member of the Okanagan Band, of B.C. became the first Indian to work as a special advisor to a Superintendent.<sup>127</sup> Mr. Gordon Miller, of Grand River worked as a government regulatory officer.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> "Indian Joins Staff of News" *Indian News* v 8 no 3 October 1965 p 1

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 p 6-7

<sup>125</sup> "Announcements" *Women's Education des femmes* v 2 no 1 September 1983 p 19

<sup>126</sup> "Woman's Page" *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>127</sup> "First Indian named Minister's Assistant" *Indian News* v 8 no 2. July 1965

<sup>128</sup> "Minister honours Indian Employees" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969

Between 1967 and 1970, some of the group left, while others were hired, replacing them or adding marginally to their numbers. Johnny Jolly and Julia King both returned to school, after spending the summer of 1968 in the Department. That year Shirley Maracle moved to Rochester and Debbie Caldwell transferred to the Department of National Defence.<sup>129</sup> In 1969, William J. Mussell, former chief of the Skwah Band, near Chilliwack BC was hired to replace Leonard Marchand as a special assistant to the Minister of Indian Affairs.<sup>130</sup> Len Marchand left the civil service after his election to the House of Commons as the member for Kamloops-Caribou in 1968.<sup>131</sup> Keith Miller, a Tuscarora of Grand River, was hired in as the editor of the *Indian News*<sup>132</sup> to replace Russell Moses, who'd been promoted to the position of Executive Assistant to the Assistant Deputy Minister of Social Affairs.<sup>133</sup>

In 1968, the Department opened its Cultural Affairs section, to promote Indian performers and writers. Ahab Spence, a Cree from the Split Lake Nation in northern Manitoba was hired to head the new section.<sup>134</sup> In 1969, when Jean Goodwill transferred to the Cultural Affairs in 1969, Morris Issac replaced her as co-editor. Isaac a Mi'kmaq of the Restigouche Reserve in Quebec, had been working in the information section of the Branch since 1968.<sup>135</sup> David Monture, A Mohawk from Grand River replaced Keith Miller as the editor of the *Indian News* in 1969. Other new additions to the Department included Thomas Hill and Leslie Smith, both from Grand River, who worked as an Industry Resources Promotional Officer and the Head of Accommodation and Works, respectively. James Powless worked as the Community Government, Band Council, and

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<sup>129</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 p 6-7

<sup>130</sup> "Special Assistant to the minister" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969 P 5

<sup>131</sup> "An interview with Len Marchand" *The Indian News* May 1971 p 4

<sup>132</sup> "Roving Editor Appointed." *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p 4

<sup>133</sup> "Minister Honours Indian Employees" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969

<sup>134</sup> "Ahab Spence Appointed to Cultural Affairs" *The Indian News* November, 1968

<sup>135</sup> "Co-editor appointed" *Indian News* v 12 no 2 May 1969

Band Administration Training Officer.<sup>136</sup> Of course, some of the old guard worked in the Department like Irene Hoff.<sup>137</sup> Although he worked in Mines and Resources, Gilbert Monture was, apparently, well known to the crew. He was also David Monture's uncle.<sup>138</sup>

Like the students, the civil servants trickled into the city, arriving under different circumstances. David Monture, grew up on the Grand River Reserve, the oldest of 9 children. His father was from Grand River, his mother from the New York side of the Akwesasne reserve. His childhood home did not have a telephone until 1960, nor electricity, although some of the wealthier families on reserve did. By the time Monture was growing up, the reserve had a number of educated people, he was taught in the day school by mostly Indian teachers. The school also had an Indian superintendent. The reserve was modern, and had its own hospital, the Lady Wellington Indian Hospital, but as Monture recalls, the roads and infrastructure were poor. The Longhouse supported sports and Monture was encouraged to play baseball.

He attended the Hagersville High School in nearby Brantford and, after graduation; he took shift work at wallboard plant in the town, along side his father and an uncle. Other employment choices on the reserve included harvesting tobacco or fruits. A large number of boys left the reserve to work in high steel, as three of his brothers did. A steel factory in Hamilton also employed some men from the reserve. At the age of 19, Monture decided to try to find work in Ottawa, because "it was gainful employment and all, but I was not quite prepared to become a lifer" in the plant. <sup>139</sup> Monture already had relatives in Ottawa. His father's sister Helen worked as a nurse in Ottawa. She was also married to Russell Moses. The couple offered their home to Monture while he searched for work. His great uncle Gilbert still lived in town, and Monture visited him too. The

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<sup>136</sup> "Minister honours Indian Employees" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969

<sup>137</sup> "Army Commission Gained by First Indian Woman" *Indian News* v 5 no 2 December 1961

<sup>138</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16, 2005.

<sup>139</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16, 2005

thirty year secrecy ban was still in effect, so they never spoke much about the war, but Gilbert would tell his nephew stories about his work in Indonesia and other places he'd traveled. <sup>140</sup>

Janet Morris, of Eskasoni, aged 19 in 1965, was a middle child among eight siblings. As a young girl, she traveled 13 miles to her school in East Bay by bus. She was a member of the girl guides and the 4-H club. Her father Edward Morris and two elder brothers worked as carpenters. Her mother ran a store-restaurant and made Mi'kmaq baskets on the side. Morris never learned to make the baskets herself and regretted it: "It takes a very special feeling and although I worked hard I never made anything really good." At the age of 14, she'd won the title of "Miss Micmac," at a beauty contest held on the nearby Big Cove reserve. She attended the Cape Breton Business College in Sydney, graduating in 1965, and, shortly afterwards joined the Indian Department staff in headquarters. The transition was apparently easy for her as she commented: "Ottawa is a very friendly place. I have met several girls in the city while bowling at lunch counters and elsewhere and I have visited them in their homes." On the side, Morris was an artist and her work had been displayed in Sydney and Toronto. <sup>141</sup>

Ahab Spence, born on the Split Lake reserve in Manitoba's far north, was the sole survivor of 12 children. He lost 11 siblings during the flu epidemics of 1918 and 1922. His father was a trapper and never learned to speak English, but was eager for his son to learn.<sup>142</sup> At the age of 10, Spence entered the Mackay Indian Residential School, 300 miles from home.<sup>143</sup> Afterwards he moved to Mortlach Saskatchewan, residing with the Rev. HMC Grant, while he attended school in Prince Albert.<sup>144</sup> He'd later admit that he'd had some bad times in residential school, but he also sympathized with the missionaries, pointing out that their schools were poorly funded. He added

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid

<sup>141</sup> "This time she really is!" *The Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965 p 1

<sup>142</sup> "Ahab Spence Appointed to Cultural Affairs" *The Indian News* November 1968 p 4

<sup>143</sup> "An Interview with Ahab Spence" *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>144</sup> "Ahab Spence Appointed to Cultural Affairs" *The Indian News* November 1968 p 4

that he'd rather remember the good times, like the Christmas parties the staff organized for students.<sup>145</sup> He could still speak and write Cree after graduating from residential school.<sup>146</sup> Next, he attended Emmanuel College, an Anglican Divinity University in Saskatoon, graduating with a Licentiate in Theology in 1937. In 1940, he married Elizabeth Bear of the Little Red River Reserve in Saskatchewan, and worked as a missionary and a teacher on reserves in northern Saskatchewan for 25 years. During that time, he took five courses by correspondence with the University of Saskatchewan, earning a B.A. in 1952. Spence was 56 and had six children by the time he and his family moved to Ottawa in 1968.<sup>147</sup>

Despite their differences, the workers found that they had much in common. For one, they were a young crew. Of approximately 37 or so Indians working in the department between 1965 and 1969, only six were more than 30 years of age. The civil servants were also a well-educated group, all of them had completed high school, still rare for Indians, and most held or were working on post-secondary degrees. For example, Janet Morris had a business college certificate.<sup>148</sup> Leo Yerxa had graduated from the graphic design course at Algonquin College.<sup>149</sup> David Monture had just finished high school. Jean Goodwill graduated from the Holy Family Hospital in Prince Albert in 1954, and is thought to be the first aboriginal to graduate from a nursing program in Saskatchewan.<sup>150</sup> William J. Mussell, was the first member of the Skwah band to graduate from high school and receive a university degree.<sup>151</sup> Ahab Spence had degrees in theology and a B.A.<sup>152</sup> Morris Isaac had earned a business certificate at O'Sullivan Business College in Montreal, and was one of seven Indians who trained with the National Film Board's Company of Young

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<sup>145</sup> "An Interview with Ahab Spence" *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>146</sup> "Ahab Spence Appointed to Cultural Affairs" *The Indian News* November 1968 p 4

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>148</sup> "This time she really is!" *The Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965 p 1

<sup>149</sup> "Promising future for Graphic Artist." *The Indian News* v 11 no 5 December 1968 p 5

<sup>150</sup> "Indian Women" *Saskatchewan Indian* March 1989 p 12

<sup>151</sup> "Special Assistant to the minister" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969 p 5

<sup>152</sup> "An Interview with Ahab Spence" *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

Canadians in 1968.<sup>153</sup> Keith Miller was a graduate of the Pauline Johnson Collegiate in Brantford Ontario.<sup>154</sup> Len Marchand had a Master's of Science Degree in agriculture from the University of Idaho.<sup>155</sup> A number of the young women had taken or were enrolled in business courses.<sup>156</sup>

The group also shared a sense of social consciousness about conditions back home. Most of the Headquarters staff had been socially or politically active in some way before joining the Department. They also visited home on holidays as many still had parents and other relatives on reserve. Before joining the Department, Morris had organized youth dances at Eskasoni. After she left one of her brothers, Adrian took over. Proceeds from the dances raised funds for the reserve's volunteer fire brigade. Most of Janet Morris' family still lived at Eskasoni.<sup>157</sup> Similarly, Charlotte O'Brien co-organized a youth club, called 'Little Beavers' at Mistassini before she joined the Department. The club held social gatherings, showed movies and generally tried to organize a social life for youth in the community. She remained concerned about conditions back home, such as poor housing, sanitation, and road access.<sup>158</sup> Before he joined the Department, Morris Isaac of Restigoushe had run for band council. His mother still lived on reserve.<sup>159</sup> Leo Yerxa had illustrated a book, "What They Used to Tell About" based on Naskapi and Montagnais legends. He still visited home and had family on reserve. When he went home he also made a point of collecting his treaty money, saying it was a token thing now, but that he picked up the cheque, "almost out of spite."<sup>160</sup> Keith Miller had worked in the Canadian Indian Centre in Toronto. He had also worked a Community Development Officer in the Bruce Indian Agency, and had spent the summer helping Indians, who'd been relocated by the Department to harvest fruit, ease the transition to living

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<sup>153</sup> "Co-editor appointed" *Indian News* v 12 no 2 May 1969

<sup>154</sup> "Roving Editor Appointed." *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p 4

<sup>155</sup> "First Indian named Minister's Assistant." *Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965

<sup>156</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 p 6-7

<sup>157</sup> "This time she really is!" *The Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965 p 1

<sup>158</sup> "The Three Cree" *Indian News* v 9 no 1 April 1966 p 1

<sup>159</sup> "Co-editor appointed" *Indian News* v 12 no 2 May 1969

<sup>160</sup> "An Interview with Leo Yerxa" *Indian News* v 13 no 8 November 1970 p 4

conditions in the South. His mother still resided on reserve.<sup>161</sup> Jean Goodwill had worked as a nurse, and delivered, almost single handedly, 50 babies in one year while posted at LaRonge, Saskatchewan. She left nursing because: "I felt that to go back to nursing would be a very confining thing, because I was more aware that all kinds of things could be done regarding Indian people." Next, she became involved with the NIC: "It was a small organization at that time, but still it was one of the many attempts Indian people made to form a national association."<sup>162</sup> She also spent some time working at the Winnipeg Friendship Centre. Her family, the Cuthands, still lived on reserve.<sup>163</sup> Leonard Marchand helped found the Mika-Nika Club at Kamloops (a friendship club) in 1960, and had been a member of the NAIB.<sup>164</sup> Aside from his work as a missionary and teacher, Ahab Spence had previously worked as the National Chairman on Education for the Indian Eskimo Association of Canada. He and his wife still took their children home for visits, and had lived there at times.<sup>165</sup> William J. Mussell worked as the Secretary Treasurer of the NAIB in 1959. He'd also served as the chief of his band. At the time of his appointment to the Department, he was the Vice President of the NAIB.<sup>166</sup>

No doubt, some of the people working in the Department saw the job only as a means to earn their bread and butter, but the majority seemed to feel working in the Department could make life better for folks back home. In 1966, two women living at Kitigan Zibi, Pauline Decontie and Bernice McGregor had started an Algonquin language class at the Algonquin Centre.<sup>167</sup> They were concerned that youth, who now attended school in nearby Maniwaki, were losing their language. In 1970, Shirley Tolley of Kitigan Zibi was a student working in the Department in Ottawa. Bernice

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<sup>161</sup> "Roving editor appointed." *Indian News* v 9 no 4 December 1966 p 4

<sup>162</sup> "Woman's Page" *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>163</sup> "Woman's Page" *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>164</sup> "First Indian named Minister's Assistant" *Indian News* v 8 no 2 July 1965

<sup>165</sup> "An Interview with Ahab Spence" *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>166</sup> "Special Assistant to the minister" *Indian News* v 11 no 7 March 1969 p 5

<sup>167</sup> Stephen McGregor, *Since Time Immemorial* p 318

McGregor's efforts back home inspired Tolley to become a linguist with the Department. Tolley returned home for a time to make recordings of the Algonquin language.<sup>168</sup> In 1970, Kitigan Zibi Chief Ernest McGregor asked the Department for program monies to save the language. The idea was to secure money for teacher's training and salaries to train a few Algonquins to teach the language in the town school.<sup>169</sup> Shirley joined the community in pressuring the local school board to allow the language program. In 1972 the school board agreed – the *Indian News* reported the school officials welcomed the idea, while residents at Kitigan Zibi recall the project took some coaxing. Indian Affairs agreed to pay three teachers to work in four schools in Maniwaki, and teach the language for twenty minutes a week. The school counted the course as a social studies credit.<sup>170</sup>

Similarly, Leo Yerxa's designs promoted handy crafts. He said took special care in his design: "These people work when they can – say, when they have a moose handy – so I feel it's important that if they take all this time in producing an article and sending it to Ottawa, we should be doing a proper job of promoting and selling it."<sup>171</sup> Having come from a community whose economy depended on trapping, Yerxa, no doubt understood the labour that went into handicrafts.

Ahab Spence was, among other things, an environmentalist. He recalled how his father, who'd lived by the chase, blamed the arrival of outboard motors for the depletion of fish in a nearby lake. In 1970, Spence commented that was one reason he wanted to bring the Cultural Department in an environmental direction. He added that the old ways of hunting and fishing had been

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<sup>168</sup> "Algonquin Language Taught in Maniwaki Schools" *Indian News* June 1972 p 9

<sup>169</sup> Stephen MacGregor, *Since time Immemorial* p 318

<sup>170</sup> "Algonquin Language Taught in Maniwaki Schools" *the Indian News* June 1972 p 9; Stephen MacGregor, *Since time Immemorial* p 318

<sup>171</sup> "An Interview with Leo Yerxa" *Indian News* v 13 no 8 p 4

sustainable: “ the whole attitude and mentality today seems to be ‘if I don’t get it now it might be gone tomorrow.’ Well, we are about to lose tomorrow.”<sup>172</sup>

Some workers believed they could change the Department from the inside out, forcing changes to service, policies and practices. In 1970, Andrew Bear Robe, then 28, joined the Department as an Indian Consultation Officer. He’d received his early education at residential school, then obtained an accounting certificate from Mont Royal Junior College. He’d also taken university courses in sociology and political science. Before joining headquarters, Bear Robe had worked for a year as the Calgary Friendship Centre’s Executive Director. He argued that if more Indians worked in the department, folks back home would get better services:

...our function is to help Indian bands and associations get the best possible aid from government departments in their new role of self-determination... the more Indian people we have in various government departments the better it will be for the Indians of Canada.<sup>173</sup>

A small, but very visible victory for the staff, involved the *Indian News*. When Russell Moses took the position of editor, he stated he wanted the paper to be more than a propaganda organ for the Department. He joined the staff only after officials in the Department convinced him the paper was genuinely meant to help Indian people.<sup>174</sup> He seems to have challenged this point almost immediately. The first story he wrote involved a relocation-for-work project that brought a group of Cree workers brought south from James Bay to pick fruit. Moses quoted Henry Jahnke, a white fruit farm manager, as saying:

The Indian problem is not the problem of the Indian or the whiteman but has developed through the manner in which the Indian Affairs Branch has administered its policy in the past. The Indian People have not been encouraged to help themselves, and so we have the present problem as it exists today.<sup>175</sup>

It was the first criticism of the Department ever printed in the *Indian News*.

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<sup>172</sup> “An Interview with Ahab Spence” *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>173</sup> “An Interview with Andrew Bear Robe” *Indian News* March 1970

<sup>174</sup> “Indian Joins Staff of News” v 8 no 3 October 1965 p 1

<sup>175</sup> “Indians come south to save fruit crop” *The Indian News* v 8 no 3 October 1965 p 1

When Keith Miller took over the editor's position, he found he was not as free as he wished to control the editorial content. He later commented:

Even before my arrival on the Ottawa scene, a system of undeniable censorship was in effect, prohibiting a clear and concise view of what was taking place on the native scene. I can cite many instances of having to re-edit articles because certain phrases made your department aware of its mishandling of Indian affairs. As a result the Indian editors took the blame, merely because they happened to be put in positions which everyone assumed carried all the elements of decision-making powers.<sup>176</sup>

Jean Goodwill joined the *Indian News* as a co-editor in 1966, and found that almost every director scrutinized the material before they published it. She colluded with Keith Miller and “started pushing for a little more freedom to write things – because there were so many other things that could be put in that paper rather than just departmental stuff. We started opening up ways of putting in all kinds of material.”<sup>177</sup>

David Monture continued the push when he took over as editor in 1969. In 1970, he asked readers to write in and tell him if they thought the *Indian News* was unbiased, or merely departmental propaganda. Most people who replied voted for the latter.<sup>178</sup> When leaders voiced their opposition to the Indian policy of 1969, Monture insisted on running a series of their opinions in the paper. “I just stood up to the Directors and insisted,” he recalls. “I think it made the paper more credible.”<sup>179</sup> By 1971, the paper boasted it had overcome the days when it could when it could only write “bland niceties” about Indians.<sup>180</sup> By then, most of the ‘departmental news’ had been pushed aside in favour of NIB news, and stories about regional Indian organizations. In 1971, Andrew Delisle of the Indians of Quebec Association even wrote a letter thanking the *Indian News* for its coverage.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Keith Miller, “Letter to the Editor” *The Indian News* v 14 no 2 May 1971 p 3

<sup>177</sup> “Woman’s Page” *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>178</sup> “What do Indian people think of the Indian News” *Indian News* v 12 no 12 March 1970 p 3

<sup>179</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>180</sup> Keith Miller, “Letter to the Editor” *Indian News* v 14 no 2 May 1971 p 3

<sup>181</sup> Andrew Delisle, “Letter to the Editor” *Indian News* v 14 no 1 April 1971 p 3

Similarly, after Jean Goodwill transferred to the Cultural Division in 1969, she worked closely with the head of the literature section, Jim MacNeill on developing a cultural magazine called *Towow*.<sup>182</sup> The magazine promoted Indian culture through stories and art, but the paper was also meant to address fairness in the ownership of cultural information. As Jean Goodwill explained:

Up to that point I think Indian people had been giving away too much free information, not only for articles, but also to anthropologists who were getting degrees left right and center. We discovered many Indian writers and received a lot of enthusiastic support from schools, from universities, and from Indian people.<sup>183</sup>

Despite these good intentions, Indian civil servants also shared a unique kind of stress as they sometimes encountered mistrust from other Indians. Keith Miller first broached the topic in an editorial in the February 1969 issue of the *Indian News*:

I got to talking with a friend one morning over coffee, about Indians and the problems which they confront everyday. This friend happens to be an Indian, like myself, and before long the issue had been turned around to ourselves and the problems faced by all Indians. Perhaps one difference that we do have is that we have learned the value of the Non-Indian society and have learned to live with it. No particular Tribe has a monopoly on this value learning as illustrated by the people of different tribes working here in the branch. I think parental upbringing coupled with long exposure to the non-Indian system has suited us to our present role with the branch. The question of whether or not we were in fact selling out to the non-Indian also came into focus. The logical answer to that was we are not any more doing that than a person who sells his particular skills to a factory or a high steel rigger who sells his to a steel erecting company. Because we work here doesn't make us any less Indian than he who stays and commutes to his job off the reserve. It's certainly the wish of those working here that more attention be paid to what we represent rather than become the focus of a few derogatory words which looks and sounds good from a few firebrands. One of the faults that stands out with us is that we don't spend as much time on our reserves as we would like. This is perhaps the price we have to pay for our attitudes and aggression in the jobs we have. While we would like to call ourselves free agents and work independently on our own respective reserves there are limitations to how many people can do this. Also, let's face it we can't all lead marches nor are all of us capable of organizing bridge blockades. We feel that by working for the government we are contributing in a very minor way to the betterment of our people. This is considerably more than some people are doing.<sup>184</sup>

Around this time, the term 'Uncle Tomahawk' came into vogue, and seems to have struck a nerve with some in the Department. The term came up in several interviews featured in the

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<sup>182</sup> "Woman's Page" *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Keith R. Miller, "Editor's comment" *Indian News* v 11 no 6 February 1969 p 3

*Indian News* that year. According to Bear Robe the term Uncle Tomahawk was very derogatory: “based on the concept of an Indian being subservient to a white person without a mind of his own—a puppet...I think it was meant to be humorous, but today it has turned sour.”<sup>185</sup> He added:

I think it's erroneous to label native people who work for this department or any other federal department as Uncle Tomahawks or as people who have sold out. It's better to have people working in government departments who are knowledgeable about their fellow Indians' needs. ... Unfortunately, like all other civil servants with the Department of Indian Affairs my job is looked on very suspiciously by various Indian leaders. I'm hoping to prove their suspicions wrong.<sup>186</sup>

Jean Goodwill made the following distinction: “Being a civil servant is no real bad mark on anyone except that you get all kinds of criticism. ... if you believe in what you're doing and if it's not detrimental to any particular group of people. “<sup>187</sup> Ahab Spence thought the problem might be tied into a larger reserve-urban strain: “I am afraid a great gap also exists between the reserve people and the urban Indians. We have to do something about this situation.”<sup>188</sup> Even Leo Yerxa, who worked as a graphic designer, and who was in no way related to policy, noticed people were more skeptical of him since he'd taken work at Indian Affairs. In 1970 he commented: “Ten years ago I would have reacted the same way towards Department officials. Also because of the do-gooder approach of individuals in the past, many Indians are understandably turned off – the attitude of these people was condescending sympathy.”<sup>189</sup>

Another shared trait was a sense of ‘Indianness,’ a term that was becoming current among university students, but was not used by the workers themselves.<sup>190</sup> Whether or not the civil servants had a word for it, the sentiment existed. When Russell Moses began editing the *Indian News* he wrote that the feeling arose from common problems:

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<sup>185</sup> “An Interview with Andrew Bear Robe” *Indian News* March 1970

<sup>186</sup> “An Interview with Andrew Bear Robe” *Indian News* March 1970

<sup>187</sup> “Woman's Page” *Indian News* v 16 n 7 December 1973

<sup>188</sup> “An Interview with Ahab Spence” *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>189</sup> “An Interview with Leo Yerxa” *Indian News* v 13 no 8 p 4

<sup>190</sup> *Report of the First Canadian Indian Workshop* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1966) n.p. See the term as used in the forward.

Many of us in the southerly areas of Canada may have little in common with our northern brothers except that we are Indians – I do not say Mic Mac Cree Chipewyan or Salish, but Indians! That is what really matters for whether we live in the north, south, east or west, our basic problems are the same however much our ways of living may differ.<sup>191</sup>

Andrew Bear Robe believed the sense of identity was very old. He said that Indians had always welcomed each other during the Sundance, adding that:

I believe Indians are very sociably minded. They get together once in a while and it doesn't matter if you haven't met an Indian person before, or if he's from the other side of the country, as long as you know you are both Indians – you have a common bond which brings closeness. In the non-Indian society, you almost have to be in a clique in order to function socially and worry about what's in vogue with that group.<sup>192</sup>

It's probably, too much to ask a few young people commenting off-the cuff to come up with a definitive answer of why they related to each other as Indians. What's important is they acknowledged that they did.

The civil service group got to know each other in the department. They made friends and met over lunch at the cafeteria, met socially for drinks at pubs or in each other's homes. Monture recalls that they occasionally got involved in fund-raising activities. Volunteers would collect clothes



22. Ladies Broomball: Front row (Left to Right) Brenda King, Laura Delormier, Judy Scullion, Debbie Brown. (Back) Liz Seymour, Coach Pat Malloy, Angela Monture, Donna Gibson, Maria Thompson, Bev O'Connor, Angela Francis, Fanny King, Darlene Delormier. *Indian News* v 18 no 2 p 2

<sup>191</sup> "Indian Joins Staff of News" *Indian News* v 8 no 3 October 1965 p 1

<sup>192</sup> "An Interview with Andrew Bear Robe" *Indian News* March 1970

and blankets and sent them to northern communities.<sup>193</sup> In the early 1970s, they also formed some sports teams, organized through the Department, like women's and men's broomball, that competed with other local area teams. The teams were open to anyone in the Department, but were often composed mostly of Indians.<sup>194</sup>

Students and civil servants were not always separate groups; they crossed paths. Some students worked for a time in the Department and connected with the social activity among workers. Leo Yerxa's employment lasted several years. The Department was one of many places he applied for a job, as he and other graduates of his program were having difficulty finding work. The Department, initially, offered him work clipping newspapers items in the basement. Coincidentally, Russell Moses was looking for a graphic designer, and heard they had a qualified Indian in the basement. He invited Leo upstairs to work for him.<sup>195</sup> Summer work brought others into the Department. One of Leo's friend's from the Friday night club, Johnny Jolly of Mistassini, was hired into to Department for a few months in 1968.<sup>196</sup> Likewise, Julia King of Akwesasne who worked in the Department as a typist was a summer student.<sup>197</sup>

Some of the upgrading courses were held in the



23. Bowling,  
(Front) Lorna Anderson  
(Bckgd) Rebecca Beardy  
*Indian News* February, 1969 p 10

Indian Affairs building. For example, Laura Wasacase of the Kahewistahaw Reserve, the

<sup>193</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>194</sup> "DIAND Team Wins Championship in clean sweep" *Indian News* v 18 no 2 1977; David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>195</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 2005.

<sup>196</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 pp 6-7; Personal Interview, Leo Yerxa, January 18, 2005.

<sup>197</sup> *Indian News* v 11 no 3 1968 pp 6-7

Department's IMB computer operator,<sup>198</sup> taught a course in key punching in 1969. A group of five young women, aged 18 to 20, signed up for the course and spent several months in Ottawa: Rebecca Beardy Ojibwa of Bearskin lake, Jessie Cheechoo, Annie Butterfly, Margaret Louttit of Moose Factory, Lorna Anderson of Gordon's reserve in Saskatchewan. They met the staffers in the cafeteria and while they were studying in the department's library. During their stay, they were invited on tours of the Canadian mint,

the Parliament buildings and other sites. The staff also invited the women bowling.<sup>199</sup> Others who came into the city, knew each other from home. For example, in 1966, Mary Mianscum and Edna Neeposh of Mistassini, both



24. Cree Friends (Left to right) Mary Mianscum, Edna Neeposh and Charlotte O'Brien examine masks on a tour of the Department. *Indian News* v 9 p 1

attended school in Ottawa. Mary was enrolled in grade 12 at Ridgemont High School, while Edna studied at Laroque Business College. They both knew Charlotte O'Brien, a typist in the Department also from Mistassini. In fact, Edna had helped Charlotte form the 'Little Beaver's Club' back home. The trio hung out together in the city, watching movies, going to dances, or sight seeing. They spoke Cree when they were together.<sup>200</sup>



25. High school students at orientation course. Left to right, Kathleen Bearskin, Susan House, Margaret Paul-Martin and course Director Diane MacDougal.

In 1969, Ken and Jean Goodwill helped set up orientation courses for younger students attending school

<sup>198</sup> Ibid

<sup>199</sup> "Find Life in the City not all Work" *Indian News* v 11 no 16

<sup>200</sup> "The Three Cree" *Indian News* v 9 no 1 April 1966 p 1

in the city. The courses were designed to help students adjust to the urban environment and to provide advice on skills and 'approaches to life.' They held sessions in at the High School of Commerce every Saturday, usually showing a film, then following with discussion. Both male and female students received counseling on drugs alcohol, dating, family relationships and budgeting. Special sessions, for young women only, covered topics like beauty, charm, fashion, sex education, and career opportunities. About 80 high school students were in the city that year, but attendance at the course was optional.<sup>201</sup> The community at that time, as described by Monture, consisted of a "camaraderie and Indian people from different parts of the country meeting for the first time."<sup>202</sup>

In a strange way, the other group that had long been connected to Ottawa, the political group, were come-latelies to the Ottawa scene. They had often been present in the city, but not of it. The most recent group in town were Indian leaders on the National and Regional Advisory Boards who were invited in to offer opinions on government policy. Leaders did not consider the boards ideal. First, government bureaucrats picked the subject matter. Tweaking the Indian Act was often on the table. Other unresolved matters, for example land claims in B.C., were not part of the discussion. Leaders had not dropped these grievances; they were simply not on the government agenda.<sup>203</sup> In the 1960s, Frank Calder, the founder and former president of the Nisg'a Tribal Council, began fighting the Nisg'a land claim in court.<sup>204</sup> In part, the formation of the NIB was an attempt to wrest control of the agenda.<sup>205</sup>

At its conception, the NIB faced many of the same challenges that had broken its predecessor the NIC. The NIC had failed because it had not captured popular support, its attention

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<sup>201</sup> "Orientation course for Indian Students" *Indian News* May 1969 p 4

<sup>202</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>203</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 85

<sup>204</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 325

<sup>205</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 85

was divided between Métis, status Indians and non-status Indians, plus some regional organizations did not support it.<sup>206</sup> The twenty-eight Indian leaders who founded the NIB in an Ottawa hotel room in 1968, did so without popular support.<sup>207</sup> Leaders of regional organizations generally agreed that they should affiliate into a central lobby group that would be located in Ottawa. They had still not worked out the details. British Columbia had five regional organizations, and they had not agreed which organization would act as the NIB affiliate. By comparison, Newfoundland had no regional organization. Andrew Delisle, President of the Quebec Association, worried about how much power the central agency would have and held back.<sup>208</sup> In 1968, NIB existed as an agreement with no body and, importantly, no money. Walter Deiter, the first president (1968-1970) was mandated to work out the details and find funding.<sup>209</sup> As David Monture observed, Deiter “came to town with the National Indian Brotherhood in an envelop in his hip pocket.”<sup>210</sup> The founders of the NIB thought they’d have time to build it up slowly. The 1969 white paper policy changed everything.<sup>211</sup>

Generally, Indians believed they had special entitlements under land claims, treaties rights, and the Proclamation Act. In some cases, they believed they were part of a nation separate from Canada. They may have disagreed on specifics, but their conviction that they had special rights survived over a century-and-a-half of political oppression (see Chapter 3). Hawthorn picked up on this sentiment and expressed it in his 1966 report as ‘citizens plus,’ a term suggesting Indians should be afforded all the rights of Canadian citizens, plus some special rights, as charter members of Canada. While Indians leader generally agreed with Hawthorn,<sup>212</sup> there was no room

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<sup>206</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, “A Biography of Chief Walter Deiter” p 91; Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 60

<sup>207</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 85

<sup>208</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, “A Biography of Chief Walter Deiter” pp 98-100

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> David Monture Personal Interview January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>211</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* pp 99-100

<sup>212</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 363

for a 'plus' in Trudeau's concept of a 'just society.' Trudeau equated justice with equal rights, and the White Paper on Indian Policy, which was unveiled in 1969, was the ultimate expression of equality. The policy sought to eliminate the racism of the Indian Act. Indians would gain all the legal rights normally afforded Canadian citizens. As a by-product, the paper also eliminated the legal basis for all the special rights claimed by Indians. The paper proposed amending the BNA Act to eliminate the legal distinction of Indians, wiping out the Indian Act, and dissolving the Department of Indian Affairs over a five-year period. The treaties were dismissed as vague, minimal and meaningless promises. Indians across Canada rallied against the act. The outcry was not exactly unanimous, but very close. William Wuttunee, a Cree lawyer and former leader of the NIC was sympathetic to the equal rights proposal. He believed Indians should concentrate on securing better programs and services, rather than long-standing claims. Senator James Gladstone agreed. When the Department hired Wuttunee to promote the white paper to chiefs, he found himself banned from every reserve in Canada, including his own. <sup>213</sup> Gladstone decided to keep his opinions to himself. <sup>214</sup>

It's probably fair to say the NIB did not groom grassroots support, rather that they finally harnessed it. After the announcement of the white paper policy Indian leaders held a series of meetings, put aside some differences and organized more quickly than they'd planned. Dieter helped set up regional organizations in provinces that had none. Harold Cardinal, who'd returned to Alberta and secured the presidency of the IAA, published a response to the 'white paper' that was quickly dubbed the 'red paper.' The IAA's paper borrowed heavily on Hawthorn's 'citizen plus' concept, and the NIB adopted it as their official response. George Manuel and other leaders in BC negotiated a short-lived truce, uniting into the Union of B.C. Indians for the purposes of the NIB.

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid p 364-266

<sup>214</sup> Hugh Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader* p 204-206

The union lasted to 1975. Along with their political role, leaders became public figures in a flurry of media coverage. While most Canadians knew little of Indian's rights, what they could understand was a sense of fair play. The federal government had established the precedent of consulting Indian people in the post-war era, the 1969 white paper had broken the convention. There had been no significant consultation with Indian people in developing the policy. David Courchene, of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, told media:

Once again the future of Indian people has been dealt with in a high-handed manner. We have not been consulted we have been advised of decision already taken. I feel like a man who has been told he must die, and am now to be consulted on the methods of implementing that decision.<sup>215</sup>

Better late than never, a flurry of meetings and consultation between government, leaders and grassroots people followed. CBC's journalist Johnny Yesno commented that if he shot a bullet in the air he was sure to hit a plane with an Indian leader on the way to a meeting.<sup>216</sup> Trudeau met face-to-face with the leaders after the Red Paper was released. That was the first political meeting between Indian leaders and a Prime Minister in a hundred years.<sup>217</sup> The white paper was formally retracted on March 17, 1971. Trudeau conceded that government officials had been "naïve... too theoretical... too abstract... not pragmatic or understanding enough."<sup>218</sup>

Coincidentally, a few years later, in 1973, the Nisg'a land claim made it to the Supreme Court. The case had been lost at the B.C. Supreme Court. The justices ruled that if aboriginal rights had ever existed, they'd been extinguished by the enactment of whiteman's law. The Supreme Court disagreed. The case was lost again but this time on a technicality. Six of the justices ruled that aboriginal rights existed and continued to exist. The decision convinced Trudeau that Indians had rights beyond what he'd conceived in the White Paper.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> As quoted in Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 364

<sup>216</sup> "An Interview with Johnny Yesno" *Indian News* v 13 no 2

<sup>217</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3 June 1970

<sup>218</sup> As quoted in Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 365

<sup>219</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 325

The period 1969 to 1973 were formative years for the NIB. It transformed itself from a gentleman's agreement into a functional political organization with its own bureaucracy. In 1969, Dieter applied for \$120,000 in funding, and received \$60,000 for core funding. It was enough to open a small office in Ottawa,

employ one full-time secretary, and a small staff of less than a dozen people.<sup>220</sup> The funding did not equip them for legal counsel or public relations.<sup>221</sup> The battle of the white paper demonstrated to the government that it could no longer pass Indian policy without



26. NIB staff: Left to right, standing, Ramdeo Sampat-Mehta, James Brule, Ron Shackleton, Allan Jacobs Seated Marie Marule, George Manuel, Omar Peters, Jacquie Weitz, James Deacy. *Indian News* December 1971 p 3

consultation. It was easier to deal with a national or regional organization, than individual chiefs.<sup>222</sup>

Both the white paper and the Nishg'a decision caused a flurry of research into Indian affairs by government, academics and Indian people themselves.<sup>223</sup> Indian Affairs bolstered the NIB's funding by \$3.6 million to build up a research and administrative staff. Between 1971 and 1974 the NIB developed its own bureaucracy, including a National Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties, and policy advisors with portfolios mirroring those in the Indian Department, such as an education critic, a public service critic, public relations officers and legal counsel.<sup>224</sup>

During its formative years the NIB plugged into the Ottawa community socially and professionally. David Monture was probably the closest to the leaders. "As a youthful journalist I

<sup>220</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, "A Biography of Chief Walter Deiter" p 104

<sup>221</sup> Ibid

<sup>222</sup> Ibid

<sup>223</sup> Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* p 325

<sup>224</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, "A Biography of Chief Walter Deiter" pp 116-117

thought it was only fair to present the First Nations leaders' point of view around that termination policy proposal at that time," Monture recalls. He covered the NIB meetings for the *Indian News*.<sup>225</sup> Monture attended one of their early meetings at the Fort Garry Hotel in Winnipeg in 1969. On that occasion, Harold Cardinal asked Monture, as a government employee, to leave the room.<sup>226</sup>

Apparently, the leaders softened their opinion of Indians in the civil service over time. Monture found Cardinal more welcoming when they met again, in June, 1969, at a crowded Ottawa restaurant the day after the Red Paper was released, for an interview.<sup>227</sup> Monture says he was not the only one in the civil service who got to know the leaders: "there was a fair amount of communication between those who were in the Department and those who were coming to town for advocacy."<sup>228</sup> Leo Yerxa met leaders as they came to the Department for meetings. According to Leo Yerxa, it was fairly common for leaders to take the Indian civil servants out to lunch or for a coffee.<sup>229</sup> Leo did not know the leaders that well, he points out, because they were older, but he met George Manuel, Harold Cardinal, Andrew Delisle, Max Gros-Louis and later, Noel Starblanket. "They were very approachable," he recalls.<sup>230</sup> Indians in Ottawa also met the leaders when the NIB held meetings in the city. "In those days when the chiefs were in town for meetings most of the people in Ottawa would go and listen. I don't do that as much as I used to, but I do it once in a while, but in those days everything was just starting so it was very interesting," says Yerxa.<sup>231</sup> Yerxa met Harold Cardinal, at one of the meetings and they talked a bit about a book Cardinal was writing called *The Unjust Society*.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3, June 1970

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>228</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>229</sup> "An Interview with Leo Yerxa" *Indian News* v 13 no 8 November 1970 p 4

<sup>230</sup> Leo Yerxa Personal Interview January 18, 2005

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*

Part of the socializing was probably pragmatic on the part of the leadership. They were setting up an organization in Ottawa, and here they had stumbled on a group of young, educated, socially conscious bureaucrats who had inside experience with government. In 1969, Keith Miller left the Department to work at the Union of Ontario Indians, and then quickly resurfaced at the NIB as their government Liaison Officer.<sup>233</sup> Christine Deom, of Kahnawake also transferred from the Department to the NIB in 1969.<sup>234</sup> In 1970 Ahab Spence, left the Department and joined the MIB, first working on cultural and educational projects, and then rising to the position of executive director.<sup>235</sup> In 1974, he was elected Grand Chief.<sup>236</sup> David Monture recalls that when George Manuel won the presidency in 1971, he came to Ottawa to establish a more permanent funding arrangement. Manuel approached Monture asking him to work for the NIB. Monture hesitated, because he was still only 20, had only a high school education, and didn't feel he knew enough about government to contribute. He left Ottawa to study at university in 1973 and returned a year later.<sup>237</sup> He finally made the leap in 1977, joining the NIB as President Noel Starblanket's Special Assistant.<sup>238</sup> As Monture recalls:

One time I got on a plane in Saskatoon with George, who I knew socially, and we had a long talk and by the time I got off the plane in Ottawa I was writing a letter for George's signature to the chairman of the Public Service Commission. Then, within a day, I was writing a letter back from the Chairman to George, appointing me to the National Indian Brotherhood to travel to Finland with George Manuel to do some work relating to the World Council of Indigenous People. I even had the Chairman of the Public Service Commission- he secured me a green diplomatic passport on that occasion. Once I had that experience, traveling with George Manuel... I decided that maybe I was in a position to consider employment with the national organization.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Patricia-Anne Dieter, "A Biography of Chief Walter Deiter" p 113; "Keith Miller takes new position." *Indian News* v 12 no 8 November 1969 p 3

<sup>234</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 99; David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>235</sup> "An Interview with Ahab Spence" *Indian News* April 1970 p 4

<sup>236</sup> "Dr Ahab Spence Elected new head of MIB" *Indian News* v 16 no 10 March 1974

<sup>237</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3 June 1970

<sup>238</sup> David Monture, Resume

<sup>239</sup> "An Interview with Harold Cardinal" *Indian News* v 13 no 3 June 1970

Leo Yerxa stayed with the department, but also did work for the NIB: "It was on the side. I did other things like stylist painting at the time too. So long as there wasn't any conflict of interest. I wasn't doing anything at the NIB that was interfering with my work at the department."<sup>240</sup>

Similarly, Dieter cultivated a relationship with students who worked for the Department during the initial shock of the white paper. In 1969, about 69 students were working as community Development workers. The Community Development Program (CD) had been set up by the department to train Indians to manage their own communities.<sup>241</sup> This was in keeping with the Department's withdrawal program, set up to train reserves to become self-governing municipalities (see Chapter 4). Usually Indian CD workers were paired with a non-Indian supervisor. After receiving some social theory training, workers were parachuted into a community, usually not their own. George Manuel had joined the program in 1966. According to Manuel they were seen as civil servants and, at least initially, not trusted by the community they'd been sent to serve. While the Department had set up the program to help communities train managers, CD workers became social activists instead. Manuel, himself, helped organize a well-publicized protest over poor housing conditions that proved embarrassing to the Department.<sup>242</sup>

Most of the students working for the CD program were upset by the 1969 termination policy. They called an emergency conference in Ottawa in August 1969. Fifty-nine students attended, including 15 students who worked in headquarters. Indian Affairs bureaucrats rushed in to assure the students that the white paper policy was only a thought, and would not necessarily be implemented. The group invited Walter Deiter to the conference, to discuss the aims and objectives of the National Indian Brotherhood. They discussed forming a national student organization that could work with the NIB, and set up a student liaison committee that was key in organizing

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<sup>240</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 1005

<sup>241</sup> "Indian Students Speak out" v 12 no 6 September 1969; Personal Interview David Monture January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>242</sup> George Manuel, *Fourth World* pp 133-136

resistance to the white paper.<sup>243</sup> Dieter nurtured a relationship with some of the students. He joined the students at the Traviata Tavern, where they hung out after work, and talked about 'the cause'. A number of the students helped him build up support for regional organizations. One of the students, Ron Shackleton, a Mohawk, became Dieter's special assistant in the NIB.<sup>244</sup>

The NIB also attracted new people into the Ottawa community. Marie Marule a Blood from Alberta, who'd been working overseas in Zambia had recently settled in Ottawa. She was married to Jacob Marule a black South African activist. She joined the NIB in 1969.<sup>245</sup> Omer Peters was born on the Moraviantown Indian Reserve in Ontario. He'd been a chief and councilor of his band, and in 1939, he served as a flight sergeant in the Canadian Armed Forces. Upon his return, he'd help transform the Grand General Council into the Union of Ontario Indians, and served as its president. In 1970, he was elected vice-president of the NIB. He retired from the position of vice-president in 1974, and served on the NIB's council of elders until his death.<sup>246</sup> Clive Linklater of the Couchiching Reserve near Fort Frances, Ontario, was educated at the Lebrét residential school in Saskatchewan, where he became president of the student body. He went on to attend teachers college in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan and taught at Garner College in Ontario, and the Blue Quill's residential School.<sup>247</sup> As early as 1962, he suspected the government's integration policy was mimicking the termination policy in the U.S. (see chapter 4) and he wrote a sharp critique for the *Indian News*. Did letting the Indian take 'his rightful place in society' mean abolishing the reserves and giving up Indian culture to live "in the ghettos of white society?" he asked.<sup>248</sup> From 1964 to 1969, he worked in the community development program, then left to join the IAA as an education

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<sup>243</sup> "Indian Students Speak out" v 12 no 6 September 1969; David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>244</sup> Peter MacFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 99; David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>245</sup> Peter MacFarlane *Brotherhood to Nationhood* p 132

<sup>246</sup> "N.I.B. Honours Indian Leaders" *Saskatchewan Indian* v 8 no 9 p 6 September 1978

<sup>247</sup> "N.I.B. Honours Indian Leaders" *Saskatchewan Indian* v 8 no 9 September 1978 p 6

<sup>248</sup> "Clive Linklater: The worried Indian" *Indian News* v 5 no 4 April 1962

consultant. In 1972, he joined the NIB as an executive assistant to George Manuel, then the executive director until 1974 when he was elected vice-president.<sup>249</sup>

There was a fair amount of socializing between some of the civil servants and the NIB staff. Leo Yerxa remembers meeting Marie Marule at a picnic held for staff of the two organizations. "I think we all knew each other because there were fewer of us. Its not like it is now when there are thousands of us. There were maybe hundreds, and the community was much, much smaller so in those days."<sup>250</sup> Marule hosted parties at her house in Aylmer. She and her husband introduced CIDA bureaucrats and people working at African embassies into the mix. David Monture offered a peek inside one of the parties in the *Indian News* in 1969:

We have a group of well-dressed people sitting around in a party atmosphere. The place is a modern townhouse. The people had been received by the governor-general earlier in the evening. They were in the city for a meeting . Stories began with drinks in hand. There was much laughter, They talked of the war, the West Coast, Winnipeg, sports and ice fishing. The conversation turned serious, the talk was now of *a people* (more drinks in hand) They had to go to work the next day. It was getting late. There was a period of argument. A chairman spoke and there was order again. But always there was laughter. The older men spoke – others listened. And so it went on until 2 am. Someone remarked it was only 10 o'clock back home. And then from one of the older men: "You know, when we were young, all this would have turned into a brawl." The people proceeded to leave.<sup>251</sup>

Finally, in 1972, the community made a permanent space for itself in the city. The Odawa Friendship Centre, was intended to build a social space for the existing community, but also to include newcomers who were outside the community circle. The four founders of the Centre were especially concerned with creating a gathering space for students. Gordon Miller, who'd worked as a civil servant since the mid 1960s, Edith Whetung a Mississauga of New Credit, who'd joined the Department in 1970, and Clive Linklater of the NIB, were involved in organizing dances and social

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<sup>249</sup> "N.I.B. Honours Indian Leaders" *Saskatchewan Indian v 8 no 9* September 1978 p 6

<sup>250</sup> Leo Yerxa, Personal Interview, January 18, 1005

<sup>251</sup> "An Incident" *Indian News v 12 no 8* November 1969 p 5

for students, which usually required renting a hall.<sup>252</sup> Edith and Clive were also both former teachers. Edith worked in Education for the Department, while Clive held the education portfolio at the NIB.<sup>253</sup> When Clive published the NIB policy Paper *Indian Control of Indian Education*, Edith praised it as the “most significant document in the history of Indian education and... the crux of the development and emancipation of the Indian people.”<sup>254</sup> Father Whelan, who had taken over supervising the Friday night club, was the fourth founder. Around 1970, they formed a committee to organize and lobby for a Friendship Centre. Aside from providing a social space for students they wanted to extend help and services to newcomers in the city. Whetung noted that many newcomers lacked the language skills to secure services in Ottawa.<sup>255</sup>

Establishing a Friendship Centre in Ottawa was more evolutionary than revolutionary. By 1970, 32 Friendship Centres had been established and were operating in other cities. About a dozen of the earliest centres opened their doors between 1962 and 1964.<sup>256</sup> Generally, the centers started out as Indian Clubs. For example, the Friendship Centre in Toronto (1962), evolved from a Youth Club initiated by employment officers at the Department’s Toronto office in 1958. The club was informal, meeting every Wednesday alternating their activities between sports and social events.<sup>257</sup> In Calgary, a group of about 120 students organized the Calumet Club in 1958, and the Ninaki Club for Indian women, began meeting at the YMCA a few year later. Finally, in 1963, Calgary’s Native Friendship Centre Club began meeting once a month, rotating the location

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<sup>252</sup> David Monture, Personal Interview, January 16<sup>th</sup> 2005

<sup>253</sup> “N.I.B. Honours Indian Leaders” *Saskatchewan Indian*, v 8 no 9 September 1978 p 6

<sup>254</sup> Edith Whetung, “Guest Editorial” *Indian News* v 15 no 9 April 1973 p 1

<sup>255</sup> “Odawa Friendship Centre Helps Transition to City Life” *Indian News* v 1 no 8 1975

<sup>256</sup> “Friendship Centers and Clubs make Indians Feel at home” *Indian News* v 7 no 1 December 1963; “Lack of Funds Hampers Friendship Centres” *Indian News* September 1976 p 3 “Friendship Centers hold national conference” *Indian News* v 13 no 6 September 1970 p 6

<sup>257</sup> “Young People Organize Toronto Calgary Clubs” *Indian News* v 3 no 2 October 1958 p 2

between the city and the nearby Blackfoot, Cree, and Stony reserves.<sup>258</sup> Indian and Métis youth organized a club in Saskatoon in 1962. Most of the youth involved in the club, about 80, were university students, another 20 had jobs in the city.<sup>259</sup> A few years later Walter Dieter helped remake the club into a Friendship Centre.<sup>260</sup> Friendship Centres were a logical progression of Indian Clubs, as Indians needed space in the city to hold their events. Generally, Friendship Centres hosted social, cultural, and sports activities. For example, the Regina Centre offered course in the Cree language, and a Centre in Le Pas had a craft room. The Toronto Friendship Centre had a swimming pool and library.<sup>261</sup>

Friendship Centres quickly turned into social service centers. Most Indians entering cities were not faring well. They lacked sufficient education to find jobs, and some carried social problems, like alcoholism with them into the city. According to one report, half of the 40,000 aboriginal people living in Vancouver in 1977 had a problem with alcoholism.<sup>262</sup> A health and welfare counselor operated out of the Toronto Centre. The centre in Kenora was essentially a hostel with a games room. In 1962, more than 500 Indians stayed there, at a rate of one dollar a night. Most centres offered services to help newcomers adjust to life in the city, such as help in finding a job, or housing.<sup>263</sup>

The first centres opened on donations and ran on volunteerism. In 1963, the Optimist Club in London, Ontario, loaned space in a building on Oxford Street to about 30 students rent-free for three years. Some other centres secured donations from nearby reserves, church groups or

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<sup>258</sup> "Young People Organize Toronto Calgary Clubs" *Indian News* v 3 no 2 October 1958 p 2; "Friendship Centers and Clubs make Indians Feel at home" *Indian News* v 7 no 1 December 1963

<sup>259</sup> "Native League in Saskatoon" *Indian News* v 6 no 2 p 5

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid* p 58

<sup>261</sup> "Friendship Centres and Clubs make Indians Feel at home" *Indian News* v 7 no 1 December 1963

<sup>262</sup> "Vancouver Teeming with Social Problems" *Indian News* v18 no 2 June 20, 1977

<sup>263</sup> "Friendship Centres and Clubs make Indians Feel at home" *Indian News* v 7 no 1 December 1963

concerned residents.<sup>264</sup> In 1962, the Friendship Centres began holding national conferences. By the late 1960s, most centers received some funding from the Secretary of State, municipalities or the provinces. For example in Ontario, Friendship Centres received grants from the province and the Canadian federation of University women.<sup>265</sup> Still, the centres often found themselves short of funds. The government provided monies for core funding; the centres received little if any funding for service programs. At a national conference in 1968, they formed a national steering committee, which eventually evolved into the National Association of Friendship Centres. The aim of the steering committee was to lobby for, and co-ordinate funding initiatives. Andrew Bear Robe, who had been the Calgary Friendship Centre's Executive Director before taking a job as an Indian consultation officer in the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, 1970, was elected as the Chair of the National Steering Committee from 1968 to 1971.<sup>266</sup> In 1972, the Secretary of State offered \$25 million over five years to operate programs, but stalled on distributing the funds, so that two years later less than \$7million had been distributed.<sup>267</sup>

Establishing a Friendship Centre was not unprecedented, but it was still a slow process. The four founders fund-raised in the Indian community, nearby reserves, social and church organizations. They approached the city, the province and the federal government to secure permission to open the centre. The NCC provided an old heritage building on Waller Street, rent-free for three years. When the three years ended the community scrambled to find a new location. They moved to an old school on Bank Street. When they had trouble paying the mortgage they relocated to 396 McLaren, and, finally, to an old school on Stirling Avenue.<sup>268</sup> The Centre offered

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<sup>264</sup> "Friendship Centers and Clubs make Indians Feel at home" *Indian News* v 7 no 1 December 1963; "Lack of Funds Hampers Friendship Centres" *Indian News* September, 1976 p 5

<sup>265</sup> "Friendship Centers hold national conference" *Indian News* v 13 no 6 September 1970 p 6

<sup>266</sup> "Friendship Centres hold national conference" *Indian News* v 13 no 6 September 1970 p 6; "On the question of Friendship Centres" *Indian News* v 11 no 5 December 1968 p 4

<sup>267</sup> "Lack of Funds Hampers Friendship Centres" *Indian News* September 1976 p 5

<sup>268</sup> Charlie Hill, Personal Interview, January 11<sup>th</sup> 2005

social services like job counseling, but also started sports teams, that competed in local leagues.<sup>269</sup>

The annual powwow, first held in the summer of 1976, would become one of its most successful events. Jean and Ken Goodwill, who'd been absent from Ottawa for a few years, had returned to town, and helped organize the event.<sup>270</sup> It cost \$20,000 to host, with some of the money raised through raffles, socials, government grants, and private donations although most of the money was made through admission fees at the gate.<sup>271</sup> The social community in Ottawa now had a permanent home. For newcomers it was a signpost,



27. Jean Goodwill at the Odawa Powwow  
*Indian News* v 18 no 3 p 8

where they could seek out company or help if they chose. As Charlie Hill, a Mohawk of Grand River, who moved to Ottawa and who has been involved with the Friendship Centre since 1976, explains:

All this activity was going on at the end of the 1960s, early 70s, and there was more and more people coming in from the outlying areas and reserves that were isolated communities who felt they could benefit from having other people to associate with that – you know – instead of associating with non-Native people or trying to fit in. If you meet with your own people it kind of eases the transition from that life to this life. And also, there's the question of social support and referrals and job hunting and things like that. Housing. The intent was that the Friendship Centre would be a point of referral for all that stuff.

The students and civil servants in Ottawa's urban Indian community often came to Ottawa as individuals and met through their connection to Indian Affairs. They also met the itinerant political community of leaders, who were just starting to make a base in the town. The students had come to the town for education, the civil servants came to work, and the leaders came on political

<sup>269</sup> "Odawa Friendship Centre Helps Transition to City Life" *Indian News* v 1 no 8 1975

<sup>270</sup> "...100 years of silence" *Indian News*, v 18 no 3

<sup>271</sup> "National Capital Powwow" v 20 no 3 July 1979 p 11

business with the government. When the three groups intersected they found they had much in common. They tended to be educated, socially conscious about conditions back home, and they shared an identity as Indians. Proximity and common traits led them to seek out each other's company. The establishment of the Odawa Friendship Centre gave their community a space in the city, and allowed them to extend their community to newcomers who they may not have met through the Department.

The community also retained a mobile element. Students might only be in the city for a short time, politicians moved from their Ottawa base back into the regions, and civil servants sometimes joined one of the political organizations. Added to this, the early personal networks and kinship ties to home often continued, meaning that while the community was situated in the town, individuals could belong to more than one community, and have connections to communities far beyond city boundaries. Not every Indian living in the city participated in the community, and the ways individuals experienced the community could vary. Three brief profiles of individuals who have lived in Ottawa's urban Indian community show the range of experiences.

Bruce Spence was born in 1955 in Maidstone, Saskatchewan, forty miles north of Battleford. He first came to Ottawa for two years 1968-70, aged 14, when his father, Ahab Spence, took work at the Indian Department. He attended school in Bayshore, then Bell's Corners. He only met one other aboriginal youth, Jim Sutherland, a Métis from Manitoba. They met again after Bruce moved to Winnipeg (when Ahab Spence transferred to the MIB.) When Bruce visited Jim's people in Manitoba, he discovered some of them were related to his wife.<sup>272</sup>

Bruce returned to Ottawa in 1978, when he secured a summer job as a reporter for *The Indian News*. He can remember riding the bus down Bank Street and seeing an Indian girl on the side of the road: "I remember seeing this girl, and she had a great big cowboy hat on, and it had a

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<sup>272</sup> Personal Interview. Bruce Spence February 03, 2005.

great big eagle feather. I remember thinking , hmm.. I guess there are Indians around here.”<sup>273</sup> At Indian Affairs, Bruce connected to the Indian civil servants. They socialized after work in pubs, or playing on sports teams for the Friendship Centre. He can recall people passing the hat through the Department to raise money for the Friendship Centre when it needed funds to move from Bank Street to a “nicer” building: “everybody banded together and they had concerts and dances and everyone banded together to raise money. And it worked.”

Just as Bruce’s contract at Indian Affairs ran out, he bumped into Noel Starblanket, then the president of the NIB. Bruce knew Noel, not only as a public figure, but as a family friend. Two of Bruce’s older siblings knew Starblanket both socially and politically. When Starblanket heard that Bruce’s contract was finishing, he offered Bruce a job at the NIB’s newspaper. Bruce worked there for a year, before leaving the city to study journalism in London.<sup>274</sup> Bruce describes the aboriginal community in town at that time as:

Affluent, with a strong sense of community, especially among the early 30s, late 20s crowd. It was quite closely knit and everybody knew each other because of the social scene after work. Plus, there was an inter-mural volleyball league, of all things, where Indians from different organizations played against each other....<sup>275</sup>

He adds the community in Ottawa was very different from the one he’d experienced in Winnipeg:

Ninety-nine per cent of the aboriginal people in Ottawa that I knew at that time had jobs in the Indian industry, with Indian Affairs or one of the aboriginal political organizations that were headquartered in Ottawa. There were those type of people in Winnipeg, but there were huge, huge, huge numbers of just ordinary Joe Blos and Jane Blos living in poverty, living a different lifestyle.<sup>276</sup>

Dan David, A Mohawk from Kanehsatake came to Ottawa in 1976. His mother, Thelma Nicholas (a.k.a Watsenniotha) was originally from Kanehsatake, his father Walter Mathew David (‘Tehotenion’) came from Akwesasne. They met in Syracuse New York, after WWII. Thelma’s parents had taken her from Canada so that she could escape the residential school system and

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

receive a better education. Walter was a returning veteran who'd served in the marines. They lived in Syracuse with their son Dan until he was five. Thelma insisted that they return to Kanehsatake so that Dan could be raised in the culture, religion and politics of the Longhouse. As Dan recalls the family didn't quite fit in. They spoke with accents and had darker skin than most of the other Mohawks on-reserve, plus his parents were both high school graduates, which was unusual at the time. His family also had a long history of fighting for sovereignty and protecting the land at Kahnesatake from encroachment. His mother refused to take money from the government because she believed it would compromise her principles, or allow the government to claim she was Canadian. As a child Dan can remember wearing patched hand-me-downs, while his mother tucked uncashed family allowance checks into the back of a dresser drawer.<sup>277</sup>

Dan attended school at St. Eustache Elementary, 30 to 40 miles east of the reserve then Lake of Two Mountains High School, where he graduated in 1969. Dan says his mother was always quick to correct misinformation taught in school regarding their history. He studied photography and electronics, before attending Manitou College, the first Indian-operated college in Canada. He worked in the print shop there until the Department of Indian Affairs cut its program funding and it shut down.<sup>278</sup>

He'd been to Ottawa on trips, and knew some of the people who worked or frequented the Friendship Centre from the college. He thought Ottawa was dull city, and he would have rather moved to Montreal, but he knew that in Ottawa he could find work at Indian Affairs. He was quickly hired into the Department's audio-visual division.

Dan met some people through his work at the Indian Department, and socialized in the 'Indian bar scene' Beacon Arms, or the Gondola Restaurant on Bank Street. Dan also played

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<sup>277</sup> Dan David Personal Interview, January 10, 2005

<sup>278</sup> Ibid

tennis, volleyball and other sports organized at the Friendship Centre. Vince Kicknosway, one of Dan's friends from Manitou College was very involved with the centre and recruited Dan to drive heavy equipment when they were setting up the grounds for the first powwow.<sup>279</sup> Dan recalls:

Vinnie was like one of the workhorses... he did a hell of a lot of work for a long time. He got things done. He drew people in. He'd hire people to do work whether it was major renovations and he'd get a whole lot of volunteers to work at the powwows.<sup>280</sup>

Dan describes Ottawa's urban Indian community as groups or cliques. He says there are community leaders, like Vince Kicknosway, who position themselves at key points in the community. They know what's happening with various groups, and can mobilize people when necessary. Dan adds that he's witnessed a change in the community. He says that Indian people in Ottawa used to have a strong tie to home. Dan has always considered Kanehsatake home no matter where he might be living. He feels a strong tie to the land that he says younger people understand intellectually, but without the strong emotional tie: "so it's changing. It's evolving. Some people are born into this and can't conceive of any other place as home."<sup>281</sup>

Jennifer Sinclair, an Ojibway, was born in Ottawa, in 1962. Her mother placed her for adoption, and she was raised in a non-native family. She went to school in Manor Park, then Queen Elizabeth Elementary School, Canterbury High School and finally the High School of Commerce.<sup>282</sup>

As an adoptee it [being Indian] was something I always knew, but I didn't know what nation I belonged to or much about my background. My parents thought that I was Saulteaux and of the plains, but my parents didn't know how to pronounce it, and I certainly wasn't going to ask any one. I tried looking it up in books, but they always said 'see Ojibwa'...Most people were asking me about my background, and if I would tell them the majority of the time I had to deal with racist comments. If someone did express an interest like a teacher there wasn't much that I could say except for 'go see Ojibwa.' (laughs). I didn't want to deal with the question either way so I just slide into the background and tried to be anything but.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid

<sup>280</sup> Ibid

<sup>281</sup> Ibid

<sup>282</sup> Jennifer Sinclair, Personal Interview, February 03, 2005

<sup>283</sup> Ibid

She says she always yearned for the company of other Indians, because she didn't fit in. As a child, she'd stare out the window, imagining that the adoption was a mistake, and that her father was on his way to rescue her. Although in her imagination, he was a Hollywood Indian.<sup>284</sup>

She was 17 and in high school when she first met another aboriginal person, a boy named Roy. They became friends because, as Jen says, "I followed him around like a puppy dog." He invited Jen to powwows but her mother would not let her go, fearing they were akin to wild parties. After Jen became a single mother in the 1990s, she became determined to find her roots, if not for herself, then for her children. She returned to school and entered an aboriginal studies program and became involved in Ottawa's political community. At the same time she, coincidentally, began dating an Ojibwa man from Northern Ontario. He helped her apply for her Indian status card, which helped her find her band, and her family.<sup>285</sup>

Jen says the Indian community cannot be found in a 'place' in Ottawa. In part, community is her kinship ties to family and friends across the country, plus her professional ties to people involved in the Indian political community. "I have a very different understanding of community, I think it's different from everybody else's. So is my sense of identity."<sup>286</sup>

She says there is a 'town' community in Ottawa, which she describes as pockets of people and overlapping groups:

It's not a place or a neighbourhood, but everybody knows everybody. When somebody's sick there's always ways to help out, if help is needed. If somebody's house burns down the community is amazing quick on its resources and helping them out. You may not know everybody because people can come back and forth, but that just means that the community is that much broader.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid

<sup>285</sup> Ibid

<sup>286</sup> Ibid

<sup>287</sup> Ibid

## **Conclusion: So, Where are you from?**

The three Indian communities were different creatures and they changed over time. The Community of Nations formed out of the fur wars. While the three nations were motivated to make peace for economic reasons, they also shared political alliances kinship ties and other social relationships which often overlapped. La Reserve de Hull was partly a satellite community that formed out of a seasonal migration pattern. It was also an adaptation to the changing economy and land hunger. New political communities formed in various regions outside Ottawa. The new communities were an adaptation to the federalist government and centralized bureaucracy that formed Indian policy. Regional organizations were expressions of these communities, and they have a long history. The very first of these organizations, The Grand General Council of Ontario, formed in 1870, in the wake of the Indian Act, still exists today in a modified form as the Union of Ontario Chiefs. After the consultation hearing in the 1940s, the crown community became those Indian leaders closest to the ear of government. They restructured the regional organizations to restrict membership, they professionalized and became a small elite group. A town community developed among civil servants who came to Ottawa seeking labour, and students who'd come for education. Political leaders joined this community as they established a permanent base in the town. The communities were not pan-Indian communities, where cultures melt into one. A common theme in all three communities was kinship to, or concern for family and friends who lived outside the city.

The author has only glimpsed the Ottawa's urban Indian communities; there are questions not answered here. The Native Women's Association of Canada came to Ottawa in the 1970s, and appears to have been formed out of Home-makers clubs on-reserve. Indians living in the city were also connected to Inuit and Métis, each group coming to Ottawa with histories of their own. The

topics were not dealt with in the thesis and need further study. When studies of urban Indian began to appear in Canada, they were very concerned with urban Indian living conditions. Mostly they studied Indians who were not faring well in cities. Ottawa's community is perhaps unusual in that it tended to be elite compared to others.

Other studies of urban Indians have focused on theories of acculturation, often arguing that Indians must abandon their culture or fail in the city. For example Mark Nagler's doctoral thesis, later published as *Indians in the City* (1970),<sup>1</sup> identified 'cultural values' that could explain why Indians were failing in the urban arena including: kinship ties which impaired wealth as city-dwellers extended help to newcomers, tribal affiliations that kept Indians from forming a community in the city and collectively pursuing common interests and goals, and that Indians did not value money, and therefore did not accumulate savings or work effectively in a capitalist society. Finally, and Nagler felt, most importantly, Indians did not understand linear time and, therefore, had difficulty maintaining employment.<sup>2</sup>

Nagler's ideas were typical of early studies. For example, Henry Zenter focused on Native spirituality. He argued that Native religions were based upon individualism, unlike the social hierarchy associated with Christianity. As a result, Indians never developed an understanding of complex organisations and leadership so fundamental to urban life.<sup>3</sup> At its base, however Zenter's argument was really no different than Nagler's. Underlying both arguments was the idea that Indians, who did succeed in the city, were those who'd abandoned their culture.

One of the problems with Nagler and Zenter's thesis is they had no history to work from. History stopped at the fur trade. They did not consider how people had changed, or urbanized in

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City* (Ottawa: St. Paul's University, 1970)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp 19-25

<sup>3</sup> Henry Zenter *The Indian Identity Crisis: Inquires into the problems and prospects of societal development among Native Peoples* (Calgary: Strayer Publications, 1973) pp i-ix

the century in-between. They did not consider differences between Indian cultures or economies, how they had adapted or changed over time, and what impact these differences might have. The studies were also centred very much in the city. The authors looked at success and failure in the cities and believed social problems like alcoholism occurred when 'Indian culture' encountered the modern urban environment and proved insufficient to cope. They did not ask if the Indians failing in the city might have carried problems with them from home. For example, the history of residential schooling and its psychological impact on students who'd survived the experience had not been widely studied at the time.

Nagler's conclusion that Indians in Toronto did not form a community because of allegiance to tribal affiliations does not seem to hold true for Ottawa. Nagler also entered the project with a very specific model of community in mind. He did not ask Indians living in Toronto how they defined community.

In 1971, a U.S. anthropologist Joseph G. Jorgensen proposed a new theory that split the issue of culture from economic success.<sup>4</sup> Indians did not need to assimilate in order to integrate, Jorgensen argued. In fact, Indians were already integrated, socially, politically and economically, and had been integrated since the turn of the century. The problem was the fashion in which they had been integrated.<sup>5</sup> Reserves were merely satellites, exploited to build metropolitan economies. Marginalized politically, Indians were unable to resist economic exploitation. Jorgensen re-examined the history of government-Indian relations, trying to show how past policy had created and maintained a structural system that continued to exploit aboriginals.<sup>6</sup> Jorgensen's underdevelopment theory, sometimes called political economy theory, became popular among Canadian

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<sup>4</sup> Joseph G. Jorgensen "Indians and the Metropolis" in Jack. O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson [eds.] *The American Indian in Urban Society* (Boston: Little Brown Press, 1971) pp 67-113

<sup>5</sup> The theory is similar to the underdevelopment thesis used by some historians to explain regional disparities in Canada.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

anthropologists. E.J. Dosman's *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*,<sup>7</sup> and Kerri's 1976 essay "The economic adjustments of Urban Indians in Winnipeg Canada,"<sup>8</sup> for example, picked up on the political economy theme.

Political economic theory has an advantage of having economic and political facts to support it, whereas theorists dealing with culture had a dreadful time trying measure degrees of assimilation. A problem with political economy theory is that it doesn't award much agency to Indians, or explain why some Indians fared well in cities. It is also not concerned with issues like communities or identity. The theory was popular in the early 1970s before the government began responding to chiefs requests for economic development programs. Since then changes in government policy have allowed some reserves to develop healthy economies.

The number of writings concerned with the theme of failure, suggest that Ottawa's urban Indian community of the 1900s was unique in that it tended to be employed, educated and not a source of social crisis. Ottawa's nature as a civil service town may have played a role. Further study is needed to compare social and economic differences between Indians living in other cities over time.

Finally, the author would like to offer a few words on the title. "Where are you from?" is a question the author was asking of Ottawa's urban Indian community. It's also a phrase Indians' commonly use when greeting each other. The question is intended to ask what reserve a person is from, not what city or town they happen to be living in. In his book *Back on the Rez*, Brian Maracle explains that he always answered that he was from Grand River, no matter where he lived. He explains:

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<sup>7</sup> E.J. Dosman *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972)

<sup>8</sup> James Kerri, "The economic adjustments of Urban Indians in Winnipeg Canada" in *Urban Anthropology* 5 (1976) pp 351-365

Although there were a lot of Indians and a friendship centre in Ottawa, it wasn't the same as living on a reserve. Not by a long shot. We didn't have any relatives in Ottawa. There were no Heiltsuk or Mohawk doings – no ceremonies, no potlatches, no socials. And even though we lived in Ottawa for thirteen years, we never considered it home; it was only the place we lived.<sup>9</sup>

The author, like Maracle, has always answered the question by naming her reserve, Pikwakanagan, because that's really what people asking the question want to know. The problem is that I felt the answer was a little misleading because I've always lived in the city. Since I began working on this thesis I've tried to come up with a better answer. Last year, at a retreat, when an Ojibwa elder asked me 'where are you from?' I replied: "I am from Pikwakangan but I was born and raised on the unceded territory of my ancestors which is today called Ottawa." The elder laughed and said it was a good answer.

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<sup>9</sup> Brian Maracle *Back on the rez* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997) p 9

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