# Replies to Tribunal Questions regarding François Kawitadijik (RIN #6869) Enrolment Officer's Report dated July 2022



Joan Holmes, Enrolment Officer for AOO Prepared for the Algonquin Tribunal November 2022

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The Tribunal has posed three questions to which the Enrolment Officer is providing replies. New documents cited in the reply that are not provided with the original report dated July 2022 are appended to this reply.

# Question A

The Enrolment Officer's Report for François Kawitadijik indicates that certain historical records identify François Kawitadijik as "being born of Machkigon" and being "Outaois". However, the historical records suggest that François Kawitadijik is linked with known Algonquin/Nipissing families and that he is eventually described as being head of an Algonquin household. Furthermore, François Kawitadijik is listed as a signatory to a petition seeking land on the upper Madawaska for "the whole Algonquin tribe". Which petition appears to be a precursor to the treaty claim now being negotiated with Ontario and Canada. From an ethno-historical point of view, what significance does the Enrolment Office attach to being identified as a "head of household" on the "Return of the Algonquin Tribe" and as being a signatory to the petition? Put another way, would Algonquins have condoned or approved of François Kawitadijik being identified as such in these documents.

# **Enrolment Officer's Reply:**

# The Census Records

François Kawitadijik (RIN #6869) is listed as a head of household on the 1842 census and an 1850 return (or census) of the mission of Lake of Two Mountains (Oka or Lac des Deux Montagnes). At that time, there was an Iroquois village, an Algonquin village, and a Nipissing village at the mission of Lake of Two Mountains, all of which were enumerated on separate returns. There were also relatively small numbers of other Indigenous people living in these villages. The tribal identity of individuals was often stated in personal records, such as baptisms, marriages, and burials; however, heads of households were not identified by tribal affiliation on census records but were simply included in the enumeration of the mission in the tribal village in which they were known to reside.

On the 1842 official Lower Canada census for the village at Lake of Two Mountains mission, François appears on the portion of the census return marked "Algonkins" ("Retour de l'Enumération des Habitants de Village du Lac des 2 Montagnes" – "Algonkins"). He is listed as a hunter and the head of a seven-person household.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the census enumerator was not shown on the 1842 census tract. It was most likely one of the priests serving the mission as he would have facility in the Algonquin/Nipissing language and knowledge of the inhabitants and therefore would be able to record their names and number of individuals in each household.

In 1850, François was again recorded on a Lake of Two Mountains enumeration ("Return of Algonquin Tribe at the Lake of Two Mountains") as a head of household.<sup>2</sup> It is most likely that the person making this return, or census, was an employee of the Indian Department. This return was in the form of a list commonly used in this time period to indicate the quantity of annual government presents being distributed to allied groups by the British government. The assumption that the record was made by an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ALG-40000. Nipissings and Iroquois are shown separately on this census return.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ALG-07475. Nipissings, Iroquois, and Indians of Bedford are shown separately on this listing.

Indian Affairs official is drawn from numerous clues: first, the return was found in the records of the Department of Indian Affairs; second, the "Total" column shows numbers with fractions, which suggests the quantity of presents required for each household as opposed to the total number of persons in the household (women and children received fractional distributions of presents); and third, the "Remarks" column notes the names of other family heads or alternate years. These "Remarks" identify persons who received presents on another person's behalf or subsequent years in which the presents would be distributed, both of which were common practices at that time.

François would have been around 46 and 54 years old, respectively, when the 1842 and 1850 lists were made, and, as shown in other records, had been associated continuously with Algonquins at Lake of Two Mountains from at least 1818.<sup>3</sup> The two individuals who compiled the lists, most likely the priest at the mission and an local Indian Affairs official, were outsiders who played very different roles in the lives of the Algonquins. The priest as landlord and administrator of spiritual services; the Indian Affairs official as the Crown representative who acknowledged Algonquins at the mission as allies of the Crown through the distribution of annual presents. The lists suggest that both of these individuals considered François to be part of the Algonquin community without any distinction to his parentage or tribal affiliation.

It is more difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the attitude of the Algonquins, themselves. Their acceptance or repudiation of François as a member of their community must be deduced from an analysis of known records in the context of what is known about traditional Algonquin practices.

Historically, it was common for Indigenous communities to accept other indigenous people into their community through the adoption of children, as well as the acceptance of adults through intermarriage or continuous association. Historical records contain several well-known examples of men from other nations being accepted or recognized by Algonquins and Nipissings. The first example, given below, dates from the early contact period (1620-1629), the second example dates from the early nineteenth century (1820-1833). The span of time over two centuries suggests that this was a traditional practice that continued into the colonial era.

Example 1: Jean de Bellborne Nicolet was a Frenchman and an interpreter who work with the Compagnie des Cent Associés (Company of 100 Associates). Following a brief sojourn with the Kichisipirini from 1618 to 1620, Nicolet travelled to Lake Nipissing where he remained with the Nipissing for nine years.<sup>4</sup> While at Lake Nipissing, Nicolet entered into a country marriage with a Nipissing woman and they had at least one child. He reportedly passed for a Nipissing, had his own cabin and household in their village, fished and traded for himself, and took part in tribal councils.<sup>5</sup> These factors suggest he was accepted as a member of the Nipissing community.

Example 2: A celebrated mixed-blood Odawa, Amable Paquakonon (aka Pakwakona or Amable Chevalier, RIN #58180), played a prominent role in Algonquin and Nipissing affairs from at least 1820 to his death in April 1833.<sup>6</sup> He signed petitions and negotiated with other leaders to advance and protect

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Algonquins and Nipissings typically visited the mission from late spring to early fall. Records of baptisms and marriages for François Kawitadijik's family indicated he was at the mission in June, July, and August from at least 1818 to 1851. ALG-40001, ALG-40002, ALG-40003, ALG-40004, ALG-04510, ALG-40005, ALG-40006, ALG-40007, ALG-40008, ALG-40009, ALG-40010, ALG-40011, ALG-40000, ALG-05468, ALG-07475, ALG-05569.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Hamelin, "Nicollet de Belleborne, Jean," DCB, Vol. 1, 516-518. See also Hessel, The Algonkin Nation, 29-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Volume 1 pp. 516-8. Trigger and Day, "Southern Algonquian Middlemen," 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> James Hughes to Napier, February 15, 1834 [ALG-90194]. LAC RG 10 Vol. 88 pp. 35066-68 Reel C-11466.

Algonquin/Nipissing rights in the Ottawa Valley. On records generated at Oka, he was described as Principal Chief of the Nipissing, a Grand Chief of the Algonquins, and once as an Ottawa chief.<sup>7</sup> Pakwakona was a French/Odawa mixed-blood from Michilimackinac who was famous as a warrior and ally of the British. He promoted the British cause among the nations of the Upper Great Lakes and was wounded in Burgoyne's campaign of 1777 for which he received a pension of \$100 per annum. He went to Lower Canada in 1796 returning to the upper country to serve Robert Dickson during the War of 1812. After the war, Pakwakona returned to Lake of Two Mountains and was accepted into the Nipissing/Algonquin community at the mission and became an influential leader.

Pakwakona's daughter, Marie Louise Chevallier (RIN #6928) and Marie Louise's husband, François Odjik (RIN #6927) stood as godparents to François Kawitadijik when he was baptized in 1818 at the age of 22 years.<sup>8</sup> Both Amable Pakwakona and François Odjik are listed on the Schedule of Algonquin Ancestors. The prominence of Pakwakona in the Algonquin/Nipissing community and the close ties of his daughter and son-in-law with François suggests a high degree of integration and identity with the Algonquin community.

# The Petition of 1863

Regarding, the name of François Kawitadijik being affixed to the petition of 1863 which was written at their village at Lake of Two Mountains. The scribe for this petition was not identified. The petition was written in English and the names listed in a phonetic format that was unusual for the priests at Oka whose records were typically in French with more standardized rendering of Indigenous names. The petition begins with identifying the petitioners as "Indians of the Village of Two Mountains hunting on the head waters of the Madawaska and other rivers of central Canada". In the body of the petition, they refer to their common historical circumstance as a dispossessed people and state that they are seeking land upon which to settle the entire Algonquin nation.<sup>9</sup> The fact that François' name was included on the long list of family heads who adhered to the petition indicates that he played an active role in protecting the interests of Algonquins and was considered one of them. If he was not considered part of the interested group, it is unlikely that the chiefs and other heads of families would have agreed to have his name added to the petition.

# **Conclusion**

François Kawitadijik was continuously association with the Algonquins at the mission over multiple decades and was listed as a head of household in the Algonquin village. Other prominent Algonquins witnessed the religious events of his immediate family.<sup>10</sup> François married an Algonquin woman (see Question C below regarding her identity), their known descendants also intermarriage with Algonquins/Nipissings, and these descendants are identified on records as either Indian or Algonquin.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pakwakona is listed as an Ottawa chief on an 1827 petition but both the preamble to the petition and the certification of two public notaries describes the signatories as the "chieves [sic] of the Indian Tribes of Algonquins and Nipissings" at Lake of Two Mountains. Chiefs to Governor Dalhousie, February 19 1827 [ALG-90098]. His burial record from Oka gives his name as Amable Pikidjissak dit Chevallier "un des grands chefs de guerre, Outawois de nation." Pierre Louis Constant Pinesi was at his burial on April 17, 1833. See also petitions of June 4, 1827 [ALG-90101], July 29, 1827, April 28, 1829 [ALG-90132], May 5, 1829 [ALG-90133], December 1829 and February 19, 1830 [ALG-90165].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> ALG-40001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ALG-50433

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Examples include: ALG-40001, ALG-40011, ALG-05569, ALG-01939, ALG-40012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Examples include: ALG-40002, ALG-05468, ALG-05569, ALG-40012

François joined with other Algonquins in recounting Algonquin history and requested land upon which to settle the entire Algonquin nation. Taken together, these factors suggests that François was integrated into the Algonquin community and considered to be a part of their kinship network both by the Algonquins themselves and by outsiders who were closely associated with the Algonquins who frequented the Lake of Two Mountains mission.

# Question B.

Also, from an ethno-historical point of view what significance does the Enrolment Officer attach to the fact the François Kawitadijik's children are identified as Algonquin/Nipissing as opposed to being "of Machkigon" or being "Outaois".

# **Enrolment Officer's Reply:**

It is unknown if tribal designations recorded by the priests were based on language or dialect spoken by the participants, the watershed they normally hunting within, the tribal designation that the individuals reported (self-identification), or if the designation was merely assumed by the priest based on prior knowledge or known connections between families. In most cases, children were given the same tribal identity as their father, regardless of the tribal group to which the mother belonged. It is interesting to note that Algonquins and Nipissings were often identified as Algonquin in one record and Nipissing in another, but not typically as belonging to another tribal group on records generated at the mission. Iroquois, who also lived at the mission in their own village, were not confused with Algonquins or Nipissings and were consistently identified as Iroquois.

The children of François Kawitadijik were identified as "Outaois" in baptismal and burial records dating from 1820 to 1839.<sup>12</sup> These tribal designations were recorded by three separate priests who were active at Lake of Two Mountains (Mallard, Bellefeuille, and Durocher). François had been identified as Outaois (Odawa or Ottawa) from "Machkigon" (likely Mackinaw aka Michilimackinac on the upper Great Lakes) on his 1818 adult baptismal which was recorded by Father Roupe with Father Mallard as a witness.<sup>13</sup> The fact that François' wife was Algonquin is not reflected in the tribal designation of their children on these earlier records. (See Question C, below, regarding Mary Anne Kapimaskikkwe's Algonquin identity.) This suggests that the priests were following the European practice of ascribed the man's ethnicity to his children regardless of that of their mother.

From 1847 onward, when their children and grandchildren were assigned a tribal designation on records they were noted as Algonquin. For example, on the 1847 Oka marriage record of François' daughter Therese, Father Aoustin identified the bride and her parents, François and Mary Anne, as Algonquin.<sup>14</sup> Therese's son was baptized two years after her marriage and identified as Algonquin by a priest at Notre Dame in Ottawa.<sup>15</sup> Other children and grandchildren are identified in records throughout the Ottawa Valley as "Indian" without any tribal designation, which was not unusual during the last half of the nineteenth century in Ottawa Valley church and census records. The children of François Kawitadijik and Mary Anne married other known Algonquins and their son Michel and his family settled on the reserve at Golden Lake and were shown on the census of the reserve in 1881.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> ALG-40003, ALG-40004, ALG-04510, ALG-40005, ALG-40006, ALG-40007, ALG-40008, ALG-40009, ALG-40010, ALG-40011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> ALG-40001

<sup>14</sup> ALG-05468

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> ALG-20167

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> ALG-00539

# **Conclusion**

The historical sequence of ascribing first an Odawa identity to François' children and then an Algonquin identity to the adult children and grandchildren suggests two patterns: first, the priests followed the convention of applying the father's tribal identity to his minor children without regard to the tribal identity of the mother; and second, that the Odawa origins of François became more irrelevant as the family remained in the Algonquin community with close familial and territorial ties to other Algonquins. No evidence has been located that suggests that François, his children or grandchildren were not considered to be integrated into Algonquin family networks and kinship structure.

# Question C.

The Enrolment Officer's report indicates that Marie Anne Kapimaskikwe (who is identified as the wife of François Kawitadijik) is identified in other documents that are available to the Enrolment Office as being Algonquin. We kindly request that the Enrolment Office file a brief report outlining those documents and provide copies to the Tribunal.

# **Enrolment Officer's Reply:**

Marie Anne Kapimaskikwe (RIN #6870) was 18 years old when she married François Kawitadijik at Oka in 1818. Two of the witnesses to the marriage were identified as her brothers, "François and Ignace Kwetchens". The marriage was authorized by "Suzanne Matwe son aieule", i.e., her grandmother Suzanne Matwe (Makwa). Father Charles de Bellefeuille officiated at the marriage.<sup>17</sup> The marriage record does not provide a tribal designation for the bride, her brothers, or grandmother.

Marie Ann's brothers "François and Ignace Kwetchens" are identified more fully in other documents as François Wabikekek dit Kaioko (RIN #6205) and Ignace Kwatcenj dit Inini (RIN #7085). The baptismal records for Marie Anne, François, and Ignace show that their parents were Alamon Pakwate Inini (Hamon Pak8etchiinini) (RIN #6405) and Susanne Sakaanokwe (RIN #6406).<sup>18</sup> Marie Anne's baptismal record is the only one of the three that includes a tribal designation for the parents, who are identified as Nipissings.<sup>19</sup> It is most likely that both parents were deceased when their children married as neither of them are mentioned on their children's marriage records. Two of the siblings, Mary Ann and François, had their grandmother, Suzanne Makwa (Matwe), authorize their marriages. In these two cases, the consent of a relative was required because they were minors at the time of marriage.

# Documents supporting Marie Anne's Algonquin/Nipissing identity

Marie Anne's parents, Alamon Pakwate Inini (RIN # 6405) and Susanne Sakaanokwe (RIN #6406) are identified as Nipissing on her 1804 baptismal record. Marie Anne was three years old at the time of her baptism at Oka. Father Mallard was the officiating priest.<sup>20</sup>

When François and Marie Anne's daughter Therese married Benjamin Weiwassang dit Leclerc/Leclair (RIN #2172) at Oka in 1847. Therese and her parents, François and Marie Anne, were identified as Algonquins of the mission.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ALG-40002

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> ALG-40126, ALG-03122, ALG--03537

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> ALG-03537

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> ALG-40126, ALG-03122, ALG--03537

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> ALG-05468

When twenty-year-old François Wabikekek (RIN #6205) married Marie Anne Pinessiwikijikokwe (RIN #6206) in August 1817 at Oka. He was identified as a Nipissing whose marriage was authorized by his "aieule" (grandmother), "Susanne Matwe". This is the same woman that authorized his sister's marriage the following year. Father Mallard was the officiating priest.<sup>22</sup>

When twenty-two-year-old Ignace Inini (RIN #7085) married Susanne Kichiatchiwanokwe in August 1821 at Oka, the couple were identified as Algonquins of the mission. Father Mallard was the officiating priest.<sup>23</sup>

Ignace Inini (RIN #7085) was also known as Ignace Kwetchinj/Kwetchens. This is shown on the baptismal record of his daughter, Marie Catherine who was born on the hunting grounds of the Algonquins in 1830. On her baptismal record Ignace is named as "Ignace Kwetchinj ou Inini" (Ignace Kwetchinj or Inini). The couple were said to belong to the mission but no tribal identification was noted. Father Durocher was the officiant.<sup>24</sup>

Ignace Inini and Susanne Kichiatchiwanokwe baptised a daughter, Marie Agathe, in September 1823 at Oka. On the baptismal record they were identified as Algonquins of the mission. Father Mallard was the officiating priest.<sup>25</sup>

# Summary and Conclusion

"François and Ignace Kwetchens" are identified as Marie Anne's brothers on her marriage record. Marie Anne and Francois Wabikekek both had their grandmother Suzanne/Susanne Matwe (Makwa) authorize their marriages when they married as minors. Baptismal records for Marie Anne, François, and Ignace show that they are full siblings.

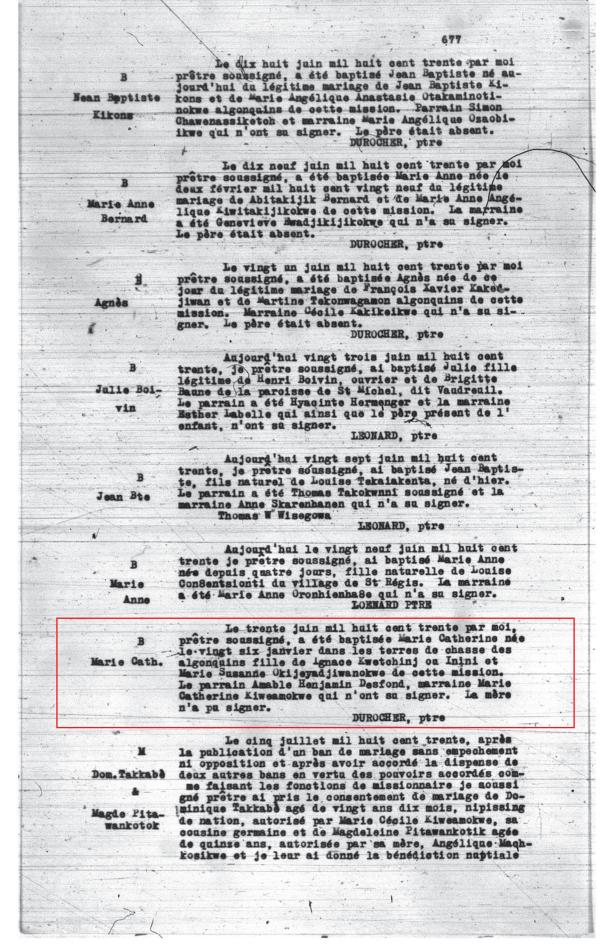
The parents are noted as Nipissing on Marie's Anne's baptismal record. Marie Anne's brother Francois Wabikekek is identified as Nipissing. Marie Anne's brother Ignace Kwetchens dit Inini is identified twice as Algonquin and once as being active on the Algonquin hunting territory. François, his wife and their daughter were identified as Algonquin when the daughter married in 1847. Taken together these documents show that Marie Anne was Algonquin or Nipissing. Recall that it was not uncommon for individuals from the mission at Lake of Two Mountains to be identified as Algonquin on some documents and Nipissing on others. No documents have been located that suggest Marie Anne Kapimaskikwe (RIN #6870) was anything other than Algonquin/Nipissing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> ALG-04227

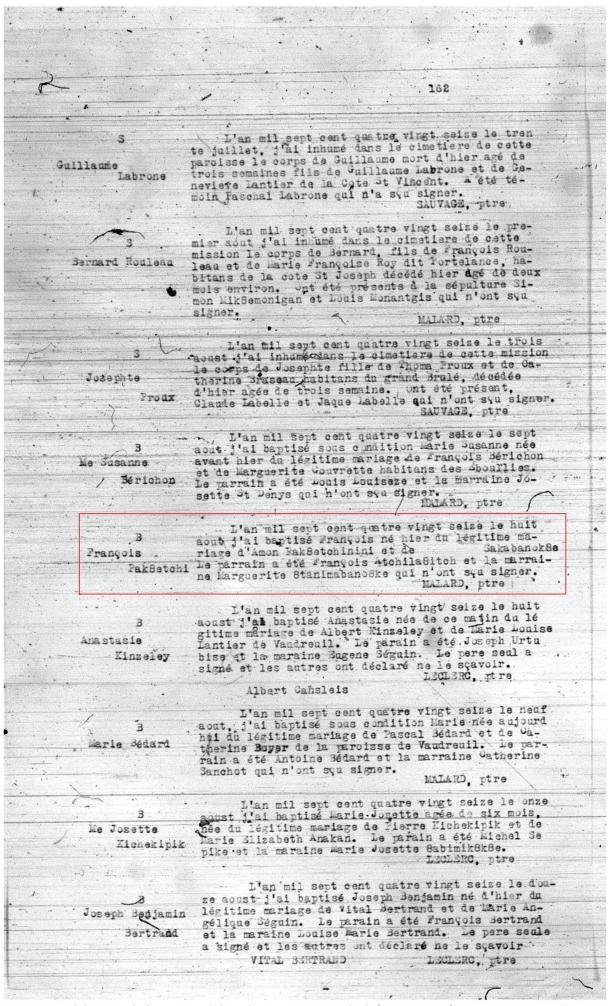
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ALG-04412

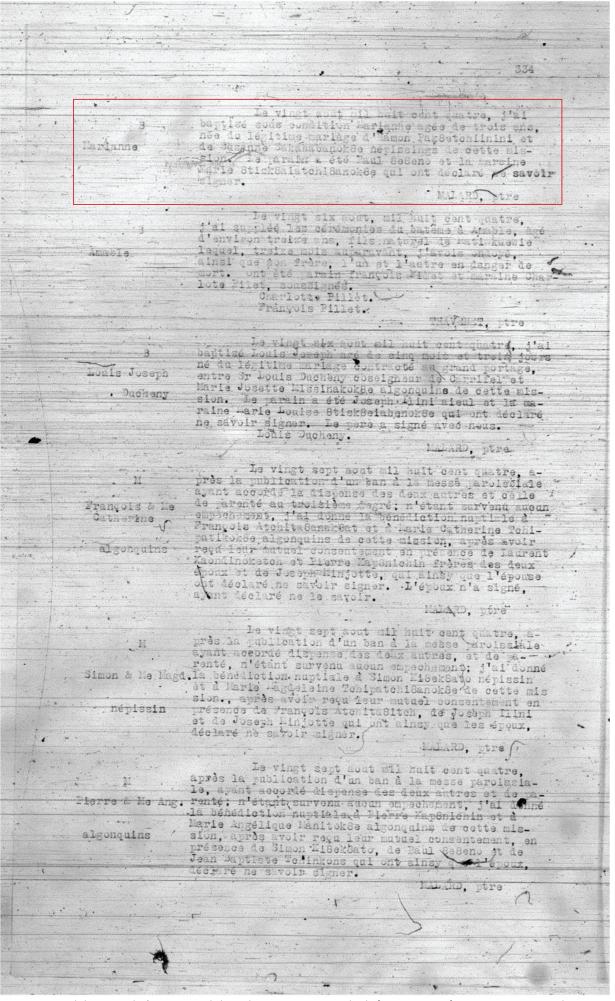
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> ALG-00208

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> ALG-04463

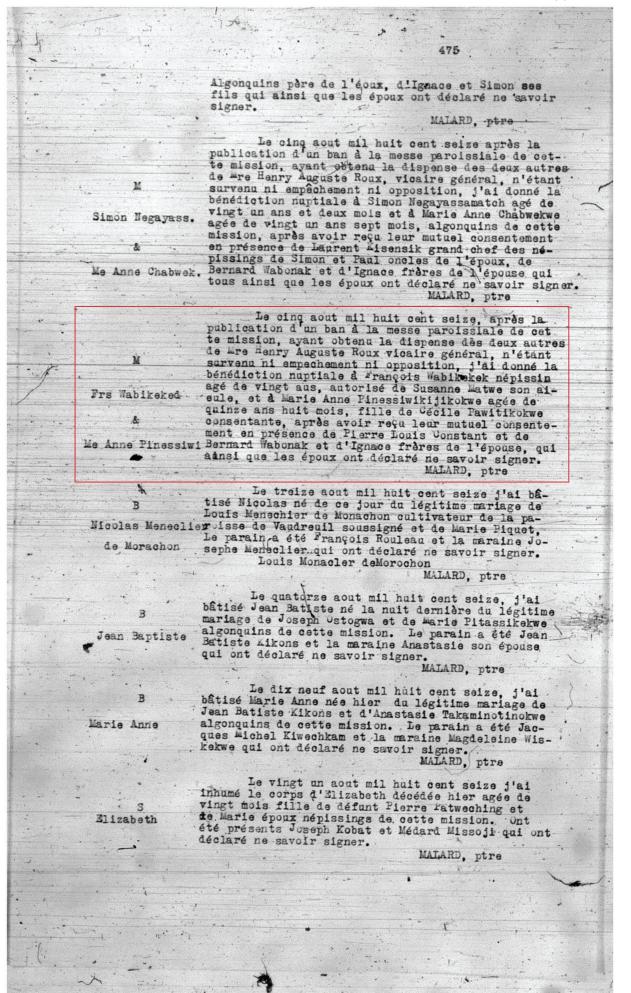


Registre de la Paroisse de L'Annonciation-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie de Oka [Deux Montagnes] 1805-1831 F.M. 8 G 21 Vol. 3

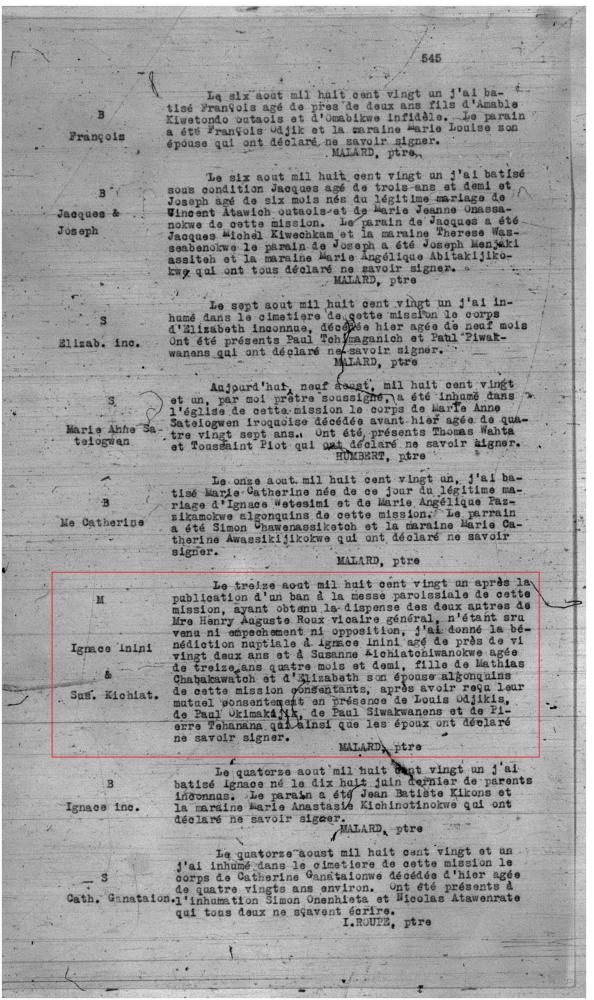




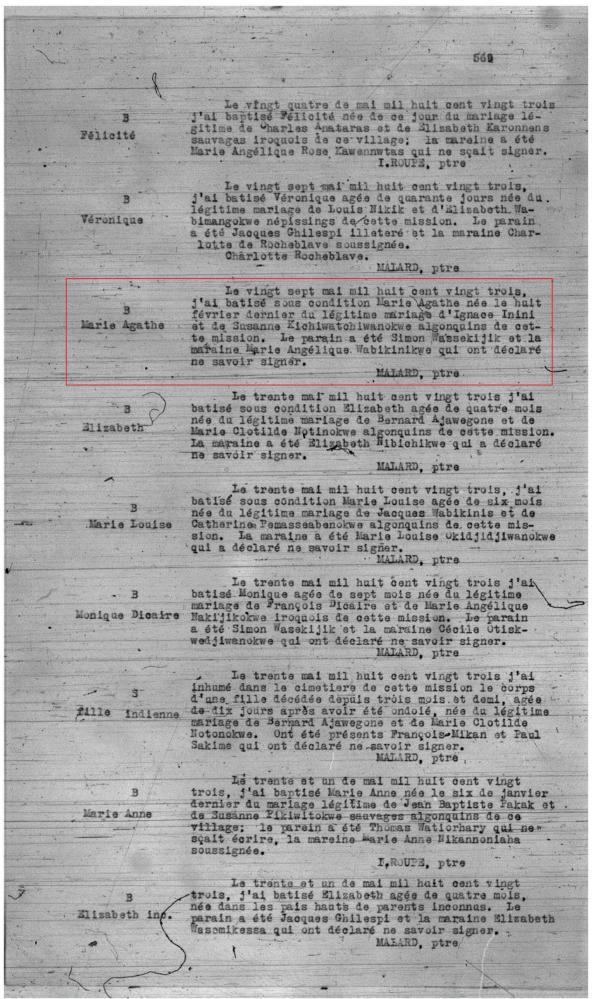
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Registre de la Paroisse de L'Annonciation-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie de Oka [Deux Montagnes] 1805-1831 F.M. 8 G 21 Vol. 3



Registre de la Paroisse de L'Annonciation-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie de Oka [Deux Montagnes] 1805-1831 F.M. 8 G 21 Vol. 3



Registre de la Paroisse de L'Annonciation-de-la-Bienheureuse-Vierge-Marie de Oka [Deux Montagnes] 1805-1831 F.M. 8 G 21 Vol. 3

