

**DOCUMENTS FOR ANCESTOR**

**HANNAH MANNALL**

**FROM:**

**RON NICHOLAS**

**THERESA STOKMAN**

**LYNN HANLEY**

**HANNAH MANNALL DOCUMENTS**

- DOC. 1**      **Correct Time Period Maps of Abitibi Area**
- DOC. 2**      **Why a Fur Trader would take a local Native Woman as his Wife.**
- DOC. 3**      **Correction for Doc. ALG - 40269 corrected in 2012.**
- DOC. 4**      **Who controls the area in the Relevant Time Period where John Mannall worked.**
- DOC. 5**      **Correction for Doc. ALG - 40226**
- DOC. 6**      **John Mannall's Work History and Summary.**
- DOC. 7**      **Doc. ALG - 90196, 1834 letter, and Old and Modern Connections to Algonquins.**
- DOC. 8**      **Summary of Census Records and Census for Edward Thomas's Son, John Mannall Thomas 1921.**

**JOHN MANNALL AND MAPS OF THE AREA HE WORKED**

Doc. 1 PAGE 6. E:1

Native People, 1823 5th Edition, marks groups several decades after Hannah's birth.

**MODERN MAP:**

Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada, Pages 22 and 23, shows the area as Cree, with Lake Abitibi at the far Western edge of Algonquin Territory. No Time Period or who occupied the area.

**SKETCH MAP 1789 - 1790:**

Shows Mannall at Frederick House. 4 Men never worked at New Brunswick House.

**CORRECT MAPS FOR DOC. 1**

1. Antonio Zatta (flourished 1757 - 1797)  
Published 1784 (Hannah Born 1795)
2. Ivon Couture (Le Territore Algonquins)
3. Family Hunting Grounds, Abitibi Region, 1937  
Praxis Research Associates, 2001
4. 1784 Canada Map including Ontario exhibiting adjacent Countries and Indian Nations.

Accession Number # 2575

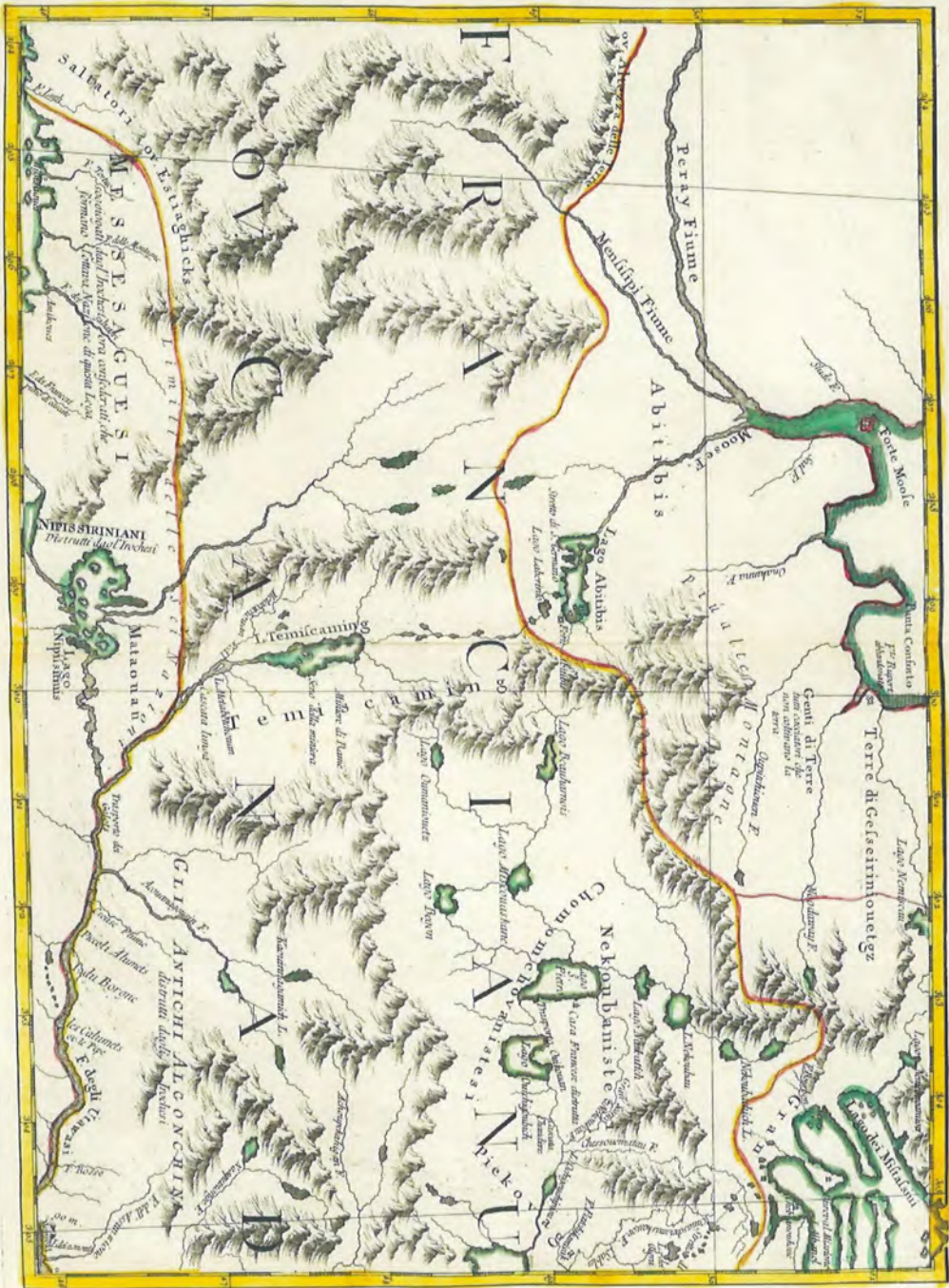
La Parte Occidentale della Nuova Francia o Canada [1784]

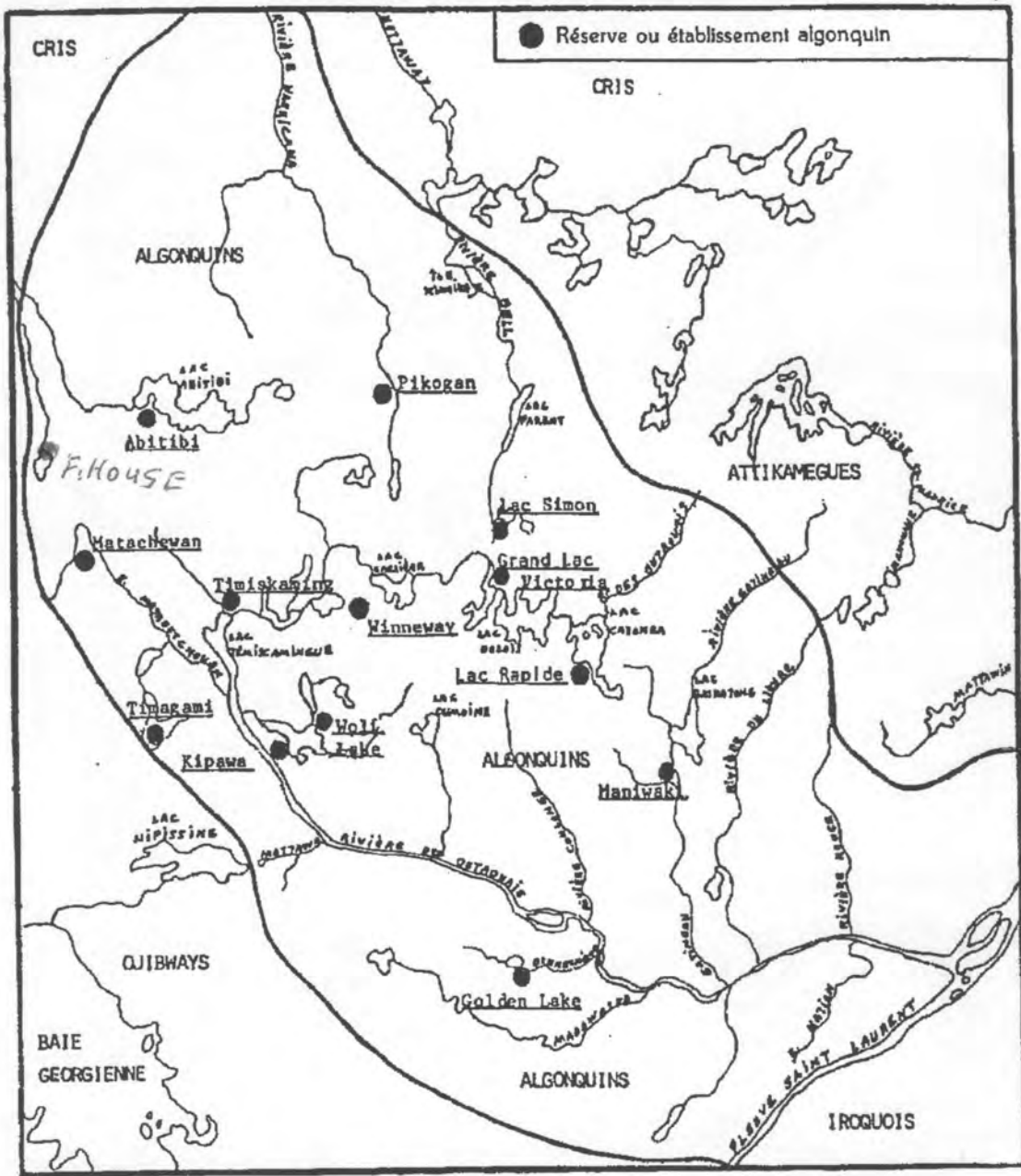
LA PARTE OCCIDENTALE DELLA NUOVA FRANCIA O CANADA. / FOGL.II.

- Antonio Zatta (flourished 1757-1797), published 1784
- 31 cm x 42 cm, on sheet 40 cm x 51 cm. Border and some outlines hand coloured. Three edges show evidence of red colouring; may have been bound in atlas?
- Location: McMaster University Library, Research Collections, Accession # 2575
- [View Image](#)



<http://library.mcmaster.ca/maps/images/raremaps/2575.jpg>





MAP A.4  
 Algonquin Traditional Territory  
 (Couture 1983:48)

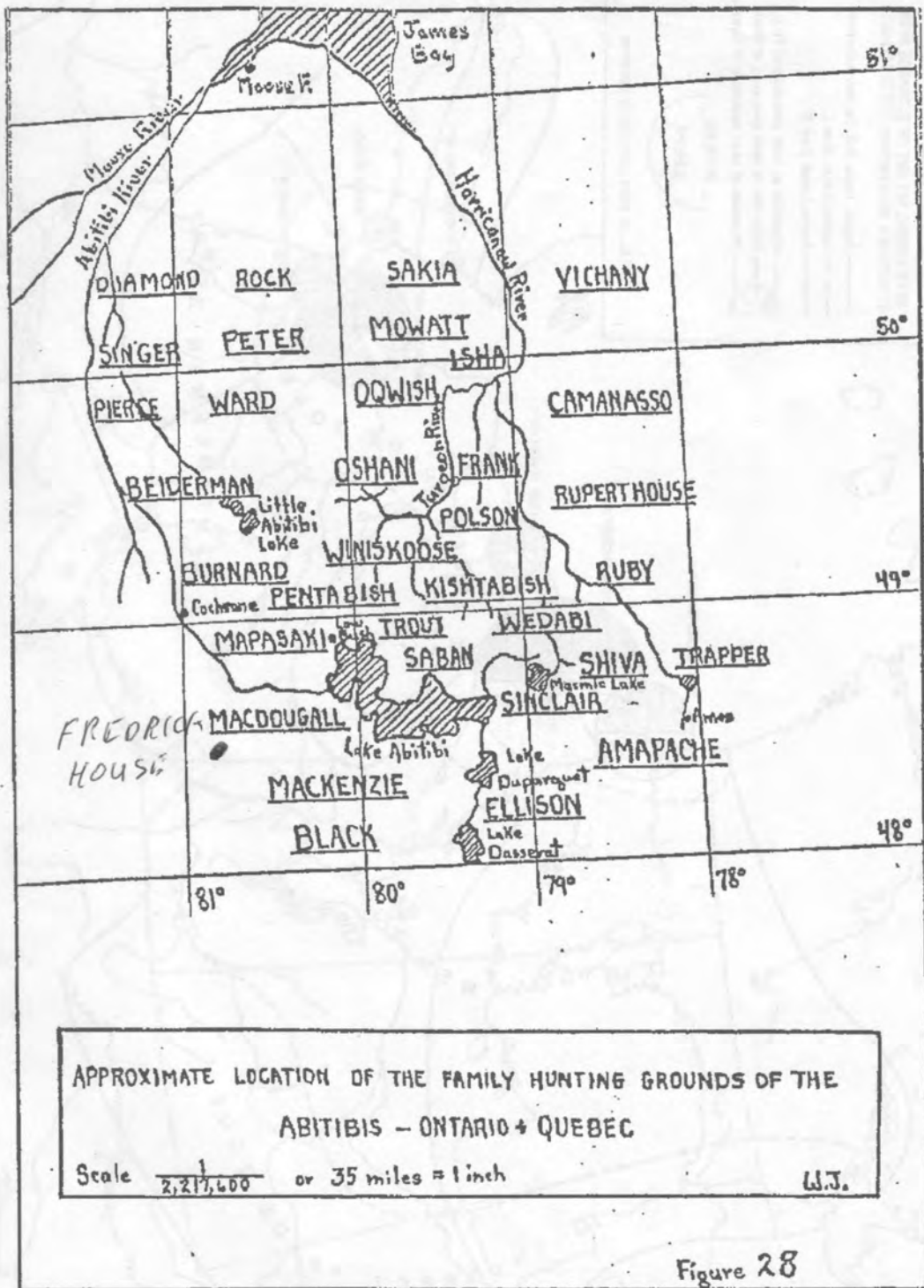


Figure 28

MAP A.10  
Family Hunting Grounds, Abitibi Region 1937  
(Jenkins 1939:28)

1784  
Canada  
including that part later named  
**ONTARIO**  
Exhibiting the adjacent countries  
and Indian Nations



**HUDSON'S BAY**  
or  
**BAYE D'HUDSON**



**INDIAN NATIONS**  
The following are the names of the Indian Nations who inhabit the Country of Ontario and the adjacent Countries in the Year 1784.

**RECEIPTS**  
A. The Province of Ontario  
B. The Province of Quebec  
C. The Province of New Brunswick  
D. The Province of Nova Scotia  
E. The Province of New England

**THE CITY OF GASTON (1774, 1784)**  
Gaston was founded in 1774 by the British and was the capital of the Province of Georgia until 1784 when it was moved to Savannah.

**THE PROVINCE OF GASTON (1774, 1784)**  
The Province of Gaston was one of the original thirteen colonies and was named in honor of the Duke of Orléans.

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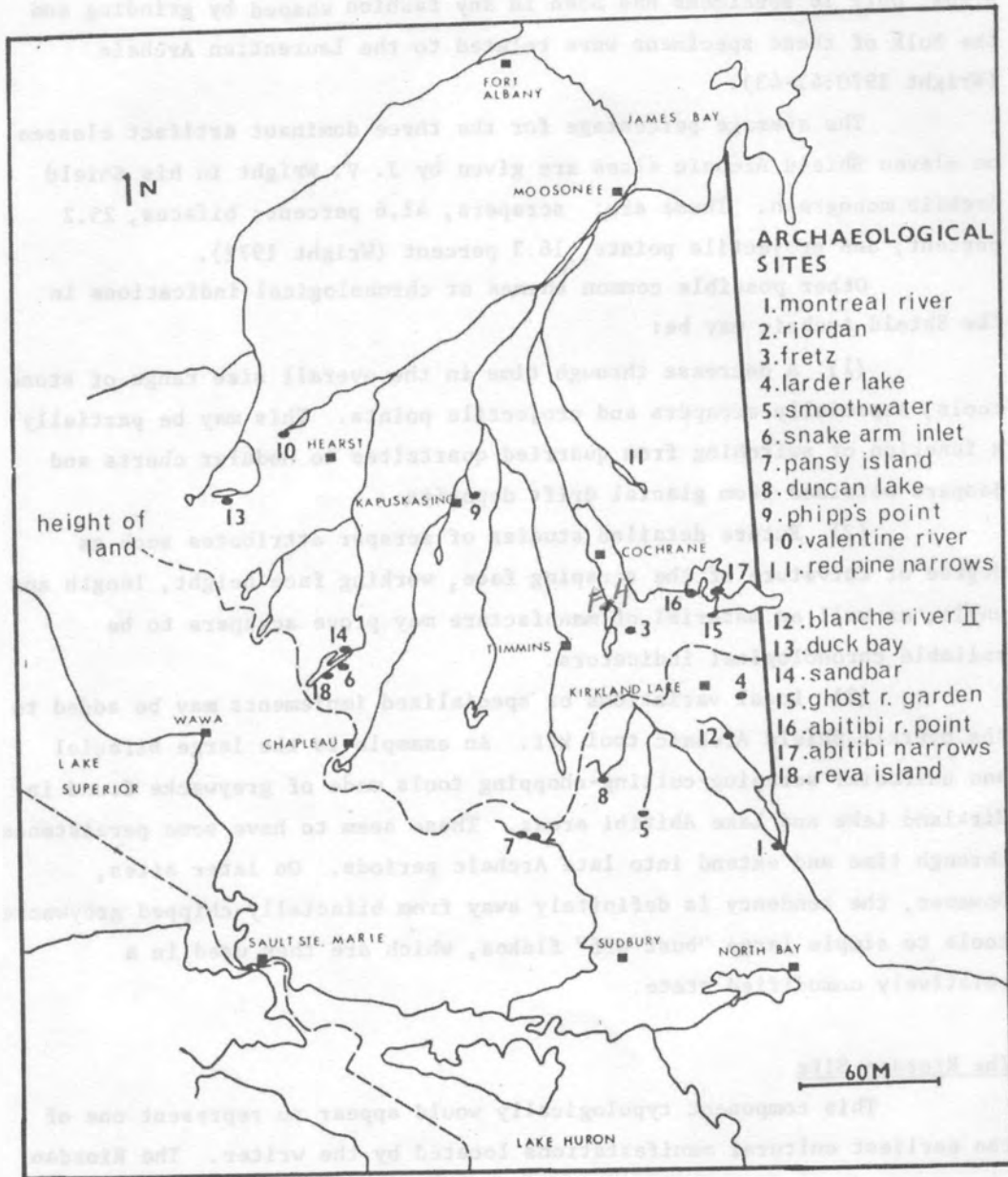


FIGURE 2: Archaeological Sites, Northeastern Ontario

TABLE 1: Algonquian Culture Development,  
Northeastern Ontario

Time	Location	Component
1600 A.D.	L A T	Historic Algonquin      Historic Cree      Historic Ojibwa and Peninsular Woodland Peoples
1500 A.D.	E	Ghost River Garden      Duck Bay      Sandbar      Reva Island
1400 A.D.	W O O	Blanche River II      Valentine River      Sandbar
1300 A.D.	D L A	Phipp's Point      Snake Arm
1200 A.D.	N D	Larder Lake (A)      Pansy Island
500 A.D.	M I D D L E	Duncan Lake      Snake Arm      Snake Arm
200 B.C.	W O D L A N D	Larder Lake (B)      Fretz
1000 B.C.	E L D	Smoothwater
2000 B.C.	A R C H A I C	Fretz Abitibi Narrows Larder Lake (C) Riordan

DOC. 2

**DOCUMENTS SHOWING WHY A TRADER**  
**WOULD TAKE A LOCAL NATIVE WOMAN AS HIS WIFE**

1. Genealogy Report 1990 for John Mannall.

2. Jennifer Brown Page 72.

It is possible in fact that numerous 18th Century Officers preferred Indian Women since their value in forming Trade Alliances with their Relatives and Communities was considerable.

3. Women of The Fur Trade 1774 - 1821 by A. Gottfred:

Fur Traders married Native or Mixed Blood Women. By marrying a Native Woman, Fur Traders strengthened Trade Ties with her Native Relatives and helped to improve relations with the rest of Her Nation. He now has ready access to information on their Language and Culture.

4. Praxis Research Page 150:

References Posts where John Mannall worked and states that European Men were invoved in Marital Relations with Local Native Women.

8+9  
JOHN MANNALL

John Mannall came from Kelsale, a small town near the east coast of Suffolk. On a detailed map you will find it north-east of Ipswich, just north of Saxmundham. Incidentally, a friend who grew up in Suffolk says the name Mannall would be pronounced Maan-al, with the accent on the first syllable.

If he was age 29 in 1791 [HBCA A30/5], he would have been born about 1762. The IGI [International Genealogical Index] includes the registers of Kelsale, but there is no John Mannall of the right age. One must note, however, that Richard and Mary Mannall of Kelsale had a daughter Hannah baptised 11 November 1770. Hannah would seem to be a family name and there may be some association.

In 1786 John Mannall joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a writer at a salary of £15 p/a. He would have arrived at Moose Factory on the company's ship during the late summer of that year.

The following year his entry in Lists of Servants in Hudson's Bay reads:

Highly commended for his Sobriety and good Behaviour. Mr. Mangent wishes to have him at Brunswick House instead of Wm. Bolland. -- To be Writer at Brunswick House. [HBCA A30/4]

It would seem, however, that he was actually stationed at a subsidiary post, Frederick House, where he is listed as Chief or Second -- the post only had four men according to the Jarvis map -- from 1788 through 1794.

The summer of 1794 he established a post at Kenogamissi [Kennoogumissee] on a lake at the head of the south branch of the Moose River. [HBCA B99/a/1] and served here until 1800 except for the winter of 1797-1798 when he returned to England on leave. It was probably here that he took an Indian wife according to the 'custom of the country'. "Mrs. Mannall" was undoubtedly the daughter of a local Chief whose good will could make all the difference in the success of the new post. Their daughter Hannah was born here in August 1795.

Mannall's salary rose steadily from £20 to £25, £30 in 1795-96, £35 in 1797, to £50 in 1801. In these years that he was living inland, he was also getting a bounty for Beaver and other traded and was allowed £5-5- for a Beaver Coat. The coat seems to have been given for the trip home through Arctic waters, but must have been quite a sight if worn in London, not to mention Kelsale.

In the Moose Fort Journal, John Thomas Sr. wrote:

1797 - Sept. 27 Friday ...Mr. Mannall is also about to take his departure with Captn. Hanwell & being about closing the Packet I have only to add my ardent wish for the safe arrival...

A year later, on 7 Sept. 1798, Mannall's return was also noted. [HBCA B135/a/87].

From 1798-1800 he was again at Kenogamissi, but then we find other men in charge. From 1804 to 1812 John Thomas Jr. was in charge.

Jarvis case) and most went by Indian names. They were perhaps as likely to marry Indians (as did Thu'cotch Jacobs) as to be allied with "Englishmen." There is no particular evidence that their fathers arranged or intervened in their marriages; indeed Cocking, Norton, and Jarvis's wife's father were all either absent or deceased when their daughters married. And there is little sign of sentiment on the traders' part that native company daughters should be allied with traders rather than Indians or that they were preferred to Indian women as mates. It is possible, in fact, that numerous eighteenth-century officers would have preferred Indian women as partners, since their value in forming trade alliances with their Indian relatives and communities was considerable.

Accompanying their general assumption that native-born children would pass into Indian society, some company men held the logical corollary belief that they should be actively prepared for an Indian life. Although he admired Mary Norton's distinctiveness from Indian women, Samuel Hearne felt that her father was "very blamable from bringing her up in the tender manner which he did," for she therefore lacked resistance to fatigue and hardship, and lacked the skills to provide for herself. He went on to state his point in more general terms:

This is, indeed, too frequent a practice among Europeans in that country, who bring up their children in so indulgent a manner, that when they retire, and leave their offspring behind, they find themselves so helpless, as to be unable to provide for the few wants to which they are subject. The late Mr. Ferdinand Jacobs . . . was the only person whom I ever knew that acted in a different manner; though no man could possibly be fonder of his children . . . as there were some that he could not bring to England, he had them brought up entirely among the natives; so that when he left the country, they scarcely ever felt the loss, though they regretted the absence of a fond and indulgent parent (Tyrrell 1911: 160).

By the late 1790s, however, company men were no longer advocating Hearne's or Jacobs's approach. With growing openness, officers and even some lower-ranked men were fathering children who began to play their own parts in the social and economic life of the posts. It is doubtful whether the small local Indian groups with their often precarious subsistence base could have absorbed all these offspring, even if they were willing. And as traders grew more visibly committed to their native families, they became more reluctant to see these children slip away into Indian life and sought to find them new roles within the company's establishments.

# Women of the Fur Trade 1774-1821

[Home](#)[Article Index](#)

## Art. II. *Femmes du Pays* : *Women of the Fur Trade, 1774-1821*, by A. Gottfred.

Being a brief introduction to the role of women in the fur trade, and some suggestions for female reenactors.

### *Introduction*

Many male reenactors portray the dashing voyageurs and stolid Bay men of the British and French fur trade. Little information is available, however, to women interested in participating in fur trade reenactments.

The roles played by women in the fur trade were incredibly varied. Although there was a handful of white women in the fur country after 1812, most fur traders married Native or Mixed-blood women. These relationships had a firm, practical foundation. By marrying a Native or Mixed-blood woman, fur traders strengthened trade ties with her Native relatives. The marriage also could help to improve relations with the rest of her nation, as the fur trader now had ready access to inside information on their language and culture. There were also tangible benefits to having a 'country wife.' In Native cultures, women usually set up camp, dressed furs, made leather, cooked meals, gathered firewood, made moccasins, netted snowshoes, and many other things that were essential to daily life for both Natives and fur traders, yet were unfamiliar tasks for Europeans. Country wives were more than diplomatic pawns or unpaid servants, however ; they were women with minds and hearts, thoughts and feelings, who occupied a unique position between two cultures.

### *Brief Introduction to the Fur Trade*

The period from 1774 to 1821 was one of the most exciting in the history of the North American fur trade. Before 1774, the two main forces in the fur trade had remained largely separate, with the Montreal-based fur traders trading in the Great Lakes area, and southern and western Manitoba. The London-based Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) stayed in their forts on the shore of Hudson's Bay and waited, like English shopkeepers, for the Natives to bring their furs to them.

excelled in as a result of their mixed Aboriginal/European upbringing. For example, there are records of métis servants as interpreters, canoe builders, and skilled hunters;

- ▶ Although the evidence indicates that the resource-poor environment demanded that all men stationed at inland posts engage in some subsistence harvesting, the records also suggest that in some cases, métis servants were primary post provisioners. William Polson and his family at Abitibi stand out as one such case. The critical need for experienced hunters at inland posts where environmental pressures were greatest may have highlighted the benefits of the specialized skills some métis men possessed;
- ▶ There are numerous instances of métis servants and their families setting up temporary hunting and fishing camps at more productive sites a distance from the post. Here they would live for days or weeks, harvesting resources aimed at helping to provision the post;
- Unlike fur trade regions along the Great Lakes or further west in the Lake of the Woods area, evidence from Abitibi region fur trade records suggest that the occupation of *voyageur* was not an identifying feature of métis ethnicity:
  - ▶ Records indicate that inland posts depended on local Indian men to paddle the canoes to and from Moose Factory or Fort Timiskaming. French-Canadian and métis voyageurs were apparently unavailable, and local trappers were considered “cheap” labour, although they and their families also benefited from the payment of provisions and other goods. Voyaging was seasonal, journey-specific employment;
  - ▶ Company men – often métis – always commanded or supervised the canoe brigades, making sure the fur packs arrived at their destination and returning to the post with provisions from the fort. However, the label *voyageur* was not applied to such men.

## 8.6 ABORIGINAL / EUROPEAN MARITAL UNIONS

- A detailed examination of available journal records from each NWC and HBC fur trade post in the Abitibi region demonstrates that company men at each were involved in *à la façon du pays*, or common-law marriages. References to the country wives and families of company men are found in the journals for Frederick House, Abitibi House, Kenogamissi, Matawagamingue, Flying Post, and Matachewan:
  - ▶ Early records from fur trade posts in the Abitibi region provide evidence that European company men were involved in marital relations with local Aboriginal women. References to a company man’s “woman,” “lady” or “girl” appear only in the earliest journals from the late 1700s and early 1800s;

KENOGAMISSI (1794-1822): At Kenogamissi, several HBC post journal entries indicate the presence of wives and families. Again, there are almost no entries during the first years of this post's establishment, although the post manager in 1796, John Mannall is known to have married an Aboriginal or métis woman at some point. "Mrs Mannall" reportedly helped provision Moose Factory with fish in 1808, perhaps while her husband was there on business (Brown 1980a:73). By 1812 Richard Good was master at Kenogamissi, and several journal entries refer to his wife and family:

*Oct 17th. ...Self, Wife & Harry Lawson went to the fishing place, where the fish resort to spawn in hopes of procuring some.*

*Oct 23. Friday. Mr. Rich'd Good & family... arrived from the Factory...*  
(Doc.#20:2-2d)

By this time, journal entries more frequently document the activities of Company men and their families. In the space of four folios covering the period from October 19 to December 24, 1812, the journal keeper at Kenogamissi refers six times to the activities of Charles Beads and Joseph Turnor and their wives:

*Oct. 23... Charles Beads and his Wife arrived from the Factory...*

*Oct 26... Sent ...Charles Beads and his Wife up to the fishing Fall...*

*Oct. 28... Sent Joseph Turnor and his Wife and John Kirkness to the Fishing Place...*

*Oct. 29... Charles Beads and his wife came home with 14 Rundlets of salted fish...*

*Nov.28... On the 26 last sent Charles Beads and his Wife out a Tenting...*

*Dec. 19... Dispatched Wm. Stanger back to Joseph Turnor with whom he is going to stay with, and by whom I sent a month's flour for himself and partner.*

(Doc.#20:2d-4)

Entries about Joseph Turnor and his family are frequent in the post journals for the remaining years of the HBC's presence at Kenogamissi. For example, in summer 1817 "Mrs. Turnor" stayed near the post sharing some of her fish catches, while her husband was away at Moose Factory (Doc.#28:1d). For part of their time there, it appears that Turnor and his family wintered at an outpost called "Wyaskash" (Doc.#30:25). Turnor is listed as a servant in the 1820 District Report, and it is likely that he stayed until 1822 when the post was abandoned after the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC (Doc.#32:1d).

In July 1815 James Kellock "& wife" arrived from Moose Factory to spend the year at Kenogamissi (Doc.#23:1d). Charles Beads left soon after to make a supply trip to Moose, while a "John Beads" – possibly his métis son – stayed on at Kenogamissi where he was employed for the



summer. In December 1815, "Betsy Kellock" – either James' wife or a métis daughter – brought home ten rabbits (Doc.#23:11d). Frequent entries in the 1817 journal refer to Kellock and his wife engaged in various hunting activities, primarily snaring of rabbits (Doc.#26:14d-15). Entries from 1816-1818 indicate that John Grant – the NWC master at Kenogamissi during this time – also had a wife and family (Docs.#23:25; #28:23). Peter Spence, the HBC master in 1817-20 also made occasional journal entries about his wife, particularly in regard to her fishing and rabbit snaring activities (Docs.#28: 4d-5; #30:4; #31:49).

**ABITIBI HOUSE (1794-1929):** The earliest journal record of an HBC Company man at Abitibi who may have had an Aboriginal mate is dated August 11, 1797 when post manager Robert Folster "and an Indian Woman proceeded for the Fort in a Small canoe" (Doc.#4:2). On May 10, 1790 Folster noted that "a Canadian Clerk and his wife went of [sic] after Belly" who had been sent to follow another "Canadian and Indian" to Frederick House, for "fear that they should see more Indians and Entice the Furrs from them" (Doc.#4:12d). Both the HBC and NWC spent considerable time and energy following each other in an attempt to thwart each other's collection of furs from Indians, and it appears that men frequently brought their wives along. The reason for their presence on such trips is never stated, although it is possible that these women were members of bands from whom the traders hoped to collect furs, and that their presence would help entice that trade. Possibly these Aboriginal wives were also useful as local guides. In May 1807, Canadian "Mr. Charles Lapplant (his Wife) & 2 Men of Our Opponents" were spotted travelling "down the River... to Indians Ground"; two HBC men followed their canoe for two days before returning home to Abitibi (Doc.#14:11). Richard Good, the Abitibi post manager at this time, and his "Wife" journeyed together to Moose Factory in 1807 (Doc.#15:3). Robert Gill, another HBC man at Abitibi House during this time, is also recorded to have had a wife (Doc.#16:5). By 1810, Richard Good's journal entries refer to his "family", as do entries about "Thos. Richards Junr. & his Family" (Doc.#19:2d).

After amalgamation, several new names begin to appear in the Abitibi post journals. Perhaps the most significant is William Polson, whose family name can be traced in the Abitibi area into the mid-1900s. Polson – a halfbreed born in Eastmain – was hired as interpreter at Abitibi House in 1821, was promoted to Postmaster in 1841, and in total lived at Abitibi well over 25 years. The first entry referring to the Polson family at Abitibi House occurs in November 1822 when "Polson & family arrived in the evening from the fishing place having procured in all about eleven kegs" (Doc.#34:2d). Another entry in January 1823 records that, "Polson & wife went to examine their Cat-snares" (Doc.#34:5d). In July 1825, Polson, his wife and their youngest daughter became "very sick"; the little girl died and was buried at Abitibi House (Doc.#43:3d). Polson and his family are mentioned frequently in the Abitibi House post journals and, as was discussed in Chapter 4, evidence indicates that he and his wife were the leading provisioners of country food for the post.

Also after amalgamation and the permanent closing of Frederick House, the Charles Beads family took up residence at Abitibi House. On October 7, 1828, "Charles Beads and his Family went to the Fishing Place at white fish River" (Doc.#53:9). This family also appears to have been engaged as provisioners, as indicated in a December 1828 entry that they "came home from Tenting" (Doc.#53:16d). By the 1850s journals show that both Polson and Beads had sons who worked with

**DOC. ALG - 40269**

**1. MOOSE FORT JOURNALS 1783 - 85, APPENDIX B, PAGE 341**

This is a statement about Sowewaminican and where it is.

Page 18 of Enrollment Officer's report uses the same name that it is West of Kenogamissi where Mannall trades and travels to. This is misleading.

**2. These, again as in 2012, are the correct documents.**

(a) Algonquins of Pikwakanagan First Nation Genealogical Research Project.

(b) Ontario Forts:

Shows Sowewaminican Post near Matachewan. Langue De Terre Post near Matachewan

Trade also comes from Abitibi. This is where Mannall visits and trade comes from.

(c) Fur Trade Route and Post Maps show area of John Mannall's work history before Hannah is born.

(d) Page 6 of Enrollment Report, as in 2012, states no direct Water Connection between Frederick House and Abitibi. Fur Trade Routes Map provided shows the River Systems. The Frederick House River connects to the Abitibi River. There is a short overland carrying place between with not much difficulty.

A

**ALGONQUINS OF PIKWÀKANAGÀN FIRST NATION**  
**GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECT – DOCUMENT INDEX**

**HANNAH MANNALL/MANNEL**

Doc. #	Date	Nature of Document	Summary	Reference
1	[1790]	Secondary source	<p>"In 1790, [Aeneas] Cameron [of Fort Abitibi] himself visited Frederick House in the company of John Mannall, a Hudson's Bay clerk whom he had met on Lake Abitibi. William Bolland, the master of Frederick House, had sent Mannall to waylay Indians there but on reaching the place where he intended to camp, Mannall had discovered that Cameron had been there since the beginning of March. As a result, Mannall had secured only a few furs which he traded in the night for brandy. Cameron stayed two days at Frederick House, afterward reporting to Grant that he had seen two Indian women there who belonged to Langue de Terre." Langue de Terre was the Canadians' name for Sowe,a,wa, me, ni,ca settlement that was a post belonging to Fort Temiskaming in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century situated on west branch of the Montreal River on Lake Mistinikon.</p>	<p>Mitchell, Elaine Allan, <i>Fort Temiskaming and the Fur Trade</i>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, p. 37.</p>



**Description:**

This map shows locations of fur trading posts for the period 1600 to 1870. The first known owner of the post (France, England, Canadian

### Capusacasee Posts

(Chapleau - Nemegosenda River Provincial Park)

(1820 - unknown), near Elsas

A Hudson's Bay Co. post located on Kapuskasing Lake.

A North West Co. post was also here (date ?).

### Flying Post

(1800 - 1895),

A North West Co. post located on the Groundhog River, just downriver from Kukatush Lake. Also known as

**Acacoutishendaw Post** (also spelled **Kuckatush**). Became a Hudson's Bay Co. post after 1821 (HBC records begin 1823).

### Gogama Post

(1931 - 1950's), Gogama

A Hudson's Bay Co. post (HBC records cover 1931 - 1933). The town was first settled in 1917.

### Mattagami Posts (1) (3)

(1794, 1814 - 1895), Mattagami Lake

Originally an independent British trade post, or a North West Co. post.

A Hudson's Bay Co. post was located here in 1814 (HBC records begin 1816). Also spelled (or known as) **Matawagamingue** after 1817.

### Kenogamissi Posts

(1794 - 1822), Kenogamissi Lake

Hudson's Bay Co. employees from Frederick House, 64 km to the northeast, established an outpost here to counter the fur trading activities of the North West Co. in the area, and it succeeded so well that in 1812 it became the chief post and Frederick House the subsidiary. Throughout its existence, it engaged in spirited competition with the Nor'Westers on Mattagami Lake and Kukatush Lake, some 51 km to the south and west, respectively. In 1822, following the union of the rival companies, Kenogamissi was closed (HBC records end 1821) and the business of the district conducted thereafter from the establishments of Mattagami and Flying Post (formerly Kukatush). Marker located at the public boat access area beside The Cache Campground on Kenogamissi Lake, off Highway 144, southwest of *Timmins*.

A North West Co. post was also here (date ?).

### Sowewaminicaw Post

(1785), near Matachewan ?

An independent British trade post.

### Langue de Terre Posts

(1785, 1788), near Matachewan ?

Two independent British trade posts.

CORRECT  
PLACE DOC ~~??~~  
ALG-40269

### Matachewan Post

(1867 - 1890 ?), Matachewan

A Hudson's Bay Co. post (HBC records cover only 1890), located eight kilometres north of the present town. No remains, a church is now located on the site.

### Abitibi House

(1800 - unknown), Lake Abitibi

A Hudson's Bay Co. post located on the west shore of the lower (western) portion of the lake.

A North West Co. post was also here in 1801.



JAMES BAY

LAKE SUPERIOR

VOLUME I



Map 2 Far trade posts and routes (by Thai-Nguyen.Nguyen)

**ENROLLMENT OFFICER'S REPORT - PAGE 18**

It states that these Posts, according to the most reputable sources, are in Cree or Ojibwe Territory during the Relevant Time Period.

**Same Statement as in 2012.**

These documents show once again what First Nation controls, and in charge of the area these Posts are in.

1. Previous Map A 10: Abitibi Hunting Grounds (Jenkin's 1939: 28)
2. Previous Map: Antonio Zatta (1784)
3. Couture Map: Algonquin Territory
4. Page 112 Praxis Research, shows Abitibi Post and Matagami Post almost 106 years after Hannah was born as almost 100% Algonquin In Racial/Tribal Origin, new Post was not founded until late 1800's.
5. 1901 Census document shows no Ojibwe (Chippewa) are recorded.
6. Praxis Research, Page 53, states that in 1784, Turner established a Post at the Junction of the Abitibi and Frederick Rivers. This is at the request of the Abitibi Indians (Mitchell 1977' 26 - 27). Later, the Post is changed to Frederick House Lake. Mannall is stationed here in 1788.
7. Praxis Research shows conclusions that the opinions of many Historians are that the Abitibi are not Cree.
8. Pikagon First Nation, the Quebec half of the Abitibi Nation, is Algonquin.
9. **THESE DOCUMENTS WERE GIVEN IN MARCH, 2022.**

**WHY WERE THEY NOT USED?**



## 4. THE ABITIBI FUR TRADE REGION, 1784 - 1890

The establishment of Frederick House in 1784 by the Hudson's Bay Company marked the beginning of intense competition in the Abitibi region between the HBC "English" and the "Canadians" represented mainly by the North West Company. This chapter traces the history of inland expansion of fur trade posts by the NWC north from Fort Timiskaming, and by the HBC south from Moose Factory. This expansion quickly developed both economically and socially into a regional fur trade involving seven post locations along the Abitibi River system. Analyses focus on the social relations among inland posts, the role of Aboriginal women at these posts, and the occupational profile of a subsequent class of servants of mixed ancestry within the region. These discussions provide the fur trade context for a more detailed analysis in Chapter 5, of the development of a regional fur trade community in which a population of mixed ancestry was significant.

### 4.1 THE REGIONAL FUR TRADE CONTEXT

#### 4.1.1 Competition and Inland Expansion of the Fur Trade, 1784-1821

By the late 1770s, Canadian-based fur trade companies, as well as French and early British "Pedlars" were operating directly in the interior region around Lake Abitibi, forcing the Hudson's Bay Company to compete by expanding inland from Moose Factory (Judd 1980:129; cf. Ray 1988:342). Pedlars were free traders from Montreal, French and English Canadians who traded *en derouine* after the British conquest of New France. Pedlars tended to build informal posts inland, developing intimate trade dealings with local Indians which Brown suggests carried over to relationships with Indian women (Brown 1980a:82-83). Little has been written about the Pedlars, although it appears they were a hardy brand of trader, experienced inland travellers willing to live if necessary, "on fish or raw oatmeal and water" (Mitchell 1977:29). Although the Pedlars' trade activity was independent and unorganized, they posed serious competition to the HBC:

*About the year 1773 the Canadian traders from Montreal... had become so numerous and indefatigable at the head of the rivers which led to the Hudson's Bay Company settlements that trade of the latter was in a great measure cut off. The Indians being supplied with everything at their own doors had no occasion to paddle several hundred miles to the Company's forts. (In Voorhis 1930:21)*

In response, HBC headquarters in London sent a surveyor, Philip Turnor, to scout for potential post locations in the interior around Lake Abitibi. In 1779, Turnor encountered one of the Canadian inland trading establishments, reporting that it consisted of three larger trading houses and ten smaller dwellings, each of the latter also being trading houses by virtue of "every one of their men being a trader" (in Brown 1980a:82).

A variety of small Canadian fur trade companies and independent Pedlar operations continued to compete in the region over the next several years, and in the winter of 1788 no less than five Canadian settlements were reported on Lake Abitibi (*ibid.*:31). According to Voorhis (1930:19), the North West Fur Trading Company was formed in 1783 as a direct result of the rivalry over the inland trade, creating a united front of private traders opposed to the expansionist efforts of the HBC. By 1790 the main players in the fur trade rivalry in the Abitibi region were the North West Company's Timiskaming posts and the Hudson's Bay Company inland posts ruled by the Council at Moose Factory (Mitchell 1977:37). This rivalry existed continuously and intensively until the coalition of the two companies in 1821 (Voorhis 1930:23).

In 1784 Turnor established a temporary HBC post at Frederick House, its purpose to compete with the Canadians, apparently in conjunction with requests from Abitibi Indians who had asked that a post be established further inland from Moose Factory.<sup>16</sup> The Company's original intent was to build a post on Lake Abitibi where the Canadians were already well established. However, Turnor was warned by local Indians that large game (deer) was scarce there, and the post was established at the junction of the Abitibi and Pusquachama (Frederick House) rivers, "a strategic site in the centre of the Abitibi Indians' lands" (Mitchell 1977:26-27). A year later a more permanent post was built on the south east shore of Lake Waratowaca (Frederick House Lake) where the fishery was more productive.<sup>17</sup> From the Moose Council's perspective, Frederick House was an expensive post to supply and disappointing in terms of fur returns, but nevertheless proved to be a "thorn in the flesh" of James Grant and his Canadian operation out of Fort Timiskaming (*ibid.*).

In 1792 the Canadians built a post on Devil's Island in Frederick House Lake, just offshore from the HBC post. The Moose Council countered this move in 1794 by establishing two new posts in the area, one on Lake Abitibi<sup>18</sup> (by George Gladman) and another on Kenogamissi Lake (by John Mannall). Within months the Canadians retaliated by sending Donald McKay (Sr.) to build a trading house on Lake Matawagamingue, 30 miles southwest of the new Kenogamissi post (Mitchell 1977:41;48). In 1800 MacKay was sent to establish another post on Groundhog Lake, named Flying Post by the Canadians, but known as Kakatoosh (Kukatush) by the HBC men.<sup>19</sup> When MacKay was sent to Fort Timiskaming in 1804, Angus Cameron became master of Matawagamingue and shortly after George McBride took over management of Flying Post (*ibid.*:94).

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<sup>16</sup> Source: HBCA Post History - Frederick House.

<sup>17</sup> This site, along which the Ontario Northland Railway and the highway from Timmins to Iroquois Falls run today, is marked with a plaque erected in 1959 by the Historical Branch of the Public Archives of Ontario (Source: AO, Historical Plaque, 25 July 1959: "Cochrane District - Frederick House, 1785-1821").

<sup>18</sup> Although the HBC had apparently frequented Lake Abitibi off and on since the British conquest of 1763, between 1794 and 1796 the Company established a permanent house and rebuilt the old De Troyes fort (Voorhis 1930:26).

<sup>19</sup> Since at least 1784, the Canadians had operated a post situated up the west branch of the Montreal River on Lake Mistinikon called "Langue de Terre" and in 1788 this post was under the management of Aeneas Cameron. According to Mitchell (1977:68), after Flying Post was established in 1800, record of the Langue de Terre settlement disappears and the post was presumably abandoned.

#### 5.4 1901 CENSUS: MÉTIS POPULATION IN THE ABITIBI REGION

The above analysis has demonstrated the value of the 1901 Census in determining the long-term residence of several métis families in the Abitibi region. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, two factors result in an inconclusive demographic analysis of the métis population in this region at the turn of the century: 1) unidentified "unorganized territories", and; 2) enumerator inconsistencies regarding the identification of métis and their offspring. Despite these methodological problems, the data available on the métis population in 1901 are presented in Table 5.1 below.

**Table 5.1**  
**1901 Census: Métis Enumerated in the Abitibi Region**

<u>Province / District / Sub-D. / Poll.Div.</u>	<u># métis enumerated</u>	<u># métis/Table XI</u>	<u>Total Pop.</u>
Ontario / 92: Nipissing / s <sup>1</sup> / 3 - Nairn...& Unorg.Terr.	382	450	1,947
- Biscotasing CPR	35		
- Matagami Region	36		
- Flying Post Region/Indians	127		
- U. Wahnapeetea/Vermillion	25		
- Unsurveyed territory	159		
Quebec / 180: Pontiac / z / 2 - Unorg.Terr.		47	1,339
- North Timiskaming	62		
Quebec / 180: Pontiac / z / 4 (Indian Reserves)		n/a	n/a
- Abitibi	6		439
- New Post (Ont.)	8		39
- Matagama Post (Ont.)	17		140
Quebec / Unorganized Districts: Abitibi, Ashuanipi, Mistassini		49	2,405

Note: The "# métis enumerated" represents a count of individuals coded as "Breed" from the actual enumeration pages. The "# métis/Table XI" is the official total from the "Table of Origins", Volume 1: Population (Canada 1902).

Sources: Docs.#88; #89; #90; #91; #92.  
Canada 1902:332-335; 378-379; 392-393.

Enumerations for Timmins and Cochrane are not shown on the table above, as the locations of these present-day towns were within unorganized territory at the time. Many of the locations enumerated in the unorganized territory of the Nipissing sub-district were at Canadian Pacific Railway Stations where new pockets of population had recently developed. Margin notes on enumeration pages indicate that the "Unsurveyed Territory" included the following CPR stations: Straight Lake, Pogamasing, Munro's Siding, Metagama, Eureka Lake, Duchesnay, and Ramsay. The townships of

Moncrieff and Harty are also listed and several pages of unsurveyed territory enumerations are for unspecified locations.

The Flying Post enumerations were taken at two locations, one entitled "Flying Post Region Indians" and the other (appearing 5 enumeration pages later) entitled "Flying Post Region". Schedule 2 - "Buildings and Lands" - locates the first around [Middle Branch?] Spanish River and Opeepeesway Lake just several miles north of the CPR Railway near Biscotasing. This area is approximately 70 miles (115 km.) south of Timmins and of the present-day Flying Post Reserve. However, several HBC employees were enumerated here - including Alexander J. McLeod, the Postmaster from 1892-1901 - confirming that the post location (maintained at its original site on the Groundhog River, 50 mi./ 80 km. southwest of Timmins) was also included in this Census region.<sup>54</sup> The second set of Flying Post enumerations are vaguely located in Schedule 2 as "Waters Flying Post Region" and while it is possible that this represented the area around present-day Flying Post Reserve (where the Ivanhoe meets the Groundhog River, 45 mi./70 km. due west of Timmins), this remains unconfirmed.

The Matagami region was also enumerated in two sections, and by two different enumerators, one in Ontario (Nipissing - "Matagami region") and the other in Quebec (Pontiac - "Mattagama Lake / Matagama Post HBC").<sup>55</sup> These enumerations apparently covered two parts of the same local region, and it is likely that the Quebec enumerator visited the Indian Reserve while the Ontario enumerator visited the rest of the region. Both enumerators seemed to have visited the HBC post at Matagami (formerly Matawagamingue), as James Miller<sup>56</sup> the Postmaster from 1898-1908 appears on both lists.<sup>57</sup>

Overall, the 1901 Census indicates that between 450-500 métis individuals lived in the Abitibi region. Within the Nipissing, Ontario sub-district of "Nairn, Lorne, Hyman and unorganized territory", the métis enumerated in Upper Wahnapeetea and Vermillion waters and in the unspecified unsurveyed territories, identified mainly as Chippewa or Algonquin "Breed", and most family names appear to be of Aboriginal origin (eg., Waugayezick, Neagoneyabo, Wessegas). This contrasts sharply with métis enumerated in Biscotasing, Matagami, and Flying Post where the majority of

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<sup>54</sup> Also, HBCA Post History - Flying Post.

<sup>55</sup> The pages recorded by the Quebec enumerator are variously titled, as follows: first page, "Avisty Rock on Mattagama Lake Ontario"; second page, "Matagama Post - HBC Algoma Ontario"; third and fourth pages, "Matagama Algoma Ontario" (Doc.#92). It is presumed here to refer to Mattagama Lake / Matagami Post (formerly Matawagamingue).

<sup>56</sup> In the Ontario enumeration, James Miller is listed together with Hanna his "Chippewa EB" wife and 9 "Chippewa OB" children (Doc.#88:10-11). The Quebec enumerator lists James Miller with his "ME" wife Anny, and 7 "ME" children (Doc.#92:n/p). Although there are some minor differences between the two enumerations (eg., variants of given names), the similarities are striking and indicate that this family was enumerated twice. A final count of métis in the Matagami region must take into account that Miller's wife and seven of his children were counted twice.

<sup>57</sup> Also, HBCA Post History - Matawagamingue.

surnames are of French, Scottish or English origin (eg., Isaac<sup>58</sup>, Langevie, Restoul, Friday, Ward, Linklater, Moore, McKay). As demonstrated above, a significant number of these European family names can also be linked to the fur trade in the Abitibi region. The majority in this latter group identified their Aboriginal origin as "Chippewa", the remainder identifying as "Cree."

The métis enumerated in the Nipissing unorganized territory represented almost 25% of that sub-district's total population. The vast majority (85%) of that métis population lived in the "unorganized territory" parts of the sub-district, which included the fur trade areas of Flying Post and Matagami. Occupations of the métis men included: Trapper (60); HBC Employee (5); Lumbermen (4); Railway Trackmen (2); Miscellaneous trades, eg., carpenter, teacher, clergyman (7).

The "unorganized territory" of the Pontiac District examined here is titled "Indian Reserves - Quebec" and includes Abitibi, plus two HBC posts in Ontario, New Post and Matagami. A different census form was used to enumerate these "Indian Reserves", and no column exists for profession or occupation. Hence this type of information is not available for Abitibi, New Post or Matagami.

At Abitibi, the HBC post was evidently also enumerated, as Robert Skene the Clerk in charge from 1900-1902 is listed here.<sup>59</sup> Although identified as "District 180, Sub-district z, Polling Division 4", it is possible that in Table XI, this population is tabulated under the "Unorganized Districts" of Quebec for which a total of 49 métis is recorded (Canada 1902:392-393). Thirty-nine individuals were coded as ME in the enumeration pages for Abitibi, New Post and Matagami Post. However, as indicated above, several households descending from known métis fur trade families were coded as R (eg., Beads), and as was the case with North Timiskaming, in several cases children of métis parents were also coded as R. Taking into account individuals from these latter categories, it can be speculated that the métis population totalled a maximum of 58 persons, broken down as follows: Abitibi (19); New Post (8); Matagami Post (26).

At Abitibi, the Quebec enumerator identified 95% of the population as Algonquin in racial/tribal origin, including the minority who identified as métis. The remaining 5% consisted of 17 Cree individuals and 7 Europeans. The only household to completely identify as métis at Abitibi is William Ellison, his wife and three children. As mentioned above, two Beads households were enumerated at Abitibi, but are coded "R", as are four McDougall households.<sup>60</sup> A Henry Dokis family is also listed, and it is possible that this family was related to "Ducas" or "Dukis", the independent

<sup>58</sup> A William Isaac household was enumerated as "Cree FB" and "Chippewa FB" at Matagami, and Albert Isaac plus a Widow Isaac household were enumerated as "Chippewa OB" at Flying Post. A probable relative, John Isaac, was one of the signatories to Treaty 9 at Flying Post on July 16, 1906 (Doc.#102:312).

<sup>59</sup> Source: HBCA Post History - Abitibi.

<sup>60</sup> The 1901 Census for Abitibi (Indian Reserve) enumerated the following McDougall households, all of which identified as "R" (Rouge) "Algonquine": McDougall, Andrew (age 36, wife + 4 children); McDougall, Louis Jr. (age 44, wife + 2 children); McDougall, Louis Sr. (age 70, wife + 2 children); McDougall, Michel (age 60, wife + 1 child) (Doc.#90). The first three men listed here were signatories to Treaty 9 at Abitibi on June 7, 1906 (Doc.#102:311).

trader who activities prompted the HBC to establish Matachewan Post in 1865 (Doc.#90:10).

New Post had a very small population of only 37 individuals in 1901, of which 8 identified as métis. The Scottish HBC Clerk, Christopher Jobson, was married to a "Métis Ecossoise" woman who along with their son are coded ME.<sup>61</sup> The only family entirely coded ME is that of John McClaude. This is possibly a variant of McLeod, and HBC records show that a John McLeod ('native of the country') was the post manager at New Post from 1911-1918 (*ibid.*). The racial/tribal origin of the New Post population was as follows: Cree (21); Algonquin (15).

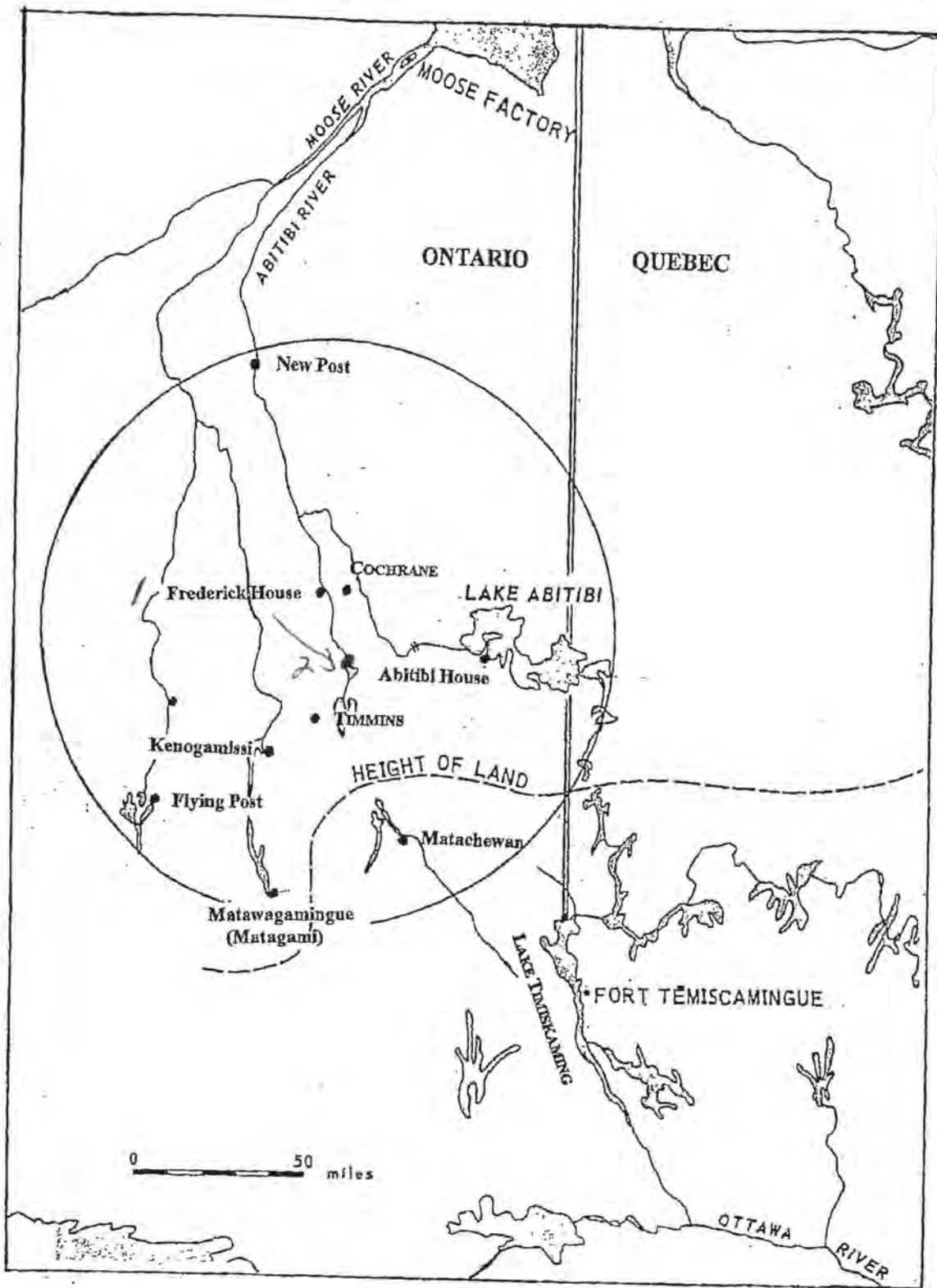
At Mattagama Lake / Matagama Post, the population again is identified as mainly Algonquin in racial/tribal origin. Of 140 individuals enumerated, only five individuals identified as Cree. The few families coded as ME or MF had mainly European family names, for example, Groux, Restoul, Moore, and Miller.

In the unorganized territory of North Timiskaming (Pontiac District, Quebec), the métis enumerated also had family names of mainly European origin (eg., Lapointe, McBride, Polson, King). The majority of this group identified their Aboriginal origin as Algonquin, several identified as Chippewa, and only a few as Cree. Although Table XI lists a total of only 47 métis in the "Unorganized territory" of Pontiac District, 62 métis individuals coded as ME (Métis Ecossoise) or MF (Métis Français) were counted on the enumeration pages. This number is skewed, as several of the children of métis parents were coded as "R" (Rouge) rather than as ME or MF. If such children and if individuals with fur trade family names (known to have descended from métis fur traders - eg., Polson) are added to the number of individuals actually coded ME or MF, the total number of métis in the sub-district of unorganized territory - North Timiskaming could be as high as 107. The occupational profile of these métis men included: 9 Farmers; 6 Hunters/Trappers; 6 Labourers; 1 Carpenter.

The methodological problem of enumerator inconsistency makes it impossible to know for certain if the codes for "Colour" and "Tribal/Racial Origin" are indicative of self-identification. Enumeration instructions stated that the "heads of families, households and institutions are required to furnish the enumerator with all particulars regarding every person in the family, household or institution" (Canada 1902:xviii, no.43). This implies that the Census intended for persons to self-identify their colour and racial origin. However, the extent to which individual enumerators' explanations of colour and racial/tribal categories influenced people's answers cannot be known. However, if individuals were coded strictly according to how they self-identified, then the 1901 enumerations are suggestive of a sense of capital "M" Métis ethnicity in some local regions. Two localities within the Abitibi region stand out as possible foci for métis community:

1. The first and most probable locale of métis ethnicity is the Flying Post region in which 127 individuals self-identified as "Chippewa Breed" (total of both the "Indians" and the "Region" enumerations). That this number includes Abitibi region fur trade métis family names such as

<sup>61</sup> Also, HBCA Post History - New Post.



- STUDY REGION -  
**HISTORIC MÉTIS IN ONTARIO: TIMMINS, COCHRANE AND ABITIBI REGION**

**ALGONQUIN POPULATION IN THE ABITIBI REGION: 1901 CENSUS**

	<u>ALGONQUIN</u>	<u>CREE</u>	<u>EUROPEANS</u>
ONTARIO ABITIBI POPULATION: 439	415 ( 95% )	17	7
ONTARIO NEW POST POPULATION: 36	15	21	
ONTARIO MATAGAMA POST POPULATION: 140	135	5	
<b>POPULATION TOTALS:</b>	<b><u>565</u></b>	<b><u>43</u></b>	<b><u>7</u></b>

OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF **615** INDIVIDUALS, **565 IDENTIFIED AS ALGONQUIN** IN RACIAL / TRIBAL ORIGIN.

In 1736, Maray De La Chauvernie talks about the Tabitibi's are One Hundred Warriors. At the mouth of the Temiscaming they are Twenty Warriors. At the Head of the Lake Twenty are Domiciled. If so, are they part of the same Nation as James Morrison states?



## CONCLUSIONS

Praxis Research is for Historic Metis in Ontario. No consensus exists on Tribal Identity but favors an interpretation.

The Abitibi Region is where boundaries between Cree Ojibwa and Algonquin cannot be determined (Day & Trigger 1978 Bishop 1981, McNulty and Gibert 1981).

Couture (Ethnohistorian) uses Father Vimont (1640) to base his claim Abitibi is Algonquin. Vimont uses memoirs of Trader and Interpreter Jean Nicolet De Belleborne (who spent the 1620's among the Nipissings). He mentions several groups among them Timiscimi (Timiskamings) and Outimagami (Temagami).

Father Druillettes (1659 – 1660) uses Awatanik (Indian Convert from Lake Michigan) travels to James Bay and down through Lake Abitibi. Abitibi Natives are not identified as (Cree).

French Military Leader Greysolon Du, LHUT (1684 Journal) refers to the Abitibi as Distinct from (Cree).

Maray De La Chauvergnie (1736) equates Tabittibs as Tete De Boule in one sentence, but later distinguishes them from that Group.

Alexander Henry (1762) suggests that Gens Des Terres were not affiliated with either Ojibwa or Cree Tribal Groups.

Honigmann's map shows (Cree) territory includes part of upper Mattagami and Abitibi Rivers, but stops short of Lake Abitibi.

Parent provides no direct evidence that 17<sup>th</sup> Century Abitibi formed part of a (Cree) Nation.

Honigmann (1981:221) The presence of Totems or Totemic Groups is strong evidence that the Abitibi cannot be considered (Cree).

Viau (1995 A:101) resists labeling as (Cree). Viau (1999A:145) argues that because of the Fur Trade and movement and migrations of Bands, the Historic Abitibi acquired a partial Ojibwa membership and its predominant mixed Ojibwa – Cree

character. Viau says that Clans among the Abitibi stem from contact with the incoming Ojibwa as they expanded their territory through migration and involvement with the Fur Trade.

Inclusion of the Abitibi within the wide and generic Rubric (Gens Des Terres) from the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century to the mid 18<sup>th</sup> Century contributes to their relative obscurity. Alexander Henry, who personally dealt with Algonquin, Ojibwa and Cree during his travels as a Fur Trader and Explorer suggests that these Indian Groups were neither (Ojibwa) nor (Cree). It's not until the early to mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century up until the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century that the Abitibi were composed predominantly of Ojibwa and Cree.

Jenkin's map does not show a Northern Boundary proper of the Abitibi hunting grounds. The map shows the total hunting grounds extended well inland of the Southern Shore of James Bay.

### **OTHER INFORMATION**

Charles Bishop's book (Northern Ontario) talks about the Nipissing who were intermediate between the Ojibwa farther West and the Algonquin to the East. In 1640 North of the Nipissing's dwelt the Timiscimi, the Outimagami, the Ouachegami, the Mitchitamou, and the Outurbi. The Timiscimi resides at Lake Timiskaming while the Outimagami lived around Lake Temagami. About Lake Abitibi to the North dwelt Amerindians of the same name. East of this lake, the Indians were known to the French as ("Gens de Terre"). Coureurs De Bois called them (Tetes De Boule) Round Heads. Algonquians termed the "O" Pimittish Ininiwac (People of the Woods).

***Algonquin History in the Ottawa River Watershed  
Prepared by James Morrison, Legal and Historical Research  
Revised 28 Nov. 2005***

Algonquin People called themselves (Anishinabeg). Early French observers generally confined the term Algonquin to the Lower Ottawa River whose descendants belong to people like Algonquins of Pikwakanagan (at Golden Lake). The Anishnabeg living in the Upper Ottawa Valley were known by different Tribal and group names. They include Nipissings, Timiskamings, Abitibi's, Tetes De Boules and Gens des Terres. In the early 1680's the Nipissings were known to the

Algonquins as (Last Water People). Closely connected to the Nipissing were the Timiskamings, sometimes known to the Algonquins as Nopiming Daje Inini (Inland People/Gens Des Terres) and Machakandiby (Round Heads Tetes De Boules). Same name applied to Upper Ottawa River Bands.

The original Licence Guillet received from the Governor De Vaudreuil who reopened the Temiscamingue Trade in 1720, authorized him to trade with the said Post of Temiscamingue as well as (those of the same Nation) on Lakes Wanapitei, Temagami, Kipawa, Barriere and Abitibi. There are members of these First Nations all (Anishnabeg) though those living in Ontario are now called Ojibway's and those in Quebec are called Algonquin's.

Other (Anishnabeg) visiting Montreal in early 1680 from the Upper Ottawa were the Otickwaganik (Nippissing's) or (Last Water People). They were sometimes known as Nopiming Daje Inini (Literally Inland People/Gens Des Terres and Machakandiby/Round Heads/Tetes De Boule).

From the Praxis Research on Page 53, it states that in 1784 Turner established a temporary Post at the junction Of Abitibi and Frederick Rivers. This was at the request of the Abitibi Indians. This Post was in the center of the Abitibi Hunting Grounds. This shows who is in charge of the area. (Mitchell 1977:26-27) A year later a permanent Post was established at Frederick House Lake. John Mannall is stationed here from 1788 – 1795. He then starts to establish a Post at Kenogamissi Lake. Hannah Mannall is born here in Aug. 30, 1795. Her Mother is more likely from the Frederick House area or Abitibi Lake.

This is a quote from (Historic Metis Communities of Ontario) prepared by Darryl Leroux and others, Page 41. An example that William Polson, A HBC Official in and around James Bay is the "Patriarch of One of the Principal Metis Families in Abitibi".

Yet as demonstrated in previous work for the MMF, the Polson Family was integrated into their Algonquin Maternal Relations and remains a key Algonquin Family today. In this case pointing to the existence of mixed race, Polson's as evidence of a (Metis Community) in Algonquin Territory shows a lack of respect for Algonquin Kinship Relations and self-determination. This seems to state that Abitibi is Algonquin territory.

In the Praxis Research Report on Page 111 it states that: the HBC Post at Abitibi 1900 – 1902 is enumerated by Robert Skene as 95% Algonquin of Racial/Tribal Origin and the Remaining 5% consisted of 17 Cree and 7 European Individuals.

In 1901, new Post had only 37 Individuals. The Racial/Tribal origin was as follows; Cree (21) Algonquin (15)

In 1901 at Mattagama Lake/Matagama Post, the population is identified as mainly Algonquin in Tribal/Racial Origin. Of 140 individuals enumerated, only (5) identified as (Cree).

***Louis McDougall was elected Chief of the Ontario Abitibi Band at Treaty 9. The 1901 Census for Abitibi (Indian Reserve) enumerated the McDougall households all of which identified as R (Rouge) Algonquine.***

**WHAT ABORIGINAL GROUP MAINLY USED  
AND CONTROLLED THE AREA**

1. In October, 1789, a Timiskaming Chief winters at Lake Abitibi.
2. In May, 1790, Cameron tells Grant that two Indian women from Langue de Terre are living at Frederick House.
3. **Frederick House Journal, 1792 – 1793.**  
Trade comes from Abitibi Lake. Numerous trips to Pusquashagamy Lake (Nighthawk Lake). This is for provisions, furs, and bring Indians in to trade. Grant, a clerk from Sowerwaminican arrives. (Matachewan) Mannel travels to Sowerwaminican from June 13 to June 23<sup>rd</sup>.
4. **Frederick House Journal 1793 - 94**  
Trade comes from Abitibi area. Mannel trades away from post from April 28 to May 15. Arrives back at post with Captain Shappokeshickwescum. Mannel trades at Abitibi from May 21 to June 2<sup>nd</sup>. One Cdn and an Indian arrived at our neighbours from Sowerwaminican.
5. **Kenogamissi Journal 1794 – 1795**  
Post is built to capture the Sowerwaminican trade. In F.H.J., 1794 – 1795, it states that Grant's people from Sowerwaminican are to winter beside Mannel. These are Algonquin people.
6. **Kenogamissi Journal 1795 – 1796**  
Two Cdn's and an Indian from Manitowagumiwan Lake pass on their way to their settlement at F.H. Travel and trade seems to be towards F.H. and Matachewan.
7. **Kenogamissi Journal 1796 – 1797**  
On June 20, Neswacoose went away and promised to return to accompany as a pilot in exploring the country to the Southward. Had little experience to the South, at this time writes Mannel. South is towards Mattagami Lake ( Matawagamingue).

**In conclusion, no aboriginal fur traders come from Moose Factory to trade at Frederick House or Kenogamissi. Mannel has no experience to the South towards Mattagami. Earlier document says that Mattagami people trade mainly at Temiskaming. All traders seem to pass between Abitibi, Frederick House, Nighthawk Lake to Matachewan. This is all Algonquin area. Therefore, it is Algonquin people who control this area.**

ALG-40226

## ENROLMENT OFFICER DOCUMENTS

The next set of documents deal with some of the documents supplied by the Enrolment Officer. I will explain some, and others are not worth mentioning. For example; Page 137 from Pioneer Reminiscences of The Upper Ottawa Valley states the wrong facts. It has Sarah Thomas marrying Thomas Farr, Lila Enos marrying John Fabian and Christopher Fabian marrying Francis Yantha. This was Christopher Fabians' second wife. The Enrolment Officer has all the correct marriages. Sarah Thomas married George Enos and Christopher Fabian married Lila Enos as his first wife. My Mother and I both know who our parents and grandparents are. Who supplied this misleading document?

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4 May 2000

Ronald Nicholas  
107 Edward St. S.,  
Arnprior, ON K7S 2X3

Dear Ron;

Here are the print-outs of the census returns, 1851-1901, showing your Thomas and Eno ancestors and where they lived. Senior lines of the family remained in Algona Township, but of course, many were working in the timber trade and as land was cleared, the younger ones moved further north and west along the Bonnhère, to Round Lake area in the adjoining township.

I checked into marriage records at both the National Archives and the Anglican Diocese Archives. I understand you have the certificates from the Eganville Roman Catholic church. The church wedding of Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannell, you told me, took place in Hudson in 1824, so I presume you have this as well.

MARRIAGES:

1. CHARLES THOMAS      b. 9 Sept. 1793 - Moose Factory Register [AO - MS 161]  
    &                      d. post 1871 - Golden Lake  
    Hannah Mannell    b. 30 Aug. 1795 - Kenogumessie/Moose Factory  
                            d. 6 Apr. 1868 - Golden Lake
  - ▶ m. ca. 1810 - Peace River Valley ? Moose Factory?  
Moose Factory Register of Marriages begin 1825, no records that early for HBC Peace River -- probably "custom of the country".
  - ▶▶ marriage formalized 16 Feb. 1824, St. James's Anglican Church, Hudson, Vaudreuil Co. Que. (source of this - family information)
  
2. EDWARD THOMAS b. 2 Nov 1819 - St. Marys, Peace River  
    &                      d. 17 Mar. 1897 - Renfrew South - Hagerty Township?  
    Catherine Pierce, b. 23 Mar. 1825  
                            d. pre. 1881 - South Algona?
  - ▶▶ m. ... .. 1842, at Mundt Farm, Golden Lake

Marriage is not in *Bathurst District Marriage Register, 1831-1852* nor in Diocese of Ottawa Archives database or indexes.

NB ▶ The family were Church of England (1851 census). Eganville Anglican records were burnt in 1911; the Archivist checked all the other surrounding parished and found nothing, so records of this marriage probably no longer exist, except, perhaps in some family Bible.

Family Home (Beaver Farm?) on Golden Lake was inherited by John Thomas, grandson of Charles. He is there in the 1891 census, and the Mundt family are the next entry in the census register.

If you need anything else, let me know.

Sincerely  
Althea Douglas

# Marriage Record

**BRIDEGROOM** *George E. Enns*

Given Age *26* Years.

Mother *Elizabeth Turner*

Father *Louis Enns*

Residence *South Algona*

AND

**BRIDE** *Sarah Thane*

Given Age *26* Years.

Father *Edward Thane*

Mother *Catharina Pease*

Residence *South Algona*

**WERE MARRIED BY** .....

At St. James Church, Eganville, Ont. ....  
or at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Mission, Golden Lake, Ont. ....

this *11th* day of *August* 19 *1902*

Witness: *John Thane*

Witness: *May Jane Enns*

**I CERTIFY** that the foregoing is a faithful abstract of an entry in the Records kept at St. James Church, Eganville.

Dated *April 21* 19 *1902*

*Sister Ruth Gould* Priest



DOC. 6

NAME: MANNAL, John  
(Mannall, Mannel)

PARISH: Kelsale, Suffolk  
(after 1797 Stockton, Norfolk)

ENTERED SERVICE: 1786

DATES:

Appointments & Service

Outfit Year*	Position	Post	District	HBCA Reference
<i>*An Outfit year ran from 1 June to 31 May</i>				
1786 - 1788	Writer	Moose Fort	Moose	A.30/3, fo. 74d-75; A.30/4, fo. 7d-8
1788 - 1792	Writer	<del>Brunswick House</del> FH	Moose	A.30/4, fo. 34d-35, 63d-64; A.30/5, fo. 8d-9, 35d-36
1792 - 1794	Writer & Master	Frederick House (F.H.)	Moose	A.30/5, fo. 60d-61
1794 - 1795	Master	Frederick House (F.H.)	Moose	A.16/16, fo. 25d-26; A.30/6, fo. 17d-18, 62d-63
1795 - 1797	Master	Kenogamissi Lake (K.L.)	Moose	A.16/16, fo. 25d-26; A.30/7, fo. 17d-18, 62d-63; A30/8, fo. 17d-18, 60d-61
1797, 22 September	home			A.16/16, fo. 25d-26; A.30/8, fo. 60d-61
1798, 23 May	back	ENGLAND		A.16/16, fo. 61d-62
1798 - 1799	Trader, Second	KEN	Moose	A.30/9, fo. 16d-17
1799 - 1803	Inland Master	Kenogamissi Lake	Moose	A.30/10, fo. 16d-17
1803 - 1812	Inland Master & Second		Eastmain	A.16/13, fo. 102d-103; A.16/16, fo. 61d-62, 100d-101, 152d-153
1812 - 1813	Second		Moose	A.30/11, fo. 13d-14
1813 - 1814	District Master		Moose	A.30/12, fo. 9d-10; A.30/13, fo. 14d-15
1814	retired			

"52 A Map of the Interior from Moose Fort containing some new discoveries. John Mannal." (HBCA, A.64/45, p. 131)

Letter from Cordelia Mannall, John's wife, to Hudson's Bay Company, London, dated Beccles, 17 August 1837 (HBCA, A.10/5, fo. 76)

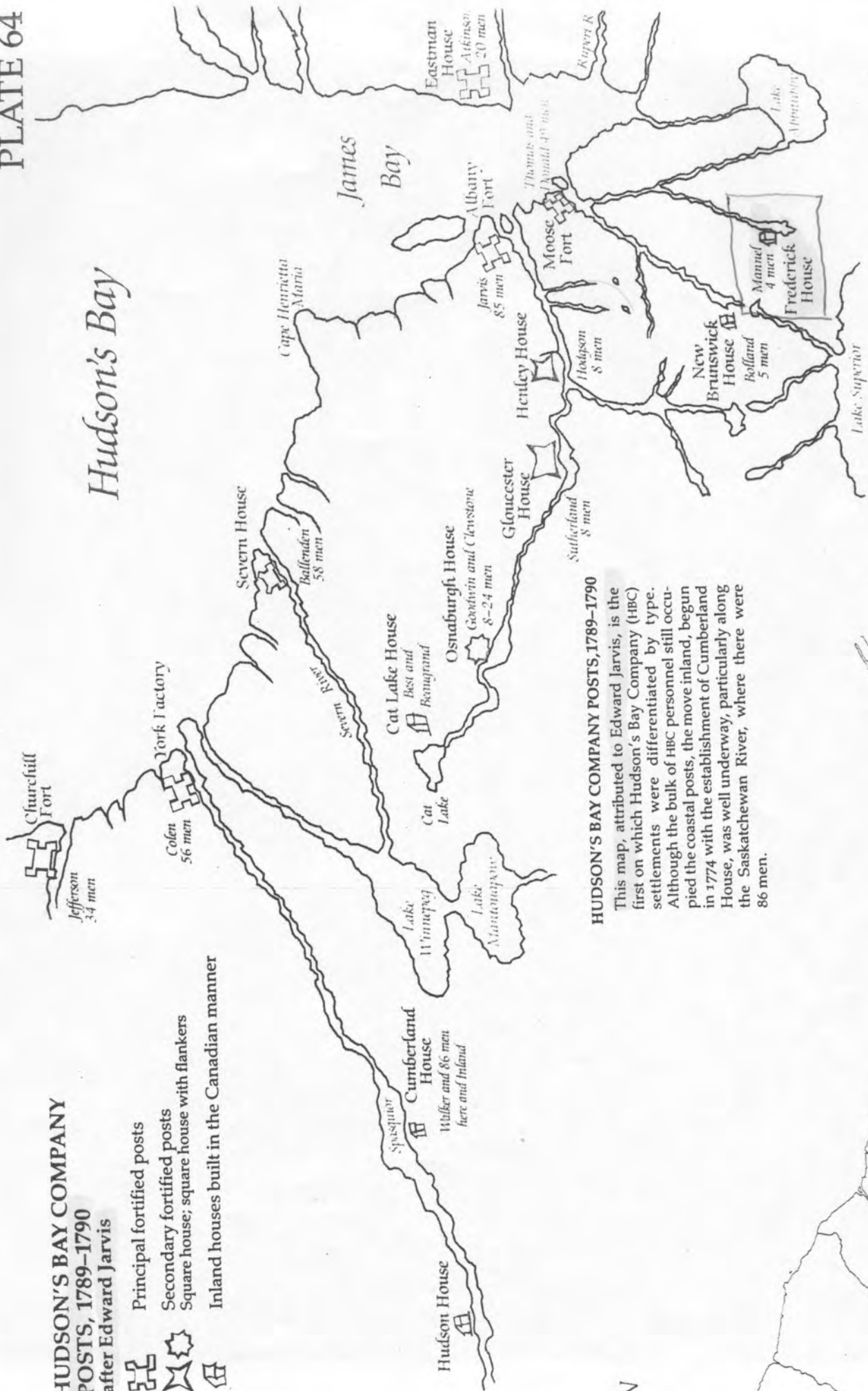
This letter is a request for support from the Company. Mrs. Mannall mentions that her husband served 28 years with the Company and left 8 children. Two of Mannall's sons, one 16, the other 13, have taken employment on coasting vessels from Beccles to London. Mrs. Mannall asks that they be considered for employment with the Company.



**HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY  
POSTS, 1789-1790  
after Edward Jarvis**



Principal fortified posts  
 Secondary fortified posts  
 Square house; square house with flankers  
 Inland houses built in the Canadian manner



**HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POSTS, 1789-1790**

This map, attributed to Edward Jarvis, is the first on which Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) settlements were differentiated by type. Although the bulk of HBC personnel still occupied the coastal posts, the move inland, begun in 1774 with the establishment of Cumberland House, was well underway, particularly along the Saskatchewan River, where there were 86 men.

SON  
 Y  
 RY

F H

Journal

of Winds, Weather,

Transactions, and Occurrences.

from the 13<sup>th</sup> July 1789 to the 5<sup>th</sup> March 1790.

by

John Mannall.

and from the 5<sup>th</sup> March to the 4<sup>th</sup> July 1790.

by

William Bolland.

B. 75/a/5

1789/90

## MANNALL TRIPS TO AND FROM MOOSE FACTORY

### **1793 - 1794 Frederick House**

**Oct 7: Mannall arrives with Alex Belly and William Halcro and Fort Indians in two canoes. No Native Women spoken of.**

### **1794 - 1795 Frederick House Kenogami**

**June 7: Four Hudson Bay Company Men with Indian arrive with supplies from the Fort. No Native Women spoken of.**

**June 9: Dispatched canoes to the Fort with Furs and Hudson Bay Company Men and "All the Factory Indians".**

**June 15: Leaves for the Fort. (15 day trip)**

**June 30: Leaves Fort with supplies to build new Fort at Kenogamissi. This is a very fast turn around. No time to look for a Wife. She would not be familiar with the area and not related to anyone to benefit Mannall.**

**July 20: Arrives at Kenogamissi with supplies to build new Post. Following Entries: Traded with Indians here. References to Indians setting off for Fort. Uplanders that came with Mannall "also went off to their Families".**

### **1795 - 1796 Kenogamissi**

**John Mannall continues on at Kenogamissi. Hannah is born here. Conceived likely in December 1794.**

### **1796 - Kenogamissi**

**June: Indians came from the Fort with trading and supplies.**

**June 11: Mannall leaves with George Taylor and People from the Fort.**

**Mrs. Mannall and Hannah are still at Kenogamissi. Her Sister is also conceived here.**

**Oct. 12: Mannal arrives at Kenogamissi after travelling 21 days with five Hudson Bay Men and 2 Indians in two large canoes.**

**1797 - Kenogamissi: Trip to Fort on Leave.**

**Oct: Mannall leaves for England on Sept. 22, 1797. Mary is born here. Conceived at Kenogamissi. Mannall leaves Mrs. Mannall and Girls here until his return on the 23rd day of May, 1798. He then works at Kenogamissi until 1803.**

**Mrs. Mannall is registered at Moose Factory in 1808 because John Mannall is now stationed here as Inland Master and Second, 1803-1812. He retires in 1814. This is where Hannah meets and unites with Charles Thomas.**

## MANNALL'S WIFE AND WHERE SHE IS FROM

**1792 - 1793: Frederick House**

**1793: Feb 21: Shappokeesickwesum and Quasot bring 22 MB**

**Feb 23: Promises Captain(Shapp) his usual presents on his return**

**May 11: Captain (Shapp) came in, gave him his usual present and some addition according to my promise.**

**June 10: Captain (Shapp) arrives again.**

**June 13: Mannall, Halcow and 4 Indians set off for Sowwewaminican in 3 small canoes. All arrive back at Frederick House.**

**June 25: (Shapp) and other Indians leave after some time, (since June 10.)**

**1794: April 28 - May 15: Mannall away, suggesting He was Trading but whereabouts unknown. Mannall arrives with (Shapp), Quasot and Kewastog once with 126 M.B. 17 days together.**

**May 24: The Captain (Chief) comes in and trades, then leaves Mannall at Atibiti.**

**Aug. 4: Shappokeeshickweescum comes in with 12 MB and some provisions for Mannall and then leaves.**

**Aug. 14: Post is still being built.**

**Dec. 18: Captain (Chief) Shapp, comes in and brings 25 M. Beaver. Route to Frederick House appears to cross Wayayorston to Pusquachagamy Lake.**

**1795 - 1796:**

**Aug. 6: Mannall learns of Death of (Shapp) from CDNS and with Master and one Man from Frederick House going to visit at Matachewan. This suggests that (Shapp) is from Frederick House or some place nearby.**

**The designation "Captain" was an Honorific Hudson Bay Traders gave to local leaders who could encourage their Relatives to trade with the Hudson Bay Company. They ususally headed Trading groups and negotiated for their People and earned prestige and influence.**



**NOTES:**

My Geneologist in 1990 says:

Mannall takes the Daughter of a local Chief, whose good will could make all the difference in the new Fort.

**Brown:**

Indian Women's value in forming Trade alliances with their Indian relatives and communities was considerable.

**A. Gottfred:**

Marrying a Native Woman strengthened ties with their Relatives and improved relations with the rest of her Nation.

**Praxis Research - Page 150:**

Had relations with Local Aboriginal Women.

**CONCLUSION:**

Is (Shapp) Mannall's Father-In-Law? He is the local Chief of the Area.

ALG-90196

In 1834, if letter was so bad then why did the following happen?  
"Trading, Trusting, Visiting and Helping Each Other".

In schedule by Joan Holmes, re-Eganville Leader, it states that Charles Thomas (Page 137, Family Record) sold the first gun to Chief Stogna. They piled furs around it until they reached the gun top. (From Thomas Records)

In 1836, Charles called a "Pow Wow" between Alexander McDonald and the Indians outside the Trading Post. A verbal treaty was transacted when McDonald to only cut trees for "Wigwams" and would not harm the beaver. This shows that the Natives trusted Thomas to speak for both sides.

**(1850) QUOTES FROM JOURNAL OF CHARLES THOMAS**

Oct 24: Pissendawa and Boys started on their hunting trip.

Oct 25: The Old Woman Traded a Martin skin with me for Ammo. It was not prime yet.

Nov 1: I bought Mrs Pissendawa's 3 Ft. canoe (old) for \$6 and paid her.

Nov 4: Old Mother Makwa was here and tells me that Joe and Simon and C are yet at Round Lake.

Nov 23: Old Mother Pissendawa Tyandgike up on a visit, got some Douceurs. They were in want of. Report Marian Pessendawa sick.

**(1851)**

Jan 25: Black B'te Poorly. I gave him 4 Cooper Pills.

Ignias and Wife were to arrange matters signed again. Old McGinnis up again. Ignaias and Wife went back in good humour.

Jan 18: Paul Pissendawa taken very sick.

Jan 19: Tommy, along with Rory's men, Old Pissendawa, Old Ignias, Young Ignais, and Montreuil started today for a hunting excursion. Paul still very bad.

March 11 Young Ignais came down. I received by him a large, whole beaver from Ignais (Old) and a Martin.

April 9: At night Old Pissendawa arrived at night and just brought me 1 P. Martin.

**April 10:** Pissendawa went homewards talking of canoe making.

**April 30:** At night, Montreull and Ignais arrived, sold me considerable furs. They stop'd all night. Old Ignais and Wife came and got a few things.

**May 5:** We had J. Bte., Piss. and Louison and then Bernand and Amble Makwa over in the evening to pay Acc'ts. Piss. and Wife having sold a 3 1/2 Ft canoe on the other side, came over and got the loan of a canoe to go home.

**(1852)**

**Jan 1:** After dinner the family in Toto, made Charles (Son) and Betsy a visit, taking old Pearse, (who came up with Tommy and Wife yesterday) to give them a tune on the fiddle. At night we had Quites Throng'd house of Dancing Indians.

**Jan 5:** Edward, Will and Jonny Price also J.,Bte Piss, Young and Ignais, and Alick and Willy Butler, 7 axes chopping firewood, Egn's Pt.

**Jan 8:** The choppers finished and all returned home.

**July 7:** J Bte gave us a thigh of venison and went up hunting with Simon.

**July 15:** I had a visit from Makouse and Wife. They paid me something and then went off. They afterwards I believe, started from the Ind'n Village and were accomp'd by Paul Pissendawatcha for the Lake 2 Mountains.

**Aug 25:** We had a vvisit from (Old) Ignais and Wife who gave us plenty of Lake Politics.

**Aug. 31:** Piss and Wife and Old Woman EC came and paid us a visit.

**Sept. 9:** Blk Bapt. got the help of the **Ind'ns** and Charles and log'd at his piece of fallow. I went down at Ch's place and brot up Margaret Tensakous little boy (oldest) now got the measles in his turn.

**Sept. 12:** Ignais and Wife came for a little medicine, one of their children being unwell.

**Nov. 14:** Self and Old Woman mended 7 nets.

**Nov 26:** Young Ignais comes for supply of Snow Shoes for himself and comrade.

## MODERN PERIOD

**Lila Catherine Eno:** Sarah's Daughter married Christian Fabian, July, 1915,  
St. James R.C., Eganville, ON

Born: 11 Aug. 1896, Renfrew County, ON

Died: 29 June, 1925, Bonnechere, On

Buried: St. Andrew's Cemetery, Killaloe, ON

The family picked berries for jams and jellies. They also hunted and made canned venison for the winter. They did this while farming for a living.

**Harriet Fabian:** Lila's Daughter, married Jerry Nicholas, Jan. 17, 1944,  
Arnprior, ON, Renfrew County.

Born: April 10, 1925, Bonnechere, ON, Renfrew County

Died: July 14, 2017

Buried: Arnprior, ON Cemetery.

Jeremiah (Jerry) and Harriet are the parents of Ron Nicholas and his siblings. Growing up, our parents always took us picking berries. We picked strawberries, raspberries, choke cherries, and plums in Arnprior, blueberries at Round Lake and a secret apple orchard in the countyside that my Father knew of. He took my brother and me hunting for deer at Round Lake when we first got our hunting licence. After that, it was every chance we got to go hunting. Our Father always tried to have deer meat for the winter. I can remember cutting up deer on an old door in the kitchen. My Father took my brother and me on many fishing trips also. We fished White Lake in the winter for Pike, and in the summer we fished for barbuts at Long Lake in Calabogie and also for trout at a small creek at Whitney.

When it comes to spending time with Algonquins, I spent lots of time with my Brother and Dale Benoit (ALG). I have 2 nephews, Jerry and Stephen Benoit. I have hunted with both Stephen and Dale for Deer. I helped Stephen when he built his house on the Reserve. I built new stairs for Jerry at his house. My parents got a lot of fish from Dale's Brother. My Mother, Sister and I attended the wedding of Dale and Ozzie Zohr at their home on Golden Lake. We attended Jerry and Kelly's wedding , and stag at the Reserve. Stephen was a Pallbearer at

my Mother's Funeral and he put a feather in my Father's suit jacket at his funeral in 2002.

**Louisa Nicholas:** Born 1906

Married: Joe Lavalley (ALG), born: 1897, died 1945, Whitney ON  
Pete Jocko (ALG) Whitney, ON

**Joe Lavalley** was a famous Indian guide in Algonquin Provincial Park. A book titled "Joe Lavalley and the Palefaces in Algonquin Park" was written about him and there is also a brightly coloured map of Algonquin Park with a picture of Joe Lavalley in the lower left corner.

**Pete Jocko and Joe Lavalley are Uncles of Jeremiah Joseph Nicholas.**

**The Daughter of Mary Irene Nicholas, Born 1908** is Mary Gertrude Ann Nicholas, Born 1938, Whitney, ON. She married Ernest David Boldt , (Bud or Buddy) (ALG), born 1936.

She is a first Cousin of Jeremiah (Jerry) Nicholas.

His children are 2<sup>nd</sup> cousins to Jerry and Harriet's children.

**Children of Jerry and Harriet Nicholas**

Shirley (Nicholas) Anderson

Mary (Nicholas) Sperry

Theresa (Nicholas) Stokman

James Nicholas

Ronald Nicholas

Karen (Nicholas) Scobie

Faye Nicholas (Warren)

**SUMMARY OF CENSUS RECORDS**

Charles Thomas and Hannah Mannall were both Half Breed, that is not disputed Marrying each other. Their Children would be the same also regardless if on the Census if it is not given. Charles could speak four languages, Cree, English, French and Algonquin. This is why he was asked in 1836 to Mediate between McDonald and the Algonquins. This is why some of the Children are registered as English, French, Welsh and Canadian and not given.

When it comes to the word "Indian" not given, this is a quote from the Journal of Charles Thomas, Jan. 1st (1852) after 1851 Census. After dinner the Family in Toto made Charles (Son) and Betsy a visit, taking old Pearse (who came up with Tommy (Son) and Wife yesterday) to give them a tune on the Fiddle. At night we had Quites Throng'd House of Dancing Indians. Same day, Mr. Perigo and Wife took dinner with us.

2 Aug 1993

HUSBAND Edward THOMAS-18  
 WIFE Catherine PIERCE-19

Yr of Birth 1819  
 Yr of Birth 1825

## CHILDREN (continued)

5. NAME: Zelpha THOMAS-24

--- BORN: 16 Jan 1852 PLACE:  
 F CHR.: PLACE:  
 DIED: PLACE:  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE:  
 MARR: PLACE:

6. NAME: Mary THOMAS-25

--- BORN: 21 Sep 1855 PLACE:  
 F CHR.: PLACE:  
 DIED: PLACE:  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE:  
 MARR: PLACE:

7. NAME: John Mannall THOMAS-213

--- BORN: 10 Aug 1857 PLACE:  
 M CHR.: PLACE:  
 DIED: Bef Nov 1859 PLACE: infant  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE:  
 MARR: PLACE:

8. NAME: John Mannall THOMAS-30

BORN: 24 Nov 1859 PLACE: ,,Renfrew Co.,Ont.  
 M CHR.: PLACE:  
 DIED: Aft 1924 PLACE:  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE:  
 MARR: PLACE:

9. NAME: Ellen THOMAS-26

--- BORN: 23 Oct 1862 PLACE:  
 F CHR.: PLACE:  
 DIED: PLACE:  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE:  
 MARR: PLACE:

10. NAME: Sarah THOMAS-27

BORN: 1 Feb 1864 PLACE:  
 F CHR.: 5 Aug 1890 PLACE: St. James R.C.,Eganville,,Ont.  
 DIED: 3 Jan 1925 PLACE: Bonnechere, Renfrew Co.,Ont.  
 BUR.: PLACE:  
 SPOUSE: George Alexander ENO-3  
 MARR: Abt 1880 PLACE: St. James R.C.,Eganville, Renfrew Co.

MRIN: 4



This is a Document of Edward Thomas's Children and a Census of one of His Children, John Mannall Thomas, Sister to Sarah Thomas. John Thomas is registered as Indian.

Joan Holmes has a copy of his Census "1921"

*Census Records for Thomas, Son of Hannah, states in 1911 that he is Canadian.*

*Definition of Canadian: N: ( A native or Inhabitant of Canada )*

#### SUMMARY

This report, as in 2012, is supposed to be about Hannah's Mother and where she is from. The probable Native Ancestry of Hannah is to examine the Indigenous Group or Groups who were in the control of, or extensively used the Area. No Aboriginal Trades come from Moose Factory to trade at Frederick House or Kenogamissi. All Traders come from Abitibi, Frederick House, Nighthawk Lake to Matachewan. This is all Algonquin People at the time of my Ancestor. Therefore, Hannah Mannall's Mother is Algonquin and so am I.

Ron Nicholas

Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal and newly-created elements. Because of the uncertainties surrounding the identification and genealogies of specific individuals involved in this way of life, I have chosen to call it a "fur trade culture" instead of ascribing a biologically-specific term, as it developed as a result of the requirements and characteristics of the fur trade. The available historical record strongly suggests that many of the participants in this culture were of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry, and that mixed-ancestry children were raised in this culture in increasing numbers in the study region in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many elements of what scholars have identified at a later period as "Métis culture" clearly emerge prior to 1821. Therefore, although I have not characterized this "fur trade" culture as being exclusive to mixed-ancestry people, it is directly relevant to the lives and identities of people and families labelled in later documents as "half-breeds" or "Métis". I have also emphasized that this culture was transmissible to succeeding cohorts in ways that did not depend on genetics, so that even if individuals within the culture were highly mobile (a characteristic requirement of the fur trade), the distinctive elements of the culture developed and persisted over time.

Between 1821 and 1850, this distinctive fur trade culture and the populations associated with it continued to thrive, despite a reduction in the number of people directly involved in the fur trade and changes in the work environment. Families of mixed ancestry were raised together in this setting around the posts, and were joined by newcomers who were hired based on their familiarity with the skills and culture of the trade. "Half breeds", "Canadians", "Métis", "voyageurs", "freemen", "engagés", "servants", traders and clerks were all a part of this way of life. Including both heads of households and families, people of mixed ancestry were the majority in the fur-trade community north of Lake Superior during this period. The historical sources reveal a strong sense of shared identity and traditions in both a larger fur trade community that extended from the Great Lakes to the Athabasca-Mackenzie, and a specific Lake Superior (Sault Ste. Marie/Nipigon/Fort William) community. The few outside non-Aboriginal observers that passed through this area between 1821 and 1850 could easily distinguish the members of this community both from themselves as Europeans and from the "Indians" or "Sauvages", who with a few "half-breed Indians" participated as fur trappers and customers at the posts. Unfortunately, although we know that fur-trade marriages were being made and

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS—BUREAU FÉDÉRAL DE LA STATISTIQUE.

POPULATION.

"B"

Province Ont. District No. 124 Enumeration Sub-District 33 in Walter Station (City, town, village, township or parish),  
Received by Therese J. Paul in Walter Station (City, town, village, township or parish),  
Received per Therese J. Paul Enumerator.

Page 1

Page 1

No.	NAME	SEX	AGE	MARRIAGE	RELIGION	EDUCATION	PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, AND ESTIMATION	BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH		PLACE OF BIRTH	
								PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH
1	Walter Paul	M	35	Married	Catholic	High School	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
2	Therese Paul	F	32	Married	Catholic	High School	Homemaker	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
3	John Paul	M	10	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
4	Margaret Paul	F	8	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
5	William Paul	M	5	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
6	Elizabeth Paul	F	3	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
7	James Paul	M	2	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
8	Marie Paul	F	1	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
9	Robert Paul	M	0	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada
10	Anna Paul	F	0	Single	Catholic	Elementary	School	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada	Canada

M13-2-25

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